

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: North, Oliver: Files
Folder Title: Libya: Terrorism II [Terrorism:
Libya 10/07/1986-10/08/1986]
Box: 105

To see more digitized collections visit:
<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:
<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name NORTH, OLIVER: FILES

Withdrawer

SMF 11/29/2010

File Folder TERRORISM: LIBYA [10/07/1986-10/08/1986]

FOIA

F95-023/9

Box Number 105

WILLS

46

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
101147	ROUTING SLIP	<i>PAR 5/8/2017 M1127/1</i>	2	ND	B1 B3
101148	MEMO	TO NORTH RE LIBYA	1	10/7/1986	B1 B3
101149	ROUTING SLIP		2	ND	B1 B3
101150	ATTACHMENTS	RE LIBYA	10	9/24/1986	B1 B3
101151	REPORT	RE LIBYAN INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORISM SINCE AIRSTRIKES <i>D 5/8/2017 M1127/1</i>	6	ND	B1 B3
101152	CABLE	081821Z OCT 86 <i>D 5/8/2017 M1127/1</i>	3	10/8/1986	B1 B3
101153	CABLE	081725Z OCT 86 <i>D 5/8/2017 M1127/1</i>	3	10/8/1986	B1 B3
101154	MEMO	SULLIVAN TO COY ET AL RE LIBYA <i>R 3/10/2017 M1127/1</i>	2	10/8/1986	B1
101155	MEMO	MCDANIEL TO POINDEXTER RE COMMENTS RE ARTICLE IN WALL STREET JOURNAL <i>D 5/8/2017 M1127/1</i>	6	10/8/1986	B1 B3

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Research Memorandum

United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547



Office of Research

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

OLN _____
RLE E _____
CPC _____
FILE LIBYA II _____
COMMENT _____

October 7, 1986

~~PRESS OPPOSITION TO U.S. STRIKE AGAINST LIBYA MIRRORED
PUBLIC ATTITUDES IN BRITAIN AND GERMANY, BUT NOT IN FRANCE~~

This analysis compares major West European press reaction (from April 10 through July 30) to the U.S. military retaliation against Libyan-sponsored terrorism with corresponding public attitudes in Britain, France and Germany measured in late-April and mid-July.

Press Opposition to U.S. Air Strike Parallels Public Opinion in Germany and Britain; Markedly Different in France

In Germany, shortly after the mid-April air strike, both public opinion (7-in-10) and major press commentary disapproved of the air strike and any future U.S. attack in response to Libyan-sponsored terrorism (Tables 1 and 2). A similar pattern was evident in Britain where most of the papers and predominant public opinion opposed the attack (60% to 30%) and any future raid (49% to 34%). Typically, Britain's independent Financial Times called the bombing "deplorable" and "counterproductive."

The press was out of step with public attitudes in France. While the French press overwhelmingly disapproved of the U.S. air strike, the French public predominantly (51% to 38%) supported it. The public also said they would support (56% to 28%) a future U.S. strike if Libyan-sponsored terrorism continued.

Liberal Press Opposition Corresponds to Attitudes Among Leftist Party Supporters in All Three Countries

Liberal papers in all three countries paralleled the critical attitudes of those identifying with left/far left political parties, particularly in Germany.^a No major leftist editorials supported the raid. But unlike the leftist press commentary, sizable segments of support did exist among the left/far left population in Britain (22%) and France (38%).

^a Left/far left includes the Labour and Liberal parties in Britain; the Socialist and Communist parties in France; and the SPD and Greens in Germany. Center/Conservative includes the Conservative party in Britain; the RPR, UDF and FN in France; and the CDU/CSU and FPD in Germany.

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

anf 11/29/10

Conservative Press More Critical Than Center/Conservative Party Supporters

Opposition to the air strike prevailed throughout the conservative and independent papers but not among center/conservative party supporters. Majorities of center/conservative party supporters in France (76%) and about half in Britain (52%) and Germany (45%) approved the U.S. action. Only a few conservative and independent editorials supported the action. Most conservative papers, however, while calling the military action inappropriate, sympathized with the reasons behind the action.

Press and Public Agree on Need For Coordinated Action

The press said Europe must agree on effective alternatives to military action, such as diplomatic, political and economic sanctions. Concurrently, in July majorities in France (62%) and Germany (59%) and about half in Britain (48%) supported economic and political sanctions against Libya. European press commentary and a majority of the public in all three countries generally agreed:

- o Libya is responsible for international terrorism.
- o West European governments should be doing more to protect their citizens against international terrorism.
- o The U.S. air strike against Libya has not reduced Libyan-sponsored terrorist attacks.
- o West European military forces should not be used to combat Libyan-sponsored terrorism (this opinion was especially widespread in Germany).

Press Maintains Opposition to Military Action Amid Some Changes in Public Attitudes

During the three months following the raid the press maintained its opposition to the use of military force against Libya to prevent terrorism. However, public attitudes fluctuated to some degree. From late-April to mid-July the balance of opinion in favor of any future U.S. air strike decreased in France, increased considerably in Germany, and increased somewhat in Britain (Table 2).

Prepared by: Steven K. Smith

M-10/7/86

Approved by: Nils H. Wessell, Director of Research 485-2965

Table 1. Attitudes on U.S. air strike against Libya

"You may recall that U.S. warplanes bombed terrorist-related targets in Libya last April. Do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of the U.S. air strike?"^a

	BRITAIN		FRANCE		GERMANY	
	4/86 (1012)	7/86 (993)	4/86 (499)	7/86 (511)	4/86 (501)	7/86 (510)
Strongly approve	14%	15%	27%	22%	7%	13%
Somewhat approve	16	18	24	20	19	16
subtotal	30%	33%	51%	42%	26%	29%
Somewhat disapprove	17	20	23	18	39	32
Strongly disapprove	43	34	15	25	31	34
subtotal	60%	54%	38%	43%	70%	66%
Don't know	10	13	11	15	4	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

^a Question wording in April 1986: "Now, thinking about the recent U.S. air strike against terrorist-related targets in Libya, do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the U.S. air strike?"

Table 2. Attitudes on future U.S. air strike against Libya

"Now suppose that there is reasonably good evidence that Libya was behind a new terrorist attack, would you approve or disapprove of another U.S. military action against Libya?"

	BRITAIN		FRANCE		GERMANY	
	4/86 (1012)	7/86 (993)	4/86 (499)	7/86 (511)	4/86 (501)	7/86 (510)
Approve	34%	39%	56%	43%	19%	36%
Disapprove	49	41	28	36	71	58
Don't know	17	20	16	21	10	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Press Sources Used

BRITAIN

Financial Times, independent
Times, conservative
Daily Telegraph, conservative
Guardian, liberal

FRANCE

Figaro, conservative
Quotidien, right-of-center
Les Echos, economic
Le Parisien, popular
Le Monde, liberal
Liberation, left-of-center
Le Matin, socialist
Humanite, communist

WEST GERMANY

General-Anzeiger, independent
Westdeutsche Allgemeine, independent
Die Welt, conservative
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, conservative
Handelsblatt, conservative
Frankfurter Rundschau, pro-SPD
Stuttgarter Zeitung, left-of-center
Sueddeutsche Zeitung, liberal

~~TOP SECRET~~ 101147

(Security Classification)

ROUTING			
TO:	NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	INITIALS
1	National Security Council		
2	Attn: Oliver North		
3			
4			
	ACTION	DIRECT REPLY	PREPARE REPLY
	APPROVAL	DISPATCH	RECOMMENDATION
	COMMENT	FILE	RETURN
	CONCURRENCE	INFORMATION	SIGNATURE
REMARKS:			
FROM: NAME, ADDRESS, AND PHONE NO.			DATE

C

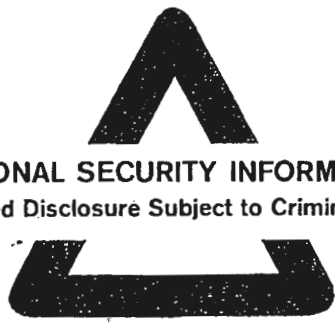
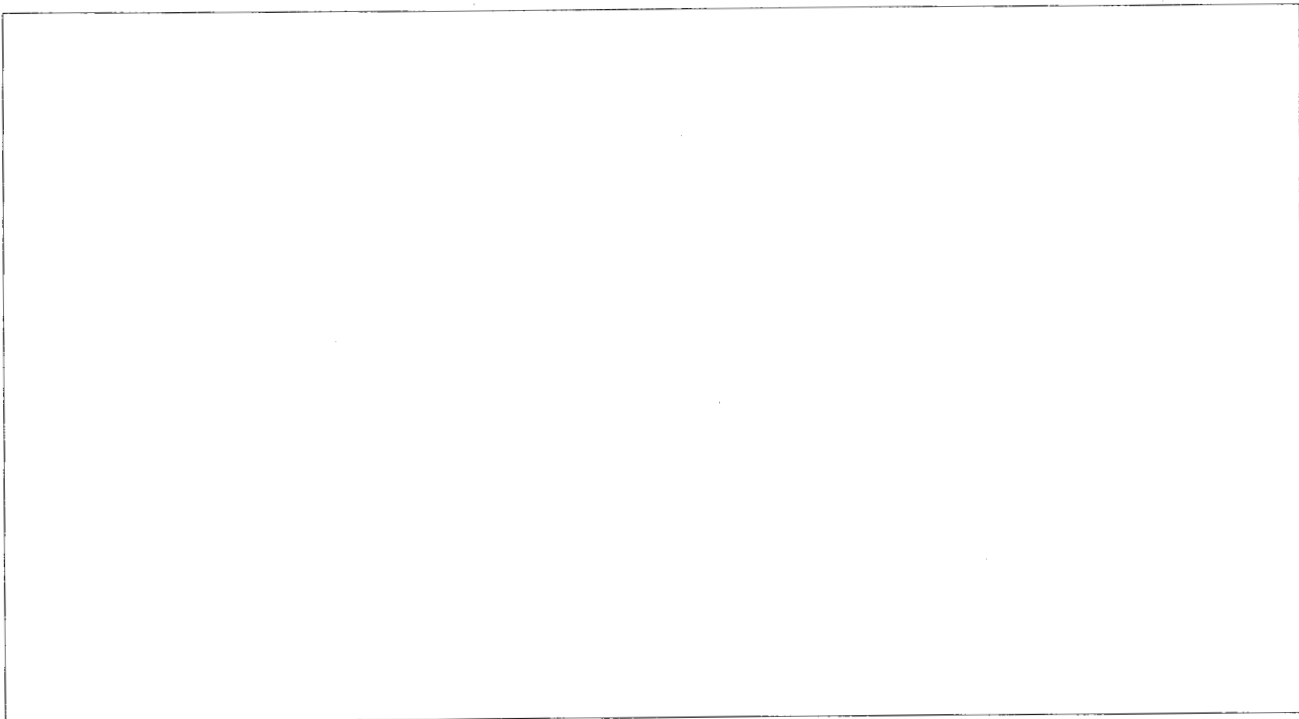
CONTROL NO.

3.5(c)

COPY 1 OF 5

EO 13526 3.5(c)

3.5(c)



NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION
Unauthorized Disclosure Subject to Criminal Sanctions

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
NLRB M1127 #101147
BY fw NASA DATE 5/8/17

~~TOP SECRET~~
(Security Classification)

DISSEMINATION CONTROL ABBREVIATIONS

NOFORN-	Not Releasable to Foreign Nationals
NOCONTRACT-	Not Releasable to Contractors or Contractor/Consultants
PROPIN-	Caution-Proprietary Information Involved
ORCON-	Dissemination and Extraction of Information Controlled by Originator
REL...-	This Information has been Authorized for Release to ...

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name
North, Oliver: Files

Withdrawer
SMF 11/29/2010

File Folder
TERRORISM: LIBYA [10/07/1986-10/08/1986]

FOIA
F95-023/9
WILLS

Box Number
105

46

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restrictions</i>
101148	MEMO TO NORTH RE LIBYA	1	10/7/1986	B1 B3

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name
North, Oliver: Files

Withdrawer
SMF 11/29/2010

File Folder
TERRORISM: LIBYA [10/07/1986-10/08/1986]

FOIA
F95-023/9
WILLS

Box Number
105

46

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
101149	ROUTING SLIP	2	ND	B1 B3

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name
North, Oliver: Files

Withdrawer
SMF 11/29/2010

File Folder
TERRORISM: LIBYA [10/07/1986-10/08/1986]

FOIA
F95-023/9
WILLS

Box Number
105

46

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
101150	ATTACHMENTS RE LIBYA	10	9/24/1986	B1 B3

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name
North, Oliver: Files

Withdrawer
SMF 11/29/2010

File Folder
TERRORISM: LIBYA [10/07/1986-10/08/1986]

FOIA
F95-023/9
WILLS

Box Number
105

46

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restrictions</i>
101151	REPORT RE LIBYAN INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORISM SINCE AIRSTRIKES	6	ND	B1 B3

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name
North, Oliver: Files

Withdrawer
SMF 11/29/2010

File Folder
TERRORISM: LIBYA [10/07/1986-10/08/1986]

FOIA
F95-023/9
WILLS

Box Number
105

46

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
101152	CABLE 081821Z OCT 86	3	10/8/1986	B1 B3

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name
North, Oliver: Files

Withdrawer
SMF 11/29/2010

File Folder
TERRORISM: LIBYA [10/07/1986-10/08/1986]

FOIA
F95-023/9
WILLS

Box Number
105

46

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restrictions</i>
101153	CABLE 081725Z OCT 86	3	10/8/1986	B1 B3

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

RLE E
OCN N

101154

28

digital

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

~~Ret done~~
File Libya
↑

Date: 8-Oct-1986 10:14 EDT
From: Scott Sullivan
SULLIVAN
Dept:
Tel No: 6919

TO: See Below

Subject: RICO and Libya

A few thoughts on State's opposition to the use of RICO:

o The public diplomacy value of the RICO statute is that it treats terrorism, quite properly in my opinion, as an organized criminal conspiracy. This has the benefit of removing completely the "freedom fighter" image that terrorists rely on to gather political support from the governments of Western Europe.

o Proof that we may be losing the public relations battle against Libya is furnished by the recently signed cultural accord between Libya and Italy, as well as by the bilateral exchange of prisoners. These events constitute a major coup for Qadhafi--one that we need to counter soon. How do we do it if we decide not to harrass Libya in the courts?

o Despite considerable interagency work in fashioning economic sanctions against Libya, to my knowledge (thanks to the Libyan disposal of the FIAT stock) Qadhafi soon will have the same amount of hard currency with which to finance terrorism as he did before we began to tighten the economic noose. If we are serious about stopping terrorism, we have to deny Libya resources by depriving it of foreign exchange. How can we do this if a multilateral assets freeze is ruled out? Are we are enough along in negotiations with the Allies on the assets freeze issue that RICO is not needed?

o Using RICO to seize Libyan assets will send a loud and clear message to Western banks that we intend to take strong action to prevent abuse of the international banking system by states that sponsor terrorism. Stories in the press that we are opposed to such abuse are fine--but we have to show that there is determination behind the rhetoric. Have the Allies agreed to cooperate with the US in monitoring transactions of Libyan bank accounts and to shut down such accounts when necessary?

o On the reciprocal seizure of assets question, I am unfamiliar with the arrangements that US companies have worked out with the Libyans. Do the companies hope to return to their operations after a year or two, even if Qadhafi stays in power, as seems to be the case?. Do we favor this policy?

o If we are going to be prevented from confiscating Libyan assets due to fear of financial reprisals, why doesn't this same logic apply to US military activities or other actions designed to counter terrorism? If we are that worried about financial "hostage taking", shouldn't US oil companies be encouraged to pull out of Syria, for example, on the grounds that we may have to take steps against Syria at some point in the future and do not want

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M1127 #101154

BY RW DATE 3/10/17

constraints on our actions.

o Looking beyond Libya, the application of RICO will discourage other states that support terrorism (Syria, Iran, Cuba, and East Germany) from using the international banks as paymasters. If the OLC's legal reasoning is sound, what don't we bring suit against one of the other sponsors of terrorism so that the international banks gets the message? Is there a better way that this can be accomplished, if the use of RICO is not appropriate?

o State is being disingenuous when they cite IEEPA as the answer. They know perfectly well that IEEPA authority is being degraded through overuse, and that we would look ridiculous if we define the terrorist threat as a "national emergency." To my knowledge, State has opposed all efforts in Congress to give us the authority we need under the Export Administration Act to regulate international financial transactions in order to combat terrorism. (Separate amendments to the EAA have been introduced by Senators Garn and Mattingly.) I believe that State is not interested in putting real financial pressure against Libya, but rather is convinced that tough talk alone will deter Qadhafi.

Distribution:

- TO: Craig Coy (COY)
- TO: Elaine Morton (MORTON)
- TO: Howard Teicher (TEICHER)

- CC: Peter Rodman (RODMAN)
- CC: Ron St. Martin (STMARTIN)
- CC: Alan Thomas (THOMAS)

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name
North, Oliver: Files

Withdrawer
SMF 11/29/2010

File Folder
TERRORISM: LIBYA [10/07/1986-10/08/1986]

FOIA
F95-023/9
WILLS

Box Number
105

46

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
101155	MEMO MCDANIEL TO POINDEXTER RE COMMENTS RE ARTICLE IN WALL STREET JOURNAL	6	10/8/1986	B1 B3

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.