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CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE - "MEDIA MONITORING"

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BBC MONITORING
REPORT

TO NEW ST11

FROM THE EDITOR

29 September 1986

11- OCT 1986

INDEXED

The Rt Hon Norman Tebbit MP
Chairman of the Conservative Party
Conservative Central Office
32 Smith Square
London SW1

Dear Norman,

I am writing to you about a matter which is giving increasing concern to us here at ITN. It is no secret that the BBC want to start a World Television News Service as a video version of their English-language news service from Bush House. As we understand it, it would take the form of about four half-hour news programmes at different times of the day, fed up to the satellite and available free to anybody who wants to pay for the down-leg of the satellite.

Our concern centres on the fact that, in addition to use of Licence Fee money, the BBC is counting on major funding from the Foreign Office on the lines of the existing subvention to the External Services from Bush House. We understand that a BBC report recommending this system is with the Foreign Secretary right now.

There are several reasons why ITN would object to a Government-aided BBC TV World Service on these lines.

1. If taxpayers' money exists for such a purpose, should it not be open for ITN to tender?
2. ITN, together with ABC News of America and the National Nine Network of Australia, owns an international news video agency called Worldwide Television News (WTN), which serves broadcasters in over 100 countries throughout the world with an international news service several times a day. (The Prime Minister opened WTN's new headquarters in Foley Street in December 1983). The WTN turns over 20 million dollars a year. We are concerned about the effect on that business if a new BBC video service, subsidised by the British taxpayer, were to make its product available virtually free.

As you know, ITN has its own aspirations to provide a trans-frontier news service in English. Our first step in that direction will be taken in about three months' time when we shall supply a half-hour news at 2200 on the new Superchannel cable service to Europe.

ITN also envisages a major news presence for itself in the English-speaking world built upon the services it will provide to the UK DBS service in three years' time. Unfair competition from the BBC would jeopardise such aspirations.

Though we would like to tender for a world service if Government finance is to be made available, we see no reason why public money should be called upon at all. Such a service should be funded by advertising and by programme sales. Indeed, a British-originated news service of this kind could be an attractive platform for advertising British exports.

I wrote to Sir Geoffrey Howe earlier this year expressing these views, and he has assured me that no policy has yet been formulated about funding such a BBC programme.

However, the BBC is busy selling their new product worldwide so I thought you might like to be briefed on how the idea is developing, which is the reason for this letter.

Yours ever,
David

David Nicholas

CPB 2

1. MR INGHAM

A television version of the
BBC's World Service has long
been a gleam in the BBC's eye.

John 17/10

2. PRIME MINISTER

The Chairman has asked me to draw to your attention
the letter he has received from David Nicholas of ITN.

I highlighted the relevant points.

SP

Please refer to Nigel Wicks.
This must be discussed
with the colleagues. I agree
with David Nicholas
ms

STEPHEN SHERBOURNE
17.10.86



Conservative Central Office

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From:
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY
Rt. Hon. Norman Tebbit MP

30 October 1986

I enclose an analysis which Conservative Central Office has made of BBC TV's news coverage of the US raid on Libya in April of this year.

It raises some very serious questions as to the way in which the BBC reports the news. For our analysis, we have taken as a yardstick the BBC's own public commitment to impartiality and balance. In the light of our evidence you may feel that the BBC news reporting, in this instance at least, fell far short of the high standards which the Corporation espouses. Indeed you may conclude that far from being balanced, fair and impartial, the coverage was a mixture of news, views, speculation, error and uncritical carriage of Libyan propaganda which does serious damage to the reputation of the BBC.

From my many years of association with the BBC, I know that most of your staff are deeply proud of their association with the best known broadcasting operation in the world. I also know that many of them feel that the BBC has lost its way. Perhaps the news coverage of the Libyan attack is a reflection of this lack of direction. I have no way of knowing whether the coverage was affected by bias, incompetence, low professional standards or simple error - although I am sure you will have your own opinion on that. However, I am sure that it is neither in the interests of the Government, the political parties, the taxpayers, the BBC, or its employees, that such criticism is capable of being made.

We have tried to argue our analysis in detail. I expect that you too will make your own detailed analysis. However, that would miss the point I am making, which is to question whether an increasingly subjective and confrontational style of BBC news coverage is appropriate for a public service broadcasting system, funded by the taxpayer, required to emphasise impartiality, objectivity and factual reporting. I hope you will agree that this analysis and criticism which the BBC received from various other quarters recently, makes it appropriate for you to undertake a thorough reappraisal of the managerial and editorial standards which are currently in operation for your TV news coverage.

Given the considerable public interest in this issue, I intend to issue copies of this letter and its attachments to the press.

The Rt. Hon. Norman Tebbit, MP.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Barnett
Acting Chairman,
BBC Board of Governors,
Broadcasting House,
London W1.

cc. Marmaduke James Hussey, Esq.
Chairman - Designate
Alasdair Milne, Esq.
Director-General

CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE - MEDIA MONITORING

INTRODUCTION

The BBC has a worldwide reputation other broadcasters envy. Many of its programmes and most of its workers strive to achieve the highest standards of professionalism in broadcasting.

However, in recent months Conservative Central Office has received a growing wave of correspondence and telephone calls complaining about various aspects of BBC activity. Although media monitoring is not a mainstream CCO activity, the weight of complaint was such that we felt it necessary to investigate at least some of these complaints in depth and in detail. In July we announced we would be conducting a media monitoring exercise.

The basis of our analysis was the BBC's own constitutional commitment to balance and impartiality. Its own Constitution requires the BBC "to refrain from expressing its own opinion on current affairs or on matters of public policy", and a BBC Board Resolution "recognises the BBC's duty to treat controversial subjects with due impartiality".

In some cases, the BBC has clearly failed to meet the standards it

has set for itself. We do not have the resources to investigate all complaints - indeed many in our view are unjustified. Nonetheless, we feel the BBC should be made aware of various disturbing aspects of one particular news story. This is the BBC TV coverage of the US strike against Libya earlier this year about which we have received a particularly high level of viewers' complaints.

We do not expect governments to be above criticism, or bad news to be suppressed. But broadcast journalism is not the same as newspaper journalism. Stories should not be given a particular "flavour" which reflects editorial policy. Viewers should not be led to an opinion but rather allowed to form their own opinions on the basis of the facts presented. We stand by the terms of the BBC's Constitution. We applaud the view of the late Chairman, Stuart Young, who said: "Above all, our viewers and listeners expect our journalism to be balanced, fair and impartial".
(Institute of Journalists, Blackpool, September 1983).

THE AMERICAN RAID ON LIBYA

A comparative analysis of its treatment on the BBC Nine O'Clock News and ITN's News at Ten:

Tuesday 15th April 1986

The American bombing raid on Tripoli on 15th April 1986 was one of those events open to two quite opposite interpretations.

To the Libyans and to the British Opposition parties, it was a vicious and illegal attack by a militaristic super-power on a small nation, killing civilians and children with callous disregard for human life. On this interpretation Britain should have refused to allow the USA to use British bases for the raid. To the Americans and the British government, it was a legitimate and necessary defensive action against a military dictator who was using the resources of his state to carry out acts of barbarous terrorism against innocent people in foreign countries. On this interpretation Britain was right to let America use the bases.

Various predictions of the likely consequences of this action would tend to strengthen or weaken support for the two sides. It was in Libya's interests to suggest that the raid would result in a fundamental realignment of the Arab sympathies behind Libya, that America would be isolated by world opinion, and that Mrs Thatcher had laid Britain open to painful and violent reprisals for its co-operation.

By contrast, it was in the interests of America and Britain that the diplomatic consequences of the raid would be ephemeral and not fundamental, that their action would receive understanding and

acquiescence if not vocal support from other nations, and that Libyan state terrorism would itself become more isolated and undermined.

All of these potential consequences were, in the immediate aftermath of the raid, conjectural and incapable of proof. Responsible broadcasters would therefore have treated these matters with the greatest caution. The duty of the television news organisations in these difficult and delicate journalistic circumstances is to report all the most significant available facts and reflect the two contrasting attitudes. It is submitted that a comparison of the two bulletins for Tuesday evening 15th April shows that "News at Ten" was able to preserve an impartial editorial stance, while the BBC took a number of editorial and journalistic decisions the effect of which was to enlist the sympathy of the audience for the Libyans and to antagonise them towards the Americans. This in turn also encouraged agreement with the Opposition and condemnation of the Government.

In any news story it is important to remember that the early or introductory part of the report sets the context of what follows and conditions the audience's response, rather like the headlines in a newspaper story. In this case it tells the audience whether the story is about unjustifiable aggression, or legitimate self-defence, or an international crisis in which one side says the former and

the other the latter. It would be generally accepted that the third course is the only proper one for a British television news service. In our view this analysis demonstrates that this course was followed by ITN, but not by BBC News.

Look first at the headlines:

ITN: "Mr Gorbachov tells Mr Reagan 'Our Foreign Ministers can't meet now'. The bombs meant for terrorists kill Colonel Gadaffi's daughter. President Reagan says 'If necessary we will do it again'. Mrs Thatcher - 'I agreed last week'. Mr Kinnock - 'It will provoke'. The police are busy with demonstrators in Downing Street tonight."

BBC: "Worldwide condemnation of the American air strike on Libya. Children are casualties - three from Gadaffi's own family. Mrs Thatcher under fire in the Commons defends her decision to allow the use of British bases.. Tonight she shows her critics the proof of Libyan terrorism."

The contrast is clear. The BBC gave particular emphasis to the Libyan case. The BBC made the principal feature of its news the "worldwide condemnation" of America - a subjective and emotive description which is repeated but never substantiated throughout the broadcast.

The BBC then turned to the civilian casualties of the raid - thus giving emphasis to one of Libya's major propaganda points - before

describing Mrs Thatcher as being "under fire in the Commons". Only in the last breath did the BBC make any reference to "Libyan terrorism", in a series of headlines which otherwise tended to support the pro-Libyan argument.

In our view ITN chose a very different approach, which emphasised hard fact. It chose to lead the story with a factual report of the diplomatic repercussions between the superpowers, rather than the vague phrases such as "worldwide condemnation" employed by the BBC. ITN did not attempt to hide the civilian casualties, but chose also to report that these were caused by "bombs meant for terrorists". And neither did it shirk reporting domestic criticism of Mrs Thatcher's action, but reported the differing views in an entirely factual fashion. Whereas for the BBC Mrs Thatcher was "under fire", ITN left Mrs Thatcher and other politicians to speak for themselves. There can be little doubt that ITN succeeded far better than the BBC in introducing the news in a balanced and impartial fashion. They were scrupulous in not attempting to lead the viewer either to a pro-American or pro-Libyan opinion.

In the section following the headlines, the ITN report stuck firmly to journalistic facts: the cancelled meeting, the Libyan casualties, the Prime Minister's Commons Statement, the Opposition criticism.

But the BBC went straight into alarmist hyperbole: "The world is waiting to see what Colonel Gadaffi is going to do in response ...". It was a phrase which raised the general level of anxiety while doing nothing to inform the viewer of the facts, and which also established one of the main strands in the anti-American argument, that the attack would provoke more violence. It was a line which was to dominate and distort much of the final part of their broadcast.

The BBC then chose a particularly damaging phrase to describe America's response, "in Washington the mood is one of jubilation", which, when sandwiched between phrases such as "children are casualties" and "causing deaths and injuries to men, women and children as they slept in their homes", suggested extreme callousness.

It also devoted far more of the opening paragraph than ITN did to words and phrases designed to arouse anti-American emotion: "across the world there is great concern", "deaths and injuries to men, women and children as they slept in their homes", "Colonel Gadaffi's own family was hit", "in intensive care with serious injuries".

The point is not whether these statements should be made but whether they should be given such prominence in the first, 'audience conditioning' part of the report. ITN apparently thought not. Their brief factual summary of Libyan casualties was prominent but half

the length and much less emotive: "Reports from Western diplomats in Libya said that up to 100 had been killed in the American attacks. An adopted daughter of Colonel Gadaffi's was said to have been killed in the raid on Tripoli and two of his sons were injured."

Again ITN, but not the BBC, reported the Prime Minister's statement that she had received assurances that the attack would be only on terrorist targets. The BBC instead stated "Mrs Thatcher has been under pressure to explain". The BBC's introduction to the rest of the bulletin was similarly more sympathetic to the Libyan position than to that of the American or British Governments. They might quite fairly have said "We'll be looking at the events that prompted America's retaliation and its chances of success." In fact they said "we'll be assessing the world reaction to what the Americans have done, and the political repercussions for Mrs Thatcher".

"Assessing the world reaction", "what the Americans have done" and "political repercussions" have entirely negative connotations in this context, and are the aspects of the story that the Libyans would have chosen, given that the BBC had already advised the viewer that the "world reaction" had been one of "worldwide condemnation".

They did not use ITN's quotation from George Schultz: "Intelligence implicated Colonel Gadaffi in the West Berlin bombing and plans to attack 30 American installations around the world". The BBC's reference to the American justification for the raid - surely a vital part of any balanced coverage - was buried late in the newscast.

ITN also included in their introductory section the American statement that they had acted legitimately under Article 51 of the UN Charter (as well as suggesting that it was an unusual action under that Article). The only American quotation in the BBC's introductory section was the 'jubilation' one, "We have struck a blow against terrorism. We have sent a message to Gadaffi".

The BBC chose throughout the broadcast to emphasise the aspect of "worldwide condemnation". It amplified the thought throughout the broadcast in phrases such as "across the world there is great concern", "worldwide criticism", "the United States finds itself more isolated than at any single moment since 1945", "popular only among Americans" and America "almost completely isolated from world opinion". The only countries it actually quotes in the bulletin are the Soviet Union, Syria, Egypt and Jordan, in other words Arab or Communist states with strong vested interests whose criticism was totally predictable. Critical statements as sweeping as that require specific support, but the BBC were either unable or unwilling to provide any real evidence for this fundamental audience-conditioning allegation. The BBC suggested that "only Canada and Britain support the American action. All the others... are uniformly hostile to it" but failed to show any evidence for such a sweeping statement. Indeed, within a few hours several other nations were to express their formal support, sympathy or understanding, but by then the BBC had already delivered its verdict.

In both the BBC and the ITN bulletins the first full film story was a report from Tripoli. Both had much the same story (not surprisingly, - since they could only film what the Libyans allowed them to): the raid at night, the damage to residential property, civilians including children killed and injured, outrage among ordinary Libyans. The contrast in the treatment, however, is significant. The ITN report is briefer and more factual, ending with a summary that expressed the situation very fairly: "The Libyans are now trying to use the American raid as a propaganda weapon for themselves by concentrating news coverage on the civilian and not the military side of the attack. But these scenes of residential carnage can hardly do President Reagan's case any good." No similar qualification concerning Libyan control of news coverage was forthcoming from the BBC.

The success of the Libyan propaganda effort can be clearly seen in the BBC News bulletin. It devotes considerably longer to this Libyan-controlled footage than the ITN bulletin, and the relative amount of time and emphasis given in the whole report to civilian death and injury is significant. For, as the ITN reporter stated, such footage was the heart of the Libyan propaganda case. A simple count shows that ITN gave 45 seconds to the discussion or depiction of civilian casualties. The BBC returned to the civilian casualties on three separate occasions throughout the broadcast, for a total of over 130 seconds. And in contrast to the ITN balanced summary, the last words from the BBC reporter were emotive and sympathetic

to the Libyan position: "We've had no word from him (Colonel Gadaffi) about the death of his daughter - she's already been buried."

This section shows up very clearly one of the major problems of reporting, especially film reporting, in countries which exercise tight control over the activities of journalists. The media have ample opportunity to film what is favourable to the regime and are barred from the rest - in this case the damage to military and terrorist installations or the voices of Libyans opposed to Gadaffi's policy of state terrorism. An objective news organisation will try to balance this with restrained reporting of what the regime wants shown and reminders of what the home audience is not allowed to see. In this case ITN showed reasonable restraint, but the BBC did not.

It is relevant to compare the BBC's activity in the Libyan instance with their news coverage of South Africa on 16th June 1986 (the "Soweto anniversary") immediately following the imposition of tighter reporting restrictions. In its first broadcast under these new controls, it mentioned the restrictions placed by the Government on its news coverage no less than ten times. Two months earlier it did not mention Libyan reporting restrictions once. *

* The contrast between this aspect of the BBC treatment of Libya and its treatment of South Africa is such that we are forced to ask "why?". This extract is not intended to concentrate on South Africa in particular. However, two points are worth noting.

(continued over)

Much of the other reporting from Tim Sebastian, Christopher Wain, Michael Sullivan, John Simpson, John Cole, Christopher Morris and Brian Barron was more fair and balanced, although not without fault. Sebastian made an unnecessarily emotive reference - "in the general mood of self congratulation (in America) there was barely a mention of Libyan casualties". Equally emotive was Barron's claim that "Britain is in the firing line". Wain quoted unnamed defence experts to suggest that the use of British bases was not for military reasons but "was political", and Sullivan stated that the attack on Libya was "popular only among Americans". But these are minor points on their own.

We believe Keith Graves' report is more questionable. He stated that "for once the Arab world is united" in condemning the raid, but supported this claim with only two weak items - an unattributed

(Footnote continued):

First, the NUJ instructs its members as follows: "Where you carry reports, make sure there is a statement that the material has been compiled under South African Government censorship". Did trade union instructions rather than the BBC's own editorial judgement contribute to this rather worrying discrepancy between the reporting from Libya and from South Africa?

Second, in spite of the clear constitutional duty of the BBC to offer balanced and impartial coverage of the news, this has clearly been ignored in recent months in the coverage of South Africa. They have admitted this. The BBC's Assistant Director-General, Alan Protheroe, has stated: "The BBC is not impartial as regards apartheid because the BBC could not be impartial about things like apartheid." He justified the huge amount of BBC air time given to coverage of events in South Africa as follows: "We really are dealing with what I honestly believe to be one of the most important social political stories of the 20th Century. It's a very big story, it's a very important story with international ramifications. It's a story that's bigger than the story of South Africa itself, and I think we are devoting about the right amount of time to it." ("Feedback", BBC Radio 4, 20th June 1986).

quotation saying that it had "boosted Gadaffi's image", and an Arab League statement "speaking for all Arab states" that the raid was "unprecedented".

These were insufficient to justify the statement that the raid was "driving moderate Arab states into the radical camp". Events since then would suggest that this comment was inaccurate.

The concentration of his report on the likelihood of "revenge attacks" and other reprisals, quoting only unidentified individuals and organisations as sources, was again unsupported by hard fact. "News" seemed to have given way to "views" and provocative conjecture on future events, with unqualified statements such as "likely call for Arab sanctions against America and Britain", "will kidnap and kill any Britons or Americans it finds", "will result in a fresh outbreak of attacks, only now the targets will be not only American but British as well", "has forecast a sharp increase in attacks on American and British targets. They will choose their time and place ... they will strike back". Such conjecture inevitably has a dramatic negative conditioning effect on the conclusions drawn by the viewer and contributed to the imbalanced emphasis of the broadcast.

It would be foolish to predict that none of those consequences could have happened or may not still happen, although experience

since April suggests that such speculation was highly misleading. But it is the task of the responsible reporter and news broadcaster to concentrate on fact rather than speculation, and to handle possible consequences of any action with the greatest circumspection. Altogether the BBC placed much more emphasis on and gave much greater coverage than ITN to potential reprisals and danger to British interests and lives, with a discussion of "fears there could be reprisals", "a tense vigil for any signs of a Libyan retaliation", "targets in this country", "danger area", "most vulnerable Britons", "the new dangers that opened up today to crews and passengers" and comments that individual Britons "are at greater risk than they were 24 hours ago", and that Britain was "on the brink of summer anxiety that could frighten off foreign tourists".

The BBC used six different individuals - two reporters, a newscaster, two experts and a civilian - to advance their opinion that Britain and Britons were at serious risk as a result of support for the American raid. The concentration on conjecture, which was inevitably highly disturbing to the viewer, was clearly excessive and could only have distorted views.

As we shall argue, the BBC's failure to separate fact from conjecture led them to very serious mistakes later in the week.

Any news event can be reported in a number of different ways, depending on what the writer and editor think to be "the story" - the most interesting and important aspects of the event. Comparing

the two broadcasts for Tuesday 15th April, one could readily conclude that two different stories were being reported. For ITN "the story" was that the Americans has carried out a raid on Libya, which they defended as a timely and necessary demonstration that the USA would not tolerate state terrorism, that the raid had been attacked by many others as a savage and unjustifiable use of force by a superpower against a small country, and that by allowing British bases to be used for the raid the British Government had created a political storm at home.

The BBC view of "the story" appeared to be that the Americans had committed an act of unjustifiable aggression which had resulted in the deaths of many innocent civilians, which had attracted worldwide condemnation and which had greatly increased international sympathy and support for Libya, and that by supporting the Americans the British Government had put British lives at risk.

The essential point is that in contrast with ITN, we consider that the BBC bulletin - and particularly its early part - constructed an emotional context of anti-American and pro-Libyan feeling which coloured the whole of the bulletin, and it did so under the cloak of impartial and objective news reporting. A brief examination of BBC reporting later in the week shows how misleading this could be, and also shows that this fault was not an isolated incident.

Thursday 17th April 1986

A comparison of the introductions to the BBC and ITN bulletins for Thursday shows yet again a dramatic contrast between the more objective reporting style of ITN and the more contentious editorial line of the BBC.

ITN describes the revenge killing of these Britons (it was later revealed that only two were British) in the straight convention of news reportage. "Good evening. Three British men held hostage in Lebanon were murdered today, taken in to the hills and shot in the back of the head. A revolutionary Muslim group said they were executed to avenge the American air attacks on Libya early on Tuesday."

The BBC, however, continued to use language which in our view was likely to alarm the audience, and to suggest that the Government had put the nation in danger. The opening headlines emphasised retribution - the attempt to blow up an airliner, the deaths of three British hostages, and the Labour accusation that Mrs Thatcher was "provoking terrorism".

They then offered a prejudicial and emotive piece of opinion. The opening words of the broadcast stated: "Good evening. Britain is paying the price for supporting America's attack on Libya." This was an inexcusable departure from straightforward news coverage. It was not an attempt to provide news but to prey on people's emotions and fears in a fashion which should find no home in any

respectable broadcasting operation.

In their next paragraph following the headlines, ITN picked out two quotations from the Commons: "Labour's Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Donald Anderson called them the first tragic victims of Mrs Thatcher's total and isolated support for President Reagan. The Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said the Government wouldn't be diverted."

The BBC however painted a picture of the Government under siege: "In the Commons this afternoon Mrs Thatcher under fierce attack accused of endangering British lives. Her retort. 'If you let the threat of further terrorism stop you then the terrorist has won'."

Stressing Britain's isolation, the BBC did not mention, as ITN did, the fact that the French government had expressed "firm solidarity" with Britain. Nor did they include the quotation from President Reagan used by ITN, saying that the killings were a tragic illustration of the need for joint international effort against terrorism.

Strangely, whereas ITN said the hostages were "murdered", the BBC merely said they were "shot through the head" and "killed", neutral terms which decriminalise the act, although at the very end of their broadcast the BBC did acknowledge that the hostages "have been murdered".

A far more serious matter, however, was the major error into which the BBC's editorialising stance led them. To show how the Government's support for the American raid had endangered British lives, they

prominently suggested that the Heathrow bomb attempt was an act of retribution for it. The opening remarks of the broadcast described it in highly emotive terms as bombers having "struck against the British people", without explaining why the terrorists should choose an El Al plane to strike against the British.

The introduction continued in the same vein: "And the long arm of Arab revenge reached Heathrow Airport. 400 people, many of them British, escaped certain death when police intercepted a time-bomb in luggage being taken aboard an Israeli jumbo."

There was indeed considerable speculation at the time concerning a connection between the raid and the bomb, but subsequent information showed that there had never been any. Subsequent information, however, came too late to change the attitude of an audience that had been emotionally conditioned by those speculative phrases purporting to be hard fact in the key opening seconds of the news bulletin: "Britain is paying the price....terrorists and bombers have struck against the British people ... punishment for the Libyan attack ... long arm of Arab revenge ... 400 people, many of them British, escaped certain death ... gangs of armed men were by now roaming the streets of West Beirut looking for British people ... Mrs Thatcher under fierce attack accused of endangering British lives." All this in the first 200-odd words of the bulletin.

The BBC did not stop there. The unbalanced editorial flavour

continued right through the broadcast. Once again emphasising retribution and revenge, they stated: "There is no doubt that the three Britons found dead today were killed in retaliation for Britain's part in the operation against the Libyans. And all the indications are that this is just the start of a campaign aimed at Britain and British targets". Even the good news was heavily qualified: "There's satisfaction tonight that about 400 lives have been saved, but nobody believes that this will be the last terrorist threat".

The BBC finished off its broadcast, repeating its speculative claim of a direct link between the Libyan raid and the Heathrow bomb, and re-emphasising the anti-Government tone: "And the main points of the news again. The backlash against Britain for supporting the American bombing of Libya. Four hundred people escaped death when a bomb was discovered 20 minutes before their Jumbo jet was due to leave Heathrow. Tonight police are hunting for this man, Nasir Hindawi. Three British hostages have been murdered in Lebanon".

For their final example of lack of balance, the BBC signed off their broadcast with the following emotion-laden and highly provocative line - "Neil Kinnock said tonight 'Mrs Thatcher had abandoned them to their fate'".

Looking in detail at the two bulletins side by side it is very hard to come to any other conclusion than that ITN strived hard to achieve impartial news reporting and that BBC did not. The flawed editorial line

of the BBC was not confined to one or two isolated incidents, but ran consistently throughout the events we have studied.

CONCLUSION

Our short study shows that the BBC coverage of these events represented a serious and significant failure to achieve professional news coverage which can only serve to undermine the principles of public service broadcasting. Isolated instances of error are understandable, but we believe that the BBC's coverage was riddled with inaccuracy, innuendo and imbalance. While some of the examples we have quoted in this analysis are, on their own, not damning, their cumulative impact is profound, damaging to the American and British Government cases and helpful to that of Libya.

Within the spirit of the BBC Charter and the highest standards of journalism, the task of a broadcasting reporter is not to thrill, nor excite, nor raise fears, nor offer speculation. It is to report the facts in an even-handed manner which allows the viewer to reach his or her conclusions on the evidence offered. The BBC did not offer objective evidence so much as a highly flavoured editorial view. It prompts charges of professional incompetence or, even worse, prejudice. This could be held to have arisen either through bias or incompetence. Given the pressures under which the broadcasters operated, a serious shortfall in professional and editorial standards is much the easier alternative to accept. But the BBC can no more live with such standards than it could with prejudice.

As the BBC's own guide emphasises, without maintaining "the highest standards of truthfulness and impartiality.... it is difficult for any broadcasting organisation to be recognised as being truly independent and worthy of trust."

END

TRANSCRIPT

1A

Tuesday 15th April, 1986 - BBC 9 O'Clock News

Headlines: Worldwide condemnation of the American air strike on Libya. Children are casualties - three from Gadaffi's own family. Mrs Thatcher under fire in the Commons defends her decision to allow the use of British bases. Tonight she shows her critics the proof of Libyan terrorism.

Good evening. The world is waiting to see what Colonel Gadaffi is going to do in response to last night's American air attack on Libya. In Washington the mood is one of jubilation. A White House spokesman said "We have struck a blow against terrorism, we've sent a message to Gadaffi. But across the world there is great concern at what the Americans have done. Pictures from Libya show that the air strike hit civilian targets, causing deaths and injuries to men, women and children as they slept in their homes. Colonel Gadaffi's own family was hit, his youngest adopted daughter was killed and two of his sons seen here earlier this year are in hospital in intensive care with serious injuries.

The diplomatic repercussions of the raid are already being felt. The Soviet Union has cancelled next month's meeting between its Foreign Minister - Edward Shevardnadze - and the US Secretary of State George Shultz. It was intended to pave the way for a summit between Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachov, that's now in doubt.

Here in Britain Mrs Thatcher has been under pressure to explain why she gave permission for the American bombers to take off from their bases in this country. This afternoon she told MPs it was inconceivable for her to have done otherwise. There is to be a full scale debate in the Commons tomorrow.

In this extended 9 O'Clock News we will be hearing the latest reports from Washington and from Tripoli, we'll be assessing the world reaction to what the Americans have done, and the political repercussions for Mrs Thatcher.

At their bases in Britain today the American bomber crews have been giving their commanders a full account of the raid. They had been told yesterday morning they were to strike at targets in Libya, at 7 last night after a day of planning they took off for the long flight to their targets. The 18 F1-11's flew wide over the Atlantic not passing over France and Spain, who denied them permission to fly through their air space. During the journey they were re-fuelled by the big KC10 airborne tankers also flying from bases in Britain. As they closed on targets in Libya they were joined by 15 A-6 and A-7 fighter jets from ships in the American 6th Fleet on manoeuvres in the Mediterranean, together they flew the last miles to their targets at Tripoli and Benghazi.

Our Correspondent - Kate Adie - was in the Libyan capital as the American jets flew in low for the attack.

Kate Adie

Within sight of our seafront hotel a series of flashes and a low rumbling indicated that the intended targets were well within the city. After a short while the Libyan defences went into action. Red tracer bullets, anti aircraft fire, the sky filled with an evil firework display. For the rest of the night there was confusion as the electricity supply was cut off and foreign journalists were confined to the hotel. Then as dawn broke we were taken by officials to a residential district in the centre of the city, at least half a dozen bombs had been dropped in this area - flattening one apartment block next to the French Embassy and severely damaging the Embassy. Four hours after the raid the Libyans still have no idea how many people were injured here. This is at least two miles from the barracks. There are still people possibly buried under this rubble. The confusion is considerable.

The Americans' intended target was possibly the Central Security headquarters - they missed. Instead a medical clinic and ordinary flats and houses took the hit. The number of casualties is not at all clear.

Civilian

5 civilians in which they were living in two buildings and presumably they've gone, well there's just a chance.

"Are they your family?"

Yes, she's my Aunt and they are very close relatives.

"What happened to their house?"

Just collapsed.

Kate Adie

Most people had been asleep, and some could not recall what had happened, they were in a state of shock. Others had clear impressions.

Civilian

The first thing I saw when I woke up was just a big circle of fire and I think, you know, I thought it was going to be on my head.

Kate Adie

Several people have died, one elderly man's body was surrounded by angry youths many of them chanting Ishbidhad - Martyrdom.

Crowd noises.....

Kate Adie

At the Central Hospital the senior doctor estimated that between 60 and 100 casualties had been brought in. And two other hospitals have also been taking in casualties. At least this hospital had been on full alert last night with all of its staff standing by. Some of the people brought in were very badly injured. There were young children. One young man had a fractured spine. (Woman doctor " This patient has fractured the spinal column with a lesion of the spinal chord, with paraplegia - he will be in this state in the end of his life... he is young man. Why? Why?). The staff at the hospital were distressed. Outside in the streets there was tremendous shock and not a little apprehension about what may happen.

This evening the air is rife with rumour, the Libyans have claimed to have shot down a number of American aircraft. But we have yet to see the proof of this. Colonel Gadaffi apparently escaped unscathed. This morning he was in contact with the leaders of Syria, Algeria and South Yemen, and he sent a message to Mr Gorbachov via the Soviet

Ambassador. The Libyans have also demanded sanctions against America, they summoned the Arab Ambassadors. Those sanctions would mean breaking off diplomatic relations, withdrawing assets from banks and stopping Arab oil

supplies. And the Libyans have been very insistent that Britain also should suffer from these sanctions.

Tonight a small group of journalists was taken to a children's hospital in Tripoli. We went in to the intensive care ward and the two beds inside both had the name Gadaffi on the name tag at the end of the bed. Two small boys - Tamis who's 3 and 4 year old Salisarab, Colonel Gadaffi's youngest sons. They were in the barracks with their mother Saffia and the other children during the air raid, they are expected to live. But the Colonel's youngest daughter Hanna, a girl he and his wife adopted last year, was also injured. She was sixteen months old and she suffered severe pressure to the brain after the bomb blast, she died just before dawn this morning. Colonel Gadaffi was not with the family during the air raid. We've had no word from him about the death of his daughter - she's already been buried.

This is Kate Adie for the 9 O'Clock News in Tripoli.

Newscaster

Earlier tonight tracer fire was seen in the sky over Tripoli and several loud explosions were heard. The firing lasted for about seven minutes, but there was no sign of attacking aircraft and it's thought the burst of fire was a false alarm.

The United States is standing firm against the worldwide criticism of their attack on Libya. Tonight President Reagan said the air raid had won only a single battle in a world war against terrorism and that the United States would not rest until it was eradicated. Mr Reagan has spoken of irrefutable evidence of Colonel Gadaffi's involvement in terrorist attacks on American targets, including the bombing of the West German discotheque where a US Serviceman died.

A short time ago the American delegate to the United Nations told the UN Security Council that he had evidence that Libya plans terrorist attacks on Americans in four continents over the next few weeks. From Washington - Tim Sebastian reports.

Tim Sebastian

The final consultations were yesterday afternoon. Advisers and leaders of Congress were given a chance to object to the strike. They didn't, no one did and Mr Reagan was speaking last night to the committed.

President Reagan

Today we have done what we had to do. If necessary we shall do it again. It gives me no pleasure to say that and I wish it were otherwise. When our citizens are abused or attacked anywhere in the world on the direct orders of a hostile regime we will respond so long as I am in this Oval Office.

Tim Sebastian

To those abroad Mr Reagan said he'd tried diplomacy and sanctions but nothing had worked.

President Reagan

Despite our repeated warnings Gadaffi continued his reckless policy of intimidation, his relentless pursuit of terror. He counted on America to be passive. He counted wrong.

Tim Sebastian

All but one American aircraft returned from the mission. US patrols this morning showed the fighters on alert in the Mediterranean and the 6th Fleet in a holding pattern. The Americans say they'll remain ready to act again if necessary and no-one is ruling that out.

At the same time the US was counting its supporters back in Washington, telephone callers to the White House.

Larry Speakes - President's Spokesman

Of that number 4,672 indicated support for the President's action 1,164 indicated opposition to it, that's an 80% approval rating.

Tim Sebastian

In the general mood of self-congratulation there was barely a mention of Libyan casualties.

Senator Sam Nunn, Georgia, Democrat

I think they are very regrettable, I would of course give the Pentagon and the Administration credit for doing everything possible to avoid those casualties, some of them inevitable in this situation.

Members of US Public

I think it's about time America stood up and did something for itself.

We need to go and make a state out of it now (? unclear)

Obviously anytime you draw a sword you have to have some reservation about it, but my suspicion is that we've been pushed to the point where it is absolutely necessary.

Tim Sebastian

The applause for the President wasn't echoed in the United Nations Security Council, condemnation from the Russians who cancelled a pre-summit Foreign Ministers meeting and Arab criticism of Britain - the US fought back.

"As Winston Churchill once said under similar circumstances, whose dogs do they think we are, that they can kill Americans with impunity".

Mr Reagan had already answered that question and did so again a short time ago. He was appearing in Washington before a conference of businessmen.

Mr Reagan

Yesterday as you know, pilots of the Air and Naval Forces of the United States spoke to the outlaw Libyan regime in the only language that Colonel Gaddafi seems to understand. They performed courageously. Two of our airmen are missing. But let us be clear, yesterday the United States won but a single engagement in a long battle against terrorism, we will not end that struggle until the free and decent people of this planet unite to eradicate the scourge of terror from the modern world. Terrorism is the preferred weapon of weak

and evil men and as Edmund Burke reminded us in order for evil to succeed it's only necessary that good men do nothing.

Tim Sebastian

Mr Reagan had calculated the domestic response with some accuracy. Americans enjoy a military victory, in this case it was seen as justice done and they wouldn't mind if it was done again. If the rest of the world isn't pleased with America, tonight, America at least is pleased with itself.

This is Tim Sebastian for the 9 O'Clock News in Washington.

Newscaster

Mrs Thatcher said in the Commons this afternoon that the use of planes based in Britain had been essential. She said the F1-11s were more accurate and so lowered the risk of civilian casualties. The planes flew from bases at Upper Heyford and Lakenheath and were accompanied by re-fuelling tankers from Mildenhall and Fairford.

Christopher Wain - Defence Correspondent

The Prime Minister agreed last week to allow President Reagan to mount the attack from American Airbases in Britain. The Americans had said only the F1-11s based here were suitable. But British defence experts felt the real reason was political, the President was determined that at least one European ally should be directly involved. But using the 1-11s posed a problem - they could only reach Libya if they were continually refuelled in mid-air, so over the weekend more than 20 KC10 Extender and KC135 tanker planes flew in to Mildenhall and Fairford. The attack force was hidden in plain sight supposedly taking part in a NATO Red Alert Exercise, but in reality planning the attack on Tripoli. It all seemed like a routine exercise, but this time the loads of Rockeye Cluster Bombs and the Smart laser guided weapons were being armed.

At dusk yesterday the force set off on the 6 hour, 3,000 mile journey to Tripoli. At the same time in the Strait of Sicily the American 6th Fleet with its two attack carrier groups set course for the Gulf of Sirte to be in position by midnight GMT. The plan was to hit 5 main targets - A7 and A6 Navy jets attacked Benina air base and a command centre near Benghazi in the east. The Air Force hit Tripoli in the west. 18 F1-11s made 3 passes over the city - their targets: a naval base west of the city - Colonel Gadaffi's own Military Headquarters and - the military side of the

civil airport to the south. As they approached the city at a height of 200 ft and a speed of 600 miles an hour this is what the F1-11 crews would have seen.....

Graphics.....

The laser target marker would illuminate the centre of the Army Barracks and Smart bombs would home in on the laser beam. But at least one stick of cluster bombs fell a long way off, hitting a residential area and foreign embassies. But it's not yet clear whether this happened during the attack against the military base or against the airfield. Today American Blackbird spy planes have been flying high over Libya photographing the damage. Only when those pictures have been assessed will the Americans know whether this massive effort mounted at a huge political and financial cost really succeeded in its aim.

Michael Sullivan - Reporter

It was still dark when the first of the huge flying fuel bowlers which had succoured the American bombers on their way to and from their Libyan target landed back at their bases at Mildenhall and Fairford. Some had flown from the United States especially for the Libyan raid. It was barely daylight when the ugly shapes of the first of the bombers dropped out of a grey wet sky at Lakenheath and Upper Heyford, their swivelling wings spread wide to slow their flight for their heavy landing. This was the end of the first offensive mission flown by Americans from British bases since the Second World War, and a tight lipped American Air Force Director of Information revealed that he had little information to direct.

"The information flow on this is being controlled not here but in Washington and I can only provide you what they allow me to".

Michael Sullivan - Reporter

Despite one missing bomber it was a successful mission. Cause for satisfaction among the American airmen who flew it. But it was the trigger for bitter political argument in Britain and abroad. Prime Minister Clement Attlee and President Harry Truman agreed 35 years ago on the use of British based American forces. The details of that agreement were never published, but they'll now be fiercely debated and critically reviewed.

The Royal Air Force is paramount at American bases here in name only. And the attack on Libya, popular only among

Americans, has drawn anti-nuclear demonstrators back to the gates with an ominous new turn in world affairs to demonstrate about.

Newscaster

Mrs Thatcher told MPs this afternoon that she knew last week that America was planning military action and she sanctioned the use of British bases then. The Government she said fully supported the raid and endorsed the American line that it was self-defence. But there was unanimous criticism from Opposition MPs: they said it made future terrorist attacks more likely not less and undermined Western influence in the Middle East.

John Harrison - Reporter

Cabinet Ministers arrived to hear just how effective the American air strike had been and how Mrs Thatcher would justify allowing US bombers to fly from British bases. The Prime Minister had been told last week by President Reagan that Washington was planning military action. The Cabinet's Overseas Policy Committee met yesterday morning to consider the American plans and a more select group of Ministers met again late last night for a final briefing. The Defence Secretary, George Younger, had been involved all along. So too had the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, arriving here with the Home Secretary. Sir Geoffrey had returned from a European Summit in the Hague where he'd apparently said nothing to allies about plans to involve British bases.

This morning's Cabinet broke after an hour. The Lord Chancellor and the Attorney General will have advised on international law - vital on this issue. Then with Ministers having had their say Mrs Thatcher moved on to Parliament to face condemnation from opponents, one Labour MP accused her of turning Britain in to a glorified American aircraft carrier. And to receive less than enthusiastic backing from some Conservatives, one complained of her uncritical support for the Americans. The Labour leader Neil Kinnock asked about the safety of British people in and around Tripoli and the risk of counter attack by the Libyans.

Mrs Thatcher

Under terrorist attack there is no universal safeguard as the Rt. Hon. Gentleman knows - all posts have been alerted and security stepped up.

John Harrison - Reporter

The Prime Minister condemned Libyan state terrorism, but was such a major attack by the Americans justified?

Michael Foot

The worst way to deal with terrorism is to act like terrorists ourselves.

John Harrison - Reporter

Mrs Thatcher was adamant: Britain had a duty to support the Americans who were keeping 330 thousand troops in Europe for Europe's sake.

Mrs Thatcher

In that capacity of being in Europe to defend its liberty they have been subject to terrorist attack. It was inconceivable to me that we should refuse United States aircraft and United States pilots to be able to defend their own people in an inherent right of self-defence.

John Harrison - Reporter

The Prime Minister reminded MPs that Libyan terrorism in London had cost the life of policewoman Yvonne Fletcher just two years ago. She stressed that she had told President Reagan that American action had to abide by international law and that any attack had to be aimed at specific terrorist targets. But Mr Kinnock wasn't satisfied, he questioned whether Mrs Thatcher had adequately consulted Cabinet colleagues and European allies.

Mr Kinnock

Far from bringing down a curtain on Gadaffi's reign of terror as the President put it last night, and as he claims, his adventure against Libya has failed to achieve that objective of terminating terrorism, has caused bloodshed and damage to innocents, will result in a loss of American and British influence even over moderate Arab states.

John Harrison - Reporter

The Liberal leader David Steel challenged Mrs Thatcher's over-riding support for President Reagan.

Mr Steel

The most appalling thing she said this afternoon was her use of the word inconceivable that she would ever refuse any request - isn't this writing a blank cheque for President Reagan?.

John Harrison - Reporter

The Ulster Unionist Enoch Powell was uneasy about the use of British bases.

Mr Powell

Has it not become clear from these events to the people of this country how flimsy would be our protection against the use of bases on British soil to the launching of nuclear operations?

John Harrison - Reporter

Mrs Thatcher rejected that and as for the risk of civilian casualties in any attack, yes there were risks.

Mrs Thatcher

If one fails to take action under self-defence because there may be some risks incurred, what people are saying who take that view is that one can never in fact tackle or take any action. In fact one would have to cringe before Colonel Gadaffi without taking any further action.

John Harrison - Reporter

Mrs Thatcher then returned to 10 Downing Street with reports that the Libyans had counter attacked in the Mediterranean. There will more to debate at Westminster tomorrow.

John Cole - Political Editor

Even before President Reagan's special envoy General Walters came to see Mrs Thatcher at the weekend, she had decided that in principle she would support the use of British based F1-11s for the attack. That decision was taken at a meeting with the Foreign Secretary - Geoffrey Howe and the Defence Secretary - George Younger last Thursday. A wider group of Ministers heard what was going on at the Overseas and Defence Committee yesterday morning, and nobody tried to overturn the decision. But I understand that the Chancellor - Nigel Lawson and the Conservative Party Chairman - Norman Tebbit expressed some doubts about the wisdom of the American action. By mid-evening when Geoffrey Howe returned from the Hague where he hadn't told his European colleagues about the American plans it was clear in Downing Street that the F1-11s were going in. This was mulled over again by the Prime Minister, Lord Whitelaw and the Foreign and Defence Secretaries as the Government sank to its unexpected defeat in the Commons.

At 1 in the morning as MPs drifted excitedly home, news of the raids on Libya became public and Mrs Thatcher summoned the Cabinet for this morning. More doubts were expressed there from the Lord Chancellor - Viscount Hailsham, who is a veteran of the Suez Affair, and from Douglas Hurd the Home Secretary who is reported to have doubts whether this is the most effective way to fight terrorism. But with the American action now a matter of history, the Cabinet backed the Prime Minister and discussed the statement she was to make a few hours later. Sir Geoffrey Howe gave the reasons for the decision with a minimum of emotion.

Sir Geoffrey Howe

There is clear evidence of further plans to continue similar action. She has been required to refrain from such state promoted terrorism many many times. Yet she continues to do so and continues to plan to do so. In those circumstances there is no doubt whatsoever of the right to take action in self-defence against that conduct and the threat of it.

Mr Denis Healey

There is no doubt that this will continue. President Reagan suggested this morning and this was raised in the House again this afternoon that there would be further American actions of this nature. The cycle of violence is endless, we're offered absolutely no way out.

John Cole - Political Editor

Neil Kinnock had no doubt either that the American action would have the opposite effect to what was intended.

Mr Kinnock

What we have got now as a result of the raids is not an isolation of Gadaffi which is really what should happen, but a growing friendship among other Arab states who have regarded Gadaffi as a sworn enemy, they have even been effectively at war with him and now they are coming in behind him so that the purpose of isolating or diminishing or wrecking Gadaffi has not been achieved, indeed the absolute opposite has been achieved by this clumsy action taken by the Americans with, unfortunately, the complicity of Mrs Thatcher.

Dr David Owen

To have a bombing attack at night on targets in built-up cities like Tripoli was almost bound to miss, and to hit some civilian targets and cause civilian casualties. And she has got a lot more explaining and so has President Reagan if they have got a hope of carrying international opinion with them over the next few rather critical days.

John Cole - Political Editor

The opinion that Mrs Thatcher will worry about most is that of her own MPs. After the defeat in the Commons last night, some of the most loyal were furious about mishandling of the Sunday Trading issue. If the much larger Libyan row which today divided Britain were to damage the government further, the Prime Minister's own future might be at issue again. So when the Foreign Secretary met Tory MPs in private tonight they begged him to publish every conceivable form of evidence to support the Government's decision. Sir Geoffrey told them that intelligence sources revealed the success of the raid on the Berlin Disco had actually been reported to the Libyan Cabinet. Other reports refer to Libyan plans for machine gunning a queue of people waiting for US visas. This is the kind of material the Government's likely to produce in tomorrow's debate. It will be the most impassioned day at Westminster since the Falklands War.

Newscaster

John Cole reporting. Opposition leaders went to see the Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe this evening. He showed them the evidence Mrs Thatcher had said proved Libya's links with terrorism and justified the American attack.

Christopher Morris - Reporter

United in their condemnation of the American bombing raid, the Opposition leaders wanted to see for themselves top secret intelligence reports of Libya's terrorist connection. But tonight's meetings with Sir Geoffrey Howe did not change their minds that Britain's involvement was wrong.

Mr David Steel

I don't think we can comment on what we've seen. It is there and there is no doubt that terrorism has been organised from Libya. That's not the issue. The question is have we dealt with it in the most effective way, and I fear not. I think that there will be a wave of anti-Americanism and for that matter anti-Britishism, in Europe and in the Middle East.

Christopher Morris - Reporter

Already anger about America's attack and Britain's support is not confined abroad. It's arrived on Mrs Thatcher's door step in Downing Street. Demonstrators of conflicting views from Communist to CND campaigners themselves united to converge on the Prime Minister's office to voice their condemnation.

Newscaster

The Americans' action has left them almost completely isolated from world opinion, among those countries they normally count as friends and allies only Britain, Canada and Israel spoke up in their support. The verdict of other capitals in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East went against. Critics said the raid was an illegal act, a

flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and tonight the Soviet Union responded by calling off a meeting between its Foreign Minister, Edward Shevardnadze and George Shultz the American Secretary of State. Their meeting had been planned for next month to prepare for a full US-Soviet summit later in the year. John Simpson reports.

John Simpson - Diplomatic Editor

Soviet television news tonight provided the answer to one of the most important questions of the crisis, how would Mr Gorbachov react? He met the new Swedish Prime Minister today and told him he was very concerned - just about the mildest reaction he could have had. Although the commentators rolled out some of their choice adjectives to describe the American attack - barbaric, criminal and so on - the official statement which followed an emergency meeting of the Politburo was extremely restrained.

The pre-summit meeting in Washington may be off but it's not been abandoned. For the Kremlin, superpower business will be as usual if they can possibly ensure it. The fact is Gadaffi is so difficult and unpredictable that he's almost as much of a worry to the Russians as he is to the Americans. And every time he goes to Moscow there's a scene. The Russians don't particularly want Gadaffi to be attacked, but they don't want to be standing by helpless even less (sic). Still, this morning's raid has left the Western Alliance if anything in worse shape. There's a real sense of anger in many Western capitals about it.

And tonight the United States finds itself more isolated than at any single moment since 1945. Only Canada and Britain support the American action. All the others, loyal allies as well as fair weather ones, are uniformly hostile to it: France says it simply extended the chain of violence, West Germany which wasn't even given advanced warning says it was scarcely understandable, Spain spoke of its alarm and concern, Italy was angry that its special pleas for restraint were ignored.

The forum where a good deal of this anger and frustration will be vented is the United Nations Security Council. Tonight an emergency debate requested by the Libyans has begun there and the United States can expect nothing but criticism and accusation for as long as it lasts. The American diplomat who'll have to face it all knows more about the subject than most, Vernon Walters was also President Reagan's special envoy in the crisis, the man who persuaded Mrs Thatcher to let the Americans use British bases for the raid, but failed to convince the other Europeans that an attack on Libya was justified under Article 51 of the UN Charter - the article which confirms every country's right of self-defence if an armed attack occurs against it. Legal experts share the scepticism.

Professor Rosalyn Higgins

Article 51 of the UN Charter, which is the one that tells us about self defence, has traditionally been taken to apply to the defence of one's own territory and not to attacks upon one's nationals when they travel overseas. So that's the first problem that the United States faces. And the second problem of course is that this action has not occurred as a defence to an armed attack that is presently occurring. It looks very much more like a retaliation.

John Simpson - Diplomatic Editor

Another country which has invoked Article 51 to support a policy of retaliation after terrorist attacks on its citizens is, of course, Israel. And for many Governments in Western Europe what happened today in Libya is a great deal too close for their liking to the way Israel operates. One senior French official pointed out today that the trouble about such attacks was that public opinion at home tends to want more of them and it becomes very hard indeed to stop. Tonight most Governments in Western Europe will be praying fervently that this won't happen to the United States.

Newscaster

The American attack has produced universal condemnation from the Arab world. It was led by President Assad of Syria - he promised to support Colonel Gadaffi with all his strength. Even Libya's traditional opponents Egypt and Jordan have expressed outrage. A Jordanian Minister warned that the attack could have very dangerous results. Egypt accused Washington of breaking the rules set down by the United Nations. Our Middle East correspondent Keith Graves is in Cyprus, a central monitoring point for the Arab world. From there he assesses the possibility of revenge attacks against the United States.

Keith Graves - Middle East Correspondent

For once the Arab world is united. Even moderate Arab states are condemning the raid reckoning it's played right into Colonel Gadaffi's hands, promoting his image in the Arab world, and driving moderate Arab states into the radical camp. One senior official of a moderate Arab state has said - "It's boosted Gadaffi's image and standing". What the Americans may not have recognised or cared about is that an attack on any Arab state is seen as an attack on all Arabs. Speaking for all Arab states the Arab League has

described the raid as unprecedented and it will likely call for Arab sanctions against America and Britain. The radicals are having a field day homing in not only on the United States but on Great Britain. In Beirut an extremist group allied to Libya has said it will kidnap and kill any Britons or Americans it finds, and there are fears that this group may now be holding the two Britons who vanished in Beirut a fortnight ago. In the Syrian capital Damascus where the most radical Palastinian groups are based, three of the most extreme have declared American and British interests worldwide, what they call hostile targets. Security sources around the area expect that far from deterring terrorists the American operation will result in a fresh outbreak of attacks, only now the targets will be not only American but British as well. An Israeli security source has forecast a sharp increase in attacks on American and British targets. They will choose their time and place, it may not be in the Middle East but they will strike back he said.

This is Keith Graves for the 9 O'Clock News in Nicosia.

Newscaster

The Libyans don't have the capacity to launch a direct attack on Britain, but there are fears there could be reprisals by terrorist groups which sympathise with Libya. All British military bases and embassies around the world have been placed on a state of alert, so too have possible targets in this country. The signs are that today will mark the start of a tense vigil for any signs of a Libyan retaliation.

Brian Barron - Reporter

The sort of protective measures that worked well at London airport a few months ago could be ordered within hours. Tonight the Department of Transport confirmed all major British airports are on extra alert. So on the brink of summer, anxiety that could frighten off foreign tourists. Britain is in the firing line.

Professor Paul Wilkinson - Aberdeen University

I think it's also important, however, to understand that it isn't just a question of what Gadaffi will say and any instructions that may be sent from Tripoli to his agents around the world. It's also a problem of many radical

groups that are capable of terrorism, which are already involved in international terrorism, which don't need a telex message from Tripoli.

Robert Elliot - Institute of Strategic Studies

The targets in Britain are, of course, the American bases. These are now at greater risk than they were this time yesterday. (Reporter) "From Arab terrorists?" From Arab terrorists. The British who are living and working in that area are within that danger area as well and they are at greater risk than they were 24 hours ago.

Brian Barron - Reporter

Britons are being advised to think carefully before going to the Middle East. In London today the World Federation of Airline Pilots came out with tough new measures against terrorism.

"Our principal officers were empowered to call on all member associations to cease airline operations at any airport of a nation that promotes unlawful acts against civil aviation".

What the airline pilots, British and foreign, didn't talk about was Libya, including a possible ban in the near future on Tripoli Airport. But no one at this pilots' conference had any illusions about the new dangers that opened up today to crews and passengers, especially as the Arab terrorists know full well that Britain was the only NATO country to actively help the Americans.

The most vulnerable Britons, of course, are the 5,000 in Libya. Their relatives are seeking reassurance.

Kay Vowles - Mother of someone working in Libya

Listen love, why have you caused me this terrible terrible worry.

Reporter

But her daughter, an oil company secretary, is keeping her identity secret for fear of Libyan reprisals. A poignant reminder of Colonel Gadaffi's grim shadow could be seen in London today. Flowers laid on the spot where Policewoman

Yvonne Fletcher was murdered by Libyans from Gadaffi's diplomatic mission two years ago. The terrorists were never brought to justice.

Newscaster

The Foreign Office has given a telephone number which relatives of British people in Libya can ring for information. The number is 01-233 5619, that's London 233 5619 for enquiries about Britons in Libya. But the Foreign Office has emphasised that there are no reports of British casualties.

(Final Summary, following other news).

Newscaster

Tonight's headlines again. World reaction to the American attack on Libya has been generally hostile, but Mrs Thatcher vigorously defended the use of British air bases. The alternative, she said, would be to cringe before the terrorists. Mr Gorbachov has protested by calling off next month's meeting between the Russian and American Foreign Ministers. In Tripoli it's clear the American planes hit some civilian targets. There are many casualties - members of Colonel Gadaffi's family are among them; two young sons are seriously injured, his adopted daughter has been killed.

The atmosphere in Tripoli tonight is one of extreme nervousness with reports of gunfire being heard. We've just received the latest news of the situation in the Libyan capital from Kate Adie.

Kate Adie

At the moment there's intermittent gunfire and shells bursting overhead here in Tripoli. But no American aircraft are in evidence and there has been no air raid. From the time darkness fell, the sound of anti-aircraft guns and rockets has been echoing round the town. The streets are blacked out. The sky is lit up with red tracer bullets, streaking across the city over our hotel - orange flashes from rockets fired from the harbour area, anti-aircraft guns which can be heard in action not only here but many miles

down the coast. It's an eerie and disturbing situation - just Libya putting into action its defence capability. For most of its people a deafening and frightening display, with no idea where it's all leading to.

This is Kate Adie for the 9 O'Clock News in Tripoli.

Mike McKay - Reporter

Here at the US Air Force base in Upper Heyford tonight, all personnel have been ordered on standby and while there's no official word American servicemen and officers have been cancelling off-base social activities planned for this evening. From here last night a squadron of EF1-11 jets flew in support of those aircraft which attacked Libya, providing the necessary electronic jamming. In the meantime the scheduled red-alert exercise, which masked last night's attack, is still going on tonight. No-one's predicting a second American air strike but clearly at Upper Heyford they are priming themselves for something more than an exercise if necessary.

Newscaster

Well, tonight in London a big demonstration is going on against the American action in Libya and against Britain's involvement. In the last half hour there's been some trouble and some arrests. John Harrison is in Whitehall.

John Harrison - Reporter

So this is the scene in Whitehall tonight just 100 yards away from the door of 10 Downing Street. The demonstrators have succeeded in blocking Whitehall and they've refused to move.

Police are therefore having to systematically take them away in police vans one by one. Their slogans: "Margaret Thatcher, blood on your hands." and "US murderers get out of Britain".

Newscaster

And that's the national and international news tonight, good night.

Good night.

Tuesday 15th April, 1986 - ITN "NEWS AT TEN"

Headlines: Mr Gorbachov tells Mr Reagan "Our Foreign Ministers can't meet now". The bombs meant for terrorists kill Colonel Gadaffi's daughter. President Reagan says "If necessary we will do it again". Mrs Thatcher "I agreed last week". Mr Kinnock "It will provoke". The police are busy with demonstrators in Downing Street tonight.

Good evening. The Soviet Leader, Mr Gorbachov, told President Reagan tonight that because of the United States' bombing of Libya their two Foreign Ministers could not meet as planned next month. The Soviet statement said - the meeting was impossible at the present time. Only Britain, Canada and Israel have supported the United States today.

Reports from Western diplomats in Libya said up to 100 had been killed in the American attacks. An adopted daughter of Colonel Gadaffi's was said to have been killed in the raid on Tripoli and two of his sons were injured.

Mrs Thatcher told the Commons this afternoon - it was inconceivable that she would deny the Americans the use of British bases in what she called self-defence. She said she had been assured that attack would be on clearly defined targets related to terrorism. And she has been showing MP's what she says is evidence of Libyan terrorism.

Mr Kinnock said in the Commons the attack was not justified under international law.

The Liberals' Mr Steel said that Mrs Thatcher had given President Reagan "a blank cheque".

Mr Reagan said "We have done what we had to do. If necessary we shall do it again".

The American Secretary of State Mr George Shultz said Intelligence implicated Colonel Gadaffi in the West Berlin bombing and plans to attack 30 American installations around the world.

The American attack was criticised tonight by the British Council of Churches and by the Secretary General of the United Nations Mr Peres de Cuellar.

The United States says that it was entitled to act under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter which provides for self-defence. Others argued that it was unusual to cite terrorist attacks as justification for attacking another

country. 30 American tanker aircraft flew from bases in the United Kingdom to refuel 18 F1-11 fighter bombers on the long route round Spain to Tripoli. 15 planes from American aircraft carriers attacked targets in Libya's eastern city of Benghazi. One F1-11 was lost, another landed in Spain because of fuel trouble.

Small protests were mounted tonight by CND demonstrators outside American bases in Britain. Libyan patrol boats fired two missiles at a small American Naval Station on the Italian island of Lampadousa. There were no casualties and there was no damage. Libya said its planes had attacked the station. In London a Libyan diplomatic official said "anyone supporting the United States' aggression will be a target for anything".

Brent Sadler - Reporter - Tripoli

It began at 2 am Libyan time, the first bombs crashing into the city. The sleeping capital erupted into a ground to air battle - tracer fire arcing skyward. Unseen to the eye waves of American bombers pressed home their attack. And surface to air missiles probing the sky for bombers that had turned home for base. It appears the Americans selected more than one target, probably the port area and other strategic installations inland. The Libyans have now imposed a black-out. We are contained in our Hotel for the time being.

Three hours later an unexplained ground to air attack - strange because no planes returned. It looked like the reaction of nervous gun batteries.

At day-break a much clearer picture of what really happened. We were taken to selected areas hit by the raid, residential areas devastated by the bombing. Some Libyan families already camping out. Later more areas of destruction where laser-guided bombs fell. Here a 30 ft crater split open the road. Certainly there were casualties - they said at least 2 people died here and that many more were hurt in this one street. We soon found the dead, killed outright or crushed under buildings. Casualty details are still sketchy but it is known that foreigners as well as Libyans were certainly wounded. The death toll though is still far from clear.

Civilians

These bloody bastards, they have put us in a worse position. They have destroyed our house.

Brent Sadler

What's emerging is that most of those we saw today were not at military camps or installations - they were Libyans at home with their families. In the streets the reaction has been swift and defiant. Revolutionaries and ordinary people calling for vengeance against America and Britain.

Civilians

What is this, is it a military target? It is clear now who is the assassin. It is clear.

Britain was crazy. They have about 5,000 of their nationals. We have the right to kill them, right now. We have the right to kill them, death from Britain is right here on our land.

Brent Sadler

The casualties, more than 60 in this one hospital were suffering serious wounds mostly to the head. Among them young children. There were no military personnel, but it is certain there are many more casualties elsewhere, inside and outside Tripoli.

This then is President Reagan's clear message to Colonel Gadaffi: stop supporting terrorism or US Forces will if necessary come back and strike again. But what is seen in America as teaching the Libyan leader a lesson is already being interpreted here as a savage act of aggression by a super-power. In another part of the city evidence that the bombing runs came desperately close to the Diplomatic quarter, the target was probably this Libyan National Security building but the French Embassy close by was damaged. The Libyans are now trying to use the American raid as a propaganda weapon for themselves by concentrating news coverage on the civilians and not the military side of the attack. But these scenes of residential carnage hardly do President Reagan's case any good.

Brent Sadler - News at Ten Tripoli.

Geoffrey Archer - Reporter

The US Air Force hid the preparations of their British bases yesterday under the guise of a long planned NATO exercise. These bombs though were real it seems and 18 F1-11 bombers were loaded with weapons at Lakenheath in Suffolk. They took off at about 7pm. Over at Upper Heyford in Oxfordshire, special radar jamming versions of the plane made ready - electronic warfare pods on the tops of their tails - and 30 giant tanker planes from other bases at

Fairford and Mildenhall are reported to have been involved.

With France and Spain banning overflights, the F1-11s flew out into the Atlantic making their first mid-air refuelling north of Spain. Though capable of supersonic speed they cruised at about 500 miles per hour. Over the Western Mediterranean they refuelled again before dropping low to avoid detection by Libyan radar. Carriers in the US 6th Fleet launched the first wave of the attack flying their A-7 bombers against an airfield and a barracks in Benghazi, while F-14 fighters and Hawkeye radar planes kept watch above. The F1-11s from Britain concentrated on Tripoli attacking a military port outside the town before bombing the Al Azziziyah Barracks, described as Libya's main terrorist planning HQ, and a military airport to the east of the town. Not all the targets were precisely hit though, in the Bin Ashour suburb the French Embassy was damaged. The F1-11s are equipped with laser guided bombs which should have enabled them to hit targets with great precision. In a laser guided attack, one aircraft locates the target and illuminates it with a laser beam, while a second plane drops its bombs which guide themselves to the laser spot.

After the attack the F1-11s refuelled again over the Western Mediterranean before returning to Britain. They landed at their bases again this morning after 6,000 miles of flight and 13 hours in the air. 18 bombers had set off last night from Lakenheath but only 16 returned. One had made an emergency landing in Spain, the other the Libyans claimed to have shot down. The US Navy is said to be searching the Mediterranean for wreckage.

Jon Snow - Reporter - Washington D.C.

In Washington the decision to bomb Libya was taken by President Reagan late last week. But it was only an hour before the American planes struck last night with security manifest across the building in which the most secure briefing room is set that Reagan presented his plans to Senators. When they emerged with minutes to go, there had been no dissenting voices.

Elation on the face of Admiral Poindexter, National Security Adviser, approaching Senator Nunn, one signal that it had happened. And within two hours Reagan broke it to America.

President Reagan

Fellow Americans. At 7 o'clock this evening Eastern time,

Air and Naval Forces of the United States launched a series of strikes against the headquarters, terrorist facilities and military assets that support Muammur Gadaffi's subversive activities. The attacks were concentrated and carefully targeted to minimise casualties among the Libyan people with whom we have no quarrel.

Jon Snow

The blast at this Berlin discotheque in which two died and 50 Americans were wounded was cited by Reagan. Sources here say Britain's GCHQ intercepted and de-coded the proof of Libya's involvement.

President Reagan

This monstrous brutality is but the latest act in Colonel Gadaffi's reign of terror. The evidence is now conclusive that the terrorist bombing of La Belle discotheque was planned and executed under the direct orders of the Libyan Regime.

Jon Snow

Praising the European Allies, Reagan never named Mrs Thatcher but their by now historic special relationship is credited by officials here as having come good in America's hour of decision.

President Reagan

Today we have done what we had to do, if necessary we shall do it again.

Jon Snow

In their offices working late, White House aides were already describing the operation an unqualified success. The nature of the damage in Libya undiscussed, reports of having hit other people's Embassies denied. In the aftermath of the attack, in a sideroom at the White House, Defence Secretary Weinberger on the British role.

Journalist

Did Mrs Thatcher give unqualified support or did she set limits on what she was prepared to allow these planes.....?

Caspar Weinberger - US Defence Secretary

No. Mrs Thatcher had obviously many questions, and concerns, and they were expressed and a response was made to them and permission was given to do what was done.

Jon Snow

This afternoon the President came out from the White House for the first time since the attack on his way to a meeting, and was up-beat. But inside his first reference to casualties.

President Reagan

Two of our airmen are missing. But let us be clear, yesterday the United States won but a single engagement in a long battle against terrorism.

Jon Snow

Mr Reagan has so far shown little concern for the vocal opposition to his action from across the world. And as yet has made no reference to the new blow this evening, Moscow's decision to cancel the arranged pre-summit planning meeting between Soviet and American Foreign Ministers. The Russians blamed America's action. And America....?

Bernard Kalb - State Department Spokesman

It is up to the Soviet Union to decide what they want to do about terrorism, so far as we are concerned we are very very clear about it - we are against it.

Jon Snow

The furore in much of the rest of the world over America's action against Libya is simply not understood here. Indeed the official response is all the more that America must then stand alone against terrorism. But Moscow's body blow against the summit was a complete surprise here, casting a cloud over the otherwise undiminished sense of relief in the White House that finally they did take action.

Jon Snow - News at Ten - Washington.

Michael Brunson - Diplomatic Editor

Moscow has been accusing Washington for some time of undermining the spirit of last November's Geneva Summit and indeed the apparent warmth of that occasion has been evaporating ever since it happened. Tonight any goodwill seems to have disappeared entirely, things have returned virtually to a state of cold war.

Tonight's Soviet Television showed Mr Gromyko meeting the Swedish Prime Minister to whom he had expressed his grave concern over the American action and later came the announcement postponing the Schultz-Shevardnadze meeting, vital if there is to be another summit this year, and that postponement came as a surprise. For in the past as we saw after the shooting down of the Korean airliner such meetings have usually survived the serious ups and downs between the Russians and Americans, if only so that both sides can let fly at each other. But this time a Soviet commentator - Joe Adamov - made clear to me from Moscow this evening things are different. I asked him why his Government has decided there's no point for the moment in talking to Washington.

Joe Adamov - Soviet Radio Commentator

Well because I don't think the actions of the United States are conducive to talks at this very moment. I think if they show a saner policy, a realistic policy - what is there to talk about - how to stop the war in Libya? I think they should realise that such actions cannot go on forever in this nuclear age.

Michael Brunson

Does this mean that the next summit meeting between Mr Reagan and Gorbachov is now in real danger?

Joe Adomov

Well it all depends on how the United States behaves, or how this conflict in the Mediterranean-well, how will this evolve? Will it escalate or will it stop? Of course we want to talk because the Summit means the survival of the human race, of you in Britain and we here in the Soviet Union.

Michael Brunson

The other big question concerns the Libyans' own reactions. Their attempted rocket attack in the Med this afternoon shows that even if they often misuse their hardware they are not short of it. And one of the few remaining Libyan diplomats here in London has said today that they intend to fight back.

Salah Msalem - Libyan Diplomat

I mean we are going to fight - this is what we have declared before even the American aggression. We are going to fight for the end of everything. We are going to face the American imperialists everywhere and we are going to attack their bases, we are going to fight-we are not going to - self-defence (sic).

Michael Brunson - Reporter

But probably the main danger now is this - that the many Arab terrorist organisations who are sympathetic to Colonel Gadaffi may simply declare open season on the Americans.

Newscaster

Mrs Thatcher's robust defence of the United States attack on Libya will be tested in the full day's debate in the Commons tomorrow. She had to cancel a meeting with the Queen tonight. A report next.

Plus how the American in the street is backing Mr Reagan all the way. And here the demonstrators outside Downing Street tonight.

COMMERCIAL BREAK

Newscaster

In the House of Commons this afternoon Mrs Thatcher came under fire from all sides for her support of President Reagan's action. MPs wanted to know whether she had spoken to the American President and whether she had made clear the restrictions on his use of British bases to launch the attack. And they were concerned that yesterday's action would only serve to provoke further terrorist acts by Libya.

David Rose - Political Correspondent

This was one of the hardest hours Mrs Thatcher has ever faced in the Commons. The House was as crowded as Budget day with many MPs, including some Tories, appalled at the American action and amazed that the Prime Minister had given them permission to use British bases. Mrs Thatcher continually repeated that the United States were entitled to use their inherent right of self-defence under Article 51 of the UN Charter. Now this gives nations the right to self-defence against armed attack.

Mrs Thatcher

The United States has hundreds of thousands of forces in Europe to defend the liberty of Europe. In that capacity of being in Europe to defend its liberty they have been subject to terrorist attack. It was inconceivable to me that we should refuse United States aircraft and United States pilots to be able to defend their own people in an inherent right of self-defence.

David Rose

But Neil Kinnock denied that the action complied with international law, and with the Labour benches roaring him on he said that far from ending the bloodshed the bombing would provoke more.

Neil Kinnock

His adventure against Libya has failed to achieve that objective of terminating terrorism, has caused bloodshed and damage to innocents, will result in a loss of American and British influence even over moderate Arab states. That it has meant a gain in support for Gadaffi even from his sworn enemies.

David Rose

Crucial to whether Mrs Thatcher got through unscathed today was the attitude of her own backbenchers. Most are deeply concerned but are waiting until they see the evidence of Libyan involvement in terrorism. Those who spoke today were just about evenly divided between critics and supporters, one of whom drew Labour jeers when he suggested that British based F1-11s had to be used because of their accuracy.

Jonathan Aitken, MP, CON

Fewer risks were likely to be caused both to Libyan civilians and to US military personnel because of the much more precise equipment available to F1-11s.

Dennis Walters, MP, CON

Won't the effect of this American attack on Tripoli be to strengthen President Gadaffi and to weaken our moderate friends in Egypt, Jordan and the Gulf?

Sir Peter Blaker, MP, CON

In view of the failure of past attempts to deal with the problem of Libyan terrorism, is it not perfectly clear that new ways have had to be found to attempt to deal with that problem. (crowd noise)

Cyril Townsend, MP CON

Many of us are completely troubled by her uncritical support for the United States. (Crowd noises)

David Rose

And the rest of the House was united against the bombing, with several MPs asking why the bombing would end Libya's support for terrorism.

David Steel

The most appalling thing she said this afternoon was her use of the word inconceivable that she would ever refuse any request. Isn't this writing a blank cheque for President Reagan?

Michael Foot

The worst way to deal with terrorism is to act like terrorists ourselves.

David Rose

Mrs Thatcher did emerge from this hour-long ordeal relatively unscathed, but she faces a full-length Commons debate tomorrow with the knowledge that most backbench MP's are either very worried or downright hostile. The Prime Minister cancelled a long standing evening with the Queen tonight to work on her difficult speech and tonight too the Government launched a campaign to convince MPs of Libya's guilt.

David Walter - Reporter

David Steel and David Owen were first to have a private look at the Government's intelligence on Libyan involvement in terrorism. Though they found it convincing it didn't change their judgement.

David Steel

I don't think we can comment on what we have seen. It is there and there is no doubt that terrorism has been organised from Libya. That's not the issue. The question is have we dealt with it in the most effective way, and I fear not. I think that there will be a wave of anti-Americanism and for that matter anti-Britishism in Europe and in the Middle East.

David Walter - Reporter

Neil Kinnock was the next to emerge with the former Prime Minister James Callaghan. All the Opposition leaders were shown the documents on confidential Privy Council terms. Round the corner CND had mounted a demonstration against the bombing.

Mgr Bruce Kent - CND Chairman

I think there is a real, deep indignation now about this. Especially from an English countryside, from Oxfordshire and Suffolk that these things should take off - and for the young Americans who were killed - the two Americans killed. It is not the way to settle things. I think it really is disgusting. (crowd noises)

David Walter

As darkness fell the demonstrators between 1 and 2,000 of them staged a sit-in by candlelight in Whitehall. After warning them that they were causing an obstruction the police started dragging them away. And then they began making arrests. The latest tally is 160 arrests.

David Walter - News at 10 Whitehall.

Newscaster

Moderate Arab states have condemned the bombing and Libya has asked them for quick practical responses against the United States. Syria offered to put its whole potential at Libya's disposal.

The Israeli Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, called the American attack an act of self-defence. Israel denies being involved in planning the raids.

David Smith - Reporter - Israel

In Israel there was unanimous support for the Americans. Ever since Rome and Vienna the Government of Prime Minister Peres has made Gadaffi its number one enemy. Much as there were denials of direct involvement, it is known that Israeli intelligence helped the Americans pinpoint their targets in Tripoli.

Shimon Peres - Israel's Prime Minister

American action benefited the whole free world which is becoming more and more a victim of an irresponsible terroristic organisation and state terrorism.

Yitzhak Rabin - Israel's Defence Minister

No doubt it can be conceded as an act of self-defence against state terrorism.

David Smith

The reaction from Syria was just as predictable. President Assad, Gadaffi's staunchest ally, promised him every possible support. And Assad warned of the danger now of escalation on all fronts. That's an ominous hint of what many here have come to fear recently, namely another war between Syria and Israel on the Golan Heights. In the past few weeks there has been an intensive build up there on both sides. And only yesterday the Syrians said the most likely step after any attack on Libya would be an Israeli strike against them. Certainly the Syrian leadership is held just as responsible as Gadaffi for Arab terrorism.

Newscaster

The American Air Force men who dropped the bombs on Libya returned to their bases in England today under strict instructions not to talk to waiting reporters, but those who did said they felt what they had done had been right.

John Draper - Reporter

In the hours after day break before the bombers returned there was evidence of heightened tension at Lakenheath. Heavily armed guards took up their positions and waited. Then the F1-11s appeared in the distance, the lighter for having discharged their payloads. Sixteen of them landed over a period of an hour. At the entrance to the base the general alert enforced since the Berlin disco bomb was stepped up. Identity passes were thoroughly checked before anyone was allowed in. Inside the base queues formed as service personnel phoned home to reassure anxious relatives. Few had any doubts about the raid.

American

I think the American spirit was shown here of not that they can go around and do such things as just start this conflict whenever they want to. Finally they are through taking it on the chin and the American spirit says we are going in, we're going to try to take care of a problem and show our force.

John Draper

But local people in the sleepy village of Mildenhall had mixed feelings about the attack.

Local People

"You can't bomb a town - all you do is raise the rest of the rabble-you encourage other volunteers".

"What's the point of having the Americans in the area if they can't be used".

"They're not only protecting themselves, they're protecting us an' all".

John Draper

Some people might say that their action might attract Libyan terrorists to this area.

Local

"Well they'd come here if they wanted to anyway - wouldn't they".

John Draper

Meanwhile the US bases are putting on a show of strength as a deterrent to any would-be attacker.

John Draper - News at 10 Mildenhall

Newscaster

There was a variety of public response in America too. But the overwhelming majority of people who telephoned the White House when they heard about the raids said they were in favour.

President Reagan

Today we have done what we had to do. If necessary we shall do it again.

Ken Rees - Washington Reporter

America woke to watch pictures of bomb-damaged Tripoli, to study maps of the targets, to see satellite pictures of the British bases which had made the operations possible, satellite pictures of the results. And in their morning papers what details there were of the raids - headlines ranging from the serious in the Washington Post to the more sensational in the New York Post. And what was America's views this morning?

Public

"America's been taking a back seat against terrorism for too long now, and I think it is time the people realise that Americans are willing to stand up for their rights".

"I think it is something that we had to do, it was unfortunate and I hope the escalations can stop. It was a necessary step".

"I disagree with such a violent strike, but the President obviously thought he ought to do it".

"I think its awful, I mean I really feel he's trying to get us into a war. I'm totally appalled by it. I mean, I think the mad dog's down on 1600 Pennsylvania".

Ken Rees

But at that famous address officials were claiming majority support from the public. Of over 6,000 telephone calls received, 80% were in favour of the President's action.

For the moment it does seem as though Mr Reagan's actions have got majority support here, but many people we spoke to do have reservations about the possibility of Libyan retaliation. If what he has done does help to curb terrorism against Americans then there is no doubt it will win widespread popular support. But that is a big IF and even supporters of Mr Reagan's tough line are well aware that this is only the start of the story.

Ken Rees - News at 10 - Washington.

TRANSCRIPT

1C

Thursday 17th April, 1986 - BBC 9 O'Clock News.

Headlines: (indistinct)... saved from a bomb. And in Lebanon 3 British hostages shot through the head. Kinnock tells Thatcher "you're provoking terrorism". And pictures from the Libyan raid - The Americans say "we were spot on".

Good evening. Britain is paying the price for supporting America's attack on Libya.

In Beirut and in London the terrorists and bombers have struck against the British people. Three British hostages in Lebanon have been killed by their captors, a note pinned to one of the bodies said it was punishment for the Libyan attack.

And the long arm of Arab revenge reached Heathrow Airport. 400 People many of them British escaped certain death when police intercepted a time bomb in luggage being taken aboard an Israeli Jumbo.

The terrorist attacks began at 8 o'clock this morning in Beirut. The British Ambassador's residence came under fire. Two hours later came news that the bodies of the 3 missing Britons had been found. Alec Collet missing for over a year, Leigh Douglas and Philip Padfield seized last month. At the same time another Briton, journalist John McCarthy, was abducted by gunmen as he drove to the airport. Gangs of armed men were by now roaming the streets of West Beirut looking for British People.

Mid morning and news of the Heathrow bomb plot. A woman arrested and a huge search mounted for her Arab boyfriend.

In the Commons this afternoon Mrs Thatcher under fierce attack accused of endangering British lives. Her retort: "If you let the threat of further terrorism stop you then the terrorist has won".

There is a massive police hunt underway tonight for the man who came so frighteningly close to blowing up the Jumbo Jet in mid air and killing all 400 passengers. He has been named as Nasir Hindawi, an Arab who may have been what is known as a sleeper, a terrorist living normally in society waiting to strike at his chosen target. Now that target has

been revealed and his plot foiled just 20 minutes before the plane took off. The bomb was being carried by his girlfriend, a young Irish woman who has been working in a London hotel. It seems he fooled her into carrying a boobytrapped suitcase and then disappeared, prepared to sacrifice her and leave her to die with the other passengers.

Andrew Taylor - Heathrow - Reporter

At ten to nine this morning El Al flight 016 was arriving at Heathrow's terminal 1 en route for Tel Aviv. There were 220 passengers on board already; another 140 were to join the flight in London. Among those would-be passengers in terminal 1 was a blonde Irish woman with her Arab boyfriend. She thought they were going on holiday together but at the last minute he told her he was staying behind and gave her a tan coloured holdall to carry. It was El Al security men who found the explosives hidden in its false bottom and as the police moved in to arrest her he escaped into the crowd. He'd befriended her, tricked her and deserted her.

Harry Harrison - Baggage Handler

I saw her - two policewomen - a policewoman and a man-they were bringing a lady. She had been arrested and she had been handcuffed.

"What sort of age was she?"

She was in her thirties.

Andrew Taylor

He had been her boyfriend for a year. Some reports say she's pregnant. But the explosives he had given her - nearly 10 pounds - would have blown her and the plane out of the sky. It is not clear at what stage the bomb was found, whether the police allowed it through earlier checks so the woman could claim her bag before they arrested her. It is clear she was about to board the plane when she was stopped. If she had done that the timer on the bomb would have set it off in mid flight just after 1 o'clock - everyone would have died.

(Then discussion of arrest)

Andrew Taylor

There's satisfaction tonight that about 400 lives have been saved but nobody believes that this will be the last terrorist threat.

(Further news including following report).

Keith Graves - Reporter.

There is no doubt that the 3 Britons found dead today were killed in retaliation for Britain's part in the operation against the Libyans. And all the indications are that this is just the start of a campaign aimed at Britons and British targets.

(Final Summary, following other news).

Newsreader

And the main points of the news again. The backlash against Britain for supporting the American bombing of Libya. 400 people escaped death when a bomb was discovered twenty minutes before their Jumbo Jet was due to leave Heathrow. Tonight police are hunting for this man, Nasir Hindawi. 3 British hostages have been murdered in Lebanon. Neil Kinnock said tonight "Mrs Thatcher had abandoned them to their fate".

TRANSCRIPT

1D

Thursday 17th April - ITN "News At Ten"

Headlines: The last journey of the three murdered British hostages. The plane and 400 people an Arab bomber wished to destroy. The wanted man - his pregnant girlfriend carried the bomb. The Lords reject caning again and beat the Government. And the baby she bore isn't related at all.

Newscaster

Good evening. Three British men held hostage in Lebanon were murdered today, taken in to the hills and shot in the back of the head. A revolutionary Muslim group said they were executed to avenge the American air attacks on Libya early on Tuesday.

Labour's Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Donald Anderson called them the first tragic victims of Mrs Thatcher's total and isolated support for President Reagan. The Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said the Government wouldn't be diverted.

At Heathrow Airport the pregnant girlfriend of an Arab tried to carry a bomb on to an El Al airliner - the man got away - the bomb could have gone off over London.

The 3 men murdered in Lebanon, Mr Alec Collet, Mr Philip Padfield and Mr Leigh Douglas were found in the Chouf Mountains east of Beirut. The British Ambassador's residence in Muslim West Beirut was attacked and more seriously a British television journalist was seized at gun point on his way to Beirut airport to leave the country.

President Reagan said the killings of the British were a tragic illustration of the need for a joint international effort against terrorism. The French Government has expressed profound compassion and a firm solidarity with Britain.

Michael Sheradin - Reporter

Druze militia men in the mountains east of Beirut discovered the bodies. The Druze, relatively friendly to Britain, went out after a man called their radio station to announce so-called executions. They were those of Alec Collet - 64 years old, a journalist by profession - he had been kidnapped on March 25th last year. Victim number 2 was Philip Padfield - aged 40 a language teacher kidnapped on Good Friday this year. Victim number 3 was Leigh Douglas - aged 34 a University lecturer abducted too on Good Friday. Alec Collet had endured the longest ordeal. He's seen here in a video released by his captors to plead with Mrs Thatcher for their cause and his life. He was working for the United Nations and was thought to be held in this Palestinian camp in south Lebanon by the Abu Nidal group who demanded that Britain release Arab prisoners. They are closely linked to Libya, yesterday they vowed vengeance for the Tripoli raid. Today after a year in captivity a gentle man who wanted to help the people of the Middle East was killed with a single bullet in the head.

The two teachers went missing late in March this year. They never returned here to their quarters at the American University after an evening out. Today Leigh Douglas' father said if Libya hadn't been bombed his son would be alive.

Edgar Douglas - Father

I am fairly certain as I can possibly be that if those planes hadn't left this country he'd have been alive today and I am certain that that is what it is, just retaliation.

"Do you feel bitter about it?"

I feel very bitter about it.

Michael Sheradin - Reporter

Terry Waite who went to Lebanon to try to free foreign hostages gave his reaction.

Terry Waite

One of great regret that it was not possible for greater patience and restraint to be exercised all round. Because I do believe in this type of matter that violent action leads to further violence and, as we have seen, to loss of life.

Michael Sheradin - Reporter

The waiting goes on for the family of Brian Keenan, a language teacher from Northern Ireland, kidnapped a week ago in Beirut. And today John McCarthy, a 29 year old journalist, from ITN's sister company Worldwide Television News became the latest victim. He was being driven down this highway to Beirut airport when armed men forced his car to stop - dragged him away.

Early today rocket propelled grenades blasted the British Ambassador's residence. The message from the gunmen - vengeance has only just begun.

Newscaster

In London an attempt to blow up an El Al Jumbo jet with 360 people on board was foiled by the airline's own security staff. The bomb was found half an hour before the plane was due to leave Heathrow for Tel Aviv.

(Final Summary, following other news).

Newscaster

And the main news again. Three British hostages held in Lebanon have been shot in reprisal for the American attack on Libya earlier this week. And security police foiled a terrorist attempt to plant a bomb on an El Al flight taking off from Heathrow.



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