

A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

TERRORISM:

**Special Studies,
1985–1988**

First Supplement



UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA

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1985–1988
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EDITORIAL NOTE

The executive branch of the U.S. government requires a massive amount of information to make policy decisions. The many departments, agencies, and commissions of the government devote much of their energies to gathering and analyzing information. However, even the resources of the U.S. government are not adequate to gather all the information that is needed; therefore, the government contracts universities, colleges, corporations, think tanks, and individuals to provide data and analyses. Because the great majority of these studies are difficult to find and obtain, University Publications of America (UPA) publishes some of the most important ones in its Special Studies series. The *Terrorism, First Supplement*, collection consists of studies on terrorism that became available during the period 1985–1988.

REEL INDEX

Frame

Reel 1

1979

- 0001 **Consequences of Nuclear Terrorism.**
RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Brian M. Jenkins. August 1979. 35pp.
It is not the primary purpose of this paper to argue the probability of nuclear terrorism, which in the final analysis remains a matter of speculation, but instead to presume that a serious incident of nuclear terrorism has occurred, and then to examine the consequences. Will it significantly alter the political landscape of the world? Will it change attitudes about nuclear arms or nuclear energy? Will it lead to a new international regime of cooperation and control? Will it increase the likelihood of further use of nuclear weapons by states or terrorists?

1982

- 0036 **Mass Casualties: A Lessons Learned Approach, Accidents, Civil Unrest, Natural Disasters, Terrorism.**
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, Washington, D.C. R. Adams, S. Edelstein, and M. Silverstein. October 1982. 350pp.
Proceedings of the International Assembly on Emergency Medical Services (1st) held on June 13–17, 1982. Prepared in cooperation with Maryland Institute for Emergency Medical Services Systems, Baltimore. Report examines clinical implications of civil disturbances, crisis management, and mass casualty incidents. It includes a free paper forum.

1984

0386

Conflict Forecasting Project.

Rochester University, New York. Department of Political Science. Bruce B. de Mesquita. April 1984. 180pp.

An expected utility approach to the study of international and comparative politics offers both the opportunity to deduce propositions about potentially conflictual policy formation and, to evaluate the usefulness of those propositions as explanations of actual behavior. Many studies that have applied such a framework to international conflict have used the model proposed in *The War Trap*. Although this model has proven helpful in explaining both intuitively obvious cases of international disputes and seemingly counterintuitive ones, still it possesses several serious shortcomings. The main goal of the Conflict Forecasting Project is to correct some of those shortcomings. Here is a refined version of the expected utility formulation set out in the *The War Trap*. The model has been reconstructed, protection added against interpersonal comparisons, and an introduction brought into the model for resistance by an opponent for policy changes.

1985

0562

Recent Trends in Palestinian Terrorism.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. B. Hoffman. March 1985. 19pp.

It is generally believed that, in the aftermath of Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, there has been an appreciable decline in Palestinian terrorist activity. However, a statistical examination of data in the Rand Corporation's *Chronology of International Terrorism* presents a rather different and considerably less sanguine picture. First, there was little change in the total level of Palestinian terrorism against Israeli targets when measured over six-month intervals since January 1982, although for a time there was a decline of operations within Israel itself. During 1984, however, there was an alarming increase of terrorist attacks in Israel. Second, surrogate attacks on Jewish and Israeli targets outside of Israel by European and Latin American terrorist groups increased dramatically during the six months following the invasion but then plummeted in an equally dramatic fashion after December 1982. Third, even though surrogate operations in Europe and elsewhere declined, the level of attacks on Israeli interests and citizens in Europe has remained constant since the July–December 1982 time frame. Fourth, almost as many attacks are staged by Palestinian and Arab terrorists against Palestinian and Arab targets as are committed against Israeli and Jewish targets.

- 0583 **Supplemental Proceedings of the 10th Annual Symposium on the Role of Behavioral Science in Physical Security—Outthinking the Terrorist: An International Challenge.**
Defense Nuclear Agency, Washington, D.C. Barbara Curtis and Lawrence Visniesky. April 24, 1985. 44pp.
These supplemental proceedings represent an additional paper and a verbatim transcript of the International Panel and a presentation by Mr. Arnaud de Borchgrave at "The 10th Annual Symposium on the Role of Behavioral Science in Physical Security—Outthinking the Terrorist: An International Challenge," in Springfield, Virginia, April 23–24, 1985.
- 0627 **Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Terrorist Groups.**
RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Bonnie Cordes, Brian M. Jenkins, Konrad Kellen, Gail Bass, and Daniel Relles. June 1985. 125pp.
This report documents a study undertaken to develop a methodology for analyzing terrorist groups. A conceptual framework for analysis was devised and was then used to test several hypotheses concerning terrorist groups and their actions. The study also resulted in the creation of an extensive database of information on twenty-nine selected terrorist groups. The report describes an analytical framework developed at Rand for studying the characteristics of terrorist groups and illustrates how that framework can be used to address broad questions about terrorists and their actions. This conceptual framework is based on data concerning 150 specific attributes of terrorist groups. These attributes fall into the following categories: (1) Organization; (2) Leadership; (3) Demography; (4) Ideology, doctrine, and goals; (5) Psychology, mindset, and decisionmaking; (6) Funding and logistics; (7) Operations and modus operandi; (8) Communications; (9) External relations; (10) Environmental and government response.
- 0752 **An Analysis of Left- and Right-Wing Terrorism in Italy.**
Defense Intelligence College [location unavailable]. Kenneth R. Langford. July 1985. 94pp.
The purpose of this study was to analyze, in terms of intelligence principles, left- and right-wing terrorism in Italy. Italian terrorism is deeply rooted in political and socioeconomic developments of the post–World War II era. The events surrounding these developments were closely examined in an attempt to understand the rise of Italian terrorism. The second, but equally important purpose, was to present a study which applied indications and warning (I&W) analytical techniques to the terrorist problem in a given region. The scope of this study included a systematic review of significant events peculiar to Italy's post–World War II years. Beginning with political and socioeconomic developments immediately following the war, events

were traced and discussed through the violent outbreak of terrorism in Italy. Government countermeasures were identified in Italy's bid to cope with the terrorist menace. Indications and warning methods were applied to key events to better understand the phenomena of Italian terrorism. This analysis demonstrated that the methods may be successfully applied, with certain restraints. Additional application of I&W analysis to other terrorist problems should be encouraged to strengthen the intelligence base in this mostly untouched arena of analysis. The thesis concluded with a prognosis of the future directions of terrorism in Italy.

0846 **Generational Changes in Terrorist Movements: The Turkish Case.**
RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Sabri Sayari. July 1985. 17pp.

The purpose of this paper is to provide some information concerning the composition of the terrorist movement in Turkey, with special emphasis on the generational changes among the terrorists, and the implications of these changes for the behavior of the armed extremists.

0863 **Shi'a Terrorism, the Conflict in Lebanon and the Hijacking of TWA Flight 847.**
RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Bruce Hoffman. July 1985. 4pp.

Why is the United States the target of a terrorist campaign waged by Lebanese Shi'a extremists? The answer, to a great extent, lies in the traditional sectarian rivalries and present internal power struggle for control of Lebanon. By way of the hijacking of TWA flight 847, the United States has become the unwilling pawn in this contest.

0867 **Future Course of International Terrorism.**
RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Brian Michael Jenkins. September 1985. 14pp.

Presented at the International Conference on Current Trends in World Terrorism Held at Tel Aviv, Israel, July 1-4, 1985. International terrorism emerged as a problem in the late 1960s and despite increased government efforts to combat it, terrorism remains a serious problem in the 1980s. Will terrorism continue? Yes. The author concludes that: (1) probably it will increase; (2) large-scale incidents will become more common; (3) at the same time, he doesn't think terrorism will enter the mindboggling world of high technology or mass destruction; (4) in terms of tactics, targets, and weapons, terrorism will be for the foreseeable future a continuation of the past; (5) states will continue to exploit terrorism—to use it for their own purposes. We may enter a protracted worldwide guerrilla war; and (6) terrorists will create crises, forcing governments and corporations to divert more and more resources toward combatting them.

0882

Aftermath of the Achille Lauro.

Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Brian Michael Jenkins. November 1985. 5pp.

The president, I believe, did the right thing in ordering American fighters to force down the Egyptian airliner and deliver the four hijackers of the Achille Lauro—the murderers of an American citizen—to justice. It was an opportunity that we could not afford to miss. The handling of the aftermath, however, has been terrible. We humiliated a friend. We bashed an ally. We snatched diplomatic disaster from the jaws of rare victory against terrorists. And despite current efforts to repair the damage, we remain pugnacious in mood, mistaken in the belief that by applying bold military force and bullying reluctant governments to action, we can defeat terrorism.

0887

A Ranking of Sabotage/Tampering Avoidance Technology Alternatives.

Pacific Northwest Laboratory, Richland, Washington, and U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Washington, D.C. W.B. Andrews, A.S. Tabatabai, T.B. Powers, P.M. Daling, B.A. Fecht, B.F. Gore, T.D. Overcast, W.R. Rankin, R.E. Schreiber, J.J. Tawil. November 1985. 133pp.

Pacific Northwest Laboratory conducted a study to evaluate alternatives to the design and operation of nuclear power plants, emphasizing a reduction of their vulnerability to sabotage. Estimates of core melt accident frequency during normal operations and from sabotage/tampering events were used to rank the alternatives. Core melt frequency for normal operations was estimated using sensitivity analysis of results of probabilistic risk assessments. Core melt frequency for sabotage/tampering was estimated by developing a model based on probabilistic risk analyses, historic data, engineering judgment, and safeguards analyses of plant locations where core melt events could be initiated. Results indicate the most effective alternatives focus on large areas of the plant, increase safety system redundancy, and reduce reliance on single locations for mitigation of transients. Less effective options focus on specific areas of the plant, reduce reliance on some plant areas for safe shutdown, and focus on less vulnerable targets.

Reel 2

1985 cont.

- 0001 **Symposium on International Terrorism Held In Washington, D.C., on December 2-3, 1985.**
Defense Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. Martha Crenshaw, Alex P. Schmid, Ted R. Gurr, Michael Stohl, and Paul Wilkinson. December 1985. 337pp.
Ideological and Psychological Factors in International Terrorism; Goals and Objectives of International Terrorism; Methodologies for the Analysis to Oppositional Terrorism; State Supported Terrorism; Support Mechanisms for International Terrorism; State Response to International Terrorism; and Future Trends in International Terrorism.
- 0338 **Combatting Terrorism: A Guide for U.S. Naval Forces Afloat.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Hubert Broughton. December 1985. 91pp.
The U.S. Navy's forces afloat do not have a single source document that addresses antiterrorism and counterterrorism. The increase in terrorism worldwide has stimulated the concern that vulnerable maritime vessels will become terrorist targets. U.S. Navy ships in a restricted maneuvering situation, at anchor in a harbor, or moored pierside may offer an attractive target to a terrorist group. To deal with this potential terrorist threat, personnel manning U.S. Navy ships must be educated in the fundamentals of terrorism; the ships' security program must be evaluated and modified accordingly; various watches, sentries, and teams must be trained in new anti- and counterterrorist procedures; and contingency plans must be developed to deal with potential terrorist incidents. This study provides a guide for the development of effective antiterrorist and counterterrorist programs for any ship type in the U.S. Navy.

1986

- 0429 **Terrorism: Challenge and Response.**
U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Cornell Fuller. April 7, 1986. 31pp.
Terrorism as a means of political and social influence has been, and continues to be, a serious problem in the United States. But effective law enforcement and changing political and social conditions have kept it from getting out of hand. International terrorism directed against U.S. citizens and property abroad will continue to be a major problem for the foreseeable future. International terrorist organizations, supported by totalitarian states, are engaged in declared war against the United States and the West, the

initial phases of which have been decisively won by terrorists as a result of: (1) apathy in the West; (2) lack of unity; and (3) the cowardly response to terrorist attacks by most western governments. Although terrorists have heretofore been successful, this essay identifies vulnerabilities which can be exploited through a coordinated western response. These vulnerabilities are examined in light of specific responses that should be taken using national elements of power. Within this context, the author concludes that regional, international, and bilateral cooperation to facilitate pursuit of a proactive campaign against terrorists will quickly isolate and render ineffective international terrorists and their supporters.

0460

Spain's ETA.

Defense Intelligence College, Washington, D.C. Franz Porter. February 14, 1986. 30pp.

The peaceful transformation of Franco's Spain into a modern constitutional monarchy is an important political achievement. During the 1960s and 1970s, the regime confronted its most severe security problem in the Basque region. This paper discusses the ETA, a Basque nationalist group, and its activities. It concludes that the greatest future threat may be in possible linkages with European leftist groups. However, past indications are that such linkages are not likely in any other mode than the occasional support mode under which they now operate.

0490

Legal Limitations on the Use of Airpower against Terrorist Activity.
ACSC/EDCC, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Robert Kaszczuk. [1986]. 33pp.

International law, particularly the law of war, supports the use of airpower in an armed response to terrorism. The study evaluates national self-help in relation to counterterrorist and antiterrorist operations. The study traces the development of the law of self-help and its applicability today against this new form of warfare. The study concludes that the United States can legally justify direct military action against terrorists, but it must consider other factors, such as international public opinion.

0523

The Red Army Faction: Four Generations of Terror.

Defense Intelligence College, Washington, D.C. Charles Bay. March 7, 1986. 43pp.

The year 1985 began with the reemergence of one of the most notorious terrorist organizations in Europe, the Red Army Faction (RAF) of West Germany. The RAF, whose demise has been pronounced on numerous occasions by West German authorities, has been the primary terrorist threat within that country since the late 1960s. From inception to date, the RAF has gone through a series of generational changes that produced its present-day offspring which, although smaller and less experienced than predecessors, is no less fervent and far more violent.

- 0566 **The Use of Terrorist Tactics as Instruments for Causing Change In Japan: 1920–1936.**
Defense Intelligence College, Washington, D.C. Jo H. Kinkaid. February 21, 1986. 61pp.
The following pages set the stage for discussion of the groups and methods used in, and the results of the use of, terrorist tactics in Japan during the 1920s and 1930s. This is not meant to be, nor could it be, an exhaustive study. Events from the opening of Japan to the period of primary concern are summarized to provide the reader, who may not be familiar with Japanese history and the unique situation which pertained, adequate background information to understand what occurred in the period between the world wars. Internal and external events during the twenties and thirties are then examined as is the makeup and motivations of some of the groups who played roles in the various terrorists acts. The key acts themselves are outlined and finally conclusions are drawn about the meaning of the events.
- 0627 **The IRA: An Examination of a Terrorist Organization.**
Defense Intelligence College, Washington, D.C. Timothy Collins. June 2, 1986. 30pp.
This paper examines the IRA as a terrorist group, looking at its historical background and analyzing the group as it changed from fighting the British rule in all Ireland, battling the new Irish State, to the struggle in Northern Ireland. Topics discussed: the IRA's ideology, sources of financial and moral support, organization, and the future.
- 0657 **Other Terrorist War: Palestinian versus Palestinian.**
Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Bruce Hoffman. January 1986. 5pp.
The brutal assaults at the Rome and Vienna airports—like the hijackings of a TWA aircraft in June, an Italian cruise in October, and an Egypt Air plane in November—again demonstrate anew how terrorists unscrupulously use the lives of Americans and other foreign nationals to advance their own parochial goals. Indeed, the latest incidents, in which five Americans were among the nineteen killed, were carried out less to harm Israel (the ostensible target of the terrorists) than to discredit Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat.
- 0662 **Terrorism In the United States during 1985.**
RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Bruce Hoffman. February 1986. 12pp.
Presented before the American Jewish Committee National Affairs Commission National Task Force on Anti-Semitism and Extremism on February 3, 1986, at Los Angeles, California. Events throughout 1985 demonstrated

repeatedly the threat posed to U.S. interests and citizens by terrorists abroad. The United States is—and has long been—the number one target of a variety of foreign terrorist organizations. Indeed, of the approximately 450 acts of terrorism during 1985 recorded in the Rand Corporation's terrorism chronology, a quarter (111) were directed against American targets. At the same time, however, the United States itself—as has also long been the case—has remained relatively insulated from these escalations of terrorist violence. Moreover, a preliminary examination of 1985 statistics from Rand's chronology reveals that there was a decline in the number of terrorist incidents in this country from fifty-one incidents in 1984 to twenty-four during the past year. However heartening this development may be, or however small this total appears in comparison with the world-wide figure, we should not be lulled into thinking that the United States is either immune to violence from political extremists within its own borders or that the terrorist acts which occur here do not warrant attention.

0674 **Safeguards against Terrorists: A Handbook for U.S. Military Personnel and Families.**

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Carroll T. Eddie, Jr. February 1986. 36pp.

The author contends that Americans overseas, and particularly senior U.S. military personnel, are popular terrorist targets, thus military personnel and their families need to be aware of the terrorist threat and have sufficient knowledge and training to protect themselves. This paper presents many practical safeguards which, if followed, would contribute to the security, productivity, and war-fighting readiness of military people, their families, and associates. The paper covers the nature of the terrorist threat; the importance of prior family awareness, study, training, and preparation; physical security measures; and kidnap prevention.

0710 **International Terrorism: Soviet Connectivity.**

Air War College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Frederick L. Morgenstern. February 1986. 26pp.

Reviews the nature of terrorism and definitional complexities associated with this highly emotional and violent form of combat. Transitions to international terrorism and its special problems. Reviews the literature concerning international terrorist objectives. Relates these to massive Soviet support and involvement albeit the great difficulty in finding a Soviet holding a "smoking gun." The evidence although mainly circumstantial points overwhelmingly to Soviet complicity. The author concludes that international terrorism is but a form of Soviet expansionism with documentation of the Soviet connection from the U.S. Ku Klux Klan (KKK) to Irish Republican Army (IRA) to the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II.

0736

Court Depositions of Three Red Brigadists.

RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. S.E. Moran. February 1986. 258pp.

The Red Brigades, Italy's major left-wing terrorist group, first gained international attention in 1978 when its members kidnapped and later assassinated former Prime Minister Aldo Moro. Since then, the group has survived a number of government-sponsored attempts at extermination, including the highly effective efforts of DIGOS, the counterterrorist agency headed until 1982 by General Alberto Dalla Chiesa. The Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse, or BR) were founded in 1968. The group engaged in domestic terrorism until December 1981, when it entered the realm of international terrorism by kidnapping an American, General James L. Dozier, the chief of administration and logistics at NATO land forces headquarters, in Verona. A crack Italian police squad rescued General Dozier in January 1982, but two years later the BR resurfaced to assassinate Leamon Hunt, the U.S. director-general of the civilian and military forces monitoring observance of the peace treaty in the Sinai peninsula. Then in March 1985, in an effort to call attention to a referendum on wage indexing, the BR killed Christian Democrat economist Ezio Tarantelli. The BR has published communiques after each operation and has issued other documents at frequent intervals, providing a wealth of information for analysts.

Reel 3

1986 cont.

0001

The Peace Movement and Terrorist Organizations in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Air War College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Dietrich K. Kraushaar. March 1986. 32pp.

This document presents an investigation of the possible relationship between the peace movement and terrorist groups in the Federal Republic of Germany. The focus is on the thesis that the peace movement provides a climate of opinion for terrorists and that political/military leaders should recognize and understand the threat of terrorist attacks. A description of the origins and components of the peace movement and terrorist organizations will provide the necessary background.

0033

Irish Terrorism—A Problem of British Design.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. John O'Connell, Jr. March 15, 1986. 28pp.

Northern Ireland has been literally destroyed and rebuilt several times as a result of the fighting between the Irish and the British. There is no doubt that the present-day Irish Republican Army is a terrorist organization in the full sense of the term. However, this was not always the case. During the past 800 years, the Irish have continually fought for independence from the Crown—a dream for all “true” Irish. The United Kingdom has been able to stave off this desire through oppression, inaction, and just a general inability to deal with the Irish people as more than subjects of the Crown. In addition, the Protestant Plantation of the 1600s initiated a basis for disagreement that enabled England to “close her eyes” to the Anglo-Irish problem on the basis that it was a religious problem, not a political one. In spite of numerous efforts on the part of the Irish people to have their grievances heard, all rhetoric has been basically wasted as the English are not really interested. Although the United Kingdom would like to believe otherwise, the cause of terrorism in Ireland is that conventional means of dealing with England have yielded no results and forced the Irish into a situation that is the ideal breeding ground for terrorism, i.e., the perception of social injustice, support from elsewhere around the world, and an ideology that a better way can be achieved. It must be realized that British inaction has caused Irish action. The blame for the problems of Northern Ireland falls squarely on the shoulders of the Crown.

0065

Terrorism as a Perceived Threat to U.S. Armed Forces Serving OCONUS and the Army's Program of Addressing That Threat.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Sam Raines. March 27, 1986. 69pp.

The basic question is whether the Army's initiatives toward terrorism counteraction are actually filtering down to the soldier level and what the perceptions of Army efforts at countering terrorism are as viewed primarily from the Battalion Command level. A follow-up area of interest is the level of comfort with information, preparedness, and general feelings of vulnerability as expressed at the Battalion Command level of responsibility. To assess these areas it was necessary to conduct research as to the current and projected trends in terrorism, the threat against U.S. forces serving overseas, and then to highlight those programs currently directed by the departments of state, defense, and army. The heart of the paper revolves around a survey administered to the U.S. Army War College Resident Class of 1986. This survey captured perceptions of the class relative to terrorism preparation, counteraction, programs, and to a degree measured the feeling of vulnerability of those serving outside the United States.

The effort was to capture the family "perception." For comparison a recent survey of State Department personnel was used to project parallel perceptions of other Americans who are serving overseas. It was determined that while there are numerous ongoing efforts by the Department of the Army, the actual, expected result is not reaching the soldier level or meeting his needs. Further, the Army appears to have a significant weakness in its preparation/information program and there are very real feelings of vulnerabilities and lack of preparedness among families serving abroad. The Army should conduct a detailed examination of current programs and initiate, with renewed emphasis at every level of command, a terrorism counteraction program that is applicable for soldiers and families of all ranks. In the wake of recent terrorist threats, the Army cannot afford to treat terrorism as anything less than a high priority issue.

0134

International Terrorism as a Lawful Form of Warfare: An Idea Whose Time Should Not Arrive.

ACSC/EDCC, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. John Humphries. April 1986. 54pp.

The United States is facing a significant challenge worldwide from terrorism. The challenge comes from the international scope and the state sponsorship involved in contemporary terrorism. In fact, international terrorism is increasingly referred to as a new form of warfare. The law of armed conflict, however, excludes terrorists as lawful combatants and terrorism as a legitimate type of warfare. Customary international law prohibits state sponsorship of terrorists and their activity. Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions attempts to redress the law of armed conflict. The Protocol affords certain terrorists treatment as lawful combatants rather than common criminals. Protocol I also absolves nation-states of any liability to other governments arising from its support of terrorism. This analysis evaluates the legal consequences of adhering to the customary international law outlawing terrorism and of ratifying Protocol I to legalize terrorist wartime. The study concludes that it is not in the United States' national interest to recognize terrorism as an acceptable warfare strategem.

0188

Fixing the Blame: International Terrorism and Attacks on Americans.
RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. B. Hoffman. April 1986. 5pp.

By fixing our attention on flamboyant figures like Qaddafi and attempting to link terrorist acts to foreign governments, we try to compensate for the terrorists' inherent elusiveness and to divine a target for possible retaliation. But we run the risk of deluding ourselves, of possibly hitting the wrong target, aggravating an already tense situation and having little, if any, positive effect on terrorist attacks against Americans.

0194

America's Response to International Terrorism.

Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Richard R. Crawford. April 2, 1986. 58pp.

The growing threat of terrorism as it affects national interest is examined along with the problems of developing an effective deterrence strategy to deal with it. Also considered are the terrorist groups and their close ties to sponsoring states, which is a network of nations including the Soviet Union. Legislative measures that have already taken effect are discussed, as well as public opinion and support for the use of force. Recommended actions to counter terrorism are based on the philosophy of Just Cause, and the principle that any response must be proportionate to the threat and highly discriminate in its application. Only through multinational cooperation can there be a viable deterrence strategy. Responsible nations must join together and work toward the objective of denying the terrorists their goals by making terrorist acts counterproductive and costly. The terrorists and their sponsor-states must fear the consequences of their actions. To be effective, only responses that include economic sanctions, political isolation, and limited surgical strikes against approved targets within terrorist sponsor-states that have been positively identified as instigators of terrorist activities will combat and defeat these outlaws.

0252

Terrorism: Challenge and Response.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Cornell Fuller. April 7, 1986. 29pp.

Terrorism as a means of political and social influence has been, and continues to be, a serious problem in the United States. But effective law enforcement and changing political and social conditions have kept it from getting out of hand. International terrorism directed against U.S. citizens and property abroad will continue to be a major problem for the foreseeable future. International terrorist organizations, supported by totalitarian states, are engaged in declared war against the United States and the West, the initial phases of which have been decisively won by terrorists as a result of: (1) apathy in the West; (2) lack of unity; and (3) the cowardly response to terrorist attacks by most western governments. Although terrorists have heretofore been successful, this essay identifies vulnerabilities which can be exploited through a coordinated western response. These vulnerabilities are examined in light of specific responses that should be taken using national elements of power. Within this context, the author concludes that regional, international, and bilateral cooperation to facilitate pursuit of a proactive campaign against terrorists will quickly isolate and render ineffective terrorists and their supporters.

0281

The Military, the Media, and International Terrorism.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Philip W. Leon. April 7, 1986. 67pp.

After a brief respite in 1983 and 1984—with the notable exception of the bombing of the Marine Corps barracks in Beirut in October 1983—U.S. military facilities overseas have once again become prime targets for terrorists. Terrorist groups such as the Red Army Faction in West Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy, and various Muslim groups in the Mediterranean and Middle East regions, have vented their anger and dissatisfaction on American soldiers, sailors, and airmen who are often stationed in isolated duty posts worldwide. Whether it is “ban-the-bomb” leftists in England, independence advocates in Puerto Rico, or Communists in the Philippines, international terrorism puts American servicemen and their commanders before the camera’s eye and subject to the scrutiny of an increasingly aggressive news media. Terrorist acts make good news. The study seeks to advise public affairs officers and commanders of some of the assets available to them when a terrorist incident involving the American military occurs. To gather my data, I traveled to the most active terrorist spot today, West Germany, and talked with public affairs officers at European Command, U.S. Army Europe, and U.S. Air Forces in Europe. There I shared information obtained at the various headquarters and interviewed personnel experienced in dealing with the media during a terrorist situation and, in one case, with personnel who had actually been endangered by a terrorist act. American military commanders need not be victimized by the news media if they rely upon their public affairs professionals to control volatile situations.

0348

Terrorism: The Challenge and the Response.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. John J. Tarpley. April 7, 1986. 24pp.

International terrorism is a complex and increasingly lethal challenge to international order, to the United States, and to the community of democratic nations. This essay reviews the definitional problems and nature of terrorism. The act of terrorism has been practiced for centuries for many reasons with varying degrees of success. In recent years, terrorism has emerged as a sophisticated strategy for use as a political weapon. It is essential to recognize that terrorism has purposes and goals; it is a relatively new mode of warfare which poses a significant threat to the American system of government and way of life. The inability of a government to respond effectively to terrorist incidents undermines the confidence of both its citizens and its allies. Terrorists attempt to inspire and manipulate fear to achieve their purposes. The last two decades have

seen a dramatic increase in international terrorism; this trend is likely to continue. The terrorist incidents of 1985 illustrate that terrorism is increasingly directed against the United States and the other western democracies. Our responses to terrorism must have legal and moral foundations and must be politically feasible. The United States has a clearly stated antiterrorism policy and an effective governmental structure to deal with terrorism. Our national strategy must embrace the whole range of threats to American citizens, property, and interests. The strategy can be divided into three broad categories: defensive, managerial, and long-term. Terrorism can be managed and controlled, but not eliminated.

0372

Terrorism: Challenge and Response—The Search for National Strategy.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Douglas Dearth. April 22, 1986. 124pp.

The fundamental issues are the lack of agreed-upon definitions of terrorism among U.S. government agencies and the resultant lack of coherence in U.S. policy and strategy to respond to the threat. Government and academic definitions were examined, and were found to be inadequate for strategy formulation. A new theoretical typology of international and domestic terrorism is postulated, and the political and military implications of the functions of positive intelligence and counterintelligence in supporting counterterrorism and antiterrorism strategies, respectively. A typology of response options is presented, indicating the limitations of defensive and crisis management procedures, as well as the costs and risks associated with offensive measures. The United States must formulate and execute an offensive strategy, employing military options of retaliation, elimination, and preemption. The ultimate goal of offensive and defensive strategies is to achieve effective deterrence against the terrorist threat. Both conventional and special operations forces have complementary roles to play in the execution of an effective offensive counterterrorism strategy.

0496

Covert Action as an Instrument of National Policy.

Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. B.T. Morland. May 1986. 35pp.

The relationship of covert action to national security policy is described as one of the many elements of power used in generating national security and foreign policy. Covert action is defined and the legal basis for U.S. covert action is described. The planning of covert action and the conditions necessary for the successful execution of covert action are discussed and applied to several examples of covert action. The failure modes for covert action are also discussed.

- 0531 **Countering State-Sponsored Terrorism: A Law-Policy Analysis.**
Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. James P. Terry. May 30, 1986. 73pp.
State-sponsored terrorism has become another means of conducting foreign affairs. This threat of low-intensity conflict requires that we confront a host of new legal, political, military, and moral questions. The United States has been working hard to develop a strategy within the construct of international law. The elements of conventional (treaty) and customary international law underpin the United States counterterrorism strategy which was recently exercised during the April 15, 1986, defensive raid against Libya. That defensive response emphasized the United States' concern for the principles of necessity and proportionality, target discrimination, exhaustion of noncoercive remedies, and the interests of our allies. The United States must, however, place greater emphasis on the underlying causes of state-sponsored terrorism.
- 0604 **Embassy Security: State Department Efforts to Improve Security Overseas.**
United States General Accounting Office, National Security and International Affairs Division, Washington, D.C. June 1986. 45pp.
Security of U.S. overseas personnel and facilities against terrorist threats; FY 1985 Security Supplemental Funds Appropriated and obligations by major category as of January 31, 1986; Department of State organization for security; disagreements identified by GAO involving security improvements at posts and comments from state department.
- 0649 **The Revolutionary Left and Terrorist Violence in Chile.**
United States Air Force. William Sater. June 1986. 25pp.
This report provides an understanding of the current political situation in Chile by reviewing events leading up to the 1973 coup that established a military government there. In particular, it discusses the Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), which has become the principal opposition to the current government of Augusto Pinochet. The author reviews MIR's operations, membership, funding, and relations with other political elements in Chilean society. He concludes that a political solution to the troubles in Chile does not presently appear possible since Pinochet will not deal with the relatively moderate political elements in Chile. The situation is polarized and the prospects for terrorist violence are increasing.
- 0674 **Sendero Luminoso: Origins, Outlooks, and Implications.**
Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Frank Jones. June 1986. 147pp.
The Sendero Luminoso, or Shining Path, rebellion in Peru was launched during the summer of 1980. Although the group was relatively unknown,

and initially dismissed as a weak and unimportant movement among the Indian peasants of the Andean highlands, the Sendero guerrillas have proven to be a resilient and dedicated threat to the Peruvian democratic regime. This thesis examines the Sendero Luminoso question from three different perspectives. Their use of Maoist strategy and tactics as interpreted by Abimael Guzman is discussed at length. The counterinsurgency program is analyzed to explain its failures and offer suggestions for improvement. Finally, the problem is reviewed from the aspect of the central government during the last two decades. It is concluded that although Sendero Luminoso poses no immediate threat to assume power, the guerrillas possess the capability to inflict damage for at least the near future. Recommendations for U.S. policy regarding Peru and Sendero Luminoso are included in the final chapter.

0821

The Conspiracy Theory of Terrorism: Analysis and Application.

[Organization unavailable.] June 30, 1986. 94pp.

The conspiracy theory of terrorism is one of many theories which attempt to explain terrorism. The literature relating to conspiracy theory is fragmented and opinionated, causing problems in understanding the positions of those who attest to conspiracy theory. This thesis consolidates much of the literature and relates the impact of conspiracy theory ideology to the political decision-making process. This study analyzes literature from the two opposing viewpoints of the conspiracy theory of terrorism. The data is obtained primarily through books, journals, magazines, newspaper articles, and government documents. The opposing viewpoints of conspiracy theory are both supported in the literature. Terrorism has become a source of power in politics. There are many similarities in the decision-making processes used by the two sides. The conspiracy theory of terrorism may or may not be valid, but it has contributed to the beliefs and actions of many governments and people in powerful decision-making roles.

0915

The Existence of Violence In Nonviolent Protest Groups.

California State University, California. Gail A. Keefe. Summer 1986. 89pp.

The 1980s have ushered in a new, more aggressive era of protest. The peace movement, i.e., the antinuclear movement, has gained momentum since the early eighties and may well be the largest nonviolent protest movement in the world today. Not only is the movement gaining momentum in the United States and Western Europe, it is also gathering support in the Eastern bloc countries. There is the possibility of violence erupting during a nonviolent demonstration. This thesis describes the situations in which violence may occur, it reviews theories that relate to nonviolent protest groups and their propensity to become violent, and it provides recommendations to control peaceful demonstrations. Information for this

protest study was taken from criminal justice, sociology, political science, and religious journals. Additionally, several well-written books on the subject were reviewed and the *Journals of Dissent and Social Change* index compiled by John Liberty for the California State University, Sacramento, Library was used extensively. Information gathered by the author at Vandenberg Air Force Base, California, during the 1983 antinuclear demonstrations was incorporated into this study. The current peace movement is committed to nonviolence and it has much to lose, nothing to gain, by the use of violence. There are no direct acts of violence recorded against persons in the United States, however, the European movement is much more aggressive. The movement has turned toward acts of violence against property and has used a more direct approach recently. The possibility for violence exists in every form of demonstration, rally, or march that any large protest movement is involved in. The literature suggests that left-wing movements are in danger of losing sight of their nonviolent goals and resorting to more militant action.

Reel 4

1986 cont.

- 0001 **Conducting Anti-Terrorism Operations and Contingency Planning for Risk Reduction of the Terrorist Threat.**
Michigan State University, Michigan. James C. Harper. August 1986. 184pp.

Terrorist acts have increased in alarming numbers in many areas of the world today. Americans, once virtually immune from becoming terrorist targets, are being singled out as targets of choice by a rising number of terrorist organizations. Relatively safe forms of transportation, like cruise ships and American-based airlines, have experienced dramatic acts of terrorism directed at Americans using those services in both 1985 and 1986. Media coverage of these events has compounded the fear of many Americans about when and where the next act of terrorism may occur. As airports have been the victims of some of the most vicious terrorist acts occurring in the past year, airport security has come under increasing scrutiny by television documentaries, such as "60 Minutes," and by many sectors of the American public. While experts predict that acts of terrorism are about to occur on American soil, what are security officials at American airports doing to prepare for this potential threat? What lessons have we learned from terrorist acts which have happened at other airports around the world, such as the December 1985 attacks at the Rome and Vienna

airports? Airport antiterrorism operations and contingency planning can be the weapons which airport security managers use to successfully battle the increasing trend of terrorist acts on airports today.

0187 **Implications of the Achille Lauro Hijacking for the Maritime Community.**

Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Jeffrey D. Simon. August 1986. 10pp.

The Achille Lauro hijacking can serve as an important reminder to the shipping industry that in this age of rising terrorism worldwide, no group or commercial interest is immune from attack. To view the seizing of the cruise liner as an "isolated incident unlikely to recur," would not only be wishful thinking, but also potentially dangerous thinking if it prevents the maritime community from becoming more attentive to the threat of terrorism.

0199 **How International Businesses Cope with Terrorism.**

Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Susanna W. Purnell. December 1986. 17pp.

This article deals with four issues. First, why and where terrorists attack businesses. Second, the strategies that American firms have employed to counter those threats. Third, the costs to the firm of both the terrorist attacks and the company's response, and finally some observations on the hostage experience.

1987

0216 **Should Our Arsenal against Terrorism Include Assassination?**

Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Brian Michael Jenkins. January 1987. 15pp.

Among the countermeasures that the United States might employ against terrorists, why not assassination? Do we deny ourselves an effective instrument simply because terrorists do not fit neatly into our traditional methods of law enforcement or waging war? This essay examines the arguments for and against assassination as a means of combatting terrorism.

0231 **International Terrorism.**

Air War College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Mohammed Khawaldeh. March 1987. 24pp.

Remarks on the definition and evolution of world terrorist activities lead into the purpose of terrorism and the motives behind its actions; it also sheds a light on the international connections, to achieve various objectives, with a suggested checklist to counterterrorism. The lack of understanding between different nations, and the uncooperative attitude in combatting terrorism is indicated as the main setback to eliminating world terror.

- 0255 **State-Sponsored Terrorism.**
U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Ahmed Badanin Makki. March 2, 1987. 23pp.
Terrorism, one of the most widely discussed issues of our time, is also one of the least understood. Terrorist attacks are directed to the United States and the Western Hemisphere. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the moderate Arab leaders believe that the United States can find a fair solution to the Middle East crisis. Other Arab countries believe that the only way to find a fair solution is through violence. The PLO is not involved in international terrorism but there are other extremist organizations conducting terrorist attacks. The PLO wants a fair understanding to the Palestinian question and they want to go back home. Maybe the extremists want to send a message to the whole world, telling the world to think about the Palestinians and to find a fair solution to their difficult problems. Some countries support the extremists with money, weapons, and housing, because they believe that the only way to solve the Palestinian question is violence. The United States, as a superpower and having a good relationship with Israel, should participate positively to find a fair and acceptable solution to the Middle East crisis. I believe that the Arabs and the PLO do not want to throw Israel in the sea but they need a better understanding of their question.
- 0278 **Terrorism: The Military Challenge.**
U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Gary Nelson. March 16, 1987. 30pp.
International terrorism is a matter which touches each and every one of us; it threatens international order and can paralyze democratic nations to the degree that they are unable to respond. Terrorism has become a useful capability for aggressive nations unable to mount a successful military challenge against a militarily superior state. This essay reviews the recent experiences in dealing with this new form of conflict exploring the various elements of power with special emphasis on the role for the military. Furthermore, it discusses the nature of international terrorism, defines the threat and explores the goals of the terrorists. It then traces the evolution of U.S. policy and finally determines the strategic implications for the military to meet the challenge.
- 0308 **The Media and Terrorism.**
U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. James Kessler. March 17, 1987. 27pp.
Media coverage of terrorism in a democracy is a critical problem. The elimination or even the restriction of media coverage would have a marked effect on counterterrorism measures. But, success at any cost is not a

concept with which Americans are comfortable. Indeed, it could be argued that restricting autonomy and freedom of the press is in itself a victory for terrorism. Hence we face a real dilemma: the free media that have helped shape our democracy and have contributed to its strength also have provided our enemies with the means to strike at our democratic foundation. While there will always be some mutual suspicion between the media and the government in a democracy, cooperation in times of crisis can produce a common-sense approach to counterterrorism measures.

0336

Terrorism—A Global Perspective.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Stephen R. Gwin. March 21, 1987. 37pp.

The trends in international terrorism point toward an escalation through the remainder of this decade and into the 1990s. Increases will be reflected in both the number and the lethality of attacks, mostly as a result of the availability and use of sophisticated technology by terrorist groups. The exporting of terrorism has been a major factor in Europe the last few years and is probably a foreboding of what the United States can anticipate. The trend toward the use of high technology and a confluence of other factors indicate an increased probability of eventual nuclear terrorism. In combating terrorism, the world community will realize success only through a well-coordinated global program. Such a program will require a universally acceptable definition of terrorism; one which clearly distinguishes between terrorism and illegal forms of warfare. A close study of profiles on terrorist leaders, such as the infamous Carlos, provides a clear distinction between terrorists and freedom fighters. In addition to the coordinated global effort, a sustained victory in the war against terrorism will require an adjustment of international political structures to establish a "planetization" perspective by all the states of the world community.

0373

Terrorism: Crime or War?

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. J.M. Brusitus. March 23, 1987. 22pp.

Terrorism is one of the most important challenges facing western democracies today. Even though democratic governments will agree that terrorism is a threat, there is no consensus among members of the international community in defining what it is. Consequently, the only response at times is a vindictive "eye-for-an-eye" which sometimes creates a moral dilemma for believers in democratic values and human rights. The perplexing issue facing the civilized world is agreeing on whether the act which we call terrorism and the actors who perpetrate it are criminals engaging in a crime or soldiers engaging in a legitimate act of war. If we cannot agree on a common ground there can never be any consensus on what an appropriate response should be. In addition, definitive answers to the precise legal

status of terrorists will remain confused, while obtaining appropriate redress within international forums such as the United Nations will be difficult. Each crisis event must be taken in context and if it does not fit the parameters of the laws of land warfare, then it is outside the realm of warfare and falls in the realm of criminality. If that is the case, then a decision must be made as to what law or laws have been violated. Without concerted efforts by the international community to address the crime versus warfare issue more assiduously than in the past, success in responding to terrorism through the use of the law will remain innocuous. Consequently, the use of military force may do nothing more than produce a catharsis which is transitory and counterproductive.

0395

The Iranian Hostage Rescue Attempt.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Charles S. Thomas. March 23, 1987. 24pp.

On April 24, 1980, the United States military's attempt to rescue the fifty-three American hostages held in Tehran suffered ignominious defeat in the Iranian desert. A combination of some training defects, command and control problems, adverse weather conditions, and bad luck caused early cancellation of the mission. Eight men died in the effort and the hostages remained in captivity for a total of 444 days. It was a good idea—American pride and honor had been badly injured and this was an opportunity to show the world Americans were capable of dealing with international terrorism in a carefully calculated and measured way. But flawed planning and execution spelled doom for the endeavor and made an already bad political situation even worse. This paper examines what led up to the raid, what was planned, what went wrong, and what lessons can be drawn from experience.

0419

Assassination: A Military View.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Charles Eden. March 23, 1987. 26pp.

Assassination is a topic with which most Americans have only a passing familiarity. Such unfamiliarity then leads to confusion and misunderstanding. This article seeks to provide a definition of assassination which will allay that misunderstanding. By providing a definition we seek to edify. A clear-cut definition, however, is not easy to produce and it is here that the contribution to the accumulation of knowledge is made by drawing a contrast to a more familiar term, murder. An examination of the historical perspective, the worldwide use and impact of assassination and the international legal view is briefly conducted. The impact of assassination upon the United States is also reviewed. The conclusion provides some hope that by knowing better what assassination is, and collaterally, what

not, the American public can be reassured of the propriety of military actions.

Terrorism.

National Security and International Affairs Division of the General Accounting Office. Washington, D.C. April 1987. 25pp.

The report concerns how often and under what circumstances laws imposing sanctions on nations supporting terrorism have been invoked. Federal agencies—primarily State, Treasury, Commerce, and Transportation—have identified thirteen laws that authorize the president to invoke sanctions against nations supporting terrorism. No central source identifies individual sanctions with specific laws. However, through research and discussions with agency officials, they were able to identify sanctions since 1979 associated with all of the laws. The sanctions included such things as import embargoes, export license controls, freezing assets, terminating new loans and credit extensions, restricting arms sales and foreign assistance, terminating air services, and curtailing other activities between the United States and the nations designated as supporting terrorism. Details regarding the sanctions and the laws are included in appendices I through III.

0470 **Terrorism: American Concerns.**

Air Command and Staff College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Harold Korntved. 40pp.

This research analysis evaluates and discusses the apparent concerns of three separate audiences regarding terrorism in the United States, or against our personnel or property overseas. The three audiences include the high school student, the college student, and the senior military member.

0510 **America Strikes Back.**

Air Command and Staff College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. James Casford. April 1987. 35pp.

After repeated warnings from the U.S. government, elements of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and the U.S. Air Force bombed targets in and around the Libyan cities of Benghazi and Tripoli on April 14, 1986. The attack came in retaliation to several Libyan-sponsored terrorist attacks on U.S. concerns the weeks preceding. This paper examines the effects of the bombing as a deterrent of future terrorist attacks and further examines current and projected U.S. counterterrorist policies.

0545 **Successful Antiterrorism Policies.**

Air Command and Staff College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, Dale Waters. April 1967. 39 pp.

Many antiterrorism policies have been very successful in countering

domestic and international terrorism. The success of such policies has been disguised by a false perception of the terrorist threat. The study evaluates trends in domestic and international terrorism to demonstrate problems with perceptions. Specific counterterrorist policies are evaluated separately to determine their effectiveness. The study concludes with recommendations for a comprehensive antiterrorism program based on policies with proven success.

0584

Coping with Terrorism: A Concept Paper.

Air War College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. John E. Killeen and Robert A. Hoffman. April 1987. 186pp.

An analysis is provided concerning the serious, adverse effects of international political terrorism on the United States and other democratic nations. A discussion is presented regarding what terrorism really is and how it has grown in importance and power. Evidence is presented to suggest that international terrorism will probably become an even greater problem in the future. The basic thesis argues that the United States is not coping effectively with terrorism. A large measure of this failure is attributed to the fact that many American leaders do not recognize terrorism for what it truly is—a form of indirect, low-intensity warfare being waged against western-style democracies. The absence of a comprehensive, coherent national strategy is pointed out. The authors state that development of a systematic strategy which employs the full range of national instruments of power in an integrated fashion is the key to making progress in fighting terrorism. Thoughts on how this national strategy may be created are provided along with some specific recommendations for the Department of Defense and the U.S. Air Force.

0772

An Ethical Response to State-Sponsored Terrorism.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Thomas Joseph Begines. April 6, 1987. 154pp.

This thesis delineates the parameters of an ethical response at the national level to the use of terrorism by a *de jure* or *de facto* state. After deriving a philosophically relevant definition of terrorism which focuses on the nature of such acts *per se*, the article shows how it is that different cultures can have radically dissimilar and sometimes antagonistic structures of values, some of which promote terrorism. In Chapter 3, the author explores and rebuts the most prominent religious and secular justifications offered for the use of terrorism. These discussions furnish the basis for the assertion of five normative principles that ought to govern morally acceptable responses to terrorism, and for the delineation of proactive, passive, and active measures that constitute an ethical response to state-sponsored terrorism.

Reel 5

1987 cont.

- 0001 **West Germany's Red Army Faction.**
Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. May 1987. 3pp.
This reference aid outlines various aspects of West Germany's Red Army Faction (RAF)—its origins and development, ideology, organization, links to other terrorist groups, chronology of terrorist events, and brief biographies and photographs of current leadership.
- 0004 **Combatting Terrorism—A Response in Kind.**
U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Tom Lum. May 13, 1987. 21pp.
Outside of armed conflicts representing nations with forces in uniforms, another kind of war has emerged waged by terrorists. For the past twenty years terrorists have waged war against nations for a variety of reasons. No rules of war govern their conduct nor do they observe any. Methods of combatting terrorism vary from nation to nation. Few nations agree totally on how to combat this form of lawlessness. This essay examines one approach and suggests another. President Reagan's ultimate decision to bomb Libya is examined through a discussion of the events, repercussions of these events, and world opinion of these events that preceded his decision. A harsher, more controlled and personal approach to combatting terrorism is suggested and discussed.
- 0025 **Counterterrorism: Role of INTERPOL and the U.S. National Central Bureau.**
General Government Division of General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. June 1987. 44pp.
The report presents information on (1) the role of the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL) and the United States National Central Bureau (USNCB) in combatting terrorism and on (2) USNCB procedures for safeguarding the privacy of U.S. citizens during the exchange of counterterrorism-related information with U.S. and foreign law enforcement agencies.
- 0070 **Misperceiving the Terrorist Threat.**
Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Jeffrey D. Simon. June 1987. 21pp.
While the United States has been relatively free of terrorist incidents within been as fortunate. American tourists, businessmen, and facilities overseas have also been the targets of international terrorists over the years. This has led to growing frustration and anger on the part of the American public

and pressure on the government to do something about the terrorist threat. However, it is extremely difficult to counter a threat that is worldwide in scope, that is characterized by a multitude of diverse groups with varying tactics, and that stems from a complex array of political, economic, and ethnic/religious causes. Misperceptions of the terrorist threat to U.S. national security have led to attempts to design high-level policies to counter what are essentially low-level threats. Acknowledging that terrorism is not likely to threaten the nation's vital interests unless each episode is allowed to be perceived as a crisis may be the first step toward creating an effective and practical response.

0093

Arms Transfers to the Irish Republican Army.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Laurence N. Schuetz. June 1987. 167pp.

This paper describes the arms transfer relationship of a nongovernmental organization, the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Open source information is used to develop models of munitions, financial, and training relationships. These models are then explained in terms of (1) systemic influences, (2) supplier rationales, objectives, and interests, and (3) recipient demand factors. Finally, the implications of these relationships are briefly addressed in the summary and conclusions. The closing section also includes suggestions for future research, based upon an assessment of possible sources of detailed arms transfer data, and methodological challenges.

0261

The Use of Military Force to Counter International Terrorism—A Policy Dilemma.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Edward Houle. June 5, 1987. 188pp.

This study examines the use of military force as part of a proactive campaign to counter international terrorism. This study includes an examination of the threat from international terrorism as it has grown from 1968 to the present day. Initiatives by the international community to confront terrorism are reviewed to provide a framework for investigating U.S. counterterrorist policy. Primary emphasis is placed on actions by the United Nations in this review of international initiatives. The major portion of the thesis focuses on the development of U.S. counterterrorist policy and the role of military force in that strategy. The study begins with the Nixon administration. The review of national policy follows two tracks; the development of a government organization to deal with the problem and evolution of the policy itself. With U.S. policy outlined, the study reviews possible options for overt military operations as part of a proactive campaign against international terrorism. The author found that the threat

from international terrorism has increased significantly over the past fifteen years. More importantly, state sponsorship has emerged as the most significant threat development since 1980. Actions by the international community, specifically the United Nations, have not successfully met the challenge. Further, U.S. policy and organizational development has been marginally effective. Despite this, U.S. policy advocates the use of military force in proactive strikes against terrorism. The study shows that U.S. policy and organizations must be updated to meet the growth and changing nature of the threat. Military force, to include proactive operations, should be included in this update as an option for U.S. leaders. However, the military option will be applicable in only a few cases. The decision to employ military force must be made very carefully. The execution of that option must then be conducted with clear objectives and under tight control.

0449

The Operational Level of Euroterrorism.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Jeffrey Wayne Anderson. June 5, 1987. 65pp.

In the past few years the number of terrorist events and activities throughout the world has increased dramatically. Many of these terrorist actions have been directed against the United States or other members of the NATO Alliance. This increase in terrorism in Western Europe led Vitorfranco Pisano to coin the term "Euroterrorism." Further, Claire Sterling examined a number of terrorist activities and through the biographies of well-known terrorists concluded that there was in fact an international conspiracy of terrorism and that the Soviet Union was the controlling nation. This research examines recent events of Euroterrorism to determine if these seemingly unrelated events have an operational level. This is done by attempting to describe the events of Euroterrorism by a campaign plan as defined in JCS Publication 2. This research finds that in fact terrorist activities in Western Europe do follow a campaign plan and, therefore, have an operational level. The study further examines the sources of this plan and refutes the work of other authors that accuse the Soviet Union of state-directed terrorism. Instead, this paper concludes that the Soviet Union is responsible for state support of terrorism through its surrogates or puppet states, but does not direct the actions of the various European terrorist groups. Likewise, no other state appears to direct their action. The paper then concludes that the events of Euroterrorism follow essentially national-level campaign plans while the various terrorist groups receive support but not direction from external nations. Finally, a derived national campaign plan for the Red Army Faction is presented.

0514

The Study of the Physical and Psychological Impact of Terrorism on Americans and Their Families Residing in Europe.

California State University, Sacramento, California. Gary Thomas Kostick. July 23, 1987. 112pp.

The purpose of this study is to gather and examine data which explores how Americans and their families residing in Europe perceive the threat of terrorism and its impact on their lives. A review of the literature relevant to the study of terrorist victimization was conducted. Additionally, the research instrument consisted of a twenty-six-question self-administered survey questionnaire. The survey was administered to 300 U.S. Air Force personnel and their families who were living in Europe during mid-1987. Although Americans in general indicate that they feel safe in Europe, there is a definite concern regarding the threat of terrorism and personal safety. The survey results indicate that 60 percent feel they could be personally targeted, while another 23 percent consider themselves or are viewed by others as "very scared." The study also concludes that there is little being done to prepare Americans for coping with the unique pressures and situations that one may ultimately face in a potentially terrorist environment. Programs need to be either established, updated, or expanded to meet this need. Although the survey results indicated that the terrorist threat level is currently perceived as fairly low, this is only temporary. By all indications the level of the perceived threat runs in cycles. When terrorist activities, increase, so will the pressures, anxieties, and problems impacting Americans. For this reason, future research should be directed at determining if certain categories of individuals are more susceptible to the pressures encountered when living in a terrorist environment. Terrorism will remain a serious problem, and Americans must be prepared to face the physical and psychological challenges accompanying residence in a terrorist environment.

0626

The Reporting of Terrorism by the Media.

California State University, Sacramento, California. Steven E. Hodgkins. 1987. 85pp.

Over the past two decades, the impact of terrorism has significantly increased. The acts themselves have become drastically more brutal. In order for terrorists to achieve their goals and instill fear, they must spread their message. The news media of the free world is the vehicle terrorists have selected to transmit that message. Some agree the media is being manipulated by terrorists, in that terrorist attacks have been designed specifically for the news cameras, and the press cannot ignore the action-packed drama terrorism produces. Some believe publicity given to terrorists increases the likelihood of future acts of terrorism. Others find fault with

journalists for the way they report terrorist incidents. Still other experts feel the news media aids in assuring the safety and release of hostages. The goal of this study is to examine the subject of media-covered terrorism and to determine if we are proceeding in the proper direction in reporting on terrorist violence. Information for this research comes from the available professional journals and periodicals, books written by experts in the fields of terrorism, journalism, law enforcement, and psychology, and various newspaper and magazine articles. These diverse disciplines provide a well-balanced account of the major issues involved with the topic. Terrorism has been successful in the past and it is safe to assume terrorism will continue well into the future. Both terrorists and the media benefit from each other. Responsible journalism is a must, but terrorism should be reported and not supported. It is highly unlikely our news media will be censored by the government, but self-imposed reporting guidelines are needed and must be followed by journalists. Future research is needed to determine the psychological implications involved with the viewing of extensive terrorist violence on television.

0711

Countering Terrorism in the Late 1980s and the 1990s, Future Threats and Opportunities for the United States.

Airpower Research Institute, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Stephen Sloan. August 1987. 31pp.

Although terrorism has been practiced since before the dawn of recorded history, it has never constituted the worldwide threat it does today. The proliferation of arms and the very real potential for nuclear terrorism combine with immediate worldwide mobility and highly sophisticated technology to put terrorism near the top of threats that must be effectively countered. Some terrorist groups practice local terrorism, others practice international terrorism. The United States has its own terrorist groups; for example, the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican Liberation (FALN), the Black Liberation Army, and the Jewish Defense League. And it is probable that spillover from the Middle East will reach the United States. But the greatest danger may well be from new extremist groups. One group that is "ripe" for such development is that of Central and South American immigrants for whom the "American Dream" seems impossibly remote; and there is reason to believe that the Cuban intelligence service will continue to promote terrorist group development here. Alternatives for countering terrorism will depend on the group's organization and operation, the need for a counterterrorist cadre, the need for psychological operations, and the need for integration of counterterrorism efforts.

On Terrorism: An Analysis of Terrorism as a Form of War.

Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Donald J. Hanle. September 1987. 244pp.

This thesis examines the proposition that terrorism is a form of war. To do this, this paper first analyzes warfare in terms of what it is and how it functions. This is done by surveying classical military thinkers such as Thucydides, Sun Tzu, Machiavelli, von Clausewitz, and Liddell Hart, to name just a few. This provides an understanding not only of the nature and purpose of war, but of the basic immutable principles under which it operates. These offer a means to construct a paradigm with which terrorism can be tested to determine whether it is a form of war. Once the constant elements of war are analyzed and understood, the variable factors are then examined. Here the study focuses upon the evolution of war, highlighting what changes and why. From this it is possible to understand not only why terrorism came into being, but the environment in which it operates as well. The second part of this study begins with an analysis of the terroristic method of force employment, followed by an examination of seven major types of terrorism to determine which, if any, qualify as a form of war. These include: psychotic, criminal, mystical, revolutionary, repression, military, and state-sponsored terrorism. Of these, three are found to qualify as a form of war—military, revolutionary, and state-sponsored terrorism. These three types of terrorism are then analyzed as forms of warfare in terms of how they employ force, as well as to what end that force is used. What becomes apparent is that not only does this terroristic force operate in the same basic manner as that employed in traditional warfare, it has the same basic capabilities and weaknesses of classical military force. The latter is significant because it suggests that countervailing strategies must be based upon classical principles of war and combat. These general countervailing strategic guidelines are presented in the final part of this work. The significance of this study, then, is that it determines that terrorism, or certain types of terrorism, are indeed a form of war. Moreover, these not only have the same end but operate in essentially the same manner as the more classical or traditional forms of warfare. Consequently, the only proper means to neutralize these forms of terrorism is to treat them as a form of war and apply military force against them in accordance with the principles of war and combat.

1988

0986

The Terrorist Threat to the U.S. Army in Western Europe.

U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Vittoriofranco S. Pisano. February 16, 1988. 29pp.

This study addresses the terrorist threat to the U.S. Army in Western Europe. In so doing, it examines the sociopolitical environment out of which terrorism is born, the objectives and dynamics of specific terrorist groups that retain offensive potential, the lessons to be drawn from recorded incidents, detectable current trends, and the extent to which countermeasures represent a realistic protective shield. The emphasis is on the terrorist situation, indigenous as well as transnational/international, in the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Italy, since the vast majority of U.S. Army troops stationed in Europe are located in those two allied countries. In the introductory portions of the text and, to a lesser degree, throughout it, an effort is made to delineate the nature of terrorism. This study concludes with a rapid examination of the counterterrorist setting and some observations as to the best means for the U.S. Army to cope with the terrorist phenomenon in the region.

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