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Central Intelligence Agency
Office of the Deputy Director for Intelligence

6 January 1986

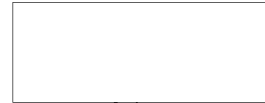
NOTE TO: Jim Stark
National Security Council

Robert B. Oakley
Director, Office for Counter-Terrorism
and Emergency Planning, State Department

Attached is the revised, augmented and consolidated White Paper. At State's request, I am sending a copy to Bob Oakley and his colleagues so they can look at it as early as possible. I am told State will do nothing formally with the draft until they get a go-ahead from the NSC.

It is important that any changes be coordinated with us so that we are in a position to defend the full text, especially on the Hill. If there are substantive additions or changes, please contact

[redacted]
will remain in his office until 9:30 PM but can then be reached at home [redacted]



Robert M. Gates
Deputy Director for Intelligence

Attachment:
White Paper

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Libya Under Qadhafi: A Pattern of AggressionCharacter of Libyan Policy

Mu'ammarr Qadhafi, a zealot with messianic pretensions, seized power in a military coup in 1969. Since then he has forcibly sought to remake Libyan society according to his own eccentric revolutionary precepts. In 1979 Qadhafi declared Libya a "state of the masses," ostensibly a direct democracy governed by local committees but in reality a brutal police state enforced by young radicals loyal to Qadhafi. At the apex of power in Libya is Qadhafi, although he disingenuously claims not to be a head of state, preferring instead the title "Leader of the Revolution."

Qadhafi's ambitions are not confined within Libya's borders, however. He fancies himself a leader and agent of historic forces that will reorder Third World politics. His vision provides both a motive and a rationale for providing military and financial aid to radical regimes, and for undermining moderate governments by supporting--or manufacturing--subversive groups and abetting terrorists.

Qadhafi's aggressive policies increasingly have focused on undermining US and other Western interests in the Third World as he sees these as the main barrier to his radical and expansionist goals. Qadhafi's commitment of political, economic, and military resources in support of anti-Western activities worldwide is surpassed only by the Soviet Union, its East European allies, and possibly North Korea or Cuba. He is particularly hostile to Israel and the US. His tactics include a mixture of threats and support for terrorism, offers of cooperation, economic incentives and intimidation, and outright military aggression.

Libyan Involvement in Terrorism

Qadhafi has used terrorism as one of the primary instruments of his foreign policy and supports radical groups which use terrorist tactics. Tripoli operates numerous training camps for foreign dissident groups that provide instruction in the use of explosive devices, hijacking, assassination, and various commando and guerrilla techniques. Libya also abuses diplomatic privilege by storing arms and explosives at its diplomatic establishments, as occurred during the shoot-out at its embassy in London in April 1984.

The main targets of Libyan terrorist activities have been expatriate Libyan dissidents and leading officials of moderate Arab and African governments. In almost all cases, the assassins use handguns to kill their victims. Qadhafi generally uses Libyans for antiexile operations; for other types of attacks-he tends to employ surrogates or mercenaries.

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The Libyan Government in 1980 began a concerted effort to assassinate anti-Qadhafi exiles. By the time the first phase ended in 1981, 11 Libyan dissidents living abroad had been murdered. Libya in 1985 sponsored five attacks against exiled Libyan dissidents. Targets of these attacks lived in Greece, West Germany, Cyprus, Italy and Austria.

Qadhafi has at least twice tried to murder Libyan exiles in Egypt only to have his agents intercepted by Egyptian security. In the more recent attempt, a four-man Libyan team was arrested in November during an attempted attack against a gathering of exiles near Cairo.

Libya also has plotted antiexile attacks in the United States. In May 1985, a Libyan diplomat at the United Nations was declared persona non grata and 16 nonofficial Libyans were subpoenaed to appear before a US grand jury in connection with a plot to kill Libyan dissidents in four states.

Qadhafi also targets moderate Arab governments for their refusal to continue the military struggle against Israel and for their links to the West. There have been reports of Libyan-backed assassination plots against such Arab leaders as President Mubarak of Egypt and former President Nimeiri of Sudan. For example those arrested after last November's attempted attack on Libyan exiles in Egypt stated that Qadhafi's target list included President Mubarak. Jordan's King Hussein and Iraq's Saddam Hussein are almost certainly on Qadhafi's list because of restored ties with Cairo and Washington respectively..

Qadhafi also has been implicated in plots to assassinate other moderate heads of state. In September 1984 the Chadian government uncovered a Libyan-sponsored plot in which a briefcase bomb was to explode during a cabinet meeting chaired by Chadian President Habre. More recently, Zairian officials thwarted a Libyan-sponsored plot against President Mobutu in September 1985.

Libyan Links to Middle East Radicals.

Longstanding Libyan support for radical Palestinian groups is growing. Qadhafi has provided safehaven, money and arms to these groups--including the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, the Fatah dissidents and the notorious Abu Nidal Group. These anti-Arafat Palestinians focus their terrorist activity on Israel and the occupied territories. More recently, however, Libya's support has broadened to include logistical support for terrorist operations. For example, Libya provided passports to the Abu Nidal members responsible for the attack on the El Al counter in Vienna. The Abu Nidal Group is particularly appealing to Qadhafi because of its track record of successful terrorist operations. Abu Nidal's targeting of moderate Palestinians and moderate Arab leaders is consistent with Libya's antipathy toward participants in the peace process. According to Libyan press reports, Abu Nidal met with

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senior officials in Libya at least three times in 1985.

Libya is trying to improve ties with other regional terrorist groups, especially the Hizballah in Lebanon, which specializes in attacks against the United States, France and Iraq. Qadhafi would also like closer links to Tehran's terrorist effort. He announced a "strategic alliance" with Iran last summer, which he probably plans to use as a foundation for joint operational planning for terrorist attacks against various regional foes. He also supports Egyptian and Tunisian dissidents, including the Organization of Egypt's Revolutionaries, who claimed credit for the ruthless hijacking of Egyptair Flight 648 in November.

Libya also provided refuge for notorious international terrorist Carlos, who headed a network of terrorists for hire. His group was responsible for numerous vicious attacks including the hostage-taking of OPEC oil ministers in Vienna in 1975.

Libyan Terrorism Against the United States

During the past 18 months, Qadhafi has made several public references to expanding his terrorism campaign to cover US targets. In a June 1984 speech, for example, he told his Libyan audience that "we are capable of exporting terrorism to the heart of America." During a speech last September observing the 16th anniversary of his takeover, Qadhafi remarked that "we have the right to fight America, and we have the right to export terrorism to them..." Qadhafi recently threatened in a press conference on 2 January to "pursue US citizens in their country and streets" if the United States takes action in response to Libya's alleged involvement in the Rome and Vienna terrorist attacks.

There have been several instances over the years of Libyan-sponsored attacks against US interest. In addition to the sacking of our Embassy in Tripoli in 1979, Sudanese authorities uncovered a Libyan plot to blow up the American Embassy Club in Khartoum by planting explosives in stereo speakers. US personnel also have been on Qadhafi's target list, as indicated by the plan in 1977 to assassinate our Ambassador in Khartoum.

Radicalism in the Arab World

Qadhafi's foremost ambition is to dominate and unite the Arab World. He frequently compares himself to Garibaldi or Bismarck and has justified his use of violence against moderate Arab regimes as necessary to achieve Arab unity.

Egypt, because of its peace treaty with Israel, is a special target. Libyan agents have been active in Egypt since the 1970s, and Qadhafi has offered support to various opponents of the Egyptian government. In October 1981, immediately after President Sadat was assassinated, Qadhafi called on Egyptians to overthrow their government; within a week at Cairo International Airport two bombs exploded that had been concealed in luggage unloaded from a flight originating in Tripoli.

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More recently Qadhafi has sought to embarrass the government of President Mubarak and undermine the Egyptian economy. A Libyan ship captained by a senior Libyan naval commando laid mines in the Red Sea and Gulf of Suez that damaged 18 merchant ships in July and August 1984. In May 1985 the Egyptians thwarted a plot by radical Palestinians backed by Libya to destroy the US Embassy in Cairo with a truck bomb. Last summer Qadhafi expelled over 10,000 Egyptian workers in Libya--confiscating their savings and most of their belongings--in what was in part an effort to place a greater burden on the strained Egyptian economy. Also during 1985, Cairo captured several teams of Libyan-supported Egyptian dissidents who reported that their plan was to destabilize the Mubarak government through sabotage and inciting civil unrest.

Sudan also is a priority target. Qadhafi has long offered training and support to Sudanese dissidents and sponsored acts of sabotage against the government of former President Nimeiri. He was a major source of arms and money for southern Sudanese rebels that began a guerrilla war against the central government two years ago. In February 1983 the Sudanese, with Egyptian assistance, thwarted a Libyan-sponsored coup attempt, and in March 1984 a Libyan TU-22 bombed Omdurman, Sudan in a failed attempt to destroy a radio station there that broadcast Sudanese condemnations of Qadhafi's policies.

Since Nimeiri's fall from power Qadhafi has exploited the resumption of diplomatic ties with Sudan to build a network for subversion inimical to Sudan's efforts to establish a parliamentary democracy. A number of known Libyan terrorists have been assigned to the Libyan People's Bureau (Embassy) or airline office in Khartoum. Qadhafi also has provided arms, funding, training and probably direction to the Sudanese Revolutionary Committees, a small group in Sudan dedicated to establishing a government on the Libyan model in Sudan. In May, a planeload of these dissidents arrived in Khartoum armed with assault rifles.

Qadhafi also is working to expand his influence in the countries of the Arab Maghreb. Qadhafi refuses to negotiate with Algeria to determine the correct location of the Libyan-Algerian border, which he disdains as a colonial creation. Perhaps angered over President Bendjedid's moderation, Qadhafi reportedly provides money to Algerian dissidents such as Ahmed Ben Bella.

In Tunisia, Qadhafi has long sought to bring down the pro-Western government of Habib Bourguiba. In 1980, Libyan-supported guerrillas attacked the southern Tunisian mining town of Gafsa; when France offered its support to Tunis, Libyan mobs burned both the French and Tunisian embassies while security forces stood idly by. Following bread riots in Tunisia in January 1984, saboteurs originating in Libya dynamited a pipeline near the Libyan-Tunisian border. In an effort to exacerbate social tensions, this past year, Qadhafi expelled over 30,000 Tunisian

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workers and confiscated their property. In September, when Tunisian newspapers attacked Qadhafi for the expulsions, a Libyan diplomat attempted to mail letter bombs to the critical journalists, but most were intercepted by Tunisian authorities.

Libya is staunchly opposed to the Middle East peace process, and Qadhafi is doing all he can to subvert it. In Lebanon, Libyan arms and money have flowed to different militias and Palestinian groups actively opposed to the government of President Gemayel. Qadhafi has been especially eager to undermine the influence of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat because Qadhafi perceives him as too willing to consider a negotiated settlement with Israel. As a result Qadhafi has thrown his support to radical Palestinian groups--including the Fatah Revolutionary Council led by Abu Nidal--that advocate continued war against Israel. Since 1981 Qadhafi has shipped these groups items as prosaic as uniforms and as powerful as tanks and BM-21 multiple rocket launchers. In 1984 Libyan troops participated in the Syrian-backed assault on Arafat's forces in northern Lebanon.

The Persian Gulf also is an arena for Libyan meddling. Qadhafi has allied himself with Iran in its war against Iraq, and has provided Tehran with T-55 tanks, anti-tank and anti-aircraft artillery, ammunition, and even SCUD rockets. In addition Libya provides arms and money to Kurdish separatists in northern Iraq and to the antigovernment group the "Union of Iraqi Democrats." In 1984 and 1985, Libyan agents attempted to disrupt the Islamic pilgrimage ceremonies in Saudi Arabia; in 1984 entire planeloads of Libyan "pilgrims" were discovered to be carrying arms. Libya continues to enjoy good relations with and has provided support to the National Democratic Front that operates out of Marxist South Yemen against the government of President Salih in North Yemen. Although Libya restored diplomatic relations with Somalia last May, Qadhafi has not severed his relationship with Somali opposition groups he has long supported.

Involvement in Sub-Saharan Africa

Tripoli views Black Africa as a principal arena for forging a group of non-aligned, radical states that will strengthen Libyan influence in international fora and confer upon Qadhafi status as a world leader. Qadhafi's aggressiveness has been strengthened by the propensity of the international community to ignore his often blatant disregard for the sovereignty of small African nations.

Chad, of course, is the most egregious example. In 1973 Qadhafi forcibly annexed the northern portion of Chad known as the Aozou Strip. Throughout the 1970s Libya supported various tribal and guerrilla groups in Chad in a bid to install a pliable regime in N'Djamena. Having failed to achieve this indirectly, in October 1980 the Libyan army invaded Chad and attempted to impose a union between the two countries. The Libyan occupation force withdrew in November 1981, but returned in 1983 when the

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pro-Libyan Chadian leader Goukouni Oueddei was ousted by current President Hissene Habre. Only intervention by French and Zairian armed forces confined the Libyan occupation to the northern half of Chad. French forces were withdrawn in the fall of 1984, but Qadhafi reneged on an agreement reached with President Mitterrand and continues to occupy northern Chad with his army.

The drought-battered countries of the Sahel offer Qadhafi many opportunities for meddling. Qadhafi continues to provide arms and training to the nomadic Tuareg tribesmen in an effort to undermine the governments of Mali and Niger. In 1983 Libyan support was instrumental in bringing Thomas Sankara to power in Burkina Faso (then Upper Volta), a country Qadhafi now refers to as the "second state of the masses."

Qadhafi also is determined to topple President Mobutu of Zaire. Qadhafi is motivated by hostility to Kinshasa's close ties to the West, its recognition of Israel, and its support for Chadian President Habre. Qadhafi also is aware of Zaire's role as a leading producer of cobalt and other strategic minerals. Tripoli provides training in sabotage and small arms to several different guerrilla groups including the National Front for the Liberation of the Congo and the Congolese National Movement. Libyan diplomatic facilities in countries bordering Zaire are centers of support for these groups.

Meddling in Latin America and the Caribbean

Qadhafi's determination to strike at US interests and to spread his philosophy of revolution has led to a more aggressive Libyan posture in Latin America. Although many governments and groups in this region are wary of Qadhafi, some are willing to accept his financial and military support.

Tripoli views Nicaragua as its main base in Central America and accordingly seeks to strengthen the Sandinista dictatorship in Managua. In addition to several hundred million dollars in economic assistance, Qadhafi has provided the Sandinistas with light strike aircraft, helicopters, anti-aircraft guns, SA-7 surface-to-air missiles and launchers, and small arms. At least several dozen Libyan military personnel are in Nicaragua. Libyan support has enhanced the Sandinistas' ability to subvert neighboring states. In addition, Libya provides arms and money to insurgents in Guatemala and El Salvador, as well as the M-19 terrorist group in Colombia. During the past year Libya has provided training, guidance, and funds to a key far-left terrorist group to enable it to expand armed action against the government of Chile.

Libyan agents have been increasingly active among the Caribbean islands, especially since the summer of 1984. The loss of its People's Bureau in Grenada following the collapse of the Bishop government in 1983 forced Tripoli to establish its centers for subversion in other diplomatic posts in the region. Qadhafi

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also has used religion as a cover for intelligence activities in the area, sponsoring Islamic conferences in which the Libyan participants often are intelligence officers or operatives of the Libyan Revolutionary Committees. Leftist leaders from the Dominican Republic, Dominica, Barbados, Antigua, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, the French Departments, and elsewhere have also been invited to Libya for "seminars" and paramilitary training. Particularly worrisome is Libyan urging of leftist politicians to undertake violent action rather than pursue legal means to replace moderate governments in the region.

South and Southeast Asia

As elsewhere, Libyan diplomatic missions in this region provide the infrastructure for Libyan subversion, disbursing funds and arranging for the training of leftists and other dissidents.

In South Asia, Libyan activities are focussed on the Islamic states. No doubt reflecting his dependence on Russian arms, Qadhafi is one of the few Muslim leaders who does not criticize the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Although Libya maintains relations with Pakistan, it has also been involved with the "al-Zulfiqar" terrorist group. Qadhafi in addition has provided training and money to opponents of President Ershad of Bangladesh.

In Southeast Asia, Qadhafi concentrates on Muslim minorities. For some time he has provided paramilitary training to the small Muslim insurgency in southern Thailand. In the Philippines, Libya continues to send assistance to the Muslim Moro separatists on Mindanao despite a 1976 agreement with Manila to cease such aid. New Caledonia, a French possession in the South Pacific, has no appreciable Muslim population, but Libya has nevertheless provided military training and some funding to the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front, the group responsible for most of the pro-independence violence on the island. Libyan intelligence operatives are known to be active on other islands in Oceania.

The Erosion of International Norms

Qadhafi's subversion is not confined to those countries that are the direct object of his ambitions. The international community as a whole suffers from Qadhafi's disrespect for international norms of behavior and accepted practice. Qadhafi has abused diplomatic privilege for terrorist purposes, reneged on international agreements, and blatantly used violence against opponents. In addition, Qadhafi's support of terrorism, regardless of his direct operational involvement in a given terrorist act, helps legitimize terrorism as an acceptable political activity.

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Chronology of Libyan Troublemaking 1979-851985

December	Italy/Austria	Passports used by Abu Nidal terrorists in attack on El Al counter provided by Libya.
November	Malta:	Hijacking of Egyptair airliner by Abu Nidal supporters may have involved Libyan support.
October	Greece	Libyan merchant wounded in Athens by two gunmen the victim had left Libya five years earlier.
September	Tunisia	Libyan diplomat smuggles about 100 letter bombs addressed to journalists into Tunisia. Several explode injuring two postal workers and causing Tunisia to sever diplomatic relations.
May	United States:	A Libyan diplomat at the United Nations was declared persona non grata, and 16 non-official Libyans were subpoenaed to appear before a United States grand jury in connection with a plot to kill dissidents in several different states.
April	West Germany:	Moroccan citizen resident in the FRG since 1960 killed by Libyan, who was arrested at the scene.
	West Germany:	Anti-Qadhafi Libyan student killed in Bonn by Libyan gunman who was arrested. The assassin also wounded two German passersby, one seriously. The victim had been a target of the Libyan regime for at least two years.
	Cyprus:	Libyan businessman assassinated in downtown Nicosia by an unidentified gunman. The victim was the director of an offshore holding company and was believed to be an opponent of the Libyan regime.
March	Italy:	Libyan jeweler murdered in his shop in Rome. A silencer-equipped pistol was left at the scene by the assassin.
February	Austria:	Former Libyan Ambassador to Austria severely wounded by two shots fired from a car outside his home in Vienna. The victim had supported Qadhafi's seizure of power in 1969, but he quit his post in disgust at the regime in 1980.

1984

November	Egypt:	President Mubarak announces that four assassins sent to Egypt by Libya to kill former Libyan Prime Minister Bakoush had been arrested and forced to send fake pictures to the Libyan Embassy in Malta showing Bakoush apparently dead. Official Libyan press sources then claimed Bakoush had been executed by suicide squads sent abroad "to liquidate enemies of the revolution."
September	Italy:	A Libyan exile was found gagged and strangled in a hotel in Rome. The victim had been the subject of Libyan requests for deportation to Libya.
	Chad:	Chadians discover plot to assassinate President Habre with an attache case bomb. Evidence of the plot, including photographs of the bomb, was provided to the United Nations the following February when Chad lodged a complaint against Libya.
August	United Kingdom:	One of six Libyans awaiting trial for bomb attacks in London in March, 1983 found shot to death in a London apartment. The victim may have been silenced by the Libyan government.
	Belgium:	A bomb wrecks a car parked in front of the Zairian Embassy in Brussels.
July	Belgium:	A bomb exploded in the Brussels office of Air Zaire.
	Red Sea:	Libya mined the Red Sea, damaging 18 merchant ships of varying nationalities.
	Greece:	Two Libyan students found murdered in their apartment in a crime reminiscent of Libyan killings of anti-Qadhafi students in 1980 and 1981. The two were beaten, strangled, and gagged before being shot twice in the back.
June	Greece:	Anti-Qadhafi Libyan editor of an Arab newspaper in Athens killed by two men on a motorbike.
	Greece:	A Libyan-born citizen known to distribute anti-Qadhafi literature at his store shot by a Libyan employee of Libyan Arab Airlines.
May	Libya:	Jana, the official Libyan news agency, announces "the Libyan masses have decided to form suicide commandos to chase traitors and stray dogs wherever they are and liquidate them physically."

April	United Kingdom:	A bomb hidden in an unclaimed suitcase probably unloaded from a Libyan airliner explodes at London's Heathrow Airport, injuring 25.
	Libya:	A number of British subjects in Libya arrested on trumped-up charges as hostages in order to pressure British government during siege of Libyan People's Bureau in London.
	United Kingdom:	British policewoman killed and 11 anti-Qadhafi demonstrators wounded by gunfire from London Libyan People's Bureau. After a siege, British authorities found weapons and spent shell casings in the vacated embassy.
March	United Kingdom:	Four bombs explode in London and Manchester near homes of Libyan exiles or at businesses frequented by them. Over 25 people injured. Three other bombs defused. Nine Libyan suspects arrested.
	Sudan:	One Libyan TU-22 bomber drops bombs on Omdurman, Sudan, site of a radio transmitter used by anti-Qadhafi oppositionists.
February	Libya:	Following annual Libyan General People's Congress, the Libyan Revolutionary Committees announce that all Libyan exiles must return to Libya or face "the death penalty."
	Libya:	Libyan authorities take no action while a mob burned the Jordanian Embassy in Tripoli.
	Congo:	Chadian dissidents ready to negotiate with Government of Chad threatened in Brazzaville, Congo.
<u>1983</u>		
August	Upper Volta:	Libya gave material support to coup in Upper Volta.
July	Chad:	Libya invaded Chad for the second time. Occupation continues into 1985.
June	West Germany:	Eight Libyan students in West Germany, all members of an anti-Qadhafi group, complain Libyan agents are harassing and threatening them.
February	Libya:	Libyan General People's Congress warn all Libyans in exile to return home or face the "anger of the Libyan people."

1982

No incidents known.

1981

November	Sudan:	Several bombs explode near government installations in Khartoum.
October	Sudan:	Planned assassination of visiting Chadian official, Hussein Habre, failed when those sent to conduct the operation surrendered.
	Egypt:	Two bombs explode in luggage being unloaded from a plane coming from Libya via Malta.
August	Libya:	Two Libyan SU-22s that fired at US Navy F-14s over Gulf of Sidra shot down.
July	United States:	Anti-Qadhafi Libyan student killed Ogden, Utah.
June	Sudan:	Bomb explodes in front of Chadian Embassy in Khartoum.
February	Italy:	Libyan gunmen open fire on passengers arriving at Rome's airport on a flight from Algiers. Prominent anti-Qadhafi exile was the target.

1980

November	United Kingdom:	Anti-Qadhafi Libyan student brutally murdered in London.
	United Kingdom:	Two children of an anti-Qadhafi Libyan poisoned by eating peanuts containing thalium.
October	Chad:	Libyan forces occupied Chad. Qadhafi attempted to force a Libya-Chad union.
	Gambia:	Libyan subversion in Gambia caused break in relations. Senegalese troops intervene under a mutual defense treaty.
June	Italy:	Anti-Qadhafi exile wounded in Rome.
	Italy:	Libyan exile killed in Milan within hours after expiration of a deadline set by Qadhafi for all Libyan exiles to return home.
May	Italy:	Libyan exile shot at in Rome. The arrested Libyan gunman says he was sent by Libya "to kill an enemy of the people."

	Greece:	Libyan exile killed in Athens. His throat was slit.
	Italy:	Libyan businessman found strangled to death in Rome.
	West Germany:	Libyan exile gunned down in Bonn.
	Italy:	Libyan exile killed in Rome by two gunshots to the head.
April	United Kingdom:	Libyan lawyer shot and killed in London.
	Italy:	Well known Libyan businessman killed. The arrested assassin said he was an enemy of Colonel Qadhafi.
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February	Libya:	Tunisian and French Embassies in Tripoli sacked and burned by a mob while Libyan authorities took no action.
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December	Libya:	An estimated 2000 Libyans set fire to the US Embassy in Tripoli. The Libyan authorities did not respond to requests by the Embassy for protection.
November	West Germany:	Two Libyans arrested with three suspected Palestinians for an unspecified terrorist operation.

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Libya is trying to improve ties with other regional terrorist groups, especially the Hizballah in Lebanon, which specializes in attacks against the United States, France and Iraq. Qadhafi would also like closer links to Tehran's terrorist effort. He announced a "strategic alliance" with Iran last summer, which he probably plans to use as a foundation for joint operational planning for terrorist attacks against various regional foes. He also supports Egyptian and Tunisian dissidents.

Libya also provided refuge for notorious international terrorist Carlos, who headed a network of terrorists for hire. His group was responsible for numerous vicious attacks including the hostage-taking of OPEC oil ministers in Vienna in 1975.

Libyan Terrorism Against the United States

During the past 18 months, Qadhafi has made several public references to expanding his terrorism campaign to cover US targets. In a June 1984 speech, for example, he told his Libyan audience that "we are capable of exporting terrorism to the heart of America." During a speech last September observing the 16th anniversary of his takeover, Qadhafi remarked that "we have the right to fight America, and we have the right to export terrorism to them..." Qadhafi recently threatened in a press conference on 2 January to "pursue US citizens in their country and streets" if the United States takes action in response to Libya's alleged involvement in the Rome and Vienna terrorist attacks.

There have been several instances over the years of Libyan-sponsored attacks against US interest. In addition to the sacking of our Embassy in Tripoli in 1979, Sudanese authorities uncovered a Libyan plot to blow up the American Embassy Club in Khartoum by planting explosives in stereo speakers. US personnel also have been on Qadhafi's target list, as indicated by the plan in 1977 to assassinate our Ambassador in Khartoum.

Radicalism in the Arab World

Qadhafi's foremost ambition is to dominate and unite the Arab World. He frequently compares himself to Garibaldi or Bismarck and has justified his use of violence against moderate Arab regimes as necessary to achieve Arab unity.

Egypt, because of its peace treaty with Israel, is a special target. Libyan agents have been active in Egypt since the 1970s, and Qadhafi has offered support to various opponents of the Egyptian government. In October 1981, immediately after President Sadat was assassinated, Qadhafi called on Egyptians to overthrow their government; within a week at Cairo International Airport two bombs exploded that had been concealed in luggage unloaded from a flight originating in Tripoli.

More recently Qadhafi has sought to embarrass the government of President Mubarak and under mine the Egyptian economy. A Libyan ship captained by a senior Libyan naval commando laid mines in the Red Sea and Gulf of Suez that damaged 18 merchant

ships in July and August 1984. In May 1985 the Egyptians thwarted a plot by radical Palestinians backed by Libya to destroy the US Embassy in Cairo with a truck bomb. Last summer Qadhafi expelled over 10,000 Egyptian workers in Libya--confiscating their savings and most of their belongings--in what was in part an effort to place a greater burden on the strained Egyptian economy. Also during 1985, Cairo captured several teams of Libyan-supported Egyptian dissidents who reported that their plan was to destabilize the Mubarak government through sabotage and inciting civil unrest.

Sudan also is a priority target. Qadhafi has long offered training and support to Sudanese dissidents and sponsored acts of sabotage against the government of former President Nimeiri. He was a major source of arms and money for southern Sudanese rebels that began a guerrilla war against the central government two years ago. In February 1983 the Sudanese, with Egyptian assistance, thwarted a Libyan-sponsored coup attempt, and in March 1984 a Libyan TU-22 bombed Omdurman, Sudan in a failed attempt to destroy a radio station there that broadcast Sudanese condemnations of Qadhafi's policies.

Since Nimeiri's fall from power Qadhafi has exploited the resumption of diplomatic ties with Sudan to build a network for subversion inimical to Sudan's efforts to establish a parliamentary democracy. A number of known Libyan terrorists have been assigned to the Libyan People's Bureau (Embassy) or airline office in Khartoum. Qadhafi also has provided arms, funding, training and probably direction to the Sudanese Revolutionary Committees, a small group in Sudan dedicated to establishing a government on the Libyan model in Sudan. In May, a planeload of these dissidents arrived in Khartoum armed with assault rifles.

Qadhafi also is working to expand his influence in the countries of the Arab Maghreb. Qadhafi refuses to negotiate with Algeria to determine the correct location of the Libyan-Algerian border, which he disdains as a colonial creation. Perhaps angered over President Bendjedid's moderation, Qadhafi reportedly provides money to Algerian dissidents such as Ahmed Ben Bella.

In Tunisia, Qadhafi has long sought to bring down the pro-Western government of Habib Bourguiba. In 1980, Libyan-supported guerrillas attacked the southern Tunisian mining town of Gafsa; when France offered its support to Tunis, Libyan mobs burned both the French and Tunisian embassies while security forces stood idly by. Following bread riots in Tunisia in January 1984 saboteurs originating in Libya dynamited a pipeline near the Libyan-Tunisian border. In an effort to exacerbate social tensions, this past year, Qadhafi expelled over 30,000 Tunisian workers and confiscated their property. In September, when Tunisian newspapers attacked Qadhafi for the expulsions, a Libyan diplomat attempted to mail letter bombs to the critical journalists. Several exploded, wounding two postal workers and

causing Tunis to sever diplomatic relations.

Libya is staunchly opposed to the Middle East peace process, and Qadhafi is doing all he can to subvert it. In Lebanon, Libyan arms and money have flowed to different militias and Palestinian groups actively opposed to the government of President Gemayel. Qadhafi has been especially eager to undermine the influence of PLU Chairman Yasser Arafat because Qadhafi perceives him as too willing to consider a negotiated settlement with Israel. As a result Qadhafi has thrown his support to radical Palestinian groups--including the Fatah Revolutionary Council led by Abu Nidal--that advocate continued war against Israel. Since 1981 Qadhafi has shipped these groups items as prosaic as uniforms and as powerful as tanks and BM-21 multiple rocket launchers. In 1984 Libyan troops participated in the Syrian-backed assault on Arafat's forces in northern Lebanon.

The Persian Gulf also is an arena for Libyan meddling. Qadhafi has allied himself with Iran in its war against Iraq, and has provided Tehran with T-55 tanks, anti-tank and anti-aircraft artillery, ammunition, and even SCUD rockets. In addition Libya provides arms and money to Kurdish separatists in northern Iraq and to the antigovernment group the "Union of Iraqi Democrats." In 1984 and 1985, Libyan agents attempted to disrupt the Islamic pilgrimages ceremonies in Saudi Arabia; in 1984 entire planeloads of Libyan "pilgrims" were discovered to be carrying arms. Libya continues to enjoy good relations with and has provided support to the National Democratic Front that operates out of Marxist South Yemen against the government of President Salih in North Yemen. Although Libya restored diplomatic relations with Somalia last May, Qadhafi has not severed his relationship with Somali opposition groups he has long supported.

Involvement in Sub-Saharan Africa

Tripoli views Black Africa as a principal arena for forging a group of non-aligned, radical states that will strengthen Libyan influence in international fora and confer upon Qadhafi status as a world leader. Qadhafi's aggressiveness has been strengthened by the propensity of the international community to ignore his often blatant disregard for the sovereignty of small African nations.

Chad, of course, is the most egregious example. In 1973 Qadhafi forcibly annexed the northern portion of Chad known as the Aozou Strip. Throughout the 1970s Libya supported various tribal and guerrilla groups in Chad in a bid to install a pliable regime in N'Djamena. Having failed to achieve this indirectly, in October 1980 the Libyan army invaded Chad and attempted to impose a union between the two countries. The Libyan occupation force withdrew in November 1981, but returned in 1983 when the pro-Libyan Chadian leader Goukouni Oueddei was ousted by current President Hissene Habre. Only intervention by French and Zairian armed forces confined the Libyan occupation to the northern half of Chad. French forces were withdrawn in the fall of 1984, but Qadhafi reneged on an agreement reached with President Mitterrand

and continues to occupy northern Chad with his army.

The drought-battered countries of the Sahel offer Qadhafi many opportunities for meddling. Qadhafi continues to provide arms and training to the nomadic Tuareg tribesmen in an effort to undermine the governments of Mali and Niger. In 1983 Libyan support was instrumental in bringing Thomas Sankara to power in Burkina Faso (then Upper Volta), a country Qadhafi now refers to as the "second state of the masses."

Qadhafi also is determined to topple President Mobutu of Zaire. Qadhafi is motivated by hostility to Kinshasa's close ties to the West, its recognition of Israel, and its support for Chadian President Habre. Qadhafi also is aware of Zaire's role as a leading producer of cobalt and other strategic minerals. Tripoli provides training in sabotage and small arms to several different guerrilla groups including the National Front for the Liberation of the Congo and the Congolese National Movement. Libyan diplomatic facilities in countries bordering Zaire are centers of support for these groups.

Meddling in Latin America and the Caribbean

Qadhafi's determination to strike at US interests and to spread his philosophy of revolution has led to a more aggressive Libyan posture in Latin America. Although many governments and groups in this region are wary of Qadhafi, some are willing to accept his financial and military support.

Tripoli views Nicaragua as its main base in Central America and accordingly seeks to strengthen the Sandinista dictatorship in Managua. In addition to several hundred million dollars in economic assistance, Qadhafi has provided the Sandinistas with light strike aircraft, helicopters, anti-aircraft guns, SA-7 surface-to-air missiles and launchers, and small arms. At least several dozen Libyan military personnel are in Nicaragua. Libyan support has enhanced the Sandinistas' ability to subvert neighboring states. In addition, Libya provides arms and money to insurgents in Guatemala and El Salvador, as well as the 4-19 terrorist group in Colombia. During the past year Libya has provided training, guidance, and funds to a key far-left terrorist group to enable it to expand armed action against the government of Chile.

Libyan agents have been increasingly active among the Caribbean islands, especially since the summer of 1984. The loss of its People's Bureau in Grenada following the collapse of the Bishop government in 1983 forced Tripoli to establish its centers for subversion in other diplomatic posts in the region. Qadhafi also has used religion as a cover for intelligence activities in the area, sponsoring Islamic conferences in which the Libyan participants often are intelligence officers or operatives of the Libyan Revolutionary Committees. Leftist leaders from the Dominican Republic, Dominica, Barbados, Antigua, St. Vincent, St.

Lucia, the French Departments, and elsewhere have also been invited to Libya for "seminars" and paramilitary training. Particularly worrisome is Libyan urging of leftist politicians to undertake violent action rather than pursue legal means to replace moderate governments in the region.

South and Southeast Asia

As elsewhere, Libyan diplomatic missions in this region provide the infrastructure for Libyan subversion, disbursing funds and arranging for the training of leftists and other dissidents.

In South Asia, Libyan activities are focussed on the Islamic states. No doubt reflecting his dependence on Russian arms, Qadhafi is one of the few Muslim leaders who does not criticize the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Although Libya maintains relations with Pakistan, it has also been involved with the "al-Zulfiqar" terrorist group. Qadhafi in addition has provided training and money to opponents of President Ershad of Bangladesh.

In Southeast Asia, Qadhafi concentrates on Muslim minorities. For some time he has provided paramilitary training to the small Muslim insurgency in southern Thailand. In the Philippines, Libya continues to send assistance to the Muslim Moro separatists on Mindanao despite a 1976 agreement with Manila to cease such aid. New Caledonia, a French possession in the South Pacific, has no appreciable Muslim population, but Libya has nevertheless provided military training and some funding to the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front, the group responsible for most of the pro-independence violence on the island. Libyan intelligence operatives are known to be active on other islands in Oceania.

The Erosion of International Norms

Qadhafi's subversion is not confined to those countries that are the direct object of his ambitions. The international community as whole suffers from Qadhafi's disrespect for international norms of behavior and accepted practice. Qadhafi has abused diplomatic privilege for terrorist purposes, reneged on international agreements, and blatantly used violence against opponents. In addition, Qadhafi's support of terrorism, regardless of his direct operational involvement in a given terrorist act, helps legitimize terrorism as an acceptable political activity.

Chronology of Libyan Support for Terrorism 1980-851985

December	Italy/Austria:	Passports used by Abu Nidal terrorists in attack on El Al counter provided by Libya.
November	Malta:	Hijacking of Egyptair airliner by Abu Nidal supporters may have involved Libyan support.
October	Greece:	Libyan merchant wounded in Athens by two gunmen the victim had left Libya five years earlier.
September	Tunisia:	Libyan diplomat smuggles about 100 letter bombs addressed to journalists into Tunisia. Several explode injuring two postal workers and causing Tunisia to sever diplomatic relations.
May	United States:	A Libyan diplomat at the United Nations was declared persona non grata, and 16 non-official Libyans were subpoenaed to appear before a United States grand jury in connection with a plot to kill dissidents in several different states.
April	West Germany:	Moroccan citizen resident in the FRG since 1960 killed by Libyan, who was arrested at the scene.
	West Germany:	Anti-Qadhafi Libyan student killed in Bonn by Libyan gunman who was arrested. The assassin also wounded two German passersby, one seriously. The victim had been a target of the Libyan regime for at least two years.
	Cyprus:	Libyan businessman assassinated in downtown Nicosia by an unidentified gunman. The victim was the director of an offshore holding company and was believed to be an opponent of the Libyan regime.
March	Italy:	Libyan jeweler murdered in his shop in Rome. A silencer-equipped pistol was left at the scene by the assassin.
February	Austria:	Former Libyan Ambassador to Austria severely wounded by two shots fired from a car outside his home in Vienna. The victim had supported Qadhafi's seizure of power in 1969, but he quit his post in disgust at the regime in 1980.

1984

November	Egypt:	President Mubarak announces that four assassins sent to Egypt by Libya to kill former Libyan Prime Minister Bakoush had been arrested and forced to send fake pictures to the Libyan Embassy in Malta showing Bakoush apparently dead. Official Libyan press sources then claimed Bakoush had been executed by suicide squads sent abroad "to liquidate enemies of the revolution."
September	Italy:	A Libyan exile was found gagged and strangled in a hotel in Rome. The victim had been the subject of Libyan requests for deportation to Libya.
	Chad:	Chadians discover plot to assassinate President Habre with an attache case bomb. Evidence of the plot, including photographs of the bomb, was provided to the United Nations the following February when Chad lodged a complaint against Libya.
August	United Kingdom:	One of six Libyans awaiting trial for bomb attacks in London in March, 1983 found shot to death in a London apartment. The victim may have been silenced by the Libyan government.
	Belgium:	A bomb wrecks a car parked in front of the Zairian Embassy in Brussels.
July	Belgium:	A bomb exploded in the Brussels office of Air Zaire.
	Red Sea:	Libya mined the Red Sea, damaging 18 merchant ships of varying nationalities.
	Greece:	Two Libyan students found murdered in their apartment in a crime reminiscent of Libyan killings of anti-Qadhafi students in 1980 and 1981. The two were beaten, strangled, and gagged before being shot twice in the back.
June	Greece:	Anti-Qadhafi Libyan editor of an Arab newspaper in Athens killed by two men on a motorbike.
	Greece:	A Libyan-born citizen known to distribute anti-Qadhafi literature at his store shot by a Libyan employee of Libyan Arab Airlines.
May	Libya:	Jana, the official Libyan news agency, announces "the Libyan masses have decided to form suicide commandos to chase traitors and stray dogs wherever they are and liquidate them physically."

April	United Kingdom:	A bomb hidden in an unclaimed suitcase probably unloaded from a Libyan airliner explodes at London's Heathrow Airport, injuring 25.
	Libya:	A number of British subjects in Libya arrested on trumped-up charges as hostages in order to pressure British government during siege of Libyan People's Bureau in London.
	United Kingdom:	British policewoman killed and 11 anti-Qadhafi demonstrators wounded by gunfire from London Libyan People's Bureau. After a siege, British authorities found weapons and spent shell casings in the vacated embassy.
March	United Kingdom:	Four bombs explode in London and Manchester near homes of Libyan exiles or at businesses frequented by them. Over 25 people injured. Three other bombs defused. Nine Libyan suspects arrested.
	Sudan:	One Libyan TU-22 bomber drops bombs on Omdurman, Sudan, site of a radio transmitter used by anti-Qadhafi oppositionists.
February	Libya:	Following annual Libyan General People's Congress, the Libyan Revolutionary Committees announce that all Libyan exiles must return to Libya or face "the death penalty."
	Libya:	Libyan authorities take no action while a mob burned the Jordanian Embassy in Tripoli.
	Congo:	Chadian dissidents ready to negotiate with Government of Chad threatened in Brazzaville, Congo.
<u>1983</u>		
August	Upper Volta:	Libya gave material support to coup in Upper Volta.
July	Chad:	Libya invaded Chad for the second time. Occupation continues into 1985.
June	West Germany:	Eight Libyan students in West Germany, all members of an anti-Qadhafi group, complain Libyan agents are harassing and threatening them.
February	Libya:	Libyan General People's Congress warns all Libyans in exile to return home or face the "anger of the Libyan people."

1982

No incidents known.

1981

November	Sudan:	Several bombs explode near government installations in Khartoum.
October	Sudan:	Planned assassination of visiting Chadian official, Hussein Habre, failed when those sent to conduct the operation surrendered.
	Egypt:	Two bombs explode in luggage being unloaded from a plane coming from Libya via Malta.
August	Libya:	Two Libyan SU-22s that fired at US Navy F-14s over Gulf of Sidra shot down.
July	United States:	Anti-Qadhafi Libyan student killed Ogden, Utah.
June	Sudan:	Bomb explodes in front of Chadian Embassy in Khartoum.
February	Italy:	Libyan gunmen open fire on passengers arriving at Rome's airport on a flight from Algiers. Prominent anti-Qadhafi exile was the target.

1980

November	United Kingdom:	Anti-Qadhafi Libyan student brutally murdered in London.
	United Kingdom:	Two children of an anti-Qadhafi Libyan poisoned by eating peanuts containing thalium.
October	Chad:	Libyan forces occupied Chad. Qadhafi attempted to force a Libya-Chad union.
	Gambia:	Libyan subversion in Gambia caused break in relations. Senegalese troops intervene under a mutual defense treaty.
June	Italy:	Anti-Qadhafi exile wounded in Rome.
	Italy:	Libyan exile killed in Milan within hours after expiration of a deadline set by Qadhafi for all Libyan exiles to return home.
May	Italy:	Libyan exile shot at in Rome. The arrested Libyan gunman says he was sent by Libya "to kill an enemy of the people."

	Greece:	Libyan exile killed in Athens. His throat was slit.
	Italy:	Libyan businessman found strangled to death in Rome.
	West Germany:	Libyan exile gunned down in Bonn.
	Italy:	Libyan exile killed in Rome by two gunshots to the head.
April	United Kingdom:	Libyan lawyer shot and killed in London.
	Italy:	Well known Libyan businessman killed. The arrested assassin said he was an enemy of Colonel Qadhafi.
	United Kingdom:	Two gunmen kill an anti-Qadhafi Libyan journalist.
February	Libya:	Tunisian and French Embassies in Tripoli sacked and burned by a mob while Libyan authorities took no action.
<u>1979</u>		
December	Libya:	An estimated 2000 Libyans set fire to the US Embassy in Tripoli. The Libyan authorities did not respond to requests by the Embassy for protection.
November	West Germany:	Two Libyans arrested with three suspected Palestinians for an unspecified terrorist operation.