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COMBATTING TERRORISM:

LITERATURE ON FUTURE TRENDS IN TERRORISM

June 1993

Prepared by:

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Coordinator/analyst: Joshua Sinai
Analysts: Rodney Katz Ramón Miró
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The Combatting Terrorism: Literature on Future Trends in Terrorism (SOLTERBIB) annotated bibliography was undertaken to support the work of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Special Operations/Low-Intensity Conflict (OASD SO/LIC). It aims to provide officials in decision making positions quick access to the literature in the field to help them make informed policy decisions.

This annotated bibliography is divided into three sections. The first section provides a list of keywords, arranged alphabetically, that are used throughout the bibliography. The second section is the main part of the bibliography. It provides 338 annotated citations of books, articles, doctoral dissertations, and government and congressional reports on terrorism mostly from 1989 to mid-1993. The third section provides a listing in alphabetical order of books, chapters in books, journals, and papers cited in the bibliography.
ANTITERRORISM (KYWDS): Count = 51.
Record list: 1, 7, 8, 12, 13, 20, 23, 24, 27, 35, 39, 52, 57, 58,
77, 80, 98, 123, 125, 147, 148, 165, 171, 210, 211, 213, 215, 216,
217, 218, 220, 223, 224, 225, 229, 231, 234, 236, 237, 254, 262,

AVIATION (KYWDS): Count = 7.
Record list: 28, 38, 60, 173, 177, 215, 332.

BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS (KYWDS): Count = 8.

BRITAIN (KYWDS): Count = 1.
Record list: 2.

CANADA (KYWDS): Count = 6.
Record list: 2, 44, 91, 129, 210, 317.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS (KYWDS): Count = 4.
Record list: 68, 122, 157, 295.

COLOMBIA (KYWDS): Count = 1.
Record list: 184.

COMMUNISM (KYWDS): Count = 1.
Record list: 297.

COUNTERINSURGENCY (KYWDS): Count = 1.
Record list: 296.

COUNTERTERRORISM (KYWDS): Count = 183.
Record list: 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 25, 26,
29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53,
54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76,
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97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 115,
116, 118, 119, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134,
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152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 161, 162, 164, 165, 168, 169,
170, 171, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 188, 189,
191, 193, 194, 198, 199, 206, 208, 220, 222, 226, 229, 230, 232,
236, 237, 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 253,
254, 258, 259, 268, 298, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 308, 309, 310,
313, 324, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 331, 332, 334, 336, 337.

DATABASE (KYWDS): Count = 2.
Record list: 338, 339.

DEFINITION (KYWDS): Count = 32.
Record list: 7, 13, 19, 22, 27, 35, 39, 48, 57, 82, 99, 111, 120,
127, 128, 132, 136, 141, 144, 159, 194, 196, 204, 207, 219, 225,
EASTERN EUROPE (KYWD): Count = 3.
Record list: 32, 233, 330.

ETHNICITY (KYWD): Count = 14.

EUROPE (KYWD): Count = 40.

Record list: 313, 314.

FUTURE TRENDS (KYWD): Count = 116.

GERMANY (KYWD): Count = 3.
Record list: 209, 324, 325.

Record list: 84, 90, 116, 118, 144, 182, 184, 185, 188, 253, 258, 299, 333.

INTELLIGENCE (KYWD): Count = 21.
Record list: 10, 53, 54, 55, 71, 72, 76, 80, 89, 90, 97, 98, 110, 149, 155, 199, 228, 242, 246, 248, 253.

INTERNATIONAL LAW (KYWD): Count = 20.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (KYWD): Count = 83.

IRAN (KYWD): Count = 5.
Record list: 70, 107, 199, 269, 311.
ISLAMIC GROUPS (KYWD): Count = 12.
   Record list: 34, 46, 70, 71, 103, 107, 122, 199, 230, 311, 312, 320.

ISRAEL (KYWD): Count = 1.
   Record list: 191.

ITALY (KYWD): Count = 5.
   Record list: 318, 319, 321, 322, 323.

LATIN AMERICA (KYWD): Count = 1.
   Record list: 184.

LAW ENFORCEMENT (KYWD): Count = 22.
   Record list: 3, 10, 32, 34, 36, 52, 79, 107, 123, 125, 148, 156, 164, 177, 179, 181, 213, 240, 268, 308, 309, 310.

LEBANON (KYWD): Count = 3.
   Record list: 41, 183, 199.

LEGAL ASPECTS (KYWD): Count = 30.

LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT (KYWD): Count = 30.

MEDIA (KYWD): Count = 23.
   Record list: 9, 75, 86, 101, 116, 122, 124, 127, 128, 137, 139, 142, 151, 159, 163, 172, 174, 200, 227, 241, 244, 260, 265.

MIDDLE EAST (KYWD): Count = 23.

   Record list: 21, 44, 113, 132.

NARCOTERRORISM (KYWD): Count = 8.
   Record list: 32, 55, 84, 182, 224, 231, 235, 257.

NORTH KOREA (KYWD): Count = 1.
   Record list: 114.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS (KYWD): Count = 16.
   Record list: 17, 25, 31, 49, 52, 64, 85, 104, 153, 160, 162, 167, 175, 246, 259, 266.

PERU (KYWD): Count = 2.
   Record list: 37, 182.
SOLTERBIB KEYWORD LIST

POLICY (KYWDS): Count = 1.
Record list: 7.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS (KYWDS): Count = 14.
Record list: 4, 21, 75, 115, 120, 121, 134, 137, 152, 193, 222, 227,
245, 261.

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS (KYWDS): Count = 3.
Record list: 42, 103, 113.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT (KYWDS): Count = 5.
Record list: 30, 45, 78, 177, 187.

REVOLUTION (KYWDS): Count = 5.
Record list: 42, 118, 138, 186, 287.

RUSSIA (KYWDS): Count = 1.
Record list: 294.

SOUTH ASIA (KYWDS): Count = 3.
Record list: 105, 175, 296.

soviet union (KYWDS): Count = 11.
Record list: 31, 46, 81, 104, 167, 228, 230, 233, 239, 311, 320.

spain (KYWDS): Count = 1.
Record list: 323.

STATE SPONSORSHIP (KYWDS): Count = 41.
Record list: 14, 25, 47, 53, 56, 61, 69, 70, 77, 80, 91, 92, 98,
102, 103, 110, 114, 118, 119, 128, 132, 134, 135, 147, 152, 155,
311, 326.

STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM; REVOLUTION; FUTURE TRENDS (KYWDS): Count = 1.
Record list: 114.

TECHNOLOGY (KYWDS): Count = 27.
Record list: 15, 16, 20, 28, 30, 34, 38, 45, 53, 54, 84, 115, 157,
161, 177, 180, 187, 198, 226, 228, 230, 236, 237, 238, 241, 247,
277.

TERRORISM (KYWDS): Count = 271.
Record list: 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22,
23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 44, 46,
47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71,
75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92,
93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 110,
111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125,
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140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155,
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205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217,
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218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230,
231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243,
244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257,
258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270,
271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284,
285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296,

THEORETICAL ASPECTS (KYWDS): Count = 24.

Record list: 47, 66, 83, 106, 111, 113, 128, 132, 133, 136, 138,
140, 152, 183, 193, 211, 212, 219, 223, 225, 240, 245, 304, 310.

U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICY (KYWDS): Count = 129.

Record list: 2, 3, 6, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26,
29, 30, 34, 38, 45, 48, 50, 53, 55, 56, 60, 61, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68,
69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89,
93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 100, 107, 109, 112, 116, 117, 122, 123, 125,
126, 129, 130, 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 147, 149, 150,
151, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164, 165, 168, 169,
170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 177, 178, 179, 181, 183, 186, 195, 201,
204, 208, 213, 220, 224, 226, 228, 231, 232, 234, 246, 248, 250,
251, 252, 253, 257, 258, 259, 263, 265, 271, 308, 326, 331, 333,
334, 337.

UNITED STATES (KYWDS): Count = 42.

Record list: 16, 28, 34, 38, 49, 51, 57, 64, 68, 71, 76, 88, 93, 96,
104, 112, 122, 123, 125, 129, 140, 141, 155, 156, 162, 163, 170,
172, 202, 203, 210, 221, 230, 232, 242, 260, 263, 266, 271, 272,
295, 308.

The contributors to the book examine how the portrayal of terrorist incidents by the media affects terrorist groups, government policies on media reporting of terrorism, and the public. The editors believe that government policymakers influence the communications media by describing some acts of political violence as terrorism while other acts are legitimized for religious, ideological, or political reasons. The editors argue that the lack of agreement in defining terrorism presents a problem for the media, which is an important institution in "characterizing or labeling" violent acts that have political implications. There is therefore a need to arrive at a consensual definition of terrorism that can be used by the media, which tremendously influences an audience's perception of those who engage in acts of political violence. Chapters in the volume deal with the characterization of terrorist acts in three elite American newspapers, American news magazines' labeling of terrorists, the role of journalists in covering terrorist events, the controversy over the impact of news coverage in spreading terrorism, television coverage of the TWA hostage crisis, the British approach to airing IRA spokesmen on the BBC, news coverage of terrorist victims, and the impact of the literature on terrorism on media practitioners. The editors conclude that U.S. Government policymakers are in most cases responsive to media and public concerns about censoring reports on terrorism, and that American news agencies generally establish their own guidelines in cooperation with the U.S. Government so as to inform the public about newsworthy terrorist incident without becoming pliant facilitators of the terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; media


Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; international law; legal aspects

This report examines in some detail the federal research and development effort aimed at developing technical tools to combat terrorist attacks. It contains selected statements made on February 26, 1991 before the US Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs by U.S. Government and congressional officials as well as other experts on counterterrorism research and development (CT R&D). The various speakers voice general support for a systems approach to antiterrorism security that relies on multilayered security systems based on multiple technologies and human expertise. The presenters also generally agree that there is no "silver bullet" that can secure people and facilities against terrorists, but urge that CT R&D funding be increased to allow researchers to "stay ahead of the curve" in developing countermeasures. Topics discussed include interagency CT R&D, Federal Aviation Administration research and development of airport explosives detection devices, training of bomb detection specialists by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, general assessments of counterterrorism technology, and possible terrorist use of biological weapons and potential countermeasures.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; technology; research and development; future trends


This volume contains a regional and global overview of international terrorism and an analysis of terrorism in the United States in the relevant period, as well as articles on terrorism, written in 1988 and 1989. They cover a variety of subjects: the invasion of the Maldives and its links with international terrorism; the platform of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas); the threat of "chemoterrorism;" the interface between energy and terrorism; the U.S. antiterrorism experience as seen from a French perspective; U.S. policy options; and terrorism and media values.
Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; Islamic groups; chemical weapons; U.S. Government policy; media


Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe; state sponsorship


Keyword(s): terrorism; media; U.S. Government policy


The volume examines the communicative nature of terrorist acts and the role of the media during such violence. The authors analyze the impact of media-portrayed terrorist violence; the differences in meaning attached to the same events of individuals and nations with adversarial relations; the psychological rewards provided by media coverage to terrorist actors and how these rewards shape their identities; the ways in which victims of terrorism interact with the media; how journalists become targets of terrorism; how strict guidelines for terrorism coverage can conflict with democratic values; and pressures that are placed on broadcasters during their coverage of terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; media


The article reports on a conference that was held to discuss future trends in terrorism. It lists six factors
that are likely to cause an increase in terrorism: 1) publicity, disruption, death, and destruction have made terrorism a successful form of warfare; 2) terrorists have a readily available supply of arms, explosives, and finances; 3) terrorist activities are facilitated by their international connections with states; 4) social unrest and East-West issues provide terrorists with exploitable conditions; 5) international controls are inadequate to combat terrorism; and 6) terrorists have gained from the rise in pro-Marxist sympathies around the world. Speakers at the conference included U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan; John F. Murphy, University of Kansas School of Law; Thomas Cochran, Natural Resources Defense Council; Terrell E. Arnold, U.S. Department of State; Donald E. Moss, New York City Police Department; Michael J. O'Neill, Newspaper Editors Association; Barry Rosen, former Press Attache, U.S. Embassy in Tehran; W. Phillips Davison, Columbia University School of Journalism; Louis Henkin, Columbia University Law School; Richard M. McCormick, Chemical Bank; and Karl Ackerman, Control Risks Ltd.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; international relations; future trends


The book is a compilation of papers delivered at a 1988 conference held at Tel Aviv University. Chapters deal with the role of the Soviet Union and East European countries in sponsoring terrorism; maritime terrorism; nuclear deterrence and nuclear terrorism; antiterrorism warfare; the Israeli use of intelligence to combat terrorism; and the role of the media and public reaction towards terrorism. The contributors include Israeli and American experts on terrorism, and three leading right-wing Israeli political figures.

Keyword(s): terrorism; future trends; Middle East

The author writes that since the 1960s the incidence of terrorism has intensified in Europe, resulting from such factors as the 1968 students' revolt, the spread of indigenous separatist movements, the increase in activity by extremist Palestinian groups, the expansion of activities by state sponsors, as well as developments in modern technology and communications. He believes that end of the Cold War, resulting in the democratization of East European countries and unification of Germany, has not resulted in diminishing the threat of terrorism in Europe. This results from the lack of resolution of regional conflicts, such as Northern Ireland, and external problems, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, that spill over to the continent, and terrorist-type violence unleashed by the forces of nationalism and ethnicity in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Alexander concludes that while conventional weapons will continue to be used by terrorists, future trends will be characterized by instruments of mass destruction, such as nuclear terrorism, and chemical and biological weapons. Also, new security vulnerabilities will be presented by the abolition of borders resulting from the European economic and political unification in 1992.

Keyword(s): terrorism; low-intensity conflict; technology; future trends; Europe


This article examines the counterterrorism policies of the Reagan and Bush administrations. Alexander lists the following as accomplishments during the Reagan administration: educating the U.S. public about the terrorist threat; influencing foreign governments to improve their counterterrorism programs; writing new laws that improve the U.S. Government's capability to apprehend terrorists; planning for the U.S. Government's reaction to future terrorist crises. Reagan's counterterrorism failures are said to include: the 1986 Iran-Contra scandal; exclusion of some states that are known to sponsor terrorists from the U.S. State Department's official list of these states; poor planning of some antiterrorist strikes on suspected terrorist bases in foreign countries. Alexander views Bush's major
accomplishment to have been reestablishing a credible counterterrorism strategy in the wake of the 1986 Iran-Contra Scandal. The poor quality of intelligence collection in foreign countries is considered the major weakness. The author observes that the following actions are needed to improve the U.S. Government's capability to deter and respond to terrorist incidents: improving bipartisan cooperation on U.S. counterterrorism policies; streamlining the President's command and control over the U.S. Government's civilian and military agencies responsible for counterterrorism; and strengthening U.S. multinational cooperation targeting state-sponsors of terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; intelligence; international relations


Keyword(s): Terrorism; counterinsurgency; South Asia


This paper attempts to develop a basic strategy for containment of terrorism. It argues that to construct a workable system of containment of international terrorism, there must be, as a first step, a program that views terrorism as impermissible violence, whatever the motives, when directed against any civilian target. There must also be a program that reduces the power of individual nations in determining those grounds and defenses that may be interposed against international terrorism extradition. Most important, each nation must execute a firm, irrevocable commitment to a neutral decisionmaking body that will determine all the conditions for international extradition of terrorists. In addition, to reduce the tensions created by terrorism, methods of electronic surveillance (with appropriate safeguards) must be available to each government.
Keyword(s): counterterrorism; international relations; technology


Keyword(s): international relations; revolution; future trends

Arnold, Philip W. "Future Domestic and International Terrorism: The USIA Perspective" Terrorism, [Washington] 11, No. 6, 1988, 541-42. [Call Number: HV 6431.T46]

This article briefly relates U.S. public diplomacy and government-media relations to the issue of terrorism. The U.S. Government has engaged in a sustained campaign of public diplomacy abroad to raise public awareness of terrorism-related issues. The approach has been slow and incremental, targeting key groups. However, within the United States, government-media cooperation in dealing with terrorist incidents has not truly existed. The United States has yet to deal satisfactorily with the issue of how responsible government officials and responsible media covering events can publish an honest story without, at the same time, serving the direct objectives of the terrorists involved in any given incident.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; media; international relations


This book attempts to map the dynamics and some of the consequences of the socializing of violent methodologies. It argues that the distinctions between strategies of peaceful protest, civil disobedience, terrorism, and insurgency are dissipating among political movements worldwide. The result is an increasing incidence of violence in politics by both state and nonstate groups. As
critical distinctions between violent and nonviolent action recede, insurgency and terrorism are becoming increasingly common and accepted forms of political expression. The media, particularly electronic, have helped to encourage this condition by failing to distinguish sufficiently between violent and nonviolent movements and protests. The result has been to equalize all political activity in the minds of the public, regardless of methods employed by groups. The author recommends that definitions of terrorism be clearly established and applied consistently, and that a uniform code of acceptable political expression be enforced both domestically and internationally.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; low-intensity conflict; media


This chapter by a deputy of the Basque Parliament analyzes the motives and tactics of the Nation and Liberty (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna--ETA) terrorist group. It argues that ETA terrorism is not linked to popular Basque nationalist ambitions, but is instead driven by an insatiable need among its members to assert power and group identity through violence. Consequently, negotiations and concessions by the Spanish government will not diminish ETA violence, which is primarily a result of individual and group dynamics. Instead, government policy toward ETA should be one that isolates ETA completely from Basque society. The ETA should be isolated from political institutions, the general society, and the regular criminal justice system. ETA’s access to these three institutions should be cut off through more vigorous law enforcement and political and diplomatic action. Such action should entail increasing the effectiveness of the [National] Security Council, having Basque politicians declare unconditional support for the security forces, increasing citizen cooperation with police, and supporting diplomatic efforts by the Spanish government to extradite ETA terrorist leaders from southern France. In order to reduce ETA’s appeal, the Spanish population should cease its discrimination against Basques and join instead in a
common front for a democratic and autonomous Basque nation within the Spanish state.

Keyword(s): terrorism; ethnicity; Europe; counterterrorism


The handbook begins with an introductory essay that presents an overview of the study of terrorism, and then provides a selected chronology of terrorist events, a biographical profile of leading terrorists, a directory of terrorist organizations, a selection of documents, and a listing of reference materials on terrorism, including monographs and journals.

Keyword(s): terrorism


This article examines the increase in terrorist attacks on U.S. citizens in other countries and makes recommendations for improving the U.S. Government's counterterrorism strategy. The authors list five reasons for the increase in international terrorism: terrorists are more sophisticated at adapting to countermeasures; terrorist groups have had no difficulty acquiring weapons and producing their own explosives; terrorists are getting less discriminating in choosing targets and often prefer to involve innocent civilians; the state sponsorship of terrorist groups by anti-American regimes has continued; and the policies of the U.S. Government are often opposed by the terrorist groups and their sponsors, both of which view terrorism as a cheap way of attacking U.S. interests. Badolato and Snyder argue that the U.S. Government must maintain a high profile and have a consistent counterterrorism policy in place in order to demonstrate its resolve to protect the rights of U.S. citizens who travel abroad. The authors propose that the U.S. Government: demonstrate firmness towards terrorists; encourage other governments to join with the United States in taking diplomatic, political, economic, and military
actions against state sponsors of terrorism; increase spending; install new security equipment to deter terrorist attacks; and promote antiterrorism worldwide.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; international relations


The counterterrorism strategies of Western European nations have included the passage of laws that restrict the civil rights of terrorists, the strengthening of intra-European cooperation to identify and apprehend European-based terrorists, and the augmentation of civilian, and, less frequently, military forces assigned counterterrorism missions. The article reviews several European treaties on terrorism and the extradition of terrorists. Baker believes all of the Western European nations have carefully avoided invoking emergency laws that affect all citizens, except in extreme cases such as Northern Ireland. The author states that although it is impossible to write a universally applicable definition of terrorism, it is possible to define its salient features. Baker defines terrorism as "the use of force or the threat of force directed against innocent third parties for primarily ideological, financial, or psychological purposes." Baker concludes with the prediction that terrorism cannot be legislated away. Terrorism will remain a problem in Europe as long as domestic and foreign-based dissidents are inclined to use violence to obtain publicity for their causes.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe; definition; counterterrorism; future trends


Written by two journalists of opposing political viewpoints, one belonging to the left, the other to the right, this book is a history of political extremism and terrorism in Italy from 1968 to 1989. According to the
authors, terrorism has become a marginal force in Italy since the early 1980s. The desire to help prevent a repeat of the political extremism and violence, whether "black" or "red," of the 1970s, "the years of lead" as they are called there, was the reason for writing this detailed book. Furnished with extensive notes, a long bibliography, and index, the work would be useful to anyone seeking information about political violence in Italy in recent decades.

Keyword(s): Italy; Europe; terrorism


This article examines the possibility of a terrorist group acquiring or manufacturing weapons of mass destruction for the express purpose of threatening a heavily populated city. The author defines terrorism as "criminal violence by minorities using coercive terror for political ends." The four sections of the study examine the proliferation of ballistic missiles, nuclear terrorism, chemical terrorism, and biological terrorism. The author believes that chemicals would be the terrorists' weapon of choice because chemical warfare agents such as nerve gas could be acquired at the least cost and would be easy to use. The author discusses the conflicting views of the U.S. Department of Defense and the U.S. Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) on the feasibility of terrorists producing a nuclear explosive. A 1977 study by OTA stated: "A small group of people, none of whom have ever had access to the classified literature, could possibly design and build a crude nuclear device." A 1987 Department of Defense study concluded, "The prevailing view among experts appears to be that fabrication of a [nuclear] bomb, even with high-grade weapons-usable material, would be extremely difficult but not impossible for a well-organized, well-financed terrorist group." Barnaby argues that the fact that terrorists could acquire plutonium on the black market, or from a state sponsoring terrorism, necessitates improved counterterrorism programs focusing on this problem. The article includes a list of the chemical and biological agents that are most likely to be used by terrorists and discusses various delivery methods.
Keyword(s): terrorism; future trends; definition


Widespread state-sponsored international terrorism has changed the rules drastically from the situation once familiar to many terrorism analysts. The article argues that the classic political or national terrorist, who organized and struggled for an obscure cause in the past, has been supplanted by one who acts more as a covert arm to express the hidden agenda of his sponsor. Consequently, this new breed of terrorist will have increasing access to hard-to-obtain resources, possibly including the information and raw materials needed to construct improvised nuclear devices (INDs). During the past 20 years, building an IND has clearly become easier. The amount of missing and unaccounted-for fissionable material has grown considerably. Nations in precarious military, political, and geographic positions now have reactors suspected of having nuclear weapons capability. Computers for calculations and design work are readily available, and the number of people with the requisite knowledge has expanded enormously, as has the open literature on the topic. In countering the IND threat, the US Navy and Marine Corps, because of their characteristics and deployments, represent the most appropriate means of dealing with nuclear terrorists. Preparation of a device can be stopped either by recovery or destruction raids. A recovery raid is preferable, because it permits detailed analysis of the device, which in turn is likely to reveal the source of the nuclear material and indicate the proficiency of the builders. The article concludes that, although the United States may have no part in the origins of an international dispute, it must get involved whenever the actors in that dispute appear to be contemplating covert nuclear actions. In such cases, the US must develop a worldwide detection and deterrence capability, in concert with allies, to ensure that the first improvised nuclear device never goes off.

Keyword(s): terrorism; nuclear weapons; state sponsorship; future trends; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy

This article comments on a statement by Secretary of State George Schultz that recommends a toughening U.S. stance on terrorism, and the apparent rebuttal by Vice President George Bush on the matter. White House and State Department officials hastily insisted that both Bush and Schultz were restating administration policy. But the contradictory voices within the administration only served to underscore the lack of any consensus—even among Reagan advisors—on how to handle the growing threat of international terrorism.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


Changing global power structures affect the nature and direction of the international terrorist threat. Existing terrorist organizations are adapting to changed circumstances, and new terrorist causes are emerging. At the national level, crime prevention and law enforcement agencies face new challenges, not only in responding to change but also in maximizing their effectiveness against increasingly difficult targets. This article by two Australian law enforcement officials argues that a national approach to combating terrorism must be strategic, comprehending both preventive and responsive measures. To be successful, the strategy must envisage a crisis management structure that facilitates interagency cooperation and minimizes competition and disputation. The article outlines the principles that encourage interagency coordination, and a number of avenues for putting the principles into practice. Finally, the article suggests that there are two key performance indicators against which coordination arrangements can be assessed: streamlined organizational structures as the test for efficiency, and positive personnel attitudes as the test for effectiveness.
Keyword(s): counterterrorism; law enforcement; theoretical aspects


This book consists of a series of interviews with Jose M. Benegas, a Basque politician and deputy for the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (Partido Obrero Socialista Espanol--PSOE) in the Constituent Cortes. It contains discussions of Basque terrorism and government efforts to combat it. In addressing the question of counterterrorism, Benegas endorses a policy of no concessions to terrorists and a proactive law enforcement approach that incorporates special antiterrorism measures. A proactive Spanish counterterrorism policy should be modeled after the antiterrorist policies of other European democracies, such as Britain, France, and Italy. The forces of internal order--the National Police and Civil Guard--should be given expanded legal means to intervene against terrorists, such as extended periods of detention and interrogation of suspected terrorists, and greater authority to conduct searches in areas of suspected terrorist activity. This expansion of police power, a necessary evil in democracies threatened by domestic terrorism, should be carefully monitored and regulated by the judicial branch. Greater transnational cooperation, particularly with France, should also be promoted in order to gain the expulsion of the Basque terrorist leadership from southern France.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe; ethnicity; counterterrorism


This book presents a strategy for countering nuclear terrorism that embraces both technological and behavioral measures. It includes policies for deterrence and situation management on the national and international scale and points toward a major reshaping of world order.
The author explores the political bases of terrorism by considering the factors that might foster nuclear terrorism, the forms it could take, and the probable consequences of such acts. An analysis is made of the essential distinctions between lawful insurgencies and terrorism, and the impact of U.S. foreign policy. Part One of the book is analytical. It examines the various potential methods of nuclear terrorism, including detonation of nuclear explosives, radiological weapons, and nuclear reactor sabotage. It also discusses the possibility that a nuclear terrorist incident might unleash a worldwide nuclear war, and the likely effects of such a war. Part I also analyzes the political, psychological, and material factors that might produce nuclear terrorism. Material factors (terrorist access to nuclear weapons, self-development, and opportunities for sabotage of nuclear reactors) may combine with psychological factors (terrorist inclinations to nuclear violence, and insensitivity to orthodox deterrence) and political factors (interterrorist cooperation and state tolerance and support of terrorism) to produce opportunities for nuclear terrorism. Part Two is prescriptive. It presents practical antiterrorist measures, such as hardening targets, improving physical security, and nonproliferation. It also provides behavioral strategies aimed at potential nuclear terrorists. The final section of the book recommends that the United States redefine its fundamental national interests to lessen the danger of nuclear terrorism and worldwide nuclear war.

Keyword(s): terrorism; nuclear weapons; future trends; low-intensity conflict; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


This book provides an historical overview of the involvement by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in support of international terrorism and subversive activities. The book is divided into geographic chapters, with country subsections documenting DPRK support and active participation in terrorism and insurgency. The primary factors for the DPRK's worldwide
support for terrorism and revolution are threefold. First, has been the DPRK's relentless striving for legitimacy and acceptance vis-a-vis the Republic of Korea (ROK). Second, has been the DPRK's adoption of an agenda opposing "imperialist" countries, especially the United States, the ROK, and its allies, whenever and wherever possible. Finally, the revolutionary guerilla background of the DPRK leadership, particularly, Kim Il Sung, creates a personal affinity and empathy toward revolutionaries throughout the world. The author concludes that the DPRK's involvement with international terrorism will continue as long as Kim Il Sung or his son Kim Jong Il remain in power. This involvement may well dramatically escalate when Kim Jong Il assumes the leadership of the DPRK from his father.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; North Korea; State-sponsored terrorism; revolution; future trends


The author argues that the approach of the United States Government to combating terrorism has resulted in the erosion of civil liberties in matters of criminal justice. Much of the erosion, he writes, is due to "frustration and hysteria" over terrorism, drug trafficking, and organized crime. The author examines a number of "pathetic" over-responses to terrorism in the cases of Great Britain, South Africa, Israel, and the United States. He concludes that "anti-constitutional and anti-rule of law notions are leading to an escalation of terroristic violence and a mind-set that promotes oppression, terrorism and escape from freedom."

Keyword(s): terrorism; narcoterrorism; legal aspects; antiterrorism; U.S. Government policy

Boire, Martin C. "Terrorism Reconsidered as Punishment: Toward an Evaluation of the Acceptability of Terrorism as a Method of Societal Change or Maintenance," Stanford Journal of International Law [Palo Alto, CA], 20, Spring 1984, 45-134. [Call Number: JX 1 .S7]
The article discusses the problem of understanding terrorism by first developing a definition of terrorism. Three types of terrorism are defined: individual terrorism, state terrorism, and community terrorism. Various forms of punishment for terrorist acts are considered, and a framework is developed to evaluate it. The author concludes that community terrorism, as demonstrated in Northern Ireland and the Arab-Israeli conflict, differs from revolutionary terrorism by a small group, and is acceptable as a method of societal change or maintenance because "it embraces a majority supported response to an illegitimate regime or unacceptably oppressive government conduct."

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; antiterrorism; theoretical aspects


Keyword(s): terrorism; international relations


This article compiles presentations delivered before the U.S. House of Representatives' Government Activities and Transportation Subcommittee by four authorities on air carrier security. The first presentation by Homer Boynton, a representative of American Airlines, discusses that airline's efforts to improve security procedures. American Airlines' antiterrorism program is a risk analysis system that assesses risk to all elements of the flight operation, including passenger security, catering, freight, as well as searching and guarding of aircraft. The presenter argues that short-term improvements in airline security can best be achieved by improving human security resources, rather than by adopting the costly and as yet unreliable Thermal Neutron Activation (TNA) Explosion Detection System (EDS), recommended by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). The second presentation, by Wilfred A. Jackson, of the Operations
Safety and Security Committee, Airport Operators Council International (AOCI) discusses problems with general FAA enforcement of airport security regulations and, specifically, the most recent proposal to require installation of TDA EDSs at major airports. The presenter argues that the FAA proposal is impractical and ignores more viable options, such as a comprehensive systems approach to security. The proposed rulemaking causes the AOCI concern because the proposal would constrain both domestic and international air travel to a degree far out of proportion to the hoped-for gain in security. The third presentation by Hadi Bozorgmanesh, a representative of Science Applications International (SAIC) argues that the TDA EDS which his company produces is sufficiently reliable to be of immediate practical benefit to airport security. The fourth presentation, by Isaac Yeffet, a security consultant, argues that security at U.S. airports is inadequate to meet the current level of terrorist threat. Mr. Yeffet cites insufficient training of security personnel and poor quality security contracting as causes for concern over security at U.S. airports.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; aviation; technology; United States; U.S. Government policy


Keyword(s): international relations; future trends


This article reproduces an address before the Institute for International Education and the World Affairs Council on June 15, 1988 by U.S. Ambassador at Large for Counterterrorism L. Paul Bremer III. Ambassador Bremer discusses general successes and failures of current international counterterrorism policy. Success has been achieved in four key areas: pressuring terrorist-supporting states, shattering European domestic terrorist groups, reducing airline hijackings, and extending the rule of law to terrorists. However, there
continue to be failures in areas where there is no concerted multilateral effort. Such failures include the inability to press multilateral sanctions against Iran and North Korea for their support of terrorism, and the failure to curb ransom payments to hostage takers.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; international relations


This article reproduces a statement before the Subcommittee on Technology and the Law of the Senate Judiciary Committee on May 19, 1988 by L. Paul Bremer, U.S. Ambassador at Large for Counterterrorism. Ambassador Bremer discusses the increasing reliance by terrorists on sophisticated technologies and the possibility of terrorists turning to weapons of mass destruction. Available evidence indicates that up to now there have been technical and psychopolitical constraints on the use of weapons of mass destruction. However, as terrorism becomes increasingly state-sponsored, and as chemical and biological weapons come into increasing use in regional conflicts, the barriers to high technology terrorism will recede and the threat should be expected to increase.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; chemical weapons; biological weapons; future trends; U.S. Government policy


This article reproduces an address before the Norwegian Atlantic Committee in Oslo on February 4, 1988 by L. Paul Bremer III, U.S. Ambassador at Large for Counterterrorism. Ambassador Bremer dispels three common "myths" about terrorism: first, that solving "underlying problems" will end terrorism; second, that terrorists are crazy; and, finally, that vigorous action against terrorism only increases it. The speaker finds that recent trends in terrorism discredit these assumptions and demonstrate the
effectiveness of the proactive counterterrorism policy of the United States and its like-minded European allies.

Keyword(s): terrorism; theoretical aspects; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


This article reproduces an address before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee on April 13, 1988 by L. Paul Bremer III, U.S. Ambassador at Large for Counterterrorism. Ambassador Bremer provides an overview of the current worldwide terrorism situation, details the U.S. Government's three-part counterterrorism policy, and explains the critical role that the antiterrorism assistance program plays in U.S. counterterrorism efforts. The speaker also discusses the future orientation of the Antiterrorism Assistance Program and new initiatives in U.S. counterterrorism policies.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


This article reproduces an address before Discover magazine's conference on "Terrorism in a Technological World" by U.S. Ambassador at Large for Counterterrorism, L. Paul Bremer III, delivered on January 22, 1987. The speaker identifies four practical measures for combating terrorists: first, identification of terrorists; second, location and tracking of terrorists once they are identified; third, forceful action by the United States and its allies based on the information obtained; and finally, prosecution of captured terrorists. In dealing with state-sponsored terrorism, antiterrorist states must complement their practical measures against terrorists with actions against the states that sponsor them, including economic, political, diplomatic, and security-related measures that penalize terrorist sponsor states.
Keyword(s): counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; international relations

Bremer, L. Paul III. "Counterterrorism Strategies and Programs," Terrorism [Washington], 10, No. 12, 337-44. [Call Number: HV6431.T46]

This article provides an overview of the foreign-based terrorist threat to the United States and the U.S. Department of State's counterterrorism mission. The two primary challenges for the U.S. Government are the detection of terrorists before they can attack U.S. citizens, and the collection of intelligence on anti-U.S. states, such as Syria and Libya, which have provided assistance to terrorist groups that target U.S. citizens. The U.S. Government's counterterrorism strategy is outlined by the author. The major components of the strategy are the identification of terrorists, tracking their movements, arresting them before they can carry out future attacks, and monitoring the actions of foreign states in prosecuting and punishing the terrorists. Bremer describes how multinational diplomatic pressure is being coordinated between the U.S. Government and its allies to isolate countries that sponsor terrorist groups from the international community. The U.S. Department of State's counterterrorism missions are summarized as follows: coordinating the actions of U.S. Government agencies in cooperation with foreign governments during terrorist incidents involving U.S. citizens abroad; administering the U.S. Government's antiterrorism training provided to foreign officials; and chairing the U.S. Government's Interdepartmental Group on Terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; U.S. Government policy; international relations


This article reproduces a speech delivered by U.S. Ambassador at Large for Counterterrorism L. Paul Bremer III on May 12, 1988. Speaking on U.S. Government counterterrorism efforts, Ambassador Bremer argues that
there are three essential ingredients to counterterrorism strategy: good intelligence information about the threat, the capacity to act on the basis of that information, and the political will to take action. Despite a growing counterterrorist consensus in the West, the record of action against terrorists remains mixed, and there is plenty of room for improvement in certain areas. The speaker arrives at three conclusions: first, there is no cheap or fast way to prevail; second, a policy of firmness must be consistently maintained; and third, the West must be willing to take risks in combating terrorism, including risking tactical failure to gain strategic advantage.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


This article reviews the counterterrorism strategy implemented by the Reagan administration. The three pillars of the policy are viewed as having had a positive effect on deterring terrorist attacks against Americans abroad. Several foreign governments followed Reagan’s lead and drafted similar strategies. The three basic principles of the Reagan administration were: the United States would not negotiate with terrorists; the United States would condemn, and possibly retaliate militarily against states sponsoring terrorism against Americans; and law enforcement officials were given more of the legal and financial resources they needed to apprehend terrorists in the United States and mandate the extradition of terrorists who attacked American interests abroad. Bremer considers narcoterrorism in Latin America to be the most serious foreign terrorist threat to U.S. interests at this time. He predicts that the use of more sophisticated bombs and weapons is a trend that must be addressed by U.S. agencies responsible for counterterrorism. A national counterterrorism research and development program sponsored by the U.S. Department of State has, to date, been poorly funded by Congress. Bremer emphasizes the need for better coordination of counterterrorism policies among U.S. Government agencies in order to keep on top of the fast-paced changes that are a fact of life in the case of terrorism.

Keyword(s): international relations; future trends


This study provides a critical analysis of the U.S. Government's current policies and strategies for dealing with incidents of domestic and international terrorism. Buckelew suggests that future planning for responding to incidents of domestic terrorism must include the establishment of clear lines of communication, training, and preparation for the coordination of all federal and local law enforcement agencies. The author uses several case studies that illustrate how confusion about the command and control of counterterrorist operations has hampered the government's response and endangered the lives of innocent civilians. Buckelew also recommends the establishment of a staff within the National Security Council that would be responsible for directing the U.S. Government's response to a future attack on U.S. citizens overseas. He also provides an outline for coordinating U.S. Government civilian and military agencies during terrorist incidents.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; U.S. Government policy; law enforcement


The author argues that, up to now, the United States has barely been able to cope with domestic terrorism, much less help its friends and allies deal with international
terrorism. This study examines the existing mechanisms of response to terrorist acts against the United States and against certain foreign nations which have demonstrated a high level of ability in coping effectively with terrorism. The aim is to develop an improved model of response mechanisms for possible use by the United States.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; counterterrorism; international relations; U.S. Government policy


This book collects a series of essays on terrorism presented at the Third Annual International Symposium on Criminal Justice Issues, sponsored by the Office of International Criminal Justice at the University of Illinois in Chicago and the National Institute of Justice in Washington, D.C. Within the context of combating terrorism, the topics discussed include biological warfare and defense, the role of intelligence, sectarian conflict in India, policy implications in handling terrorist incidents, business executives as international terrorist targets, and strategies and tactics in guerrilla warfare.

Keyword(s): terrorism; biological weapons; intelligence; ethnicity; guerrilla warfare; counterterrorism


This study describes the regulations administered from Moscow in the former Soviet Union and discusses the increased likelihood that the failure of newly independent republics of the former Soviet Union to safeguard nuclear facilities on their territory could allow an indigenous or foreign terrorist group to steal nuclear material for its use, or to threaten the security of population centers with an attack on a nuclear facility. The author believes that the current governments of the Central Asian
republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan have, to date, failed to provide adequate security measures for their nuclear facilities. Terrorism is increasing in these republics and small military strikes on government and industrial targets could escalate if any of these groups use terrorist tactics to undermine public confidence in government leaders. The possibility that a foreign terrorist group, particularly one of the Iranian-backed Hezbollah groups, could evade security forces of the Central Asian republics and steal weapons-usable materials for use by them or their sponsors will remain a danger until regimes become stable and border conflicts are settled throughout the region. The author advises the U.S. Government to offer assistance to the newly independent republics of the former Soviet Union for improving the security of their nuclear facilities.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Soviet Union; nuclear weapons; future Trends


The Department of State's counterterrorism coordinator discusses current patterns in international terrorism and cites three areas of growing concern: radical Palestinian terrorist groups, Libyan-supported terrorism, and narcoterrorism in the Andean nations. He explains U.S. counterterrorism policy and assesses its effectiveness. The recent trend toward treating terrorists as criminals and applying the rule of law against them is examined. He also emphasizes the importance of pressuring countries that sponsor terrorism and of refusing to make deals with terrorists. In discussing possible future trends in terrorist activity, the author expects greater use by terrorists of weapons of mass destruction, particularly chemical weapons, and high technology. Combating terrorism in the 1990s and beyond will require greater cooperation with Latin American, East Asian, and African countries, as well as greater information sharing between the United States and its allies. On a less visible level, there will continue to be a place for military and covert action in the fight against terrorists. Finally, greater resources
should be dedicated to counterterrorism research and
development in the United States.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government
policy; future trends; technology

Bush, George. "Uniting Against Terrorism," Department of State
Bulletin [Washington], 87, April 1987, 3-5. [Call Number:
JX 232.A33 LAW]

This article reproduces an address by Vice President
George Bush before an international conference on
terrorism sponsored by Discover magazine, on January 20,
1987. Vice President Bush asserts that the recent
initiative toward certain factions in Iran did not violate
the U.S. Government policy of no concessions to
terrorists, and that a distinction should be made between
"talking" with terrorists and "negotiating" with
terrorists. Recent successes in preempting and retaliating
against terrorist attacks are noted, and U.S. Government
policy is reaffirmed as one of no concessions and economic
and military sanctions against terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Middle East; U.S. Government policy

Buzan, Barry, Charles Jones, and Richard Little. The Logic of
Anarchy: Rethinking Neorealism. New York: Columbia
University Press, 1993. [Call Number: JX 1291 .B89 1993]

Keyword(s): international Relations; future trends

Calvert, Peter. Revolution and Counter-Revolution. Minneapolis,
University of Minnesota Press, 1990. [Call Number: JC
491.C233 1990]

This book reexamines the place of revolution in modern
social theory and reasserts the need for systematic study
in the social sciences. It argues that revolution must by
its nature be disputed. It is hated and feared by
incumbent governments but admired and emulated by those
seeking to change the world and make it a better place.
When people observe revolutions, their interpretations are
conditioned by changing intellectual fashion and wishful
thinking, and so too are the theories derived from them.
Keyword(s): revolution; theoretical aspects


In this speech by Director of Central Intelligence William J. Casey, delivered before the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy on April 17, 1985, terrorism is described as a new form of low-intensity warfare. Director Casey discusses current and future trends in terrorism, including state-sponsored terrorism and narcoterrorism. He also addresses the role of various terrorist support networks in the Middle East, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. The speaker notes that terrorists are adopting increasingly sophisticated techniques made possible by the availability of state-funded training programs and more violent, more deadly, and more difficult-to-detect equipment and arms. In combating terrorism, Western democracies are increasingly relying on intelligence sharing and effective defensive and proactive measures, including military retaliation. Director Casey recommends a toughening of international agreements on counterterrorism, the maintenance of a consistent no-concessions policy, and the use of preemptive or retaliatory force when necessary.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; state sponsorship; low-intensity conflict; U.S. Government policy; technology; international relations; intelligence


International agreements concerning peaceful measures to resolve terrorist incidents and apprehend terrorists are viewed by the author as precluding the right of a signatory nation to retaliate militarily until all such measures have failed. Section four of the article summarizes those international treaties that codify peaceful responses to terrorist attacks on aircraft, ships, and state officials. Section five proposes that
before one state conducts an attack on a terrorist base in another state, there must be evidence that the latter provided direct support for the terrorist attacks. Five levels of state-sponsored terrorism are delineated. The highest level is an operation executed by a state organization; the second level encompasses attacks by agents of the state; the third level is financing and providing weapons to terrorists; the fourth level is allowing terrorists to establish bases in the state; and the fifth level concerns a state allowing known terrorists to enter and leave the country before or after a terrorist incident. Section six examines two cases where the Israeli government forced aircraft belonging to Arab nations to land in Israel because it believed terrorists were passengers on the aircraft, and it describes the U.S. Government’s action against the hijackers of the Italian passenger ship *Achille Lauro*. The author concludes that Israeli and American policymakers were wrong to authorize these actions because all of the measures provided in international agreements for the peaceful apprehension of the terrorists had not been utilized. Cassese states these conclusions in section seven: in the past unilateral responses to terrorist attacks by states, including the United States have not fulfilled the preconditions for antiterrorist action stipulated in international law; and progress is being made toward reaching a definition of terrorism within the United Nations. The author believes the United States should be careful in its use of coercive measures against terrorists so as not to jeopardize the more important objective of promoting an international consensus on terrorism.

**Keyword(s):** counterterrorism; international relations; international law


This book examines the legal aspects of counterterrorism. Using a case study of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking and its aftermath, it analyzes the roles of diplomacy, judicial systems, law enforcement authorities, and the armed forces of Italy, Egypt and the United States in resolving the *Achille Lauro* incident. The author argues that international terrorism strains relationships between
states with different counterterrorist strategies and
tends to weaken observance of international law by the
victimized states. The author concludes that the handling
of the Achille Lauro incident by Italy was more
appropriate to containing terrorism than that of the
United States, which sought a short-term solution and
rejected longer-term options for reducing terrorist
violence.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; legal aspects; international
law; international relations; U.S. Government policy

Catanzaro, Raimondo (ed.). Ideologie, Movimenti. Terrorismi.
[Ideologies, Movements, Terrorisms]. Bologna: Il Mulino,
1990. [Call Number: HV6433.I8134]

Raimondo Catanzaro, an Italian sociologist, has edited
several books on Italian terrorism. This book begins with
an introduction and a statement of methodology followed by
an overview of political violence in Milan from 1966 to
1975 by the American political scientist Sidney Tarrow.
Four Italians, lawyers or scholars, provide analyses of
various aspects of left- and right-wing terrorism in
Italy. Each of their articles was based, at least in part,
on interviews with former terrorists. A sample of a
questionnaire used in these interviews is provided, as is
an extensive bibliography.

Keyword(s): Europe; Italy; terrorism

Catanzaro, Raimondo (ed.). La Politica della Violenza. [The
Number: HV6433.I8P65 1990]

This volume is one of a series of five books on various
aspects of terrorism published by the publishing house Il
Mulino. Edited by the Italian sociologist Raimondo
Catanzaro, this volume contains an examination by an
Italian political scientist of attitudes of the Italian
government toward terrorism in the years 1966 to 1985.
Another article relates the findings of an Italian
sociologist about the reasons why members decide to break
with terrorist organizations. The article by a Spanish
sociologist deals with terrorism, dictatorship, and
democratization in Spain. Catanzaro's own article examines
attitudes of terrorists toward violence. Sources for much of his article were interviews with thirteen former Italian terrorists.

Keyword(s): Italy; Spain; Europe; terrorism


This book examines U.S. policy in combatting international terrorism. It uses a historical, chronological approach, sketching the causes, goals, and organization of international terrorism. It analyzes the various components of the American response to international terrorism, illustrating its strengths and weaknesses, and makes a current assessment. The focus is mainly on the antiterrorist policies of the Reagan administration, including the "Schultz doctrine" of military retaliation against terrorists and state sponsors. The book also provides a detailed study of the agencies and departments within the U.S. Government that comprise the antiterrorist bureaucracy, such as the counterterrorist offices of the Department of Defense, the Department of State, and the Central Intelligence Agency. Finally, it examines U.S. use of international law in combatting terrorism. The author concludes that the United States is not adequately prepared either psychologically or physically to deal with international terrorism. The Reagan administration's response to terrorism displayed several shortcomings, including a lack of understanding of the terrorist perception of reality, poor handling of contingency planning and crisis management, an overly moralistic emphasis, and a counterproductive tendency to frame terrorism in terms of East-West conflict. Moreover, Reagan policy was not coherent, as suggested by the contradictory approaches toward Libya (military retaliation) and Iran (negotiation).

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; state sponsorship; Middle East

Although much of the book examines political and armed struggles in the Third World, the postscript to the 1989 edition revisits the author's earlier analysis of future trends in non-Western regions. One of his first points is that although the term "Third World" is scientifically inaccurate, and is not a single entity, it is still a convenient instrument for referring to these regions. With regard to future trends, Chaliand points out that although the world is becoming more integrated and highly interdependent as a result of technological innovations, there are a number of unforeseen and uncontrolled variables that limit one's ability to predict the future. One factor that is uncontrolled is demography, particularly the way it divides the world into lightly populated and prosperous and overpopulated and poor polarities. The author writes that in the future, the United States will focus its efforts on the "Eurasian landmass," because it will be unable to assert its presence everywhere in the world. There will be a "multipolarization" of relations, with the United States countering the Soviet Union by bringing Japan, China, and Western Europe into the Western orbit. Domestic changes, particularly as a result of industrial and technological innovations, will be another factor in the new international system. He predicts that the United States will be well positioned in this area in the twenty-first century, with increasing competition from Western Europe, and in Asia from Japan, coastal China, South Korea, and Taiwan. The nation-state will continue to provide a framework for these conflicts, with upheavals found not in "relations between states but within societies." In the future, the most unstable zones will be the Middle East, Africa, the Caribbean, and Central America. Upheaval in the future will be centered in cities, which will experience a sharp increase in unemployment among young people.

Keyword(s): revolution; international relations; low-intensity conflict; future trends; U.S. Government policy

The book examines key aspects of countering international terrorism and attempts to identify viable policy options for democratic governments. The first part of the book provides a comprehensive analysis of international terrorism. Thomas Mitchell's chapter, "Defining the Problem," examines the problem of defining terrorism, particularly the obstacles hindering the development of a commonly agreed upon definition. He concludes by offering a definition of international terrorism as "those terrorist actions carried out by either autonomous or state-supported actors affecting nationals of at least two states." In the second chapter, "The Nature of Contemporary International Terrorism," Jeffrey Ian Ross examines the nature of contemporary international terrorism by discussing research sources on the subject, including monographs, textbooks, government publications, consultant reports, academic and quasi-academic journals, and book chapters. He points out that there have been no attempts in the literature to develop a typology of international terrorism. His chapter then discusses recent trends in the literature to analyze terrorism in terms of its quantitative, geographic, targeting, and tactical aspects. Ross also discusses terrorist groups, support networks, and future trends, which he lists as "increased links among terrorist groups; more extravagant attention-seeking destructive acts; new weapons finding their way into the terrorist arsenal; increase in the use of terrorism by governments as surrogate warfare; and, the possibility that terrorists will use more destructive technologies like nuclear, biological, chemical and toxic weapons." He argues that pronouncements about future trends usually exclude explanations of the methods that futurists employ to arrive at predictions such as "trend extrapolation; scenarios; mapping; use of expert opinion; and models, games and simulations." Other chapters discuss terrorism and civil aviation, aircraft hijacking, contingency planning and incident management, Canadian counterterrorism policy, the role of the police in countering terrorism, counterterrorism intelligence, the role of the media, and military and paramilitary measures.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; theoretical aspects; international relations; law enforcement; future trends

The dissertation analyzes the Colombian government's response to the threat posed by minority insurgent movements, as well as other opposition groups. It demonstrates how the regime maintained public order by employing legal and illegal instruments of coercion, and in the process "ceded" much of its authority to the Armed Forces to such an extent that it became unable to distinguish between "legal protest and armed subversion." This leads the author to hypothesize that protracted or permanent insurgencies result in institutionalizing the suppression of civil liberties and human rights by governments, and that this was not only the case in Colombia, but in Peru, the Philippines, Israel, and Northern Ireland.

Keyword(s): guerilla warfare; low-intensity conflict; Colombia; Latin America


The author, a left-wing analyst, focuses on terrorism as it is employed by states to control internal thought and expression, as opposed to the "retail terrorism" practiced by individuals and groups. According to his definition, the United-States is officially committed to practicing international terrorism (particularly in Central America), as are Iran, Israel, and South Africa. Chomsky also discusses the boundary between terrorism and legitimate resistance, and the concept of terrorism and retaliation. He concludes that terrorism is usually defined as violent acts conducted by one's "official enemies," and that the "establishment" only advocates retaliation as a means to eliminate the threat of terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism

Keyword(s): international relations; future trends


This book examines the history of armed struggle and negotiation efforts between the Fatherland and Liberty (Euskadi ta Askatasuna--ETA) Basque separatist movement and the Spanish government. The author defines ETA as an insurgency, rather than as a terrorist group. One of the author’s assumptions is that the principal ETA factions are willing to negotiate in good faith with the Spanish government for limited political objectives. Consequently, the author believes that a negotiated settlement with the ETA is a realistic and desirable objective of Spanish antiterrorist policy. Moreover, it is argued that the majority of the Basque and Spanish populations favor a negotiated end to the conflict. Departing from these premises, the book examines Spanish antiterrorist policy and the history of failed negotiation efforts between the Spanish government and ETA since the end of the Franco dictatorship. In the concluding chapter, the author recommends a two-track approach to negotiations with ETA, in which the first track would address technical issues such as amnesties, and the second track would address broader political issues such as Basque self-determination and Basque-Spanish relations.

Keyword(s): terrorism; ethnicity; Europe; counterterrorism


Keyword(s): international relations; future trends

Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute, 1990. [Call Number: HV 6431.P637 1990]

This chapter discusses strategies for combating U.S.-based terrorism and tracking US-based terrorist support groups. The author portrays the tracking of potentially violent domestic groups as a trade-off between effective law enforcement and respect for civil liberties. Four models of domestic counterterrorism are discussed: bank robbery approach, organized crime approach, analytical approach, and investigative approach. These approaches entail varying intensities of investigative effort, with the bank robbery approach being retroactive and requiring no investigation until a crime has actually been committed and the analytical and investigative approaches being more proactive, requiring progressively greater efforts to collect background information on potentially violent groups and individuals. The author recommends that the intensity of investigative effort in domestic counterterrorism be adjusted to the level of terrorist threat in order to avoid unnecessary infringement on civil liberties and wasted manpower.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; U.S. Government policy; law enforcement

Clery, Daniel. "Can We Stop Another Lockerbie?" New Scientist [London], 137, No. 1862, February 27, 1993, 21-23. [Call Number: Q 1 .N52]

The article discusses some of the problems and dilemmas involved in developing advanced technologies to detect bombs in passenger suitcases and thus foil parallel advances in terrorist bomb-making capabilities, as well as the reluctance of airliners and airports to expend additional funds to purchase the latest high-tech detection machines. Advances in bomb detection technologies include thermal neutron analysis (TNA), which is unpopular because it is heavy and expensive, and a new automatic machine that scans passenger bags with two beams, with each unit costing about $120,000. Problems faced by airlines include the current economic recession that has driven some airlines into bankruptcy. Enforcing strict security measures would increase ticket prices and as a result drive away additional passengers. The article concludes that despite progress in developing new
technologies the sense of urgency about the problem has been lost.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; aviation; future trends


This book analyzes current trends in terrorism and guerrilla warfare and attempts to predict future trends for the next five to ten years. Part I examines the spectrum of subnuclear conflict, from "agit-prop" and street disorder, through guerrilla warfare and terrorism, to civil war and invasion. Part II examines current and potential technological developments, as they affect weapons, choice of terrorist targets, and the means of countering terrorism by better intelligence and security. Part III examines the effects of drug trafficking on both rural and urban terrorism, among producers and processors in the Third World, international traffickers, and consumers in affluent Western societies. This part concludes that the cure lies in determined action by Western governments in their own countries to cut off demand. Part IV examines the organization, tactics, and trends in rural guerrilla warfare, both in conducting and countering it, and assesses the likely effects of both political and technological change. Part V examines urban terrorism. Part VI considers worst case scenarios of terrorism proliferation. The author concludes that new types of terrorism should be combatted through the use of innovative technological, legal, and law enforcement mechanisms. These would include antiterrorism technologies such as magnetic identification card systems, advanced explosives detection devices, and the use of artificial intelligence to thwart electronic terrorism. More effective antiterrorist legislation and law enforcement mechanisms should also be used in cases where the terrorist threat increases dramatically. Special antiterrorist laws on detention, special antiterrorist courts, and automatic life sentences for convicted terrorists and drug traffickers should be considered. In deciding whether to implement more vigorous antiterrorism measures, an effort should be made to strike a balance between maintaining civil liberties and guaranteeing
public safety. Nevertheless, concerns over civil liberties should not prevent the implementation of certain types of restrictions and information gathering systems that would significantly enhance public safety.

Keyword(s): terrorism; low-intensity conflict; guerrilla warfare; narcoterrorism; technology; counterterrorism; international relations; future trends


This book provides a comprehensive examination of indigenous terrorist groups based in Europe and international terrorist groups that frequently have carried out terrorist attacks in Europe. Counterterrorism measures involving improved international cooperation and new technologies which, if implemented, could reduce the terrorist threat in European countries in the future are discussed. The author suggests that terrorist groups such as the Irish Republican Army and Freedom for the Basque Homeland (ETA) in Spain will be difficult to eliminate entirely by any government action because these movements have a dedicated base of support in the regions where they operate. In chapter 16, entitled "Future Development of the Threat," Clutterbuck predicts that new terrorist groups modeled after Germany's Revolutionary Cells, utilizing small, autonomous units to escape detection, could become the most prevalent threat to the general public in Europe. The absence of a national hierarchy and daily communication between members of such terrorist groups, and the ability of members to work at legitimate jobs in the day and then plan their terrorist activities at night, is viewed as a particularly effective method of operation. In chapters 11 through 13, the author discusses how national security could be enhanced if governments would pay for and utilize new technologies capable of detecting terrorists and the weapons used by terrorists. Chapter 12 discusses how identification cards and passports can be made foolproof through the use of sophisticated computer networks, fingerprinting, DNA, and voice identification. Chapter 13 proposes improved security measures for airports involving multiple checkpoints and technologies such as spectographic analysis and blast-proof vacuum chambers for detecting
barometric fuses. Clutterbuck suggests that each of the member nations of the European Community continue to finance and operate its own elite antiterrorist organization. He believes the establishment of an inter-European antiterrorist unit would never be as cohesive and effective as the national units have proved to be in the past.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; counterterrorism; future trends


In a chapter on future terrorism trends, the author points out that fashions in terrorism rise and decline in an unpredictable manner because terrorists always seek new targets and new techniques. To respond effectively, governments and corporations must enter the terrorist’s mind and see through his eyes for new terrorist possibilities. In the future, with the microelectronic revolution, manufacturing and service industries, particularly networks of computer communications and cable television, will become vulnerable to terrorist sabotage, and toxic, explosive or flammable material is likely to be hijacked while being transported.

Keyword(s): terrorism; technology; counterterrorism; future trends


This report by the Committee of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights in Europe, an international human rights monitoring group, contains a critical assessment of Spanish counterterrorism policy. It argues that the Spanish government secretly sponsored the Antiterrorist Liberation Groups (Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberacion--GAL), a right-wing terrorist organization that assassinated several Basque nationalists in southern France from 1983 to 1987. It claims that the GAL, composed
largely of retired and active-duty Spanish military and police personnel, carried out Spanish antiterrorism policy through the use of death-squad tactics, with the cooperation of French authorities. The report cites several cases of GAL terrorism involving murder, torture and other violations of human rights, for which the Spanish government is held accountable. One of the conclusions of the report's authors is that Spanish state support for GAL terrorism eroded the democratic character of the Spanish government and reduced its legitimacy in the Basque country, without significantly reducing the incidence of Basque terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; ethnicity; Europe; state sponsorship


The publication is a compendium of major U.S. legislative and executive branch efforts to combat international terrorism. Sections cover foreign assistance and related legislation, Department of State legislation, trade and financial legislation, treaty implementing legislation, executive branch documents, economic summit conferences, bilateral agreements, multilateral treaties, reports to Congress and the President, regulations, and an international civil aviation organization document.

Keyword(s): terrorism; legal aspects; United States


The authors believe that the post-Cold War international environment is characterized by heightened instability in many regions, particularly the Third World, which poses
serious threats to U.S. interests. These security threats must be met by improving U.S. governmental organizations and capabilities in the area of low-intensity conflict (LIC). The chapter discusses U.S. Government experience with LIC, particularly the early efforts in the 1949-80 period, when the political, social, and economic goals of counterinsurgency were consistently overshadowed during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations by the immediate military and geopolitical objectives of winning the Vietnam War, and scant attention was given to LIC under the Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations. LIC was elevated in importance during the Reagan administration, particularly as it related to insurgencies in Angola, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Also under the Reagan administration the new bureaucratic structure for dealing with LIC was created, which remained, with slight alteration, throughout the Bush presidency. The authors argue that in spite of the evolution in the U.S. approach to LIC, there remains a reluctance to deal with the challenge of LIC. This results from the defense priority during the last forty years on preventing nuclear war, with a primary focus on Europe, while all armed conflicts occurred in the Third World. Following a discussion of efforts in the form of studies and commissions to improve U.S. understanding and capabilities in the area of LIC, such as the 1958 Rockefeller Report, the 1986 Packard Commission, and the 1988 Long-Term Integrated Strategy, the authors recommend a number of improvements in the way specific government agencies respond to LIC. For example, they argue that good leadership is essential for coordination by the National Security Council of the many components of LIC into a single directorate; that the Department of State is poorly organized, understaffed, and lacking in resources to effectively serve as the lead agency for LIC; that the Department of Defense is still insufficiently committed and enthusiastic about LIC--compared to mid- and high-intensity modes of warfare; that while the Central Intelligence Agency has elevated two major "operating" LIC accounts--counterterrorism and counternarcotics--problems remain in sharing and integrating intelligence from other intelligence and police agencies. In addition, the authors criticize the Agency for International Development for being counterproductive to effective LIC management over the last two decades; the Department of Justice provides "poor to nonexistent" support to judicial systems of countries under LIC-type attack; the Department of Commerce should
provide greater encouragement and support to U.S. industry to increase its presence in countries under siege; and, finally, the Office of Management and Budget/Department of the Treasury, while providing fiscal oversight for U.S. Government activities, should come up with innovative responses to economies in countries under siege. The chapter concludes with a recommendation for five actions whose implementation by the executive branch, the authors believe, will improve U.S. Government management of LIC. First, an organizational change in the Department of State should incorporate into one bureau the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters, the Politico-Military Bureau, and other functional offices. Second, while there is a desire not to militarize LIC, only the Department of Defense has the required management capability to effectively manage a LIC program. Third, LIC engagements should be overseen by a small institution within the White House executive office, independent of the National Security Council. Fourth, the International Cooperation Act of 1991 should be passed by Congress. Fifth, the Department of State's Foreign Service Institute should implement a training program for representatives of government agencies and uniformed services being assigned to countries facing a LIC.

Keyword(s): low-intensity conflict; U.S. Government policy; future trends


This article discusses the increasing reliance of law enforcement on accurate and readily available intelligence in combating terrorism. Combating the growing menace of terrorism will require greater international cooperation and networking in the evaluation and exchange of intelligence. Intelligence agencies must ensure that knowledge of the techniques of terrorists is comprehensive and universal within the community of antiterrorist states. The intelligence community must also ensure that other links between terrorism and more traditional criminal activity are identified internationally. There is a growing need for the antiterrorist nations to recognize the value of electronic data management and communications systems. Finally, there is an increasing need for
interagency information exchanges and the building of solid intelligence-sharing relationships across national boundaries.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; intelligence; international relations; technology; future trends


This article examines the classification of terrorism in two newspaper indexes, the New York Times and the Times of London and in two periodical indexes, the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature and the Humanities Index, from 1966 to 1985. The following subjects are discussed: the year the term terrorism first appeared in each index; the index terms that are used for subjects related to terrorism, counterterrorism, and antiterrorism; and how U.S. Government and foreign government policies and laws related to terrorism are presented. Changes in the way in which terrorism was perceived by the indexers over the 20-year period are analyzed in terms of regional differences (United States versus United Kingdom) and index differences (newspapers versus periodicals). The results are also compared with other research on media and terrorism. The author concludes that perceptions of terrorism communicated by the media do not represent an accurate picture of the nature and extent of terrorism in the real world.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; media


The author views aggressive antiterrorism programs by governments as a necessary element for breaking up any terrorist organization. This study selectively examines how the U.S. Government and foreign governments formulated various antiterrorist and counterterrorist policies focusing on the success and failures of the use of force. In the United States the FBI-directed antiterrorist program targeting the Black Panthers in the late 1960s and
early 1970s was successful in bringing an end to that group's terrorist attacks. In India, however, the involvement of the armed forces in a 1984 antiterrorist campaign was indirectly responsible for the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi later that year. Concessions by a government to a terrorist group during a hostage-taking situation do not necessarily strengthen terrorist movements. The governments of Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and the former Federal Republic of Germany negotiated in such situations while they were conducting tough antiterrorist campaigns. The effectiveness of a specific counterterrorist policy is shown to vary from country to country. In 1981 an amnesty given to members of the Direct Action terrorist group was responsible for increasing the level of violence perpetrated by that group in France. However, the Italian Government’s amnesty program in the mid-1980s is thought to have facilitated a reduced terrorist threat from that country’s Red Brigades. The author concludes by saying that government officials must analyze more than their own counterterrorist and antiterrorist programs in making decisions on whether to use force or negotiations with terrorists. The cohesiveness of the terrorist group, the strength of its popular support, and the general public’s attitude concerning antiterrorist actions by the government should continually be evaluated. The article includes a listing of 77 groups, past and present, that have practiced terrorism in various countries around the world since 1945.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism


This paper provides an assessment of the nature of terrorism and the possibilities and conditions for international cooperation in combating it. It calls for the development of a pragmatic approach to countering terrorism, based on an objective definition of the threat and realistic analysis of the wider political context within which it occurs. It considers that under General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, a Soviet interest in pursuing cooperative measures has been expressed with some insistence, and that the United States could benefit from
this apparent change of attitude. The author concludes that there already is significant ongoing East-West cooperation to prevent terrorists from acquiring nuclear devices, and that the issue of possible cooperation in combating terrorism has in effect been placed on the agenda of East-West talks.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; Soviet Union; counterterrorism; international relations; nuclear weapons


This article argues that there are two basic explanations for the behavior of terrorist organizations. Terrorist activity can be explained from an instrumental perspective or an organizational perspective. The instrumental approach assumes that the act of terrorism is a deliberate choice by a political actor. The organization, as a unit, acts to achieve collective values, which involve radical changes in political and social conditions. The organizational explanation focuses on internal organizational processes within the group using terrorism. Terrorism is explained in terms of an organization's struggle for survival, usually in a competitive environment. The author concludes that policymakers should be sensitive to the idea that different analyses of the reasons behind terrorist actions can yield incompatible recommendations on how to cope with the problem. Confusion results when rhetorical policy is cast in terms of strategic theory, sometimes elevated to the status of moral imperative, but actions are conceived with a view to exploiting the internal politics of underground groups or the states who possess influence over them. The policy debate within the Reagan administration over how best to deal with terrorism, specifically over the use of force and over securing the release of hostages held in Lebanon, may be attributable to different interpretations of the political processes that lead to terrorism as well as to bureaucratic and personal rivalries within the government. The result is an inconsistent policy that alternates between contradictory extremes and imposes high political costs.
Keyword(s): terrorism; theoretical aspects; counterterrorism; Middle East; Lebanon; U.S. Government policy


The book reveals the hidden truths behind each event of terrorism in France. It provides insights as to how Judge Marsaud, who was aloof to the first terrorist bombs, became the chief of the Central Service to fight terrorists and how foreign policy intervenes in favor of the terrorist.

Keyword(s): terrorism; France


The contributors to the book examine the main components in the U.S. approach to low-intensity conflict (LIC): technology, as part of the military effort, policy options, and distinctions among the military services in terms of their doctrinal approach. The policy section discusses U.S. and Soviet policy approaches to LIC. The technology section focuses on light-aircraft technologies, air power and standoff weapons, synthetic aperture radar, intelligence requirements, war-gaming and simulation models, the role of military health care, and nuclear and electromagnetic warfare in LIC. The doctrine section examines the employment in LIC of the U.S. Navy, the Marine Corps, the Army, and the Air Force. The last chapter discusses joint doctrine for LIC.

Keyword(s): terrorism; technology; research and development; low-intensity conflict; future trends

Della Porta's book is a scholarly examination of left-wing terrorism in Italy with particular emphasis on the origins, goals, tactics, and actions of the Red Brigades, Prima Linea, and Fighting Communist Cells. The author of three earlier books on terrorism and political violence, della Porta has furnished her book with numerous tables and graphs that present clearly her empirical method of studying Italian terrorism. The data provided includes targets; types of actions (kidnappings, assassinations, robberies, etc.); personal, professional, and political backgrounds of terrorists; changes in terrorist tactics, and many other varieties of information. Many primary sources were used in the preparation of this 300-page book. Perhaps the most interesting of these sources were twenty-nine accounts of their lives furnished by former terrorists to della Porta and other scholars.

Keyword(s): Europe; Italy; terrorism


This book examines coverage of terrorism by television journalism. Accounts of terrorism in ABC's World News Tonight constructed terrorism as a public crisis deserving immediate attention and government response. The absence of imminent danger that international terrorists posed to most Americans and the lack of consensus about the significance of the terrorist threat rendered this crisis a semantically created one. The author concludes that terrorism has been depicted in a manner that engenders widespread anxiety and panic and that can be used as a political tool to further policies designed to respond to it.

Keyword(s): terrorism; media; psychological aspects; U.S. Government policy


Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; Soviet Union

Keyword(s): terrorism; chemical weapons; biological weapons; antiterrorism; United States


Studies of terrorist psychology have typically focused either on single individuals or group dynamics within the organizations that these individuals have joined. Less attention has been paid to the background conditions that give rise to these individuals and organizations, even with regard to environments in which generalization appears to be feasible. This paper focuses on one such environment. Its principal goal is to highlight the theoretical connections between a society's ethnic cleavages: the development of ethno-political activity, especially organized violence and terrorism, and the implications of this activity for the functions of institutions in "democratic" and "non-democratic" societies. A related objective is the identification of policy responses to latent or manifest ethno-political activity and an assessment of their potential efficacy. These points are illustrated by examining a small ethnic group, the South Moluccans in the Netherlands, which would appear to have had little motivation to engage in violence or terrorism, but some of whose members nevertheless did.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; ethnicity; psychological aspects


This article discusses future trends in international terrorism and the emerging policy debate among the community of policymakers responsible for counterterrorism. It argues that changes that make terrorist movements potentially more deadly also make it possible to undercut the terrorist threat more effectively. But undercutting it would require that the United States move away from its predominantly defensive
approach to terrorism and move toward a more proactive policy. A proactive approach would entail preemptive action overseas, preferably on a multilateral basis, against terrorist group members and base camps, as well as effective economic and military sanctions against states sponsoring terrorists and supplying weapons. A revision of policy will depend on the outcome of an ongoing debate within the U.S. Government between defenders of the conventional defensive approach in the Department of State's Bureau for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs and proponents of a more proactive policy in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; future trends


The regime of Syria's Hafiz al-Assad has long used terrorism as an instrument of policy to strike at enemies and influence regional developments. Syrian intelligence and security personnel have, in the past, been directly involved in operations against various Western governments, Israel, rival Arab regimes, and exiled opposition figures. This has included bombings, assassinations, and abductions. In addition, Syria has offered sanctuary to a number of Palestinian and surrogate groups and provided them with the political, military, and financial means to engage in terrorist acts that serve Syria's interests, and which Syria could not directly engage in without significant risk. Despite its involvement in the US-sponsored peace process and negotiations with Israel, Syria has permitted Lebanese Shi'ite Hezbollah guerrillas to continue attacks against Israeli troops in southern Lebanon and to shell northern Israel. Syria also continues to provide support and safehaven to a large number of terrorist groups in Syria itself as well as Syrian-controlled parts of Lebanon, raising questions about its ultimate intentions. In addition, Syria's continued support for terrorism remains an obstacle to improved relations with the United States; the U.S. Department of State still carries Syria on its list of states that sponsor terrorism. It is also an
impediment to progress in Syria's negotiations with Israel.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; Middle East


This book presents an overview of international law directed at the issue of managing international terrorism. Chapter 1 looks at the nature of international terrorism and the seriousness of the threat. Chapter 2 addresses the choice of law, reviewing the pros and cons of various legal approaches to dealing with terrorism. Chapters 4-6 show how the international community has sought to restrain the use of force as a method for resolving international disputes. Chapter 7 presents conclusions and forecasts future directions.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; legal aspects; international law; international relations; U.S. Government policy; future trends


This book develops a critical assessment of U.S. counterterrorism policy. Concentrating on the interaction between revolutionary violence and the U.S. Government, as well as the actions of closely allied governments, it argues that standard tactics and weaponry used by all sides in political conflict in the world today possess a terrorist character. It further contends that a propagandistic depiction of terrorism has been used by the U.S. Government to justify a militant counterterrorist foreign policy. The cultivation of public and media support for militant counterterrorism is interpreted as destructive of the public's capacity to grasp and respond to a far more threatening disregard of limits in relation to the use of political violence overseas. The emphasis of this book is on "impermissible" forms of political violence, regardless of the identity of the actor, based on a broad concept of terrorism.
Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; media


Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; law enforcement


This article focuses on changes in U.S. counterterrorism policy after the October 23, 1983 Beirut terrorist attack that killed 241 U.S. Marines. Francis believes that the U.S. intelligence community was "seriously harmed" by congressional investigations and press reporting in the 1970s. The Reagan administration addressed these problems immediately after the Beirut bombing and won congressional and public support for improving the U.S. Government's capability to protect U.S. military personnel and civilians in foreign countries against future terrorist attacks. The U.S. Government reclassified terrorism as an act of unconventional warfare and President Reagan signed National Security Decision Directive 138 on April 3, 1984, requiring 26 government agencies to draft plans for counterterrorism measures. The Joint Special Operations Agency, responsible to the Defense Department's Joint Chiefs of Staff was tasked with coordinating overt and covert counterterrorism operations by the military and intelligence services. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was authorized to establish a Hostage Rescue Team and a Terrorist Research and Analysis Center. A three-level structure was outlined within the executive branch of the U.S. Government to better organize policymaking and the implementation of new counterterrorism programs. One section of the article lists ten terrorist groups that were responsible for 31 acts of terrorism in the United States in 1983. The author concludes with this assessment of the situation in 1984: "While the [Reagan] administration has taken concrete steps toward more effective counterterrorist policies, it has not yet
designed or implemented a comprehensive proactive counterterrorism policy that conforms with its own understanding of terrorism as a 'form of war.' This clear policy is overdue."

Keyword(s): Counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


A comprehensive examination of active terrorist groups operating in the United States in the 1980s is provided and the domestic and international factors that will challenge U.S. counterterrorist programs for the foreseeable future are discussed in this chapter. The first section describes terrorist-related incidents that were coordinated by the leaders of ten leftist-oriented terrorist groups between 1980 and 1987. These groups cooperated in robberies to finance their operations, exchanged information on bombmaking and terrorist tactics, and established an intelligence network targeting U.S. military bases and several U.S. corporations. The intricate relationships among terrorist groups, previously thought by U.S. law enforcement officials and journalists to have no ties, demonstrated the difficulties faced by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and local law enforcement agencies in coordinating their counterterrorism programs. The second section discusses a network of terrorist groups, ostensibly unrelated to the leftist groups described in section one, that was responsible for 19 bombings along the East Coast of the United States between 1982 and 1985. One goal of the terrorists was to influence policymakers to react to the bombings by implementing repressive police tactics that terrorist leaders believed would increase public support for their political objectives. The Armed Forces of National Liberation, better known as FALN, a Puerto Rican separatist organization that helped plan these bombings, hoped to make a name for itself in the eastern United States. However, the FBI's counterterrorist operations succeeded in containing the FALN without alarming the American public by overreacting to the bombings, thereby defeating the strategy of the terrorists. Section three provides the histories of three U.S. terrorist groups: the
sides in political conflict in the world today possess a
terrorist character. It further contends that a
propagandistic depiction of terrorism has been used by the
U.S. Government to justify a militant counterterrorist
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support for militant counterterrorism is interpreted as
destructive of the public's capacity to grasp and respond
to a far more threatening disregard of limits in relation
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this book is on "impermissible" forms of political
violence, regardless of the identity of the actor, based
on a broad concept of terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government
policy; media

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Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; law enforcement

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This article focuses on changes in U.S. counterterrorism
policy after the October 23, 1983 Beirut terrorist attack
that killed 241 U.S. Marines. Francis believes that the
U.S. intelligence community was "seriously harmed" by
congressional investigations and press reporting in the
1970s. The Reagan administration addressed these problems
The book attempts to provide a comprehensive discussion of the sociopolitical impact of terrorism on Western societies, and, in particular, to explain the "modifications and inconsistencies" in their attitude towards terrorism. The primary focus of the book is not on specific antiterrorist strategies by Western liberal democratic governments; rather, it is the question of whether democracies are "terrorism-tolerating systems." The contributors to the volume focus their analysis on "support/indifference/resistance" types of responses to terrorism by government and society in the cases of Spain, Germany, Israel, Belgium, and Italy. For example, while the Israeli government has always counteracted Palestinian terrorism with an armed response, it has, on occasion, tolerated Jewish right-wing nationalist terrorism against Palestinians and even commuted the sentences of some of the convicted members of such Jewish terrorist groups. In the concluding chapter, the editor writes that in practice liberal democratic governments will violate their own premises regarding antiterrorism when conditions do not present a perceived direct threat to their central interests or values.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; Europe; Middle East; theoretical aspects


The book questions whether the terms "terrorist" and "terrorism" have coherent meaning, because, according to the author, they are "value-laden" labels. To prove his thesis, the author discusses varieties of "terrorism" in the Middle East, Sri Lanka, India, Spain, Northern Ireland, Italy, and Germany. This is followed by a discussion of counterterrorism, and the threat to civil liberties posed by state overreaction. He rejects the attempt to strive for a comprehensive definition of terrorism, and advocates formulating an analytical spectrum of behavior at whose core activities are purely terrorist, but on its fringes are more ambiguous "scattered subversive acts." He concludes that applying the term "violent subversion" is less value-laden and places these actions in their proper "political and geographic context."
Keyword(s): terrorism; definition


This book comprises nine chapters that discuss how the authors perceive the U.S. Government and selected foreign governments contributing to the increase of terrorism worldwide. The basic theme common to the nine chapters suggests that modern conflicts since World War I have systematically involved various strategies designed to demoralize civilian populations to obtain a political end. Richard Falk, the author of chapter five entitled "The Terrorist Foundations of Recent U.S. Foreign Policy," views President Truman's decision to drop atomic bombs on two Japanese cities as a policy of terror. Alexander George, the editor of the book, provides this warning to policymakers in the introduction: "Though far from comprehensive, these essays taken together give an accurate indication of the substantial involvement of the West in the most serious instances of terrorism today. This fact is not easy to assimilate. . . . Yet until we face the facts and take responsibility, our world will remain one of blood and lies."

Keyword(s): terrorism; U.S. Government policy; international relations


The authors believe that terrorism will persist in the 1990s because its causes are unlikely to disappear, despite the end of the Cold War. Terrorism, in fact, is likely to change and expand in the 1990s because modern technological society provides terrorist groups with new opportunities, targets, and nuclear, toxic chemical, and lethal biological weapons. The authors are optimistic that in responding to these new terrorist developments, democratic governments will improve counterterrorist strategies, while at the same time safeguarding democratic values. The core of the chapter discusses
conventions adopted by European governments to combat terrorism, and the factors that complicate initiatives to combat terrorism. The latter include the absence in many European nations of legislation to deal specifically with terrorist offenses; the absence of a legal definition of political offenses, including imprecise legal definitions of terrorism; different approaches in dealing with and prosecuting suspected terrorists; and the maintenance of relations by some European states with states that are active sponsors of terrorism. After discussing existing bilateral or multilateral conventions, intergovernmental forums, and police agencies to counter terrorism, the authors turn to combating terrorism in the 1990s, which they believe will require greater cooperation between the European Community (EC) member states and other nations. This needs to occur in three main areas. First, there is a need for greater harmonization of laws dealing with terrorism. Second, a common information system on terrorism is required. Third, police cooperation under the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement must be widened to reflect practices in other European countries. The authors conclude that as European borders are erased after the 1992 unity agreement is implemented, there will be need for a Europe-wide police force, similar to the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, to coordinate antiterrorism investigations, as well as a Europe-wide criminal justice system.

Keyword(s): terrorism; technology; Europe; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; legal aspects; international law; international relations; future trends


The author believes that a reevaluation of the Soviet attitude and policy toward terrorism occurred under former president Mikhail Gorbachev. The main change was a recognition that regional conflicts of interest to the Soviet Union would only be resolved peacefully through political means. Military means as a component in armed struggle for progressive causes was thus ruled out. Golan adds that the new Soviet attitude was accompanied by a new cooperative approach to international terrorism. The author, however, is uncertain whether a change took place in actual arms deliveries or other forms of assistance to
terrorist clients, although there were reports of new Soviet involvement in the Philippines and Pakistan. Another change was the greater openness of Soviet authorities in acknowledging terrorist incidents occurring in their territory, as well as greater willingness to cooperate with the intelligence and police services of other nations, including Israel, in countering anti-Soviet terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Soviet Union; state sponsorship; international relations

Gooding, Gregory, V., "Fighting Terrorism in the 1980s: The Interception of the Achille Lauro Hijackers" Yale Journal of International Law [New Haven, CT], 12, Winter 1987, 158-79. [Call Number: JX1.Y34]

On October 10, 1985, US military aircraft intercepted an Egyptian airliner over the Mediterranean Sea and forced it to land at a NATO base in Sicily. Among those on board were four Palestinians who had recently surrendered after hijacking the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro and holding more than 400 persons hostage for three days. This article examines the effects this incident had on the norms governing the actions that a state may permissibly take under international law to apprehend suspected criminals who are not physically within its jurisdiction. It interprets the U.S. action as a modification of the previous norm against interception of civilian aircraft. The United States justified the violation of this norm by claiming that in cases involving the "nation's security" the United States may act subject only to domestic law. Although international law may be implicated, it is controlling only where security concerns--as defined by the United States--are not present. The article concludes that the Achille Lauro incident--whether seen as limited to the modification of the norm against the interception of civilian aircraft, or more broadly as indicative of a claim regarding the limits of international law--will ultimately have undesirable consequences for world public order. While a set of norms that allow for exceptions, such as that which legitimized the U.S. interception, may constitute "better" law, it is not to be preferred if it results in a less stable regime. Given this fact, the author does not believe that the Achille Lauro "victory" furthers long-term U.S. interests.
Keyword(s): counterterrorism; international law; international relations; U.S. Government policy


This article examines how governments often exploit journalists and academics to confirm preconceived views on terrorism. The case of Peru's counterinsurgency targeting Shining Path is used as an illustration.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; Peru


According to the author, the 1990-91 Persian Gulf War represents the most important development for future confrontations with terrorism, making the "realities" of terrorism in the early 1990s very different from the 1970s and 1980s. In the book, the author attempts to challenge the "conventional" understanding of terrorism as it has developed over the past two decades and to offer a new framework to deal with the terrorism of the future. Chapters in the book discuss what is known and not known about terrorism; the neoconservative approach to terrorism; mobilization by the United States against terrorism; internal terrorism in the United States, particularly repressive measures used by the U.S. Government to crack down on dissident groups; American foreign policy and terrorism, using El Salvador and Libya as examples; British counterterrorism in Northern Ireland; West German counterterrorism policies; terrorism in Sri Lanka and India; and the author's proposal for a "middle view" to confront the problem of terrorism. The author's "middle view" attempts to expose contradictions of the past, for example, involvement by the U.S. Government in antiterrorism excesses such as Iran-Contra, condemning state sponsors of terrorism while at the same time soliciting their diplomatic support against Iraq, and negotiating with the "terrorist" Palestine Liberation Organization, in order to construct a new policy on terrorism. According to the author, terrorism is complex
and a product of "multiple realities." He concludes that there are no easy solutions to the "explosion of terrorism" but, as a first step, it is important to increase our understanding of what we know about terrorism, the "various rationales behind it," and its role in contemporary society.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; United States; U.S. Government policy; future trends


This book examines the evolution of the Nation and Liberty in Euskadi (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna--ETA) terrorist organization in Spain. It analyzes the development of the ETA strategy of armed struggle against the Spanish state in support of an independent socialist Basque republic, seeking to explain why the organization continues to rely on violent methods in the post-Franco period. After tracing the history of ETA politico-military strategy from 1963 to 1987, the author concludes that terrorist violence is an effective weapon of political action only against weak, authoritarian regimes. Terrorism is generally ineffective against cohesive democratic regimes. ETA's reliance on terrorism, particularly its use of indiscriminate violence against civilians, can only be counterproductive to its political goals in post-Franco Spain. The author states that indiscriminate terrorist violence against civilians will only reinforce popular support for repression of Basque nationalist ambitions and lead to further isolation of the Basque political leadership.

Keyword(s): terrorism; ethnicity; Europe

Gurovitsch, Kerry Ann. "Legal Obstacles to Combatting International State-Sponsored Terrorism," *Houston Journal of International Law* [Houston, TX], 10, Autumn 1987, 159-80. [Call Number: JX1.H68]

Two sections of this article focus on what the author believes to be most serious problems facing U.S. policymakers when they must respond to international
terrorist incidents involving U.S. interests. The section entitled "Definitional Problems" includes this criticism: "A major obstacle to forming a consensus on the definition of terrorism is that each government agency, organization, and office defines this activity according to its own views and responsibilities." The author then cites the definitions of terrorism used by the FBI and U.S. Army to illustrate the problem. The section entitled "The Response" describes the procedures followed by the National Security Council during terrorist incidents involving U.S. citizens in foreign countries. The author opines that the president often is limited in his choice of policy options, particularly concerning the use of antiterrorist units, by public concern about the lives of hostages and other innocent civilians. Gurovitsch recommends that the U.S. Government formulate a strategic plan to inform the public more quickly on U.S. Government capabilities to handle crisis situations. Section five focuses on international disputes over the prosecution of terrorists. The author believes that the interests of all nations would best be served by the establishment of an international court for terrorism. An impartial international body is judged to be one way of closing loopholes in international laws that work to the advantage of terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; legal aspects; international law


Keyword(s): terrorism; ethnicity; antiterrorism; future trends


This article discusses the vulnerability of U.S. military and merchant ships to an attack by a terrorist group using a small, high-speed boat. The article also discusses how the U.S. Navy SEALs, who are trained to conduct
antiterrorist strikes in the event terrorists hijack a U.S. ship in international waters, have acquired their own high-speed boats equipped with sophisticated antiradar devices and satellite communications equipment. These boats would be airlifted with the SEALs to the scene of the incident. Hall states in the article that the 1985 hijacking of the Italian passenger ship *Achille Lauro* by Palestinian terrorists should be a warning concerning the vulnerability of ships to terrorist attacks.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; future trends


The article discusses elements of both the new agenda and the old agenda of international relations. The author's main thesis is that we are undergoing a process in which just as one set of problems end (for example, with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe), another set of problems arises, while at the same time certain old problems remain. The new set of problems revolves around the environment, weapons proliferation, migration, international cooperation and human rights, drugs and AIDS, and "delinking Islam and terrorism." Regarding the last point, in the author's view, the issue of terrorism "is fraught with many confusions," and does not represent "some new strategic menace." The "greatest error" of terrorism lies in its "illegitimacy" and "denial of democratic or diplomatic processes." Elements of the old agenda include nationalism, war, and inequality in the distribution of wealth. The author concludes that changes in the international system have no effect on the academic study of international relations, where the "underlying conceptual problems--of state and system, military and economic power, and the like--have not altered."

Keyword(s): terrorism; international relations; future trends

The book provides information on terrorists who have infiltrated Belgium State Security and stolen military documents to prove that it is a "Swiss cheese" agency. There is an additional section that describes the organization of Belgium State Security.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe


This essay, originally prepared for military chaplains, explains why terrorism is a form of political depravity and a form of armed activity bearing little resemblance to legitimate guerrilla warfare. Dr. Harmon analyzes how terrorists nonetheless use arguments--moral and political--to try to transform public attitudes and even paralyze the body politic into inaction and impotence. Common arguments of the terrorists and their supporters and apologists are analyzed and rebutted. Conclusions include the proposition that internecine bloodletting among terrorists themselves, and the self-defeating character of terrorist logic, make these ostensible architects of new societies more adept with the wrecking ball than with the blueprint.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; moral aspects; psychological aspects


This article provides a comprehensive examination of all of the domestic terrorist groups in the United States known to have carried out terrorist attacks in the 1980s. Four classifications of domestic terrorist groups are used: white leftists; Puerto Rican separatists; Afro-American separatists; and right-wing. Harris examines
the most significant of the 125 known terrorist attacks that occurred in the United States between 1980 and mid-1987. The author believes that the threat of domestic terrorism will increase in the future because each of the four major groups responsible for terrorism has viable bases of support that inevitably will supply new terrorists willing to use violence in the name of their cause.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; United States; future trends


Keyword(s): terrorism; guerrilla warfare; future trends


The book presents an overview of the approach of the U.S. Government and other Western governments to counteracting the threats posed by low-intensity types of warfare. Chapters deal with the modernization of U.S. special operations forces (SOF), the U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM), the role of Marine Expeditionary Units
(MEU's), the role of security assistance, the Israeli counterterrorism doctrine, the roles of intelligence and logistics, psychological operations, regional conflicts in the Third World, civil affairs, legal aspects, the British counterinsurgency experience, counterinsurgency in Namibia and Vietnam, and combating terrorism during Operation Desert Storm.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; low-intensity conflict; guerrilla warfare; intelligence; legal aspects


This book presents a critical commentary on U.S. and Western counterterrorism policy. Its main argument is that the terrorist label has been fabricated by Western governments to justify repression against liberation movements and popular insurgencies in the Third World and to amplify perceptions of the Soviet threat. The authors conclude that the West has produced an industry of institutes and experts who formulate and channel analysis and information on terrorism in accordance with Western demands. This industry is closely linked to Western governments, intelligence agencies, and corporate/conservative foundations and funders.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; media; U.S. Government policy


Thomas Herzog is a lawyer dealing with terrorism in Germany’s Ministry of the Interior in Bonn. His book is concerned with terrorism as a legal concept. He describes the legal obligation nations have to combat terrorism and the laws they have developed to this end. Among the legal problems connected with combatting terrorism are the

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; counterterrorism; legal aspects


This two-volume work, nearly 800 pages in length, attempts first to analyze the nature of terrorism, whether it be that of armed bands attempting to overthrow a government for nationalistic or social-revolutionary reasons, or exercised by a legally constituted force. A West German sociologist then offers a theoretical model to explain social-revolutionary violence. The remainder of the first volume and all of the second volume are devoted to examining why terrorism did or did not become a powerful force in four countries in the last two to three decades: West Germany, Italy, France, the Netherlands. The treatments of these four nations deal both with the underlying foundations of their respective political cultures and recent public events that influenced the momentary flourishing of terrorism or its complete absence. All articles are furnished with notes and bibliographies.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe


This study examines the policies that have been used against urban terrorism and evaluates their effectiveness. The book is divided into five sections. Chapter 1 describes, case by case, the social and historical background to the insurgency, the aims, organization, and
used: white leftists; Puerto Rican separatists; Afro-American separatists; and right-wing. Harris examines the most significant of the 125 known terrorist attacks that occurred in the United States between 1980 and mid-1987. The author believes that the threat of domestic terrorism will increase in the future because each of the four major groups responsible for terrorism has viable bases of support that inevitably will supply new terrorists willing to use violence in the name of their cause.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; United States; future trends

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Hartley, Keith, and Todd Sandler (eds.). "Terrorism, Guerrilla Warfare, and Insurrections" Defence Economics [London], 3, No. 4, 1992 [Full issue.], . [Call Number: HC 79 .D4D43]


Keyword(s): terrorism; guerrilla warfare; future trends

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The book presents an overview of the approach of the U.S. Government and other Western governments to counteracting

The report examines terrorism trends in the United States and assesses the likelihood of nuclear terrorism in the form of either a theft of a weapons system and materiel or an attack on a nuclear weapons facility. Although the author concludes that such a threat is not likely at the present time, future trends may portend such an attack, with certain extremist right-wing terrorist groups likely to carry out such an attack.

Keyword(s): terrorism; future trends; United States


The article surveys the literature on terrorism and low-intensity conflict (LIC). It assesses the role that this research can perform in countering such challenges and evaluates the contribution of current research to our understanding of these issues. It argues that "policy-relevant research" is needed in this area, particularly as U.S. security concerns and interests are increasingly affected by an escalation of LIC-type conflicts around the world. There is also a need to provide the U.S. with clear definitions of what its interests are and how they can be expressed, because without such a conception its goals and efforts are bound to fail. Regarding future trends, Hoffman writes that research should focus on how the next generation of terrorist organizations are sustained, recruit new members, improve their methods of operation, and counteract new government measures against them. A corollary effort is needed to research emerging patterns of terrorist activity, particularly the use of children as terrorism's new "shock troops."

Keyword(s): terrorism; low-intensity conflict; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; future trends

This report examines the threat posed by terrorists to U.S. nuclear weapons production and research facilities. It finds that the threat to U.S. nuclear weapons facilities posed by domestic terrorist groups is not high at this time. However, the greater resources and lesser political concerns of state-sponsored terrorist groups could constitute a significant danger to these sites.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; nuclear weapons; future trends


The paper discusses recent trends in international terrorism, and assesses the likelihood of future developments in terms of terrorist tactics and weaponry. Three recent trends are the proliferation of terrorist groups (11 terrorist groups were active in 1968, whereas about 70 such groups have been active in the early 1990s), and the increase in incidents and in their lethal nature. Future trends depend on a number of factors, including operational ingenuity by terrorists in constantly staying ahead of the "counterterrorist technology curve" to frustrate security measures in their path, and a willingness to use chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons. Although Hoffman notes that the main constraint against the use of such weapons is that terrorists try to keep their threats "realistic" and "commensurate" with their demands, new developments in the international system may serve to break down psychological barriers against mass murder. These developments include an escalation in ethnic and religious fanaticism and their exploitation by a radical state possessing chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons. Hoffman concludes that the United States is likely to remain a "favored" target abroad for terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; future trends; counterterrorism; technology; ethnicity

Keyword(s): terrorism; nuclear weapons; United States


This testimony by the Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs discusses U.S. efforts to ban the manufacture and use of biological weapons worldwide. The statement also assesses the potential threat of terrorism based on the use of biological weapons. The speaker expresses special concern about the spread of biological weapons in unstable areas and about the prospects of biological and toxic weapons falling into the hands of terrorists. To date, there is no available evidence that any known terrorist organization has the capability to employ such weapons, nor that states supporting terrorism have supplied such weapons. However, these possibilities should not be dismissed. If the proliferation of biological weapons continues, it may be only a matter of time before terrorists acquire and use these weapons.

Keyword(s): terrorism; biological weapons; future trends; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


The author, a lawyer, was for many years a German civil servant dealing with political extremism. In 1986 he became director of a government institute in Bonn specializing in terrorism research. His 230-page book is a clearly written account of the origins and growth of West German terrorism during the 1960s until the late 1980s. One chapter deals with the international links of West German terrorism, another with the development of the "West European Guerrilla" phase of a largely defeated
terrorist movement in West Germany. Horchem's last chapter deals with the West German government's response to terrorism and details some of the problems of putting into place a coherent European response to terrorism. Horchem closes his book with the recommendation that terrorists be granted the possibility of renouncing their violent philosophy in exchange for a reduction or even suspension of punishment.

Keyword(s): Germany; Europe; terrorism; counterterrorism


The article discusses recent changes in the organizational structure and aims of the German terrorist group, the Red Army Faction (RAF). It also speculates on the nature of relations between the RAF and the former East German and Soviet Union security services. RAF aims have changed from an initial strategy of kidnapping eminent German personalities from politics, industry, and the economy in exchange for the release of imprisoned RAF members, to killing representatives of the German "military-industrial complex" (the MIC strategy) and the "apparatus of repressio"n," and, finally, to transforming themselves into a European guerrilla front with the goal of striking at European targets.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe; Germany


The essays in this volume are revised versions of public lectures delivered at the University of California, Irvine (UCI) as part of a lecture series on terrorism sponsored by the UCI's Global Peace and Conflict Studies Program during the 1989-90 academic year. The essays in this volume explore diverse topics related to terrorism such as democratic responses to terrorism, the emergence of stereotyping in the portrayal of terrorists, psychological and social-psychological factors in terrorist behavior, terrorist exploitation of the media, future trends, and European Community efforts at combating terrorism.
Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe; psychological aspects; future trends; media; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


This paper examines current trends in state-sponsored terrorism and recommends policies for combating it. It concludes that the struggle against state-sponsored terrorism will ultimately have to be brought back to its sources. Countries such as the Soviet Union and its satellites, particularly Bulgaria, and client states such as Cuba, Nicaragua, Syria, Libya and North Korea, as well as free-lance practitioners like Iran, must be made to incur penalties for every terrorist act they carry out or sponsor.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; international relations


This article contains two introductory sections of a report by the International Task Force on the Prevention of Nuclear Terrorism. The task force finds that the probability of nuclear terrorism is increasing as a result of a confluence of factors: the growing incidence, sophistication, and lethality of conventional forms of terrorism; apparent evidence of state support of intense terrorist activity; the storing and deploying of nuclear weapons in areas of intense terrorist activity; the growing number of potential targets in civil nuclear programs; and the potential black and gray markets in nuclear equipment and materials. The task force concludes that the three greatest nuclear terrorism threats that must be addressed, in order of priority, are: theft and explosion of a nuclear weapon, threat of nuclear materials and their use or threatened use in a crude homemade bomb,
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The paper discusses recent trends in international terrorism, and assesses the likelihood of future developments in terms of terrorist tactics and weaponry. Three recent trends are the proliferation of terrorist groups (11 terrorist groups were active in 1968, whereas about 70 such groups have been active in the early 1990s), and the increase in incidents and in their lethal nature. Future trends depend on a number of factors, including operational ingenuity by terrorists in constantly staying ahead of the "counterterrorist technology curve" to frustrate security measures in their path, and a willingness to use chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons. Although Hoffman notes that the main constraint against the use of such weapons is that terrorists try to keep their threats "realistic" and "commensurate" with their demands, new developments in the international system may serve to break down psychological barriers against mass murder. These developments include an escalation in ethnic and religious fanaticism and their exploitation by a radical state possessing chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons. Hoffman concludes that the United States is likely to remain a "favored" target abroad for terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; future trends; counterterrorism; technology; ethnicity

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Keyword(s): terrorism; nuclear weapons; United States

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This article discusses the author's perception of why Moscow changed its policies on supporting national liberation movements and terrorist groups during the early and mid-1980s. The author reports that an official evaluation of the policy began in 1984 and was the result of a perception by Soviet officials that their support for national liberation movements had failed to promote Communism or any tangible benefits for the Soviet Union. Jenkins believes in 1989 leaders in Moscow already were concerned about an increasing rate in terrorist attacks targeting citizens of the former Soviet Union. Moscow appears particularly concerned about nuclear terrorism. The article discusses a meeting between Soviet and American experts on terrorism that was held in Moscow in January 1989. It is the author's opinion that Moscow will be cooperative with the United States, and other countries, in opposing state-sponsored terrorism and deterring international terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Soviet Union; nuclear weapons; international relations


Keyword(s): guerrilla warfare; low-intensity conflict; U.S. Government policy


In the 1980s, state-sponsored terrorism has become a major focus of attention and subject to debate among national security policymakers. Examination of the Reagan administration's experience in dealing with this phenomenon over almost a decade can provide insight for future policy decisions. This analysis first defines and distinguishes what constitutes state-sponsored terrorism. It then traces the evolution of the US Government's policies during the Reagan years and discusses both the
successes and failures that resulted. The article concludes with seven recommendations and observations concerning the direction of US national security policy on state-sponsored terrorism. First, the policy on state-sponsored terrorism must be clearly and succinctly defined early in a presidential administration; second, the possible response to nations that sponsor terrorism should be clearly and succinctly stated; third, options for reacting to terrorist incidents as they happen should be detailed; fourth, the policy or resulting operation must have broad support; fifth, every element of a pending operation against a terrorist sponsor state must be critically considered; sixth, an administration must stand accountable for any action or operation it undertakes; finally, there can be no quick or easy solution to the problem of terrorism, particularly state-sponsored terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


This book attempts to promote a better cross-cultural understanding of how Judeo-Christian and Islamic states perceive terrorism. The book is organized into three parts. The four chapters of part one examine Christian ethical thinking on war, how Islamic nations historically have justified holy wars, the development of Western thinking on establishing a legal framework for war that proscribes the use of terrorism, and the continuing influence of traditional Islamic writings on Islamic leaders who sponsor terrorism. Part two focuses on the ethical and political issues related to state-sponsored terrorism. Part three discusses how Islamic and Western countries view noncombatants who become the victims of terrorists. The titles and authors of the book’s nine chapters are: "Justice and Resort to War: A Sampling of Christian Ethical Thinking" by Jeffrey Stout; "The Development of Jihad in Islamic Revelation and History" by Abdulaziz A. Sachedina; "Approaches to Limits on War in Western Just War Discourse" by Stephen E. Lammers; "Al-Farabi's Statecraft: War and the Well-Ordered Regime" by Charles E. Butterworth; "Moral Responsibility and
Irregular War" by Courtney S. Campbell; "Irregular Warfare and Terrorism in Islam: Asking the Right Questions" by Tamara Sonn; "Ahkam al-Bughat: Irregular Warfare and the Law of Rebellion in Islam" by Khaled Abou El Fadl; "Combatancy, Noncombatancy, and Noncombatant Immunity in Just War" by Robert L. Phillips; and "Islam and the Distinction Between Combatants and Noncombatants" by John Kelsey.

Keyword(s): terrorism; religious aspects; state sponsorship; Islamic groups


This brief article describes the Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA) responsibilities in the event of a catastrophic terrorist attack on a metropolitan area electrical grid. FEMA's mission is defined as that of working with departments and agencies on both the federal and local levels to coordinate and support initiation, development, and implementation of national security emergency preparedness programs and plans. The article discusses an electrical energy emergency simulation game conducted on May 23, 1990, that tested FEMA's and other agencies' capacity to respond to a massive and prolonged power outage in the New York metropolitan area caused by multiple terrorist attacks on the electrical grid. The article concludes with five key recommendations for responding to such an event and calls for further simulation games to improve agency readiness.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; antiterrorism; technology; U.S. government policy


This is a three-part study of the counterterrorism policies of the U.S. Government during the first six years of the Reagan Administration: part one focuses on the U.S. Government's perception of international terrorism; part
two examines deficiencies in the Reagan Administration's enforcement of counterterrorism policies; and part three provides recommendations to strengthen the U.S. Government's counterterrorism policies. Joyner credits the 1985 report of the Vice President's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism with having made a major contribution to the U.S. Government's understanding of this problem. The Task Force compiled in one document information and analysis critical to the task of combating the complex links between terrorists, subnational support groups, and states involved in sponsoring terrorism. However, the actions of the Reagan Administration are viewed as inconsistent for the following reasons: the identification of U.S. national security concerns often was based on subjective ideological criteria; Administration officials failed to channel the U.S. Government's resources to regions where U.S. interests were most vulnerable to attack; and intelligence collection before incidents involving U.S. citizens often was inadequate for policymakers to determine the appropriate U.S. Government response to the event. Joyner lists the improvement of foreign intelligence collection at the top of his policy recommendations observing that without accurate and timely intelligence, policymakers cannot fully utilize the laws, personnel, and foreign contacts in an effective manner. Other policy recommendations include improving airport security, hardening potential targets, and increasing the use of selected antiterrorist units to strike back at terrorist groups "whenever a good opportunity presents itself."

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; intelligence; U.S. Government policy


The variable ways in which nations enforce international conventions, extradition, and other international and national laws in dealing with international terrorists are described in this article. Kane examines all of the international conventions and U.S. laws pertaining to international terrorists. He concludes that the United
States has fulfilled its obligations to promulgate laws that honor all of the existing conventions on terrorism. However, he maintains that the U.S. Government must go further to "ensure that its criminal jurisdiction comprehends every conceivable type of terrorist activity against U.S. citizens." A major problem that allows many international terrorists go free, or at least go unpunished for their crimes, concerns how nations interpret their political exception statutes. The author provides several illustrations of how nations friendly to the United States, such as France and Germany, have refused to extradite individuals who hijacked U.S. aircraft and held U.S. citizens hostage. However, Kane believes that if the United States expands its body of law to depoliticize the extradition of terrorists, other nations will be influenced to enact similar laws.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; legal aspects; international relations


Keyword(s): terrorism; Iran; Middle East


The purpose of this paper is to appraise the use of force by the United States in the Middle East. Following a discussion of recent military developments, an effort is made to identify trends indicating U.S. antiterrorist policies. Three trends in U.S. policy are found. The first identifiable trend is the failure of linking politics with implications of the use of force on a massive scale. A second identifiable trend is a U.S. preference for ad hoc reactions. A third identifiable trend of U.S. antiterrorist activities is the government’s difficulty in influencing public opinion through the mass media attention. Secretary of State Shulz was effective in molding public opinion’s capacity to accept the use of force in retaliation for anti-American terrorism. The
critical question which remains unanswered is, what will the use of massive force accomplish? What has it accomplished in Lebanon and in the Mediterranean theatres? And how do these anti-terrorist measures protect long-term U.S. interests in the Arab world, including the strategic Persian Gulf region?

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; Middle East; U.S. Government policy


The article examines from a strategic management perspective the issue of whether terrorism is an historical aberration or a future form of escalating violence. It proposes a new definition of terrorism; examines the major forms of terrorism; assesses differences between traditional and new forms of terrorism; evaluates the writings of "experts" about future terrorism trends; and recommends strategies for effective long-range counteraction. Keenan uses the "force-field" theory of change, which suggests that any situation involves both driving and restraining forces, to forecast future trends. In terms of terrorism, "driving" forces include an escalation in arms sales and expansion of mass communications and transportation. "Restraining" forces include increased cooperation among law enforcement agencies, greater diplomatic linkages among governments, adoption of "non-negotiation" policies; and preventive security operations. The paper also examines the impact on the future of terrorism of the sociopsychological factors of personality type, socialization, family environment, group behavior, social structure, and social change. It concludes that terrorism will increase in the foreseeable future, although certain new forces might succeed in restraining terrorist activity.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; future trends

This book divides the subject of international terrorism into three parts, centered on three central questions: What is international terrorism, what are its predominant causes, and what are the methods proposed for its control? Part one is definitional and descriptive. It presents essays that provide alternative definitions of international terrorism and illuminate the different attributes of the phenomenon. The essays in this section place terrorism in historical perspective and survey the properties commonly ascribed to it. Part two presents inquiries that address the sources or causes of international terrorism. Here the focus shifts to the multiple causes commonly believed to have contributed to the growth of international terrorism. Part three deals with the various solutions that have been proposed to bring international terrorism under control and to arrest its spread. Here the discussion focuses on how international terrorism might be most effectively combated and considers limitations and dangers inherent in the various proposals for the control of terrorism that have been contemplated or practiced.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; theoretical aspects; counterterrorism


Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; Europe


The book examines the factors making special operations an essential national security option for many nations, and how the capability for carrying out these options has been institutionalized. The chapters discuss United States special operations forces (SOF) and their missions; European NATO SOF; the Soviet Union’s special purpose forces, or spetsnaz; the environment of low-intensity conflict; SOF roles in antiterrorism and counterterrorism; and specialized equipment for SOF, such as difficult to intercept communications equipment. The author concludes
that in the new international system special operations forces have "unprecedented peacetime relevance" and "general war-fighting importance" as a result of three factors. These are the requirement to counter the ever-growing "sophisticated and lethal" threat of terrorism in all its forms (transnational, subnational, and state-sponsored); competition in the new world system is increasingly being fought in the "hills, jungles, and cities of the Third World"; and even in a conventional conflict, special operations will play a "main-event (versus side-show) status."

Keyword(s): terrorism; low-intensity conflict; counterterrorism; future trends


This book collects a series of essays presented at the Catholic Institute for International Relations Conference on "Death Squads and Vigilantes--Block to Third World Development" held in May 1988. These essays seek to understand how and why death squads, vigilantes, and bandits are recruited and organized, and consider strategies and prospects for development in societies which have reached this crossroads.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; low-intensity conflict


This book analyzes five categories of international terrorism: hijacking, hostage-taking, kidnapping, assassination, and facility attack. It surveys all terrorist incidents between 1972 and 1982 and all major incidents taking place after this period. The author recommends a three-tiered approach to combating terrorism. Combating terrorism requires preventive measures such as publicity campaigns to generate awareness of the dangers and futility of terrorism--national or international, as well as sincere political initiatives to settle
long-standing conflicts. Finally, appropriate and calculated military countermeasures should be employed to repress actual terrorist acts.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; South Asia


The author presents a sociological examination of the causes that have influenced the establishment of terrorist groups in the United States and other countries since 1967. Kissane's findings support Martha Crenshaw's organizational process theory, which suggests that the interactions among the members of a terrorist group must be understood before an accurate assessment of the terrorism they practice can be made by journalists, scholars, and policymakers. The author believes that if policymakers come to understand the inner workings of a terrorist group, they are in a better position to formulate effective counterterrorism policies.

Keyword(s): terrorism; theoretical aspects; United States; counterterrorism


This article is a critical analysis of the Reagan administration's no-negotiations and no-concessions policy on terrorism. Sections one and two provide brief studies of how and why foreign-based terrorists attacked Americans in the 1970s and 1980s and suggests that most foreign governments, particularly U.S. allies in Europe, viewed the U.S. government's policies on terrorism as incomprehensible and ineffective. Sections three and four compare the U.S. Government's no-negotiations and no-concessions policy with more flexible approaches used by European countries. Most of these nations employ various types of negotiation tactics during hostage-taking incidents in order hopefully to save the lives of the
terrorists' victims. Section five examines the June 1985 hijacking of a TWA passenger aircraft in Beirut as an illustration of how the U.S. sometimes makes concessions to terrorists despite the no-negotiations and no-concessions policy. Section six reviews the effect of the Reagan administration's 1986 decision to bomb terrorist bases in Libya. The author concludes that the U.S. Government's resolve to use military force against terrorists has helped to improve cooperation between the United States and European countries in addressing the problem of state-sponsored terrorism. Section six also examines the reasons hostage-taking is used less frequently today by terrorists than in the past. Koch argues that the terrorists may have won minor concessions from governments, for example gaining the release of imprisoned terrorists, but they lost political support for their cause by hostage-taking, and this is the primary reason for the decline of aircraft hijackings, embassy takeovers, and kidnappings of diplomats.

Keyword(s): terrorism; U.S. Government policy; antiterrorism


The problem of how best to combat international terrorism continues to confound Western democracies. Their inability to agree upon an effective collective strategy is the consequence of a variety of factors. These include the self-interest of states, the inappropriateness of international fora such as the United Nations for achieving consensus on matters of substantive conflictual interest, the limited utility of international law, and the changing nature, source, and tactics of terrorism itself. Canada faces an increasing threat from both state-sponsored international terrorism and domestic terrorism. In combating terrorism it is imperative that democratic regimes retain their legitimacy while denying that of the terrorists and it is important to have a consistent understanding of what constitutes the legitimate use of force. The argument that combating terrorism requires using terrorist methods is not only morally questionable but could prove to be politically disastrous.
Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; Canada; legal aspects; moral aspects


This book examines recent trends in Islamic thought that have become increasingly prominent since the late 1970s in the politics of many Muslim, primarily Arab, nations. The study considers categories typically used to describe Islamic extremism and explores its ideological antecedents and the split between the extremist and moderate factions. Further reviewed are the religio-political sources of Islamic extremism and its basic provisions as well as its attitude, tactics and strategy toward various socio-political systems. The author uses data from diverse sources to examine the extremist groups in terms of their members' age, residence, social status, and occupation, as well as their size in various Arab countries. An analysis is made of the groups' structure, the biographies of their leaders, recruitment, and psychological and ideological indoctrination of their rank and file. This study also considers at length the activity of the extremists and their relations with the authorities and other political forces, their attempts to seize power by terror tactics, and government policies towards them.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Islamic groups; Soviet Union; Middle East


This book provides a general introduction to international terrorism and counterterrorism. It examines the groups involved, their modus operandi, and goals. It analyzes the effectiveness of the measures being taken against terrorism, including economic sanctions, diplomatic sanctions, refusal to cooperate, and military retaliation. The author recommends a unified international stand
against terrorism as the most effective counterterrorist strategy.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; international relations

Kupperman, Robert H. "Testimony of Robert H. Kupperman, Senior Advisor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, before the Senate Judiciary Committee, April 21, 1993." Washington: United States Congress, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Documents Collection, April 1993.. [Call Number: Not in LC]

This transcript provides an assessment of future terrorist threats to the United States and recommends U.S. Government counterterrorism measures. The types of terrorism the United States may face go beyond bombings, airplane hijacking or hostage taking. State-sponsored terrorists can acquire and possess far more sophisticated tools (radiological, biological, and chemical weapons) than the ordinary terrorist. They are able to resolve complex logistic and communications problems and have technical expertise for attacks on critical infrastructural nodes: computer networks, transportation and energy grids. In responding to the current and future terrorist threat, U.S. planners can bring to bear various tools in detection, prevention, response, and crisis management. America's counterterrorism program must include fostering moral commitment, education of the public, technology, response planning (overt, covert, emergency management), and international cooperation. Above all, the United States must be steadfast in its efforts in times of calm as well as in times of catastrophe.

Keyword(s): terrorism; future trends; state sponsorship; technology; chemical weapons; biological weapons; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy

The authors argue that the United States, its allies and the Soviet Union are not adequately "prepared or oriented" to counter terrorism or other forms of low-intensity conflict. This results from inadequate antiterrorism systems and policies, which must be upgraded by means of new equipment, procedures, and personnel. The authors warn that in the future the United States should expect major terrorist attacks on its soil; there will be increased cooperation and working relationships among terrorist groups, leading to joint operations; and terrorist attacks will employ chemical, biological, radiological weapons against major infrastructure targets.

Workable counterterrorism strategies, according to the authors, involve an "expanded menu" of measures and tactics, including legal and diplomatic options, intelligence, technological tools, military capabilities, covert options, and crisis management and emergency preparedness apparatus. In conclusion, the authors concede that there is no panacea for terrorism, but recommend that an international police agency with wide-ranging powers and resources be created so that counterterrorism may prove effective in the long-term. For the United States to respond effectively to terrorism, they recommend relocating the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) in the White House, devoting more research and development to the technological arsenal for counterterrorism, and severely punishing states that provide safe haven and logistical support to terrorist groups.

Keyword(s): terrorism; low-intensity conflict; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; technology; international relations; future trends

Kupperman, Robert, and Jeff Kamen. "Terrorism in the United States?" World & I [Washington], 3, No. 6, June 1988, 102-6. [Call Number: CB 428.W67]

This brief article discusses the threat of terrorism in the United States and possible future trends. It argues that the entry into the United States of a Japanese Red Army terrorist arrested on April 14, 1988 presages a new wave of terrorism in this country. The greatest dilemma faced by a democratic state in combating terrorism is the effective management of complex incidents by means that do not undermine its basic principles. However, it is important to create the environment needed to anticipate
and react to a new generation of terrorists, some of whom may be equipped with new tactics and technologies. Whereas U.S. Government counterterrorism policy—which is declared to be nonconcessional—has been eroded by the much-publicized Iran-Contra debacle, its deterrent features must be retained to deal effectively with today's terrorism. The new generation of terrorists may include separatist groups, such as Spain's ETA and Ireland's IRA, and individual members of radicalized organizations such as the Greens in Germany. Terrorists should be expected to adopt new tactics involving high technology weapons that may be used against vulnerable infrastructure. The article concludes that the United States must reduce its vulnerability to small-scale but potentially devastating techno-terror by stockpiling critical components and increasing the cross-dependence of a number of communications and power distribution systems.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; counterterrorism; United States; future trends; technology


This volume offers a selection of papers presented at the July 1985 conference on "Current Trends in World Terrorism" held at Tel Aviv University. Several essays in this volume refer to elements and circumstances that generate political militancy at the organizational level. Another group of essays addresses the subject of state-sponsored terrorism. The specific cases described reaffirm an existing hypothesis concerning the nature of state-organization links and illustrate factors that enhance these links. Several chapters refer to the issue of reaction to the terrorist threat and challenge. They relate to specific aspects of combating terrorism from both the offensive and defensive standpoint. The final chapter on future trends in terrorism argues that the incidence of terrorism will continue to increase, including attacks that produce scores of casualties, but that terrorists are unlikely to resort to weapons of mass destruction in the near future. The current trend toward state sponsorship of terrorism should be expected to continue.
Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; future trends; counterterrorism


The book, based on a data-base compiled by the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University, provides statistical data in the form of tables and figures on Middle Eastern terrorist incidents in 1989, as well as analyses of certain terrorism-related issues, such as activities by Lebanese Shi'ite and radical Palestinian terrorist groups. A chapter provides a chronology of international terrorist incidents for 1989, and the appendix lists organizations responsible for international terrorist incidents. One of the main findings is that 78.4 percent of all terrorist assaults involved "foreign objectives" in "perpetrators' own country," 9 percent of the incidents involved cross-border attacks, and 12.6 percent of the total incidents involved attacks beyond national borders. On the issue of future prospects, the authors find that a number of Middle Eastern "situational causes" are likely to activate the "logistical infrastructure and networks" of radical terrorist groups. The main cause is likely to be either a renewal or stagnation of a political process. The renewal of a major terrorist campaign, the authors believe, has been hampered by two developments occurring in 1988-89: the popular uprising of the Palestinian Intifadah and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. One consequence of these two developments is that Middle Eastern terrorist groups may seek logistical aid from criminal elements and other terrorist groups in Western Europe. Finally, the PLO mainstream was not expected to launch major terrorist attacks because of the PLO's renunciation of terrorism in 1988. However, the authors conclude that such attacks may resume because "PLO diplomacy cannot be detached from its internal political considerations."

Keyword(s): terrorism; Middle East; future trends

The author writes that despite the proliferation of international terrorism and attention to this problem by government and scholars, differences of opinion over the definition of terrorism have resulted in the failure of the international community to adopt a consensual and comprehensive approach to combating the problem. There are no international conventions that deal with suppressing and punishing terrorism, and it is unlikely that any such instruments will be adopted in the future. Nevertheless, six conventions and two protocols dealing with certain offenses by terrorist groups have been promulgated so far, but they are not comprehensive in scope. The author focuses on the Hostages Convention because it represents the most significant measure that so far has been agreed upon by the international community to cooperate in the prevention and punishment of acts of international terrorism. Furthermore, its preparation was a significant step in the codification of international law and sheds light on the dynamics of multilateral treaty making. The study is divided into two parts: an introductory survey of the meaning of the term "terrorism," "types" of terrorism, the "problem" of terrorism, and efforts by the United Nations to deal with it; and a commentary on the Hostages Convention. The author concludes that the most significant problem in prosecuting hostage takers is that most states are not yet parties to the convention. This has made the convention ineffective in many countries where hostage taking is endemic, such as Lebanon.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; international relations; international law; legal aspects


The article examines various dimensions of terrorism, including problems in defining the term; the issue of state terrorism; the nonrevolutionary aspect of terrorism; the distinction between terrorism and guerrilla warfare; the interchangeable use by Western commentators of
terrorists," "commandos," "partisans," "urban guerrillas," "gunmen," "freedom fighters," "insurgents," and other terms; the issue of nationalist-separatist terrorism; and the problem of counteracting terrorism. Laqueur does not agree that terrorism can be eradicated by removing its underlying causes, because conflicts will always exist in society. He criticizes Western governments for appeasing terrorism by permitting the establishment of Libyan Peoples’ Bureaus, as well as making other concessions. He argues that such appeasement has not given these countries immunity from terrorist attack. The most effective concerted action against terrorism is a strategy of "hitting the center"--the heads of government who sponsor international terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; theoretical aspects


This is revised edition of the 1975 book by the same title. It provides analyses of terrorist events of the 1970s with new disclosures: revelations by two radicals from the FLQ (le Front de Liberation du Quebec) and other versions.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Canada


Nuclear power plants and research reactors are vulnerable to acts of sabotage and to terrorist attacks that could breach safety systems and result in release of substantial amounts of radioactivity. In addition, with expanding civil commerce in weapon-usable forms of plutonium and uranium, and with the vast numbers of tactical nuclear weapons stored in areas of intense terrorist activity, it is also plausible that terrorists could build or steal a weapon or carry out a credible hoax. As terrorist groups become more determined, more violent, and more technologically advanced, the possibility of nuclear terrorism increases. The potential for nuclear terrorism should be a matter for special concern for Western Europe
because of the possible interaction between a high level of "nuclearization" and a high level of terrorist activity by sophisticated groups operating across national boundaries. Potential risks and corrective measures are discussed here, based on the report of the International Task Force on Prevention of Nuclear Terrorism, on policy and technical studies prepared for the Task Force, and on related research conducted by the sponsoring organization, the Nuclear Control Institute. Some of the proposed measures have the added benefit of providing further protection against the consequences of natural disasters and human error as well as sabotage.

Keyword(s): terrorism; nuclear weapons; future trends; Europe; counterterrorism


This paper seeks to answer the question: What should be done in South Asia in response to the dangers of nuclear blackmail and terrorism? The relevance of the recommendations of the Nuclear Control Institute's International Task Force on Prevention of Nuclear Terrorism is explored. The authors examine conventional terrorism in the context of increased nuclear activities and provide an overview of recent nuclear developments in the region. Policy recommendations are given, and specific proposals are made to counter the threats of nuclear blackmail and terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; nuclear weapons; South Asia; future trends; counterterrorism; international relations


This book reviews counterterrorism agreements reached among members of the Group of Seven--United States, Canada, Germany, France, Italy, United Kingdom, Japan--at their annual summit meetings between 1978 and 1987. The author concludes that summit declarations targeting
state-sponsored terrorism have been more effective in producing collective actions against the terrorists and the states involved than has the United Nations. Chapter one provides an overview of state-sponsored terrorism in modern times and discusses the reasons why citizens of the industrialized democracies have been the primary victims of this form of terrorism. Levitt views international terrorism as warfare used by weaker states to undermine the economic and political institutions of the United States and its allies. Chapter two discusses the specific agreements reached at each of the Summit meetings. It shows how the seven member states improved their communication and expanded the scope of counterterrorism measures focusing on specific countries, objectives, and the types of economic, political, and military pressure to be used. Chapter three describes collective responses to specific actions. The 1986 U.S. military attack on terrorist bases in Libya backed by the political support of the other summit member states is believed to have been effective in curbing Tripoli's sponsorship of international terrorism in subsequent years. Chapter four discusses factors that limit counterterrorism cooperation within the summit power framework. First, each nation interprets agreements differently and the lack of formal institutional committees resulted in inconsistent responses to similar types of terrorist attacks targeting one of the seven states. Second, given that each nation has its own political and economic agenda vis-a-vis the state sponsors of terrorism, collective responses have a relatively short lifespan and areas of concern must be reaffirmed at subsequent summit meetings. The appendix provides the texts of each of the declarations on international terrorism published between 1978 and 1987.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; antiterrorism; international relations


This book contains the proceedings of the First International Seminar on Aviation Security, held on February 5-9, 1989 in Israel. The papers in this volume are presented in sequence as delivered at the seminar. Meir Amit, in the opening chapter entitled "The Role of
Intelligence in Combatting Terror," presents a systematic approach emphasizing the paramount importance of intelligence in fighting aviation terrorism. The next group of papers define "the terrorist threat," presenting a general overview of terrorism--its organization and strategy, and perspectives on the cost of terrorism. It is argued here that the terrorist threat must be correctly evaluated prior to creating effective antiterrorist measures. Part Three, "The Infrastructure of Aviation Security," deals with various aspects of the existing international aviation system and its security measures. A subsequent part, "Terrorist Measures and Security Countermeasures," includes a profile of a terrorist, a description of weapons and explosive materials and devices, and a description of Israel's passenger profile procedures. Three sections offer in-depth presentations on specific topics. "The Legal Framework of International Aviation Security" discusses how international organizations interact concerning aviation security. The legal maze of international agreements and conventions between countries and organizations is dealt with, as is the issue of monetary obligations of airlines and airports to passengers. A second section discusses "crisis management" decisionmaking at governmental levels, hostage negotiations, and dealings with the media. In Part Seven, "Police functions in Aviation Security," representatives from the Netherlands, Israel, the United States, and Interpol present their views on requirements for improving the network of law enforcement on the "micro" and "macro" levels. The closing chapters deal with "Planning Aviation Security Programs" to provide security countermeasures and deal with the sophisticated terrorist.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; aviation


The author recommends the development of a "new and comprehensive" strategy by the U.S. Government to deal with the threat of terrorism in the 1990s. A successful antiterrorist policy, he believes, requires a full range of responses ranging from the use of force, including
retaliation, preemption, and assassination, to defensive measures such as political, diplomatic, and economic sanctions. He concludes that a major overhaul of the U.S. approach to counterterrorism is required, based on bipartisanship, and involving the cooperation of the President, the Congress, federal judges, the Department of Defense, and the media. Several proposals are offered, such as a "zero-tolerance" policy; punishing state sponsors of terrorism; retaliating against nations that do not abide by international commitments; upgrading U.S. counterterrorist capability in terms of maps, radios and other gear used by special operations forces personnel; upgrading security at U.S. embassies; filing damage claims against state sponsors of terrorism; using the best available technologies; confiscating terrorist finances; refusing to bargain with hostage takers; improving U.S. intelligence capabilities; extraterritorial apprehension of alleged terrorists; incarcerating terrorists; targeting individual terrorists; developing rules of engagement for antiterrorist operations; using NATO forces to combat terrorism; and expanding the U.S. military role in counterterrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; low-intensity conflict; U.S. Government policy; future trends


The author believes that the United States now faces a new age of uncertainty that will be increasingly characterized by regional instability in much of the Third World. On the military front, conventional war will be replaced by low-intensity conflict in the form of terrorism, Islamic extremism, a global crime wave, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, hate movements, a continued process of "Balkanization" in the states of the former Soviet Union, and a widening gap between rich and poor nations. He concludes that the use of human intelligence will become even more important than technical collection in combating terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; intelligence; U.S. Government policy; Soviet Union; international relations; technology

This dissertation examines the perception of a terrorist threat that is communicated by U.S. Government officials through television, radio, and newspapers to the U.S. public. The author's research indicates that the terrorist threats taken seriously by government officials and reported in the news usually mold public opinion to support the counterterrorism policies of the U.S. Government. One section of the dissertation provides a model of press-state relations that is designed to depict the process involved in communicating threat perceptions of terrorism and how this influences counterterrorism policymaking.

Keyword(s): terrorism; media; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


Several times since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, and the subsequent creation of the US-led 28-nation coalition formed to liberate Kuwait, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein vowed to open a terrorist "second front" if war came. The United States has, thus far, remained immune from attacks on its own soil, but many authorities fear that it is only a matter of time before terrorism reaches America's shores. This brief article discusses the high technology antiterrorist countermeasures available to US law enforcement and counterterrorist agencies. It also addresses new opportunities for terrorist violence made possible by technological advances in communications and weaponry. The author concludes that, if Saddam Hussein does launch a terrorist war against the United States and other coalition members, it promises to be a test of rival technologies. And, when ultimately the terrorists are engaged, it will be a test of their survival skills against the proven techniques of the West's highly-trained, motivated, and well-equipped law enforcement and counterterrorist units.
Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; Islamic groups; technology; United States; U.S. Government policy; law enforcement

Livingstone, Neil C. "Waiting for the Second Front,"

This article assesses the chances that Iraq's Saddam Hussein will use terrorist groups under his control to carry out attacks on U.S. citizens abroad and possibly perpetrate a wave of terror inside the United States. The article was written after the U.S.-led victory over Iraq in Operation Desert Storm. Livingstone lists the Palestinian terrorist groups that are based in Iraq, of Iraqis and Palestinians have been monitored by Western intelligence agencies, and examines the problem the U.S. Government, airlines, and other organizations have had in implementing precautionary security measures. The article describes the effect of U.S. Government and media warnings on the American public. Many citizens overreacted by buying gas masks and changing their daily routines to avoid places that were considered possible targets. The author suggests that the threat posed by the terrorist groups sponsored by Iraq will continue for several years if Saddam Hussein remains in power.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; Middle East; U.S. Government policy; media


How several West European governments have responded to terrorism perpetrated on their territories or against their citizens abroad is the concern of the essays in this book. The states investigated are all members of the European Community and the community's response to international terrorism is examined in a concluding chapter. Each of the essays adopts a case study approach with a view to illuminating the nature, incidence and persistence of terrorist activity in the state in question. The targets of both indigenous and international terrorists are examined along with international links that indigenous and foreign terrorist groups may have.
Government responses to terrorist activity originating both within and outside its territory by indigenous and international terrorist groups are scrutinized. The aim of the essays is to produce a snapshot of terrorism over the last decade in the particular state in question. The European response is briefly surveyed to indicate that while terrorism is primarily dealt with by national instruments, far from successful but nonetheless potentially significant and increasingly important attempts have been made to inject a degree of consistency and predictability into West European government responses to limited terrorism-related matters (such as extradition).

Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; international relations


The author, a former Deputy Director of the Department of State's Office of Counterterrorism, discusses the component elements of terrorism by examining the nature of terrorism, terrorist behavior, the types of groups engaged in terrorism, sources of support for terrorism, terrorist strategy, tactics, and victims, and the most effective means governments can employ to combat terrorism. He believes that instead of formulating a generic definition of terrorism, which is a difficult task because virtually no characteristic of terrorism is present in equal strength in every case, it is more useful to identify the most common characteristics associated with terrorism; these he groups into four general categories: goals, strategies, operations, and organizations. He also points out that understanding terrorism is complicated by the multiplicity of perspectives from which terrorism is viewed, namely, the general public, the terrorists themselves, and the persons who study and engage in combating terrorism. Politicians, diplomats, and intelligence professionals share a political perspective on terrorism; officials in the criminal justice system view it as a criminal act; whereas military and security personnel approach it as a form of low-intensity conflict. He believes that an effective counterterrorism policy must be global in nature and based on a comprehensive framework. It must be long-term in scope, adaptable to a
variety of geopolitical circumstances, sufficiently broad as to accommodate many tactical considerations, based on international cooperation, and, finally, flexible. Thus, for the peaceful resolution of conflict some form of dialogue with terrorist groups may be required under certain circumstances. Nevertheless, some form of military response may be required, which he categorizes as hostage rescue operations, reprisal raids, restoring or maintaining civil order, and security measures. Of all the components of antiterrorism, he believes that the most important are intelligence measures. On the issue of organizing the United States government approach to countering terrorism, he does not believe that a new department headed by an antiterrorism "czar" would provide more effective policy coordination. Rather, it would increase bureaucratic infighting and would create tremendous overlapping of responsibilities with other government agencies. A more pragmatic approach, in his view, would involve creating a government-wide system for antiterrorist policy coordination, led by a senior official, to monitor activities to ensure that they are rationally executed. The Department of State should remain the lead agency in the counterterrorism effort in the international arena, with domestic terrorism overseen by the FBI. Finally, although it is difficult to predict future trends, he expects terrorism to persist because there has been no constructive change in the insoluble political and economic problems that have given rise to terrorism in the first place. Narcoterrorism is expected to increase in intensity in the near term because of its growing terrorist infrastructure in Colombia and Peru, moreover, it is financially independent of outside sources of support. Also, the end of the Cold War is unlikely to decrease terrorism because the Third World has always been relatively independent of superpower rivalry, with most terrorist organizations, including Marxist groups, preoccupied primarily with their own local problems. This does not mean that today's terrorist leaders, groups, and state sponsors will continue to be dominant in the future, but that old leaders and groups will be replaced by new leaders and groups.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; intelligence; future trends

This article discusses the importance of cooperation between U.S. and foreign law enforcement agencies in the fight against international terrorists. The 1985 Supplementary Treaty of Extradition Between the United States and the United Kingdom was negotiated in order to close a loophole in U.S. laws that sometimes allowed members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) arrested in the United States to defeat the U.S. Government's effort to extradite them based on the argument that political actions were not addressed in the existing bilateral extradition treaty. A joint policy decision by the U.S. and British governments led to the negotiation of the supplementary treaty, which had the purpose of excluding all violent crimes committed in either country from the political provisions of the original extradition treaty. Lubet argues that terrorists frequently take advantage of loopholes in international laws and he views the renegotiation of bilateral extradition treaties to close these loopholes as essential to the mission of law enforcement agencies involved in tracking and apprehending terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; law enforcement; U.S. Government policy; international relations


The author calls on the U.S. Government to formulate a "coherent and comprehensive" policy to counter the threat of terrorism. He identifies the major threats faced by the U.S. as state-sponsored terrorism and narcoterrorism, and discusses specific defensive and offensive strategies for Western democracies to employ in their counterattack. He finds military responses to be attractive because they inflict the most damage on terrorists or their sponsors, while economic sanctions against a terrorist group are impractical. As additional antiterrorism measures he recommends that legal measures against terrorism be
strengthened, and that the media should use greater restraint in not letting itself be manipulated by terrorists. As defensive strategies, he mentions improving U.S. capability to protect the physical security of airports and embassies; improving the coordination of various U.S. agencies that deal with terrorism; pursuing legal means to deter future terrorist attacks, and declaring war on terrorist actors. Offensive strategies include nonmilitary options such as economic sanctions, boycotts of airports or travel to foreign countries, and diplomatic sanctions, with military options consisting of preemptive strikes, reprisals, and retaliation. He concludes that these measures should be part of a coherent policy toward terrorism and receive top priority in government circles.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; narcoterrorism; antiterrorism; U.S. Government policy; future trends


This book examines the problems governments face or are likely to face in handling a hostage situation. It seeks to address the specialized subject of crisis management when applied to terrorist hostage-taking incidents. Several aspects of hostage crisis management are discussed, including negotiation strategy, operational and support requirements, technical support requirements, psychological aspects of hostage taking, and incident resolution. In assessing future trends in hostage taking and government countermeasures, the author warns that hostage takers may become increasingly sophisticated in the technical, propagandistic, and psychological aspects of their operations, possibly resorting to multiple simultaneous incidents to overwhelm government antiterrorist units. Effective government countermeasures will require increased capability to conduct simultaneous negotiations involving more than one incident over a prolonged period of time, as well as enhanced protection and technical support for assault teams that may be subjected to increasingly effective armed resistance.

Keyword(s): terrorism; psychological aspects; technology; counterterrorism; future trends

The author focuses on several problems facing the U.S. Government and the governments of other industrialized democracies in the fight against terrorism. Many of the international agreements focusing on aircraft hijacking, the kidnapping of diplomats, and improving intelligence cooperation and the identification of terrorists by police and customs officials have not been effective in closing the loopholes used by terrorists. The author suggests that to close the loopholes Western democracies must act as one community and develop programs that focus on two distinct aspects of the international terrorism problem. The aspects are terrorism carried out by groups based within the industrialized democracies and terrorism by groups based in Third World countries—the latter groups are often sponsored by a foreign government. For the former, Maechling suggests that the United States and its allies have the capability to reduce terrorism within the borders of cooperating states. The elimination of all political exemption statutes and the establishment of a multinational counterterrorist/antiterrorist organization are viewed as necessary actions. The implementation of political and economic sanctions by all of the industrialized states against any Third World state that sponsors or harbors terrorists who have carried out attacks on the citizens of any industrialized state is viewed as the best means of controlling this terrorist threat.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; international relations


The Soviet Union is going through a critical period in its history. As a result of economic conditions, it is being forced to restructure its political system, which is not adaptable to change. The process of dismantling a totalitarian system in itself opens doors for many complex problems. Among the new problems, the USSR is facing an increasing threat from internal terrorism as a result of three important factors: collapsing political and economic
structures, the rise of Islamic nationalism, and the
defeat in Afghanistan. While the Soviet Union restructures
its political system in order to improve its economic
system, terrorist groups are reacting to deteriorating
economic and political conditions. Growing economic
dislocation of non-Russian populations, combined with a
loosening of Moscow’s political hold on the republics, is
leading some nationalist groups to adopt violent political
methods. A second impetus for terrorism is the presence of
powerful ideological forces. Glasnost has encouraged the
growth of nationalist ideas among Russians and
non-Russians alike. As reform erodes Soviet cohesiveness,
Islamic fundamentalists are making structured and
systematic efforts to establish a unified political-social
identity. Any moves by Moscow to slow or reverse this
process will almost certainly provoke a terrorist
response. Additionally, violent tendencies within the
Soviet population, resulting from incompatibilities of
lifestyles and historical symbols, can be expected to
produce violent clashes between Christians and Muslims.
Finally, the Afghanistan War altered Muslim perceptions of
Soviet power and Muslim capabilities for violent action.
The war showed Muslims that they could defeat the Soviet
Union. It also gave many Muslim conscripts the opportunity
to learn terrorist methods. In addition, thousands of
Afghans fled to Iran, where some received terrorist
training at the hands of Shia Muslims. The trained Muslims
from the Soviet Army and Afghan refugees in Iran could
establish a network of terror in the Soviet Union that
would be difficult to control.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Soviet Union; ethnicity; Islamic
groups; future trends

Marks, John and Igor Bellaev (eds.). Common Ground on Terrorism:
Soviet-American Cooperation Against the Politics of
Terror. New York: W.W. Norton, 1991. [Call Number: HV 6431
.C6473 1991]

The book is based on a report issued by the United
States-Soviet Task Force to Prevent Terrorism, which met
in Moscow in January 1989 and in Santa Monica in September
1989. Its goal was to find ways to counter terrorism as
well as to establish cooperative arrangements between the
former Soviet Union and the United States. After
initially defining terrorism, the delegates proceeded to
identify potential common approaches on the subject of cooperation. The Soviets admitted that they began to be concerned with international terrorism when four Soviet officials were kidnapped in Beirut in 1985. The Soviets agreed that a terrorist act associated with the Arab-Israeli conflict had the potential to trigger a more lethal widespread conflict, requiring practical preventive cooperation between the superpowers. The Soviets consider religious extremists among the large Muslim populations of the [former] Soviet republics to be a potential terrorist threat. The delegates also discussed new forms of violence represented by narcoterrorism and technoterrorism, with physical safeguards and research providing deterrence.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; counterterrorism; international relations; Soviet Union; United States; Middle East; Islamic groups; technology; future trends


Keyword(s): terrorism; narcoterrorism; low-intensity conflict; U.S. Government policy


This book examines U.S. counterterrorism policy from 1980 to 1987, focusing primarily on the "Desert One" and "Iran-Contra" operations. The authors argue that the Carter and Reagan administrations set poor precedents for U.S. counterterrorism policy when they overreacted to terrorist crises in the Middle East. By seeking total, short-term solutions to terrorist crises, the Carter and Reagan administrations compromised broader U.S. foreign policy interests and effectively fulfilled the terrorists' objective of paralyzing U.S. foreign policy and displaying U.S. weakness. The authors recommend a more consistent U.S. policy of sustained law enforcement pressure against terrorists, based on high-quality intelligence and international cooperation.
Keyword(s): counterterrorism; Middle East; Iran; Islamic groups; U.S. Government policy; international relations; law enforcement


The authors examine multinational systemic crime, which they define as a collective term referring to the four types of transnational criminal behavior systems involving terrorism, espionage, drug trafficking, and arms trafficking. According to the authors, multinational crime systems are often interrelated and are a threat to the national security of states; there is, however, no global criminal justice system to cope with the challenge of globalized crime. The authors conclude that the task of developing a theory to explain multinational crime and a policy to control such behavior is complicated by the fact that the four subtypes are often interrelated in various ways, may all occur at the same time in the same geographical area, and may involve the same or different groups. The authors present three case studies to illustrate their thesis: narcotics in Southeast Asia's Golden Triangle; cocaine, economics, and political power in the Andean region of South America; and organized violence in the Middle East.

Keyword(s): terrorism; narcoterrorism; future trends


This book provides a Romanian perspective on international terrorism. Chapter One presents a chronology of international terrorism from 1968 to 1984. In subsequent chapters the author discusses objectives, methods, and causes of terrorism and reviews major Western works on political terrorism. The book examines terrorism from the dual perspectives of Western nations and of the "national liberation" movements of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, presenting the views of both sides on what constitutes an act of terrorism. The book also reviews international law,
conventions, and resolutions on preventing terrorism, and describes in detail Resolution 3034 which was adopted in 1972 at the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations (U.N.) General Assembly. In chapter 8 the author presents Romania's position on international terrorism. He states that, as expressed in 1973 by its government's reply to Resolution 3034, when addressing problems of terrorism Romania considers it necessary to take into account the following essential elements: a consensus on what constitutes an act of international terrorism must be reached, and problems of international terrorism must be examined within the social, political, and economic context. Moreover, Romania favors the use of all possible means, including the U.N. mechanism, for achieving international cooperation in the war against terrorism. It proposes that this issue be examined within the framework of annual sessions of the U.N. General Assembly. Romania believes that cooperation between sovereign states to counter international terrorism must be based on a specific set of principles: categorical condemnation of international terrorism regardless of motives; adherence to the principles and general rules recognized by international law on counterterrorism; absolute assurance that the law of each sovereign state is not violated; the pursuit of peaceful means to resolve political conflicts; and systematic punishment of individuals who commit acts of international terrorism, including their extradition when warranted. In this chapter the author also reviews Romanian penal law and discusses its provisions that apply to aviation terrorism and various other acts of international terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Eastern Europe; counterterrorism; legal aspects


This chapter of the book has three salient points. First, the author suggests that the U.S. Department of State's definition of terrorism is more a classification term than a definition of all of the psychological, sociological, political, and other factors that are components of this form of violence. McCaulley advises researchers and policymakers continually to update their knowledge about
the causes and evolution of terrorism and to attempt to understand how the terrorists view themselves. Second, the author suggests five ways that policymakers can view antiterrorist policies. These are: terrorists are human beings and must be dealt with as such during negotiations; antiterrorist policies are coping strategies, not solutions; mistakes in resolving incidents can be more harmful to the government than to the terrorists; antiterrorist policies involve communications to diverse audiences with diverse effects; and a no-response policy can be an active and effective antiterrorist policy. Third, McCauley proposes five areas of research for policymakers to assist them in formulating counterterrorist and antiterrorist strategies in the future. The recommended areas of research include audience research, minority group influence on the majority, studies of how individuals develop psychological patterns of internalization or compliance, factors that motivate all fighting men, the difference between instrumental and expressive aggression, the study of pro-social extremism, and the study of the group dynamics of opposition groups to provide early warning on the possible evolution of opposition groups including terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; definition


Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; low-intensity conflict; guerrilla warfare; U.S. Government policy


The author believes that psychological operations (PSYOP) have the potential to expand U.S. capabilities in combating terrorism. Unlike military operations, PSYOP is nonviolent and is intended to be perceived as positive by the targeted public. Nine counterpropaganda techniques in U.S. Army PSYOP doctrine are described. The author concludes that these techniques will prove effective in
countering the psychological impact of terrorism. He points out that while PSYOP aims and capabilities are not new, the effort to "appropriately combine them" in counterterrorism has been "lacking." The author recommends that a PSYOP planning and coordination cell be established at the Joint Chiefs of Staff to become an integration point for existing PSYOP assets.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; psychological aspects; future trends


The monograph discusses some of the dilemmas and inconsistencies faced by Western democracies in confronting the threat of terrorism. These include the blurring of the distinction between "legitimate and illegitimate use of force" by terrorist groups that the author claims has led to "cynical acts of appeasement" by Western governments. The author distinguishes between terrorist and guerrilla forms of antiregime warfare. He points out that some of the confusion involved in arriving at a consensus over the definition of terrorism is due to the selective way in which Western governments have either condemned or supported terrorist insurgencies. Examples are the rationale given by the Reagan administration in supporting anti-Marxist terrorist insurgencies, and the refusal of the British government to legitimize the Irish Republican Army (IRA) terrorist group, while concurrently undermining such a tough antiterrorist policy by reaching out to and meeting other terrorist groups such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The author advocates defining terrorism as the "deliberate and direct targeting of innocent life," with emphasis on its criminality and on "what is done rather than who does it or what he claims to be fighting for." The author concludes that Western governments are mistaken when they place the terrorist on the "same level of morality and legitimacy as those whom he fights." He supports the U.S. Government's policy on the use of military force in combating terrorist attacks on American citizens, particularly once terrorists are identified but foreign governments are unwilling to
cooperate in their apprehension. Then force is justifiable because terrorism is a class of warfare and terrorists are subject to retribution by the state that was attacked.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; international relations; U.S. Government policy


The author argues that the inadequacy of academic research on terrorism has had a deleterious effect on the policymaking process concerning domestic and international terrorism in the United States and other countries. Merari defines "terrorism" as a broad spectrum of violent attempts to attain political, social, or religious objectives by subnational groups that may or may not enjoy state support. General academic research on terrorism, such as articles and books that classify and compare terrorist groups as urban, rural, left-wing, right-wing, religious, and ethnic are believed to provide little information that is useful to policymakers. The reasons for this are: academics normally lack access to first-hand information on all the activities of terrorist groups; governments are reluctant to share classified information about terrorists with researchers; and most terrorist organizations are small, making it difficult to accurately assess group dynamics. The section of the study entitled "Government and Academia" includes a discussion of a wargaming exercise held at Tel Aviv University in 1979 that involved policymakers and academics from several countries in working together to decide how to resolve a hypothetical terrorist incident. Such forums are viewed as a useful way of promoting constructive communication and cooperation between researchers and government officials.

The author offers three suggestions for policymakers who contract for research on terrorism by academics: studies should be designed for their relevance to making public policy decisions; the capabilities of the researchers to conduct long term projects that maximize the benefits of their expertise and access to open sources should be carefully assessed; and careful attention should be given to the sources used by the academics in order to
assess their reliability and appropriateness to the policymaking process.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; definition


The article examines the changing threat to U.S. interests in the post-Cold War environment posed by low-intensity conflict (LIC). The author believes that in the future terrorism will increase in destructiveness because terrorists will seek new techniques to overcome the present diminishing rate of return that their violence is producing. Chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons offer the greatest opportunities for destructiveness by terrorists. Instead of using long-range delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction, terrorists will likely use an "immobile, warehouse-size nuclear device." A second trend is the emergence of new targets of terrorism, such as high-profile targets in Western nations, or, if this proves difficult, nations with "fragile or unstable governments" such as Brazil, South Korea, and Mexico. A third trend is the increasing integration of terrorism, for example in the form of narcoterrorism, in which the distinction between political terrorism and organized crime disappears.

Keyword(s): terrorism; U.S. Government policy; future trends


The author compiled a comprehensive database of terrorist incidents based on extensive research of thousands of terrorist attacks that occurred between 1968 and 1977. This dissertation provides quantitative analysis of many of the salient components of terrorism, including types of attacks, nationality of terrorists and victims, demands by the terrorists, government response, and number of casualties. The author makes recommendations on how to deter terrorism through improvements in physical security,
hostage negotiation, control of media coverage, and international cooperation.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; international relations; media


Keyword(s): terrorism


Keyword(s): international relations; low-intensity conflict; future trends


The author analyzed responses to various types of terrorist incidents, including aircraft hijackings, kidnappings, and hostage and barricade confrontations with police to determine if specific government actions could be shown effectively to deter future terrorism. The analysis indicates that neither flexible responses (negotiations, release of prisoners in exchange for hostages, etc.) nor forceful responses (antiterrorist strikes) are successful in deterring future attacks by a particular group. Miller found that there is a discernable trend in international relations toward rejecting the demands of terrorists. He suggests, however, that the U.S. Government and foreign governments do more research and training on how to negotiate with terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; international relations

This book presents a critical assessment of Spanish antiterrorism policy. It documents the clandestine involvement of the Spanish government in support of the Antiterrorist Liberation Groups (Grupos Antiteroristas de Liberacion--GAL), a right-wing terrorist organization that assassinated scores of Basque separatists in Spain and southern France during the 1980s. The authors produce an extensive investigative report that implicates Spanish police and military figures as members of the GAL and supports the contention that public funds were secretly and illegally diverted to support GAL terrorist attacks. The authors argue that the Spanish government directly controlled GAL activities and ordered GAL assassinations of Basque exiles in southern France. Such control is suggested by the fact that all GAL activities came to an abrupt end after the signing of a special antiterrorist extradition treaty between the Spanish and French governments in 1987. The authors conclude that Spanish government support for the GAL amounted to state-sponsored terrorism, which eroded the democratic legitimacy of the Spanish state and increased popular Basque resentment against central Spanish rule.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; ethnicity; Europe; state sponsorship


This study examines the trends in terrorism and counterterrorism in Canada and the United States from 1968 to 1983. Antiwar (Vietnam), separatist (Quebec, Puerto Rico), and ideological (Marxist-Leninst) groups are discussed. The author found that counterterrorism laws and law enforcement policies adopted by the U.S. and Canadian governments during the period were generally effective. The federal system of government in both countries requires an improvement in jurisdictional arrangements and crisis management planning to facilitate the resolution of terrorist incidents.
Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; United States; Canada; U.S. Government policy


Keyword(s): terrorism; psychological aspects


Keyword(s): international relations; future trends


The authors attempt to explain why terrorism cannot be eliminated by government action, thereby necessitating cooperation between the public and private sectors to reduce the threat. The first thirteen chapters examine terrorism from the terrorists’ perspective. Government officials, business leaders, and ordinary citizens in every region of the world are viewed as potential targets because sensational acts of violence always attract the attention desired by the terrorist group. Chapter five discusses the psychological factors that lead a person to become a terrorist; chapter six follows this with profiles of some of the world’s most notorious terrorists, including Ilich Ramirez Sanchez (Carlos) and Abu Nidal. Chapter seven views the business practice of insuring executives against kidnapings by terrorists as poor corporate policy. If a terrorist group can identify an insured business leader, it then has a stronger financial motive for targeting that individual. Chapter ten predicts that new explosives and the recruitment of experienced physicists and chemists will inevitably increase the danger of terrorism to the general public. The possibility of a terrorist group using a "fission bomb" is considered probable. Chapters fourteen through sixteen examine government policies and programs for counterterrorism and antiterrorism. United Nations’ efforts to promote international conventions for deterrence have had some
success, but a worldwide solution is unobtainable as each country has a different perspective on the problem. Chapter fifteen describes the roles of intelligence, military, and police organizations in counterterrorism. Chapter sixteen provides a cursory examination of the organization and purpose of U.S. and foreign antiterrorist units. Chapters seventeen through twenty-two describe how small and large businesses can reduce the risk of becoming victims of terrorism. Corporate awareness, contingency planning, crisis management, training for employees and dependents, and the special needs of executives are among the topics covered in this section.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; antiterrorism; counterterrorism; international relations; future trends


This doctoral dissertation examines U.S. counterterrorist and antiterrorist policies, provides a hypothetical scenario of political developments that could lead to an increase in the number of terrorist groups in the United States, and assesses the potential effectiveness of the U.S. Government in responding to an increase in domestic terrorism. The study includes information on U.S. Government and local government counterterrorism organizations, statistical tables that illustrate trends in domestic terrorism in the United States during the 1970s, a critical analysis of hostage negotiation procedures, and a discussion of the legal problems involved in balancing the law enforcement measures needed to combat terrorism with the civil rights of U.S. citizens. The author concludes with several recommendations for improving the U.S. Government's counterterrorist strategy.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; U.S. Government policy; law enforcement; legal aspects; future trends
Motley, James B. "Terrorist Warfare: A Reassessment," Military Review, [Fort Leavenworth, KS], 65, No. 6, 45-57. [Call Number: Z 6723 .U35]

This article proposes the streamlining of U.S. Government policymaking on antiterrorism and counterterrorism and the establishment of clear lines of command between the policymakers and the various antiterrorist units of the U.S. Armed Forces. Antiterrorism is defined as "an offensive strategy employing a range of options to prevent terrorist acts from occurring." Counterterrorism is defined as "retaliatory measures, primarily the use of force after the fact." The author makes the following suggestions for improving the U.S. Government's antiterrorism and counterterrorism programs: establish a permanent staff within the National Security Council responsible for monitoring terrorist threats to the United States; ensure adequate funding for U.S. Armed Forces' antiterrorist units; publicize the U.S. policy on preemptive strikes (antiterrorism) and retaliatory strikes (counterterrorism); establish bilateral legal agreements with countries friendly to the United States to resolve obstacles to military strikes against terrorists; maintain high standards for the training U.S. Armed Forces' antiterrorist units; establish a multinational counterterrorist unit with nations friendly to the United States; eliminate legislative restraints on the U.S. intelligence community that hinder the collection of timely information on terrorist organizations; delegate to one U.S. congressional committee responsibility for overseeing the executive branch's antiterrorist program; improve the U.S. Customs Service's capability to deny persons affiliated with terrorist groups entry to the United States; and define guidelines for cooperation between the U.S. Government and the news media during antiterrorist and counterterrorist operations.

Keyword(s): Antiterrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; definition

Mullally, Kathe Flinker. "Combatting International Terrorism: Limiting the Political Exception Doctrine In Order to Prevent 'One Man's Terrorism From Becoming Another Man's Heroism,'" Villanova Law Review [Philadelphia], 31, No. 5, 1986, 1495-1547. [Call Number: K 26 .156]
The article examines the third stage of governmental intervention against terrorism, which it describes as "the apprehension, prosecution, and conviction of terrorists." The first two stages occur before the terrorist attack and during the execution of a terrorist operation. It evaluates the ability of governments to prosecute terrorists by means of international legal principles, as well as the effectiveness of existing mechanisms for international judicial assistance and cooperation in the prosecution of terrorists. It also examines the effectiveness of extradition laws, attempts in the United States to reform the extradition laws, and offers an evaluation of the impact of judicial, legislative, and executive attempts to counteract international terrorism by limiting the scope of the "political offense exception." It concludes that the political offense exception is a major impediment to combating international terrorism, and recommends that terrorist acts that involve violent attacks against innocent individuals should constitute extraditable offenses.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; legal aspects


This book discusses the diverse terrorist groups operating in the United States. Chapter one presents an historical overview of terrorism in the United States. Terrorism has been prevalent since the Civil War period. Chapter two is a compilation of definitions of terrorism that have been authored by scholars, government agencies, and the United Nations. It includes definitions of transnational terrorism, international terrorism, and state-sponsored terrorism. Chapter two concludes with a concise analysis of why terrorist groups choose to operate in the United States. Foreign-based terrorists are shown to take advantage of the openness of the U.S. political system; foreign students, for example are often the agents of these groups and their state sponsors. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is the U.S. Government agency tasked with monitoring these foreign groups. Chapter seven includes a section entitled "Terrorism in the United States" that lists possible targets, including government installations, transportation, communications, and large
population centers. The author briefly describes nuclear and chemical strategies which could be employed by individual terrorists or groups in the United States. Chapter eight describes the hostage negotiation tactics favored by law enforcement agencies in the United States. Chapter nine deals with the effects of terrorism on its victims.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; antiterrorism; United States


This book develops a typology of state support and state sponsorship of terrorism. Chapters 1 and 2 define international terrorism and state support of international terrorism. Chapter 3 considers what steps might be taken to improve the gathering of information regarding international terrorism and state support of it. Chapters 4 through 6 review possible responses to state support of international terrorism, including quiet diplomacy, public protest, international and transnational claims, economic sanctions, and military responses. The primary focus is on the legal aspects of these responses, but political, economic, and cultural dimensions are also discussed. The author concludes that, in responding to terrorism, the major emphasis should be on finding more creative ways to respond other than through the use armed force. Article 51 of the United Nations Charter is, in effect, a savings clause that permits resort to force, but only if necessity permits no other recourse.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; intelligence; international relations; international law; legal aspects


As this article briefly notes, an elaborate international legal system has been established to combat terrorism. But this system has two primary deficiencies: there are
serious gaps in the current law and the law already on the 
books is not being implemented vigorously. The article 
examines the specific nature of the gaps and recommends 
the establishment, under the auspices of the United 
Nations (UN) Security Council, of a committee to oversee 
implementation of antiterrorist conventions. The article 
also examines some recent work of a less well-known branch 
of the UN, the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control. 
Finally, the author considers the possibility of 
establishing an international criminal court with 
jurisdiction over drug trafficking and related acts of 
terrorism, a proposal that is currently on the agenda of 
the UN International Law Commission.

Keyword(s): antiterrorism; legal aspects; international relations

Netanyahu, Benjamín. "Terrorism: How the West Can Win," Time 
[Chicago], 127, No. 15, April 14, 1986, 48-59. [Call 
Number: AP2.T37]

In this essay, Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations 
Benjamín Netanyahu extrapolates from the Israeli 
experience in combating terrorism to propose a general 
counterterrorism policy for Western democracies. Terrorism 
is defined as "the deliberate and systematic murder, 
malming, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for 
political ends." A strategic view of terrorist activity is 
presented, in which most international terrorism is 
considered state sponsored and part of a cohesive 
transnational network. In devising a counterterrorism 
policy, the primary task should be to weaken and 
ultimately destroy the terrorist’s ability to launch 
attacks. The author recommends that the West adopt a 
policy of no concessions to terrorists, assuming the risk 
of suffering civilian casualties in the present in order 
to avoid larger civilian losses in the future.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; 
counterterrorism; theoretical aspects

Nye, James S., and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. Understanding 
International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and 
1391 .N93 1993]
Keyword(s): international relations; future trends


Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe


The book analyzes the low-intensity type of warfare between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from 1965 to the present, and assesses Israel's counterterrorism policies in terms of the international law of war and modern "just-war" doctrine. The author also examines the two belligerents' political and military strategies toward each other, ranging from terrorist raids and Israeli counterattacks, to the 1982 Lebanon War, and the Palestinian Intifadah (uprising). He considers Israeli policies towards the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in terms of the law of belligerent occupation, and Israel's military actions against the PLO in Arab sanctuary states in terms of legal and moral "permissibility." O'Brien concludes that it is important for states engaging in retaliatory measures to constantly review their strategies and tactics to ensure that they "conform to the principles of proportion and discrimination." While he finds Israel to be "engaged in a just war" against the PLO, he cautions that a "just belligerent" still must "exhaust peaceful alternatives to war, so that war is a last resort, and that a just belligerent must have right intention."

Keyword(s): terrorism; Middle East; Israel; counterterrorism; legal aspects; international law


The article examines the legal controversy over the right of nations to use force to retaliate for past attacks or
to deter future attacks. It discusses leading legal analyses on this issue, updates the record of relevant United Nations Security Council action, and offers a recommendation concerning reprisals, deterrence, and self-defense in international law. The author concludes that counterterror deterrence and defense measures must not be "unlimited," but should follow certain requirements, such as the "principle of proportion and discrimination." He criticizes international organizations such as the United Nations for not being "objective and fair" on this issue.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; legal aspects; international law; international relations


The book provides a framework for analyzing and comparing terrorist and guerrilla based insurgencies, including a definition of insurgency, insurgent goals and strategies, and government response. Types of insurgencies range from anarchist, egalitarian, traditionalist, pluralist, secessionist, reformist, and preservationist. O’Neill emphasizes that government response is the most important variable affecting the course of an insurgency. This response involves adopting an appropriate strategy to counteract the insurgents in their physical environment, their level of popular support, their organization and cohesion, and their external support. He concludes that in the future insurgencies will continue to threaten many nations, including the superpowers.

Keyword(s): terrorism; low-intensity conflict; guerrilla warfare; counterterrorism; future trends

Oakley, Robert B. "Combating International Terrorism," *Department of State Bulletin* [Washington], 85, June 1985, 73-78. [Call Number: JX232.A33 LAW]

This article reproduces an address to several subcommittees of the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, by Robert B. Oakley, Director of the Department of State’s Office for Counterterrorism and
Emergency Planning, on March 5, 1985. It assesses current trends in international terrorism, noting the increasing lethality of terrorist incidents worldwide and the emergence of new forms of terrorism such as narcoterrorism. The statement also describes U.S. Government efforts to combat terrorism and the goals of U.S. counterterrorism programs. These include: the attainment of effective coordinated action among all agencies of the U.S. Government involved in combating terrorism; effective integration between more passive measures for security and more active measures to deter or preempt terrorist attack; the attainment of international cooperation in combating terrorism; and full use of the U.S. Government's intelligence effort against terrorism. New antiterrorist initiatives are being implemented to further these objectives. They include: emergency action planning, crisis training, and antiterrorist assistance.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; narcoterrorism; U.S. Government policy; international relations; intelligence; future trends


This article examines the domestic and foreign concerns that influenced the formulation of a counterterrorism strategy between 1981 and 1987. The U.S. intelligence community provided evidence to U.S. Government policymakers that the problem of state-sponsored terrorist attacks and independent actions by a number of foreign-based terrorist groups was increasing and represented a threat to the industrialized democracies. The article highlights the policy recommendations of Vice President George Bush's 1985 Task Force on Combatting Terrorism. Counterterrorism became one of the Reagan administration's highest priorities and U.S. Government resources were augmented and focused on the terrorism problem. The U.S. Government encouraged other foreign governments to develop similar polices. In his interpretation of 1986 Iran-Contra affair, the author supports the view that President Reagan was motivated by his compassion for the U.S. citizens held hostage in Lebanon to support covert action to obtain their release. In his conclusions, Oakley argues that overall the Reagan
administration made more contributions to improving U.S. Government and foreign responses to international terrorism than it made mistakes.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; U.S. Government policy; intelligence; international relations


One of the author's theses is that the end of the Cold War will not remove the threat of terrorism or internal wars, and that other sources are replacing the former Soviet Union as providers of material support to insurgents or terrorists in the Third World. In the near term, internal wars are likely to break out in the Caribbean and Central America, parts of Southeast Asia, and the Middle East and Southwest Asia. To refine the ability to anticipate where internal wars are likely, the author identifies their sources as the nature of their colonial experience, the religious context of their societies, their ethnic heterogeneity, border disputes, and the presence of landless peasant populations. He identifies the critical predictive source to be the political factor—the capacity of regimes to manage internal disorders. Thus, some states that might otherwise contain potential sources of internal war are relatively stable, such as Turkey, Pakistan, Mexico, and Iraq. The author concludes that whereas global engagement is becoming the thrust of U.S. foreign policy in the 1990s, it is important to understand "how and where" it can be more effectively involved in limited conflicts. First, the choice has to be made where to get involved; second, it is imperative to undertake a political analysis of the societies confronting internal war; third, economic assistance should combine government and private sector initiatives; fourth, the military component of the counterinsurgency strategy must take into account internal as well as external aspects of the insurgency; and, finally, political, economic, and military strategies must be integrated.

Keyword(s): terrorism; low-intensity conflict; U.S. Government policy; future trends

The article examines how organizational processes within terrorist groups affect the outcome of bargaining between authorities and terrorist organizations. The author believes that terrorist organizations are a form of political interest group, although they use violence to achieve their goals, and face the same kinds of organizational problems as other interest groups. These include problems in recruiting members, group size, competing or coalescing with other groups, maintaining internal cohesion, and leadership contests and rivalries. He concludes that in a negotiation situation the impact of the particular internal situation of the terrorist group, not solely its political goals, will influence the likelihood of achieving either a peaceful or a violent resolution of a terrorist event. It will also affect the amount of "risk premium" required to achieve a resolution of the incident.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; theoretical aspects


The article examines terrorist groups as political interest groups and points out that organizational considerations play a role in the establishment and decline of these groups. It considers the impact of several factors on the organizational viability of terrorist groups, including recruitment, incentives, the requirement for "entrepreneurial" political leadership, competition from other radical organizations, and the ability to attain mass support and to form coalitions with other groups. The author concludes that for the study of terrorism to advance an effort should be made to apply current political science theories of behavior to the terrorists before developing new theories to explain the behavior of such a small population segment.

Keyword(s): terrorism; theoretical aspects

This article describes the legal concepts that can be used by the U.S. Government to clearly define and justify the use of force to retaliate against foreign-based terrorists who have attacked U.S. citizens. The nine parts of the article discuss the issue from several perspectives. Part one illustrates how international terrorism is a growing problem and suggests that states must use more forceful measures to turn the tables on the terrorists. Part two proposes that internationally recognized laws on piracy provide a doctrine that could be applicable to terrorism. Part three compares the piracy model to the treatment of terrorists according to rules of war. Parts four and five discuss the doctrines of just war and self-defense, respectively. Parts six through eight evaluate various forcible responses to terrorism in the context of the U.N. Charter. The author concludes in part nine with the suggestion that the U.S. Government should use the just war and self-defense doctrines to justify future antiterrorist strikes at foreign-based terrorists who have attacked U.S. citizens while being careful to show proper respect for the constraints imposed on such actions by customary international law. Decisions to use force should be based on necessity, proportionality, and discrimination.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; international relations; international law


This book comprises ten chapters that examine the effects of media coverage on governments, terrorist groups, the public, and the victims of terrorism and their families. The subjects discussed in the book include: how news organizations view the mission of reporting on terrorist incidents to inform the public; the goals of terrorists in seeking media coverage to achieve clearly defined goals; the policies various governments have used to control or influence media coverage of terrorism; and public perceptions of the government, media, and terrorists.
Chapter ten describes the dynamic interaction between selected terrorists and the families of their victims and the effect of this interaction on political leaders.

Keyword(s): terrorism; media

[Call Number: U240.P38]

This book predicts that while improvements in international cooperation and stronger national counterterrorism programs are likely to contribute to a decrease in the number of terrorist groups in the future, some of the terrorist incidents probably will be more violent. The author, a former commander of the U.S. Army's Delta Force, discusses recent events in the world, including the use of more sophisticated bombs and weapons by terrorists, as indicators of what policymakers must be prepared to face in the future. In chapter ten entitled "Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict in 2010," Paschall offers the reader suggestions on how to look forward in time and plan for future conflict. The recent past has shown that commando raids on foreign terrorist bases in nations that sponsor terrorism are an effective foreign policy tool. He suggests that commando forces be trained to collect evidence of a group's involvement in terrorist activities during such raids. The U.S. Government can utilize such information in a number of ways in its counterterrorism program. Although Paschall acknowledges the importance of the press in democracies, he believes democratic governments will have to enact stronger prohibitions on media coverage of terrorism. Because publicity encourages terrorists to seek more sensational ways of obtaining media attention, stricter laws would effectively remove this tactic from their arsenal.

Keyword(s): terrorism; future trends; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; media

The author examines the social psychology of political terrorism, with emphasis on the individual psychology of the political terrorist. He concludes that political terrorists are characterized psychologically by certain narcissistic personality disturbances that predispose them toward the psychodynamic rewards of political terrorism. This conclusion is based on an analysis of individuals from various nationalities and socioeconomic status who became political terrorists. The book's chapters deal with the nature of political terrorism, the individual psychology of the political terrorist, the narcissistic psychological rewards offered by political terrorism, and profiles of prominent terrorists. In the concluding chapter the author discusses the ultimate utility, operational consequences, and applicability of his study's findings to the three "most bewildering" issues in contemporary terrorism: hostage negotiations and other bargaining with terrorists, the role of the news media in providing psychodynamic rewards to terrorists, and predicting the tactical nature of future terrorist attacks. His findings lead him to conclude that because negotiating with terrorists is frequently necessary it is important to "know thine enemy;" that the news media has given the political terrorist a "mask of omnipotence rather than the mask of villainy," and placed the political terrorist on an equal footing with government officials; and that the psychological profile of terrorists predisposes them to carry out "superterrorist" types of acts in the future, involving the use of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons, even though such acts may ultimately be counterproductive in attaining their political objectives. Such acts, he writes, would provide terrorists with the "most profound psychic sense of omnipotence."

Keyword(s): terrorism; psychological aspects; media; future trends


This book employs a broad definition of terrorism to argue that antiterrorism is often itself a form of terrorism. It provides a critical assessment of U.S. and Western antiterrorism policy, arguing that the United States and
its allies have historically engaged in institutional terrorism against popular movements throughout the Third World. It contends that the Western media have effectively endorsed official antiterrorist policies by fostering public hysteria about terrorism, promoting ethnic stereotyping of non-Western populations, and manipulating potent symbols and imagery for dramatic effect. Finally, it interprets nuclear deterrence among the nuclear powers as a form of terrorism. The focus is on framing state-sponsored political repression and the use of force by states as a form of terrorism against nonstate actors.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; low-intensity conflict; guerrilla warfare; media; U.S. Government policy


Butz Peters is a German television journalist who has been covering terrorism in West Germany for a number of years. His book is a detailed account of the Red Army Faction (RAF) from its beginnings in the late 1960s to the early 1990s. Using a large number of written sources and many interviews, some of them confidential interviews with German officials, Peters is able to present the three "generations" of the RAF: the original members, the Baader-Meinhof Gang; a second group that carried on RAF's aims in the second half of the 1970s and the early 1980s; the third generation that began operations in 1984 and is still at large. In a chapter toward the end of his book, Peters deals with the question why this latest stage of the RAF has eluded the police and managed to assassinate a number of prominent Germans. For example, police have not been able to locate a single RAF "safe house" since 1985, despite the enormous resources being applied to counterterrorism in Germany.

Keyword(s): Germany; Europe; terrorism; counterterrorism

Extradition treaties play a particularly important role in cooperative efforts to combat terrorism. Yet their effectiveness has been hampered by the fact that the political offense exception, contained in all extradition treaties, protects from extradition political offenders of all types, nonviolent and violent alike, including terrorists. In response to this dilemma, the United States and Britain recently signed a supplementary treaty exempting a number of violent crimes from the protection of the political offense exception. This treaty has been severely criticized for effectively abolishing the political offense exception and, with it, the values it embodies, such as protecting the right to political self-determination. Part I of this article sketches the general background to the role of extradition treaties in the suppression of terrorism. Part II addresses the future role of the political offense exception in light of the need to find effective, legal, and nonviolent means to combat terrorism. This part analyzes various proposals to retain the political offense exception in one form or another while establishing safeguards outside of extradition treaties to ensure efficient prosecution of terrorists, such as an international court of terrorism or an international criminal code. The final section of Part II presents a proposal to delete the political offense exception entirely. Taking into consideration the need for strong cooperation between nations in light of increasing terrorist violence, this article suggests that the political offense exception, both in its traditional and its restricted supplementary treaty version, has outlived its time. In its stead, it recommends that a system of safeguards should become mandatory to ensure that offenders will receive a fair trial if extradited. Such a system, and any extradition treaty per se, should be based on regular executive findings evaluating the general fairness of the judicial system of a requesting country.

Keyword(s): antiterrorism; legal aspects; international relations; U.S. Government policy

The Pinkerton Global Risk Network is a database providing risk assessments and comments on countries experiencing political, social, and economic turmoil. Publications include daily, weekly, quarterly, and annual risk assessments, analyst commentaries, country files, a trends calendar, a travel advisory, and online news wire services.

Keyword(s): terrorism; database; future trends


Keyword(s): terrorism; Middle East; media; United States


This book compiles and analyzes the most significant results of an empirical study of 773 terrorist incidents occurring in Spain from 1972 to 1982. The original study, undertaken by the Center for Social Analysis at Menendez and Pelayo International University, consisted of three parts: an empirical analysis of terrorist attacks in Spain, an historical analysis of the emergence and development of Spanish terrorist organizations, and an analytical reinterpretation of the sociology of political violence in Spain. The book itself consists of two parts. Part One presents the raw data. Part Two interprets the data and develops conclusions. The author interprets terrorism as a type of ritual, that involves not only the terrorist and his targets but also the general society and state functionaries. Mass publicity of terrorist violence creates a "mythology of terrorism" that shapes popular interpretations of terrorists and their ideological objectives. The "mythical ritual" of terrorism thus produces distinct patterns of action and reaction among the perpetrators, the targets, and the spectators of terrorist violence.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; Europe; ethnicity; theoretical aspects

Europe has been the preferred operational area for Middle Eastern terrorist groups--some 418 attacks from 1980-1989. Unlike European Marxist revolutionary or separatist terrorist groups, the Middle Eastern groups present Europe with a regional security problem. The character and objectives of Middle Eastern terrorist activity in Western Europe have changed substantially since the 1970s, when the dominant theme was the quest for world recognition of the Palestinian cause and the primary tactics were hijackings and attacks on diplomatic facilities. During the 1980s, the dominant theme was the support and sponsorship role of Middle Eastern states like Syria, Libya, Iran, and Iraq. The author estimates that 152 terrorist incidents, or 42 percent of all Middle Eastern terrorist activity in Western Europe during the 1980s, can be evidenced or analytically linked to these four states. In the mid-1980s, there was also a clear shift in Middle Eastern targeting in Western Europe: toward Western targets, in particular the United States. The 1980s marked the first time that a Western government (the United States) carried out military retaliation against another government (Libya) because of its support for international terrorism. It was also the first time that a Middle Eastern state (Iran) had unofficially declared a terrorist war against a European state (France). There are four factors that argue for continued Middle Eastern terrorist activity in Western Europe in the 1990s. First, it appears likely that the controversial political issues and intra-Palestinian and inter-Arab feuds that trigger Middle Eastern terrorist activity are a long way from being resolved. A second factor is the continued existence of Middle Eastern personalities like Yasir Arafat, Ahmad Jibril, Abu Nidal, Muammar Quaddafi, Saddam Hussein, Hafez al-Assad, Abu Abbas, and the like who show a continued willingness to use terrorism. A third factor is the continued attractiveness of Europe as a theater of operations for Middle Eastern terrorist groups, especially after the elimination of internal border controls and the collapse of the East European security apparatus. And, finally, the involvement of the United States-led coalition in the Persian Gulf conflict and the military defeat of Iraq may provoke Saddam Hussein into using terrorism to settle the score with the West. The author concludes that an objective analysis of the current Middle
Eastern terrorist situation in Europe strongly suggests that Middle Eastern terrorism in Europe will continue to be a major security problem for Europe and the United States in the 1990s.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe; future trends; Islamic groups


In this transcript, Acting Department of State Coordinator for Counterterrorism Pope assesses future terrorism threats to the United States and discusses current U.S. counterterrorism efforts. Although there were fewer terrorist incidents in 1992 than several years ago, the threat continues to be significant. Moreover, terrorism is often cyclical in nature; as old passions and groups fade, new factors, new groups, and new "causes" turn into deadly terrorist attacks, thus complicating the task of prediction. Among the designated state sponsors of terrorism, Iran is the major problem the United States faces, although none of the other designated sponsor governments has completely severed ties to terrorist surrogates. The Department of State will continue to promote antiterrorism efforts, including the antiterrorism assistance program and legislation requiring chemical marking of plastic explosives.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


Comparative studies of the psychology of terrorism indicate that there is no one terrorist mind-set. A common theme among the disparate groups is the strong need of marginal alienated individuals to join a group of
like-minded individuals with a similar world view that "it's us against them, and they are the cause of our problems." This strong need to belong gives particular force to the power of group dynamics. Whereas ideology is the glue that holds the group together and serves as the rationale for its actions, terrorists do not commit acts of terrorism for ideological reasons. The amelioration of societal injustice which they indicate incites and justifies their terrorism does not reduce the lure of terrorism because of the powerful hold of the group on its members. Paradoxically, a policy of reactive retaliation with the goal of deterring terrorist acts may have the opposite effect and reinforce the mindset of the terrorist. For the group under threat, the external danger has the consequence of reducing external divisiveness and uniting the group against the outside enemy. The survival of the group is paramount because of the group identity it provides. Identifying the locus of control is of crucial significance in estimating the effects of counterterrorist policies upon a terrorist group. For the autonomous terrorist cell, active retaliation may reinforce the cohesion of the group; for the corporate terrorist organization, issues of organizational survival may become paramount. Neither the terrorist group nor the terrorist organization can be forced to give up terrorism, for to do so would be to lose their reason for being. For state-sponsored and state-directed terrorist groups on the other hand, the terrorist group in effect serves as a paramilitary group under central government control. In this situation, group and organizational considerations are less relevant, because the object of the counterterrorist policy is the government of the sponsoring state. Because the survival of the state and national interests are the primary values, retaliatory policies can, in the short run, have a deterrent effect. In the long run, the most effective antiterrorist policy is one that renders the terrorist career less attractive to potential members, facilitates terrorists leaving the group, and reduces external support.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; psychological aspects; counterterrorism; theoretical aspects

With U.S. citizens and installations increasingly the targets of choice of terrorists around the globe, authorities are stepping up efforts to prevent the surge of violence from spreading to U.S. territory. Relying on everything from secret surveillance and court-approved wiretaps to intensified intelligence and tightened border checks, officials are working around the clock to deter Iran, Libya, and extremist Muslim factions from carrying out threats to strike within the United States. For all the anxieties and precautions, however, the United States has enjoyed surprising immunity to the terrorist campaigns that have gripped other industrialized democracies. However, terrorism experts continue to be concerned about low levels of security around vital facilities, including government buildings and nuclear plants. The relatively permeable U.S. southern border may also provide an access route for foreign terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; Islamic groups; counterterrorism; intelligence; U.S. Government policy


Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; future trends


This article discusses future trends in terrorism in the wake of the Gulf War and the end of the Cold War. It argues that the Gulf War caused an upheaval among Middle Eastern terrorist groups. The PLO under Yasir Arafat finds itself in a precipitous decline as a result of its failure to deliver on its threat to retaliate against Western coalition interests, its loss of Saudi and Kuwaiti support, and the deterioration of Arafat’s public image both in the West and among his Palestinian supporters. The power vacuum left behind by the PLO’s decline is being filled by Islamic fundamentalist groups with reported Iranian links, such as Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. These groups will likely come to represent a potent Iranian surrogate in Jordan and the Occupied Territories, perhaps along the lines of the Hizbollah in Lebanon, and
serve as one means to advance Iranian regional political objectives. As these radical fundamentalist groups coalesce and expand, they will increasingly be able to establish viable terrorist infrastructures in Europe. This expansion will be made possible by the growing Muslim population in Germany and France, which provides a significant recruitment pool from which fundamentalist groups can draw. Eventually, radical fundamentalist groups may make common cause with European terrorist groups to wage war against the Western establishment. A separate phenomenon, but one that will have significant impact on international terrorism, is the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the ethnic/political upheavals in the Soviet Union. The collapse of former Soviet bloc regimes and their security apparatus has caused a substantial deterioration of internal security and national law enforcement capabilities in these countries, as well as the dispersal of former communist security agents, possibly to Middle Eastern organizations and states that conduct or support terrorism. The integration of Europe and the elimination of traditional border controls will facilitate the movement of terrorists and simplify the logistical problems they used to face, making the challenge to European security forces all the more daunting. In the case of European terrorism, there will be a burgeoning of small, fanatical, ethnic, separatist terrorist groups, as well as single-issue groups representing a broad spectrum of radicalized causes such as radical animal rights, ecological terrorism, and violent antiabortion. Traditional state sponsors of terrorism will take increasing care to distance themselves from terrorist operations they may sponsor. Increasingly they will seek political insulation and design operations to enhance "plausible denial." As a result, there may be an upsurge of "false flag" operations whereby the true identity of the state or group sponsor will be unknown even to the terrorist operatives. The nature of terrorist operations will also change, as terrorists seek to overcome public apathy toward conventional terrorism by relying more heavily on mass casualty operations. The barriers against unconventional weapons have also been breached, as evidenced by the use of chemical weapons during the Iran-Iraq War. The use of unconventional weapons will most likely involve biological agents, which are easy to make, incredibly lethal, readily transportable, and virtually undetectable. Finally, terrorists should also be expected to step up their
propaganda campaigns and to become increasingly sophisticated and politically adept at pressing their claims within the mass media.

Keyword(s): terrorism; future trends; Middle East; Europe; Soviet Union; Islamic groups; state sponsorship; biological weapons; ethnicity; Iran

Pyle, Christopher H. "Defining Terrorism," Foreign Policy [Washington], No. 64, Fall 1986, 63-78. [Call Number: E744.F75]

This article discusses the legal ramifications of new legislation on extradition that strips the courts of the authority to block extradition by invoking the political crimes defense if an extradition request involves a suspected terrorist. The author argues that the definition of terrorism used in the law and in a new extradition treaty with Great Britain is too broad, and may inadvertently include legitimate political refugees. The new standard for extradition may therefore imperil the U.S. tradition of providing safe haven for political refugees on a nonpartisan basis. The new policy is criticized for being selective, since it is expected to be used only against fugitives whom the administration in power does not currently favor. However, the main flaw in the legislation and accompanying treaty is their failure to provide a sufficiently rigorous definition of terrorism, thereby allowing for political manipulation of extradition to the detriment of due process of law and the right to an impartial trial.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; definition; international law; international relations; U.S. Government policy


The author divides the book into four sections: control, sanction, representation, and administration. Each deals with a specific power—police, judiciary, media, and government. The author also provides details on the way in
which Spain dealt with terrorism in the Basque and Navarre regions.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; Europe

Radu, Michael (ed.). The New Insurgencies: Anticommu

The book examines the emergence of ideologically motivated anticommunist insurgent groups in the Third World, with particular emphasis on Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, and Nicaragua. Its main thesis is that irregular warfare, or internal war, has become the dominant form of war in the twentieth century. Terrorism is a form of irregular warfare, and an element in guerrilla wars--and not an "adjunct" of insurgency. Terrorism, which has become "a goal rather than a means," is located primarily in urbanized, industrialized nations and has played its most significant role in democratic countries. Guerrilla warfare, on the other hand, is the dominant form of warfare in rural regions in the Third World, where societies are "poorly administered and integrated."

Keyword(s): terrorism; guerrilla warfare; future trends


This book is a compilation of 15 essays on historical and moral perspectives of sub-national, state, and international terrorist activities. Important common themes discussed in all of the essays are the moral and political conditions that produce terrorism, the doctrines used by terrorists to justify their actions, and the moral predicaments that result from terrorism. Part one comprises five essays on religiously motivated terrorism, including Jewish terrorist activities from biblical times to the twentieth century, perceptions of terrorism as "holy war," and the social reasons for the involvement of Christian organizations in Latin American revolutionary movements that use terrorism. Part two examines three historical cases of state-sponsored terrorism: the
Jacobean terror campaign of the 1790s against supporters of the monarchy in France; Hitler's persecution of the Jews in Europe in the 1930s and 1940s; and revelations from an official document of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published in 1952 on the use of psychological terror. Part three is a collection of six essays that discuss the parameters of ethical and unethical conduct by states and revolutionary movements during conflicts that have resulted in the use of terrorism by both sides at the expense of the public welfare.

Keyword(s): terrorism; theoretical aspects; religious aspects; moral aspects


The article discusses the evolution of the term "terrorism," its effects, conditions that produce terrorism, and counterterrorist policies. Terrorism, according to the author, has undergone four distinct evolutionary phases. The first phase was a feature of the French Revolution. The second phase began after the First World War and reached its climax after the Second World War. The third phase, which began in the late 1960s and was associated with the Vietnam War, introduced the term "international terrorism" to describe the fact that certain terrorist groups conducted most of their assaults abroad. The fourth phase, which emerged in the Third World in the 1970s, introduced a new form of "sacred terror," with tactics and targets shaped by religion. The author attributes technological, psychological, and conspirational explanations to the origins of terrorism. On the issue of future trends, the author writes that terrorism will always be a feature of the political landscape, although its "ebb and flow" cannot be forecast.

One of the great watersheds in terrorist history is the transformation of the Soviet bloc, but the significance of this change is "unclear." One new development is the revival of "spontaneous mass insurrection"; another is the escalation in the number of new separatist movements, which the author terms the "most tenacious terrorist groups." The author concludes that the greatest anxiety about the future is the possibility that terrorists will
employ weapons of mass destruction, although their desire to gain public support is a major inhibition against such warfare.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; counterterrorism; future trends


The article examines the current state of the terrorist threat in the Middle East and considers possible patterns that terrorism might take toward the year 2000. It discusses exaggerated claims about the terrorist threat surpassing even the threat of nuclear war and notions about global ‘terrorist networks.’ It examines the controversy over definitions of terrorism, arguing that the real difficulty is over the application of the term. It points out that terrorism either by paramilitary organizations or state agents is a constant feature of Middle Eastern international relations, particularly in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the 1980s, there were five types of terrorist patterns in the Middle East: interstate on a regional level; interstate involving states outside the region, harassment of exiles, terrorism as part of an insurgency, and terrorism used by freelancers. In the 1990s, the author believes that five fundamental forces in the region will shape the future course of terrorism: the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellites; the emergence of American hegemony in the area; developments in the Arab-Israeli peace process; the stabilization of Lebanon under Syrian control; and the growth of fundamentalist Islamic militancy. The author concludes that in the next decade interstate terrorism will persist, there will be a decline in state-sponsored terrorism against the West, exile movements will pose little threat to established regimes, the level of insurgent-based terrorism will depend on the political context of Middle East conflicts, and freelance groups will be "squeezed" by the "moderation" of their previous sponsors. Thus, terrorism will continue to play a significant role in Middle Eastern conflicts.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Middle East; future trends

This book analyzes various acts of terrorism around the world, particularly in France, and attempts to disconnect the links between terrorism and other forms of violence. In its annexes, Chapter 3, "Who Watches Whom in France, in 1984", provides charters of organizations that watch the extreme rightists and the terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Counterterrorism; France


This article reproduces an address by President Ronald Reagan delivered before the American Bar Association on July 8, 1985. President Reagan discusses the international terrorist threat and U.S. Government counterterrorism policy. Recent international terrorism is depicted as having strategic implications and political goals, namely to disorient the United States, to disrupt or alter U.S. foreign policy, to sow discord between the United States and its allies, to frighten friendly Third World nations working with the United States for peaceful settlements of regional conflicts, and, finally, to remove U.S. influence from areas of the world where the United States is working to bring stable and democratic government. Among the states identified as sponsors of terrorism are Iran, Libya, North Korea, Cuba, and Nicaragua. In combating terrorism, the speaker asserts the U.S. right to defend itself from terrorist warfare through the use of preemptive and retaliatory force, as authorized by international law.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; international relations; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy

Whereas the first half of the book focuses on the psychology of terrorism, the second half discusses the psychology of governmental responses to terrorism and future research on the psychology of terrorism. With regard to counterterrorism, the chapter on "Hostage taking, the presidency, and stress," by Margaret G. Hermann and Charles F. Hermann, discusses the challenge and the stress that hostage taking poses to a U.S. president. The chapter on "Taking vows: The domestication of policy-making in hostage incidents," by Gary Sick, analyzes the stresses that the 1979 Iranian hostage situation induced on President Jimmy Carter. In the chapter on "Questions to be answered, research to be done, knowledge to be applied," Martha Crenshaw outlines the most important questions regarding the psychology of terrorism, questions that need further research. These questions deal with the extent of interest by government and society in acquiring knowledge about terrorism and the causes, conduct, and consequences of terrorism. Crenshaw believes that the integration of these two levels of analysis should be dealt with by future research on terrorism, in addition to the need for more comparative research and for more cumulative research patterns. Walter Reich's chapter on "Understanding terrorist behavior: The limits and opportunity of psychological inquiry" argues that whereas several aspects of terrorism are of interest to psychological inquiry, the greatest interest lies in the psychology of the terrorists themselves. Such a psychological inquiry, however, is constrained by a number of problems; the chapter attempts to suggest how these problems can be avoided or overcome. Reich considers these problems to be overgeneralization in defining terrorism, reductionism in attributing specific characteristics or causes to a wide range of terrorists and terrorist groups, inadequate appreciation of the rewards of belonging to terrorist groups, using highly scientific terms to describe what are basic terrorist feelings and motivations, ignoring rational reasons for choosing a terrorist strategy, inaccessibility to direct research on terrorism, and ignoring terrorism carried out by states against their own people, including destructive acts by Western governments. Reich's suggestions for future research include recognizing that terrorism is varied and complex, and that the motivations, aims, and forms of behavior of terrorism different; understanding the history of terrorism; studying the benefits of the terrorist life; analyzing the psychology of state
terrorists; examining the connections between a terrorist group and its supporting community; examining the consequences of state countermeasures; adducing why some radical opposition groups embark on terrorism while others pursue peaceful means to achieve their goals; and, finally, determining what induces terrorists to end their terrorist careers.

Keyword(s): terrorism; psychological aspects; counterterrorism; theoretical aspects

Reisman, Michael. "No Man’s Land: International Legal Regulation of Coercive Responses to Protracted and Low Level Conflict" Houston Journal of International Law, [Houston, TX], 11, No. 2, Spring 1989, 317-30. [Call Number: JX1.H68]

This article examines how international laws concerning the use of military force have changed and focuses on the contradictory interpretations of selected United Nations (U.N.) resolutions and International Court decisions bearing on the use of force by states against terrorists. Some U.N. statutes, the International Law Concerning Friendly Nations (1970) and the Convention Against the Taking of Hostages (1979) appear to justify a state’s use of armed forces against foreign-based terrorist groups in retaliation for actions against its citizens. However, the International Court of Justice, in its judgment on the 1986 Nicaragua case, proscribed military retaliation by states in low-intensity conflicts, which can be interpreted as including acts by terrorists. The author concludes that U.S. policies that define terrorist attacks against U.S. citizens as acts of war subject to unilateral military retaliation generally are inconsistent with the most recent trend in international law. Reisman believes that until this trend changes, the U.S. Government will have to accept that the majority of states belonging to the U.N. are likely to oppose U.S. military strikes against terrorist bases in foreign countries.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; international relations; legal aspects; future trends
Revell, Oliver B. "Structure of Counterterrorism Planning and Operations in the United States," *Terrorism* [Washington], 14, No. 3, July-September 1991, 135-44. [Call Number: HV 6431.T46]

This article, by an official of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) describes the FBI's counterterrorism capabilities and examines interagency counterterrorism cooperation among the FBI, local law enforcement, international law enforcement, and the federal community. It provides a brief description of the FBI's mission in combating terrorism, and of the FBI offices and units that carry out the agency's antiterrorism mandate. These include the Counterterrorism Section at FBI Headquarters in Washington, the Hostage Rescue Team (HRT), and the special weapons and tactics (SWAT) teams maintained by the 56 FBI field divisions nationwide. In addition, the article describes FBI programs and cooperative efforts with local and state authorities to combat terrorism. These include joint terrorism task forces with state and local law enforcement agencies, the domestic threat warning system, and the key asset protection program. At the federal level, the FBI participates in a variety of interagency policy coordination groups, such as the Protective Security Working Group, which the FBI chairs, and the Policy Coordinating Committee on Terrorism, chaired by the Department of State. Finally, the FBI participates in a variety of multinational fora and organizations dedicated to combating international terrorism. These include INTERPOL, the TREVI Group, the Quantico Working Group, the Italian-American Working Group, and the International Association of Chiefs of Police Committee on Terrorism. The author concludes that the structure of the national counterterrorism program is a sound one. This is attributed largely to the ongoing cooperation at all levels in the United States and with the FBI's foreign counterparts. One of the strongest tools in the fight against terrorism is the exchange of vital information and cooperation in pursuing common goals. Cooperation and exchange of intelligence must continue for the United States to effectively meet the challenges of terrorism in the 1990s and beyond.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; law enforcement; United States; U.S. Government policy
Richard, Mark. "Statement of Mark Richard, Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Before the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Concerning the Threat of Domestic Terrorism, Presented on April 22, 1993." Washington: United States Congress, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Documents Collection, April 1993. [Call Number: Not in LC]

This testimony provides an overview of current U.S. efforts to promote extradition of international fugitives in cases involving terrorism. The United States is a party to over 100 bilateral extradition treaties. To the extent terrorists who commit crimes against the United States are located beyond U.S. borders, such treaties remain the most effective tool available under international law for bringing those fugitives to justice. However, the existing network of extradition treaties is by no means fully satisfactory in ensuring that all terrorists are brought to justice in the United States. Consequently, the Department of Justice, working closely with the Department of State, is engaged in an active program of negotiating extradition treaties to remedy these problems. The U.S. government is also seeking to modernize existing bilateral extradition treaties to facilitate extradition in cases of terrorism through such measures as restricting the political offense exception and expanding the list of extraditable offenses. Finally, the United States is also party to four multilateral conventions that address specific types of terrorist acts. Deportations and expulsions of fugitive terrorists are also sought when formal extradition is not feasible.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; legal aspects; international law; international relations; U.S. Government policy; law enforcement

Ricks, Bob A. "Future Domestic and International Terrorism: The FBI Perspective" Terrorism [Washington], 11, No. 6, 1988, 538-41. [Call Number: HV 6431.T46]

This article briefly assesses current and future terrorism threats in the United States. A number of international terrorist groups have acquired the infrastructure and support apparatus necessary to conduct terrorist operations in the United States. These groups and
individuals represent most terrorist organizations known today, including almost every major terrorist organization that exists in the Middle East, many of which have surrogate structures in the United States. Terrorist assaults may be carried out by radicalized individuals or by corporate groups at the behest of state sponsors. Furthermore, the scattered right-wing, left-wing, religious, racist, and nationalist extremist groups that were responsible for most domestic terrorism during the 1970s and early 1980s may eventually regroup. As the leaders of violent domestic groups complete their prison sentences and are released, they may resume their terrorist activities. It is concluded that terrorism of both foreign and domestic origins remains a significant threat within the United States. The frequency of terrorist activity on U.S. soil will also reflect changes in the global scene.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; future trends; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


The article examines the proposition that terrorists should be classified as soldiers so that the law of war will apply to their conduct, superseding the law of relevant municipal jurisdictions. Thus, it will be possible to prosecute terrorists as soldiers and war criminals.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; legal aspects


This article examines Britain's response to its treaty obligation requiring European Community countries to remove frontier controls between member states by 1992. It discusses the role that intelligence can play in counterterrorism, arguing that police too often see intelligence as an aid to operational success rather than as a tool for the strategic management of resources. It
analyzes the nature of intelligence and the problems associated with police understanding of the concept. Finally, it describes the changes that are taking place in British policing and the proposed organization of the National Criminal Intelligence Unit.

Keyword(s): Terrorism; counterterrorism; Europe; intelligence; law enforcement


Keyword(s): terrorism; international relations; future trends


Keyword(s): international relations; future trends


The article documents and examines the declining incidence of terrorism by domestic opposition groups (oppositional terrorism) in Canada and the United States. It applies to both cases the governmental measures of preemption and deterrence, and examines their effect on terrorist groups in terms of backlash and burnout. Two of the study's assumptions are that accommodation and reform measures will reduce the political capabilities of terrorist groups and that declining political support for terrorist groups will increase the likelihood of police preemption and deterrence of terrorist actions. It concludes that neither society is immunized against future domestic terrorism campaigns, that terrorism can be expected to be used to promote narrowly based social programs in both societies, and that while international terrorism does not threaten both societies, its future course is beyond the control of each country's authorities. In the case of the
United States, they predict that the most explosive source of terrorism is the widening gap between "mainstream society and badly educated and underemployed black, Chicano, and Latino youth."

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; Canada; United States; future trends


The author examines the psychology of terrorism and its social causes; compares the theories and practices of major schools of terrorism such as anarcho-communist, nationalist, and fascist; investigates the relationship between terrorism and social revolution; and defines the role of terrorists in national liberation struggles. One of his major points is that although terrorism may be the product of certain grievances, it is primarily generated by the "political weakness of militant intellectuals unable either to organize mass violence or to attract reliable allies to their cause." This "disconnection" of intellectuals, he argues, is the main "internal cause" of terrorism and shapes its "philosophy, tactics, and consequences." Rubenstein concludes by offering four policy recommendations to resolve the threat of terrorism: distinguishing long-term policy from short-term response; developing long-term policies based on in-depth analysis of a particular terrorist group and its needs; mobilizing scholarly resources to define terrorist grievances; and terrorist group leaders and government officials should engage in the "process of conflict resolution."

Keyword(s): terrorism; psychological aspects; theoretical aspects; counterterrorism


The author argues that the difficulty experienced so far in achieving international cooperation to end the problem of terrorism reflects the failure to account for the way
authority is distributed in the international legal order. One such example is the difficulty for political and legal reasons in abolishing the "political offense" exception to extradition treaties. To illustrate his thesis, the author analyzes five other approaches to possible international cooperation to curb terrorism by evaluating how consistent they are with law and reality. He objects to the formulation of legal conventions to promote international cooperation in the antiterrorism effort that are based on utopian models, and only supports attempts that recognize "the distribution of authority inherent in the current international legal order and its constituent municipal legal orders."

Keyword(s): terrorism; legal aspects; international law; international relations; future trends


The authors of the seven chapters attempt to relate the causes and effects of selected terrorist conflicts worldwide. Chapter one by Mark Falcoff focuses on the conflict between the military government of Argentina and several leftist revolutionary groups in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The author concludes that while both sides used terrorism, the government caused the death of more innocent citizens in its counterterrorism campaign than did the guerrillas. Chapter two by Barry Rubin views the sponsorship of terrorist groups by Syria, Libya and Iran as a political tool of three weak states that produces more harm to their interests than good. Chapter three by Ami Ayalon examines how the Egyptian government has successfully stood up to terrorist war waged against it by Islamic fundamentalists. Chapter four by Joseph Kostiner discusses the use of terrorist tactics by both sides in the Iran-Iraq War (1980-88). Chapter five by David Scott Palmer focuses on why the Marxist-Leninist Sendero Luminoso has remained small and relatively ineffective in influencing the political views of most of its target audience—the Indian population of Peru. Chapter six provides the history of the use of terrorism by the African National Congress, now one of South Africa's most influential political parties, and discusses why ANC leaders abandoned terrorism and adopted peaceful methods.
of political struggle. Chapter seven by Cecilia Albin is a survey of terrorism worldwide. Terrorist groups are shown to follow trends in terrorism that have influenced the strategies and weapons used in the modern era.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; low-intensity conflict; guerrilla warfare; revolution


This article reviews the five principles of international law by which states seek extradition and apprehend terrorists outside their territorial jurisdictions. It provides a summary examination of all of the major international conventions on acts of terrorism. The section on informal rendition is of particular interest. A 1886 Supreme Court decision (Ker v. Illinois) established the precedent that allows persons wanted for felonies in the United States to be abducted by U.S. or foreign law enforcement officials and returned to the United States for trial as long as cruel or inhumane treatment of the criminal is not involved.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; legal aspects; international law; U.S. Government policy

Schaffer, Marvin B. "Concerns About Terrorists with PGMs." Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1992. [Call Number: LRS92-3963]

This paper analyzes the threat to U.S. aviation from terrorists armed with precision-guided munitions (PGMs), particularly shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). It argues that there is a growing threat of the use of SAMs against U.S. aviation because hundreds of SAMs in several varieties are now available to terrorists. Worldwide there have been several SAM terrorist attacks perpetrated every year over the past decade. A variety of short-term and long-term countermeasures are available to reduce the threat, but these are of decreasing utility against the later generation of SAMs. The paper concludes that although the threat cannot be eliminated entirely, the U.S. air transportation system should begin to
implement some of the more practical countermeasures outlined in this paper.

Keyword(s): terrorism; aviation; technology; future trends; United States


This book describes how media coverage has contributed to the increase of international terrorism and documents what selected democratic governments are doing to restrain press reporting in the hope of deterring future terrorist attacks. The author suggests that U.S. news agencies are more adversarial than cooperative in dealing with the U.S. Government on this important issue. In chapter ten entitled "The Threat of Terrorism to Americans and the Adversarial Media," the author examines how the adversarial relationship between the U.S. Government and the news media has made it difficult for the former to communicate effectively to the latter and the public concerning the real possibility that existing and new terrorist groups could, at any time, begin a wave of terror in the United States similar to what has happened in many foreign countries. Schaffert concludes with the warning that unless a more cooperative relationship between government and media evolves in the United States, there is no way that the U.S. Government can respond to future terrorist attacks on U.S. citizens in a manner that will place more emphasis on the lives of the victims than on the right of the press to know what policymakers plan to do.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; media; future trends; U.S. Government policy

Scheuer, Jeffrey. "Moral Dimensions of Terrorism" Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, [Medford, MA], 14, Winter 1990, 145-60. [Call Number: D839.F37]

The author argues for a narrow definition of terrorism that focuses on the salient point that all terrorists are willing to target noncombatants. Scheuer suggests that there is wide support for such a definition among lawyers,
political scientists, and politicians throughout the world. Former President Ronald Reagan's effort to popularize an expanded definition that included attacks by insurgents (the Sandinistas of Nicaragua) and terrorists (the Irish Republican Army of Northern Ireland) against military personnel is examined. The author concludes that if policymakers become involved in describing unconventional warfare between armed groups as terrorism, then they increase the difficulty of promoting public consensus on specific incidents. They also reduce their capability to obtain the cooperation often needed to resolve incidents, bring terrorists to justice, and, most important, to deter future terrorism. Scheuer suggests that governments need to devise antiterrorism policies that involve negotiations, delay, concessions, and the use of force. The article singles out hostage taking as the most delicate of moral dilemmas for policymakers because they must balance the importance of saving lives in a terrorist incident against the future deterrence of terrorism. Scheuer concludes that future deterrence must be the primary objective because it protects society and condemns violence.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; antiterrorism


This article examines the difference between politically and religiously motivated terrorism in Lebanon. The author has family members in Lebanon who support Shi'a-sponsored terrorism targeting "infidels," including Americans, in Lebanon. A basic premise of the article is that the Shi'a population in Lebanon is a cohesive unit and the majority of its members are loyal to the religious leaders of the Shi'a community. The first section of the article describes why the Shi'a community moved toward more militant actions to achieve its perceived goals within Lebanon's fractious social and political system. The author then focuses on the religious factors that influence a segment of the Shi'a community identified as zealots to participate in terrorist organizations. The basic premise here is that these individuals are motivated more by their perception of receiving spiritual
fulfillment through their actions than by a desire to achieve political goals. The author polled members of various Shi’a organizations in Lebanon and the results of the polls are listed in 18 tables. Table seven shows that 56 of 100 religiously motivated terrorist attacks that occurred in Lebanon between 1978 and 1987 were perpetrated within 40 days of the end of Ashura, a Shi’a holiday that commemorates the martyrdom of Imam Hussein in 680 A.D. Table eight shows that seven out of eight religiously-motivated suicide terrorist attacks that took place in Lebanon between 1978 and 1987 occurred within 40 days of the end of Ashura. Tables 13 through 15 show that Shi’a youth are particularly susceptible to the influence of militant religious leaders and provide the primary recruitment base for religiously motivated terrorism in Lebanon.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Lebanon


This article is a critical analysis of the problems currently challenging policymakers of the twelve nations of the European Community (EC) in developing unified counterterrorism policies. The author discusses why the EC needs a multinational antiterrorist unit that would draw upon the resources of each of the member nations. He describes how national perceptions of the terrorist threat have so far precluded a consensus for the creation of such a unit. The author uses the 1987 car bombing of a British military facility in Reindahlen, Germany by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) terrorist group to emphasize how terrorists take advantage of weaknesses in border controls and poor government cooperation on restricting the movement of terrorists between two European countries. Terrorist groups from one European country often have been successful in establishing safehouses in a neighboring country and have used these bases to plan terrorist attacks. Schiller then provides an in-depth examination of the evolution of Germany’s counterterrorist and antiterrorist policies in the 1960s and 1970s. The Bundeskriminalamt (BKA), Germany’s Federal Bureau of Investigation, did not begin to take international
terrorism seriously until after the tragic terrorist attack on Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics. However, even after that, BKA's response to the Red Army Faction, one of Germany's most dangerous terrorist groups, has been weakened by its failure to disrupt that group's international connections. The final four sections of the chapter discuss what has and has not been done within the European Community to promote a community-wide counterterrorism strategy. The author describes the informal intelligence network known as TREVI. This is a quasi-official organization operating in all twelve EC countries to share information on domestic terrorism, radical political groups, civil disturbances, and international terrorism. Stressing the need for European leaders to educate the public on terrorism, the author posits that once Europeans come to perceive terrorism as a form of low-intensity conflict threatening to their democratic governments, they will support the establishment of multinational counterterrorism and antiterrorism programs. The final section focuses on nuclear terrorism. The U.S. Nuclear Emergency Search Group, a quick-reaction force specializing in reacting to nuclear terrorism, is praised by the author. The EC, although faced with a more serious terrorist problem than the United States, has not yet established a unified strategy for coping with a possible nuclear threat by terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe; international relations; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; law enforcement; nuclear weapons


The book begins by identifying certain common elements in widely used definitions of terrorism. These include the use or threat of violence, unpredictability or randomness of terrorist acts, picking a symbolic target, striving for publicity, and having political goals. Terrorism, according to the author, represents one of the most advanced forms of warfare because it exploits high technology, particularly advances in communications, transportation, and weaponry to attain mobility, destructiveness of attacks, and global publicity. It thus
represents the latest element in international relations, particularly in the repertoire of techniques that states use to interact with one another and a new way in which superpowers compete. The author believes that terrorism is unlikely to diminish or disappear in the near future, and that it will persist as part of international politics. The United Nations and international law will remain ineffective measures to combat terrorism as long as nation-states continue to have conflicting interests. As the ability of targeted states to prevent or manage terrorist attacks improves, terrorists will always adapt to find new vulnerable areas to attack. Prospective terrorist targets are nuclear facilities, electric power plants, oil transport facilities, water supplies, biological and chemical weapons laboratories, and communications networks. Terrorists will continue to employ "simple" equipment and materiel that are already at their disposal, despite high technology weapons and targets that are becoming available to them. Terrorism will remain a violent feature of the international system, with no lasting remedies on the horizon, because targets remain abundant and vulnerable, with the media always providing publicity for terrorist acts.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; international relations; technology; media; international relations; state sponsorship; international law; counterterrorism; future trends


This reference source is divided into four main parts: a collection of essays on various aspects of terrorism, a narrative review of literature on terrorism, a selected bibliography of terrorism-related works, and a world directory of terrorist and other organizations associated with guerrilla warfare, political violence, and protest. Part one contains essays by recognized authorities on various aspects of terrorism. Essays are grouped into three sections on "definitions," "typologies," and "theories." Part two contains two sections reviewing databases and literature on terrorism. Part three consists of a bibliography containing 5,831 separate entries.
covering the world-wide literature on terrorism. Part four consists of a directory of significant terrorist organizations worldwide.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; counterterrorism; guerrilla warfare; low-intensity conflict; future trends; U.S. Government policy


Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; Europe


The author's thesis is that foreigners are playing a role in the escalation of terrorism in the former Soviet Union. The foreign terrorists include Arab "students" living in St. Petersburg, and the Lebanese-based Islamic Jihad, both of which oppose Russia's new pro-Israel stance. The rise of militant Islamic groups in the former Soviet republics of Central Asia also poses a potential anti-Russian terrorist threat.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Russia; future trends


This study evaluates various methods of negotiating with terrorists and the no-negotiation policy of the United States. Two factors are said to influence the success of such policies in deterring future terrorism: the government must be consistent in using its policy; and the government must continually publicize what it will do in the future.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy

The author conducted extensive research on cooperation between officials of the Syrian and Iranian governments from 1982 to 1985 that involved providing assistance to Lebanese-based Islamic terrorist groups, including Hezbollah, Amal Islami, and al-Da’awa. The author believes that Sayeed Ali Akbar Mohtashami, who was the Iranian ambassador to Syria in those years, was Iran’s overseer of terrorist operations. Segal describes Mohtashami as one of the most influential anti-American officials in Iran's government and warns that he could use his power to gain support for future Iran-sponsored terrorist attacks on U.S. interests.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Middle East


This book is the result of research conducted at the Australian National University between 1984-1985. Part one of the book focuses on international trends in terrorist attacks against diplomatic missions and the efforts of governments to develop effective counterterrorism programs to protect embassies. Part two examines how the Australian government has responded to the threat. Chapter four entitled "Counterterrorism and International Protected Persons" includes an evaluation of the U.S. Government’s counterterrorism and antiterrorism programs. The U.S. Department of State’s Antiterrorism Assistance Program is credited with having facilitated international cooperation on antiterrorism among the 32 participating nations, including Australia. The book provides a good assessment of the limitations all governments face in predicting when and where terrorists will strike next. The fact that 95 percent of terrorist attacks on diplomats occur off embassy premises is said to highlight the difficulty of the problem.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy
Sessions, William S. "Statement of William S. Sessions, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Before an Open Session of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, April 21, 1993." Washington; United States Congress, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Documents Collection, April 1993. [Call Number: Not in LC]

In this transcript, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Sessions presents the FBI's current assessment of the terrorist threat. The potential terrorist threat to U.S. national security depends on a number of variables, such as developments in foreign policy around the world, a decrease or increase in state support of terrorism, and changes occurring in the world order. Historically, world events have had a significant impact on the terrorist threat inside the United States. Situations such as developments in the former Yugoslavia or the status of the Middle East peace talks may become a catalyst for a terrorist incident. Also, individuals associated with extremist causes and/or extremist beliefs may opt to engage in terrorist activities. Furthermore, whereas in recent years there has been no significant state-sponsored terrorist activity in the United States, this could change if countries that sponsor terrorism decide to include terrorism within U.S. borders on their agenda. However, the United States has been effective in developing a hostile environment for terrorists. A continual flow of information concerning persons or groups who have espoused acts of violence against the United States has in the past enabled U.S. law enforcement agencies to prevent planned acts of terrorism on U.S. soil. With regard to the World Trade Center bombing, this incident should in no way be construed as a prelude to a wave of terrorism in the United States. Continued success in combating terrorism will be accomplished through cooperative efforts with the FBI's counterparts in the U.S. intelligence and law enforcement communities and comparable foreign services.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; United States; counterrorism; law enforcement; future trends; U.S. Government policy

The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) outlined the FBI’s counterterrorist mission in this speech delivered in February 1990 to the National Strategy Forum in Chicago. In 1982 the FBI was designated as the coordinating agency for all U.S. Government programs targeting domestic terrorism. Sessions defines domestic terrorist groups as follows: "domestic terrorist groups operate entirely within the United States and normally receive no foreign support." Since 1982 the FBI’s counterterrorism mission has received the same level of attention as other traditional missions targeting organized crime, foreign intelligence agents, and white-collar crime. The counterterrorism roles of two elite FBI units—the Hostage Rescue Team and the Disaster Squad—are discussed. Legislation passed by the U.S. Congress in 1984 and 1986 authorized the FBI for the first time to operate in foreign countries in investigations of terrorists who had perpetrated attacks on Americans. In his conclusions Sessions describes U.S. Government policies that aim to further improve Washington’s cooperation with foreign governments on counterterrorism.

Keyword(s): Counterterrorism; definition; U.S. Government policy

Sigmund, Paul E. "Christianity and Violence: The Case of Liberation Theology," Terrorism and Political Violence [London], 3, No. 4, Winter 1991, 63-79. [Call Number: Not in LC]

In the late 1960s a form of Christian radicalism known as liberation theology emerged in Latin America that argued that Latin America’s ills were caused by dependent capitalism, and that Latin America could be liberated only by a socialist revolution. Liberation theology had a direct impact on Central America in the 1970s because it justified the alliance of Christians and Marxists in attempting to overthrow repressive regimes in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Under Pope John Paul II, the Vatican has been critical of liberation theology’s borrowings from Marxism and its implied endorsement of violence; however, a moderate version that stresses the organization of the poor into Christian base communities has been more favorably received. Partly as a result of Vatican pressure and partly as a result of a generalized disillusionment of the Latin American left with violence as a means for
social change, liberation theologians today have moved away from their earlier infatuation with revolution. Instead, they argue for a fuller democracy that is aware of "the preferential option for the poor."

Keyword(s): low-intensity conflict; revolution; religious aspects

Simon Jeffrey D. "Misunderstanding Terrorism," *Foreign Policy* [New York], 67, No. 3, March 1987, 104-120. [Call Number: E744.F75]

The author criticizes U.S. Government policymakers who describe all terrorist attacks on U.S. interests as threats to national security. Simon believes that the Cold War with the Soviet Union influenced President John Kennedy and each of his successors through Ronald Reagan to provide the American public with unrealistic assurances about the capability of the U.S. Government to address and counter several types of political violence in the world, including terrorism. Simon suggests that future U.S. Presidents would better serve U.S. interests by not identifying as crises spectacular terrorist incidents involving U.S. citizens. The author believes that aircraft hijackings and kidnappings should not be perceived as actual threats to national security. Simon also cautions U.S. policymakers against classifying terrorism as a type of war. The following points are stressed in the concluding pages of the article. It is impossible for the U.S. Government to design a counterterrorist strategy that is universally applicable to the hundreds of groups that use terrorism worldwide. The interests of the United States will be adequately protected if the U.S. Government designs a counterterrorist strategy that focuses on the use of intelligence sharing with allies and diplomatic solutions for low-level terrorist incidents. When terrorism actually threatens U.S. national security, or the national security of a friendly foreign country, it will be appropriate for the U.S. Government to describe the threat as a crisis and adopt a high profile in countering the threat. However, Simon urges future U.S. presidents and their advisers to keep the terrorism problem in perspective and to avoid alarming the U.S. public and the world unless the situation clearly necessitates such action.
Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; intelligence; international relations


The monograph discusses the likelihood and implications of future use of biological agents by terrorists. It identifies constraints that might inhibit terrorists from resorting to biological weapons and factors that might impel them toward that type of warfare. It also establishes characteristics for identifying the types of terrorist groups that are likely to use biological weapons. Biological weapons are of interest to terrorist groups because they represent new ways of threatening or inflicting violence, they produce more casualties than conventional attacks, and have the potential to undermine a country's economy or to inflict heavy casualties on a military force. Terrorists may be reluctant to use biological weapons because they are unfamiliar with the use of such weapons, some of their basic constituencies would be alienated by such an attack, and governments would retaliate by completely destroying these groups. Nevertheless, some terrorist groups might be inclined to use biological weapons to generate intense publicity for their cause. Potential users of biological weapons are likely to exhibit such characteristics as a constituency that would not object to this type of attack, a previous record of highly lethal attacks, a sophistication in weaponry or tactics, and a willingness to undertake risky attacks. To counter such attacks, the author recommends improving intelligence gathering about terrorist group strategies and capabilities.

Keyword(s): terrorism; biological weapons; United States; counterterrorism; intelligence; future trends


Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; United States; U.S. Government policy

The article consists of an interview with James R. Locher III, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict (SO/LIC), in which he discusses the new U.S. approach in fighting "tomorrow's war." According to Locher, the threat of terrorism will continue to be prevalent, with terrorists becoming more sophisticated. Insurgencies will proliferate in many parts of the Third World, accompanied by other forms of instability such as military coups. With the end of the Cold War and the breakdown of the former Soviet Union, guerrilla groups are now looking to new sources of political and financial support, according to Locher.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; future trends


The article discusses the impact of the changes taking place in the early 1990s in the regimes of the formerly communist Soviet Union and Eastern Europe on the future direction of Middle Eastern terrorist groups, their former clients. These changes include the loss for terrorist groups and state sponsors of the terrorism of valuable patron states outside the Middle East, an increase in anarchy by Middle Eastern terrorist groups, and, with this anarchy, an increase in targeting of many external and regional governments. The author concludes that the full extent of the collapse of formerly communist security services still needs to be probed in light of their previous support of Middle Eastern terrorist groups; that one of the unforeseen development is a diminished capability by the reorganized formerly communist security services to keep a tab on their former terrorist clients; and, finally, that with the loss of the former communist sponsors there is now a greater reliance by these terrorist groups on their radical Arab sponsors as well as the remaining communist states of China, North Korea, and Cuba.
Keyword(s): terrorism; future trends; Middle East; Soviet Union; Eastern Europe; state sponsorship


This book compiles revised papers delivered at a conference on international terrorism held in December 1985 and sponsored by the Defense Academic Research Support Program, U.S. Department of Defense. Issues addressed include psychological and ideological factors and the group dynamics of terrorist organizations, goals and objectives of terrorists, the state of research and information gathering on terrorism, terrorist support mechanisms, state-sponsored terrorism, avenues for state response, and future trends. The final chapter on future trends concludes that there is little to suggest major innovations in tactics. The tactics of terrorists appear to be evolutionary but not highly innovative—those that work well tend to be pursued and imitated and innovations will occur when needed.

Keyword(s): terrorism; psychological aspects; state sponsorship; future trends; counterterrorism


The author believes that terrorism will increasingly become a national security threat in the United States and abroad. This article discusses several groups that Sloane suggests should be the focal point for U.S. policymakers in developing their counterterrorism programs. At least three types of groups could, in the future, attempt to destabilize political institutions in the United States. These are new U.S. immigrants who perceive they are being denied the "American dream"; well-established foreign terrorist groups that are anti-American; and single-issue groups with racial, social, or political agendas. Any future terrorist group with the resolve to carry out terrorism in the United States could, in the opinion of
the author, opt to use mass terrorism with chemical or nuclear weapons, or choose to target the industrial infrastructure of the United States. Power plants and communication links are particularly vulnerable terrorist targets. Sloane suggests that existing terrorist groups and their support groups are vulnerable to penetration by agents loyal to the U.S. Government. "The ability to establish counterorganizations will also be enhanced by the growth of apolitical terrorist bands that may represent a new and frightening service industry. The U.S. intelligence community has the opportunity to penetrate such groups and to create its own organizations to attract and apprehend the new mercenaries and their employers." Once a terrorist group has been successfully penetrated, U.S. agents should be trained to use psychological operations to break down the ideological and organizational unity of its members. Sloane calls on U.S. policymakers to formulate a counterterrorism doctrine that clearly defines the responsibilities of the civilian and military agencies assigned counterterrorism missions.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; future trends


This book is a comparative study of counterterrorism efforts in Canada, Britain, and the United States. The author's perspective tends to be Canada-centered, with a disproportionate amount of discussion devoted to Canada's counterterrorism experience in comparison with British and U.S. counterterrorist policies and practices. The focus is retrospective, with particular attention given to counterterrorism during the 1970s and 1980s. Except in connection with general recommendations, there is relatively little discussion of future trends. The vulnerability to terrorism of Canada, Britain, and the United States is aggravated by the liberal democratic character of their societies, which makes them "soft" targets for terrorist acts. In developing policies toward terrorism, Canada, the United States and Britain have been consistent, clear, and firm in regard to their policy of no concessions, international cooperation, and the rule of law. With certain arguable exceptions, notably involved with the no-concessions principle, the three nations
maintained that posture through the 1970s and into the 1980s. Inherent with the rule of law, however, is the philosophy of use of force. It calls for a minimum application of force unless resort to the maximum cannot be avoided. In 1984 the US departed from that philosophy by endorsing the conduct of preemptive strikes and reprisal raids against terrorists abroad. Implicit within the change in policy direction was the use of military force to carry out the actions. Terrorism, especially of a state-sponsored nature, was described as "a weapon of unconventional war against democratic societies."

Keyword(s): Counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; Britain; Canada


Keyword(s): international relations; low-intensity conflict; future trends

Sobieck, Stephen M. "Democratic Responses to Revolutionary Terrorism: A Comparative Study of Great Britain, Italy and West Germany." (Ph.D. Dissertation.). Claremont, CA: Claremont Graduate School, 1990. [Call Number: Not in LC]

The author examined the effects of terrorist attacks on the democratic political systems of three West European countries and concluded that while terrorism is a nuisance, it does not pose a credible threat to national security in any of the three countries. The greatest cost to society is the loss of freedoms by citizens, linked to the security policies of their governments. This loss of freedom often causes dissatisfaction that may be a contributing factor to the demise of the political leaders responsible for the counterterrorism policy. However, Sobieck concludes that restrictions on civil liberties provide the best defense against terrorists and are necessary to control the movement of known terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Europe; counterterrorism

Europe's well-publicized march toward a single economic market in 1992 and a borderless Europe has created concerns in the United States about the potential impact of the Single European Act on increasing terrorism and drug trafficking in the European Community (EC) as well as the movement of terrorists and drugs from Europe to the United States. This brief article discusses the security controls European nations will maintain in the post-1992 period. A number of EC organizations, including numerous committees and many working groups, are working on the multitude of security and related issues associated with EC 1992. In addition to terrorism and drugs, the groups are discussing a panoply of technical issues including the coordination of visa policies, immigration problems, extradition, international crime, cooperation among criminal justice authorities, and improved controls at external frontiers. Within the EC commissions and organizations, there appears to be a general agreement that the control of terrorists, criminals, and drug traffickers, as well as other problems, is exceedingly complex and will only be resolved by employing special compensatory control measures. There is some concern in the U.S. Government about aspects of the EC's plan to greatly strengthen security controls at the outer borders of the community. Because some of the nations that will protect the EC's external borders have less than efficient security in performing counterterrorism and counternarcotics duties, it can be assumed that terrorists and traffickers will attempt to penetrate the EC's outer borders at the weakest points. Should these borders be breached, the community could be faced with a serious terrorist threat, or terrorists could use the security failure to find their way to the United States. There is also concern about the newly emerging democracies of Eastern Europe and how the EC, in the process of strengthening its outer borders, will deal with those countries in conducting outer frontier checks. The decisions made by the EC concerning the control of terrorists, drug traffickers, and criminals in the EC will have a direct impact on Americans both in Europe and in the United States. A serious effort should be undertaken to develop a mechanism for consulting with the United
States on the form of the new security order in Europe and, in particular, what will be done to counter both drug traffickers and terrorists, common threats to both Americans and Europeans.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; Europe; international relations; law enforcement; future trends


The article examines the methodological problems involved in assessing the extent of state involvement in sponsoring or engaging in terrorism. It defines terrorism as a distinct term and terrorism and the state as a corporate term. A formula is proposed to establish when a state is acting in a terrorist manner. This includes such qualifications as motive, intention, and status of the perpetrator. The author concludes that the task of identifying a terrorist act is very complicated and difficult, and that a comprehensive definition of terrorism is "urgently required" for the term to be used effectively in academic discussion.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; state sponsorship


Keyword(s): International Relations; future trends


This essay provides a commentary on Secretary of State Schultz's statements recommending a more aggressive U.S. counterterrorism policy. The author argues that an important debate has been opened, but that public approval for more forceful antiterrorist measures should be
withheld until the Reagan administration devises a coherent counterterrorism policy.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


Peru has been held in the grip of the terrorist group Shining Path for the last 30 years. Now, with the conviction of its charismatic leader, Abimael Guzman, the guerillas' chances of seizing power in Peru have been fatally weakened. Nevertheless, Shining Path has destroyed democratic and constitutional government and cost the country billions of dollars in economic damage, with half the population living under a state of emergency. The guerilla war of the last 13 years caused the deaths of 30,000 people and rendered vast tracts of the country ungovernable. This study treats Shining Path as a key example of ideological terrorism. It examines Shining Path's roots and international links, while analyzing its destructive effects on Peru. The capture of Guzman probably means that Shining Path will never seize power in Peru. However, Shining Path remains structurally intact, and the violence has continued and will continue. In spite of free market reforms that have sparked wide optimism, it is very doubtful that President Alberto Fujimori will be able to comply with his boast that terrorism will be vanquished by the supposed end of his term in office in July 1995.

Keyword(s): terrorism; low-intensity conflict; guerrilla warfare; Peru; narcoterrorism


Islamic terrorism is described by the author as one of five clearly distinct categories of terrorism, the other four being separatist (IRA, ETA), urban antiestablishment (Red Brigades, Red Army Faction), rural guerrilla (Shining Path) and publicity seeking (PFLP). Islamic terrorist groups such as Jihad and Hizbollah are viewed as radical organizations that, while dangerous, are in decline in the
Islamic community. Members of Islamic terrorist groups are primarily motivated by a fanatical desire to obtain power or die by the sword and their concept that terrorism is "holy war." Individuals who became terrorists in the 1970s and early 1980s were primarily influenced by events such as the victory of Islamic fundamentalists in seizing power in Iran. However, the author believes the momentum that influenced the growth of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East and elsewhere has weakened and he predicts that moderate Islamic regimes will be less fearful of militant organizations in their countries in the future. Taheri maintains that moderate leaders, who may be Muslims, will rule their countries with a desire to allow more individual freedom of religion; these leaders are likely to promote improved relations with the West. When this occurs Taheri believes Islamic terrorist groups will have much smaller support groups.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Middle East; future trends


This article contains interviews with four former directors of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Richard Helms, James Schlesinger, William Colby, and Stansfield Turner, on the issue of appropriate and effective U.S. measures to combat terrorism. The former directors argue that the United States should move vigorously and effectively to oppose terrorism but not adopt assassination as an instrument of policy. The interviewees also agree that U.S. hostage rescue and antiterrorist capabilities should be improved by increasing coordination between the armed forces counterterrorist units and the CIA.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; intelligence; low-intensity conflict

Keyword(s): international relations; U.S. Government policy; future trends


This book examines how the United States has responded to hostage-taking situations since the 1979 takeover of the U.S. embassy in Iran. The author defines terrorism as, "the threat or use of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority, when such actions are intended to shock, stun, or intimidate a target group wider than the the immediate victims." A terrorist is defined as "an individual or member of a group that wishes to achieve political ends using violent means, often at the cost of casualties to innocent civilians and with the support of only a minority of the people they represent." Chapter two focuses on the 1985 Achille Lauro hijacking in Genoa to illustrate the effectiveness of the U.S. policy of using whatever resources are required to apprehend terrorists who have held Americans hostage. Taylor views the interception of the aircraft carrying the four Palestinian terrorists who hijacked the Achille Lauro and killed one American citizen on that ship, and the decision to turn the terrorists over to the Italian government for prosecution as a turning point in the Reagan administration's policy of encouraging foreign governments to promulgate laws for denying terrorists safe havens after terrorist attacks not directly affecting their interests. In chapter fifteen, the author criticizes the Reagan administration's 1986 decision to negotiate a clandestine deal with Iran to obtain the release of Americans held hostage in Lebanon by Iranian-supported terrorist groups. Taylor points out that more Americans were kidnapped after Washington began negotiations with Tehran and the credibility of U.S. counterterrorism policies was jeopardized for several years after the exchange of arms for hostages. Taylor views international cooperation and carefully planned military strikes against terrorist organizations as essential to longstanding U.S. policies aimed at promoting democracy, free trade, and for demonstrating America's resolve to protect its citizens living abroad.

Keyword(s): Antiterrorism; policy; definition

This book looks from a psychological perspective at some of the issues related to violent politically extreme behavior. Focusing on terrorism, it discusses terrorism's conceptual base and reviews related psychological literature. It begins by examining the nature and scope of terrorism. A more individual perspective is then introduced by considering the roles of mental illness and fanaticism in explaining terrorism. Social and psychological generalizations about terrorism are reviewed, and individual accounts of particular terrorists are discussed. Finally, alternative ways of conceptualizing terrorism are presented in terms of psychological and behavioral analyses, emphasizing the role of the context and consequences of terrorism in sustaining and developing terrorist behavior.

Keyword(s): terrorism; psychological aspects


Keyword(s): international relations; future trends


Several religious, cultural, and ideological factors are viewed as preventing international agreement on a definition of terrorism and the effective promulgation of international covenants that would provide uniform standards for prosecuting terrorists. The United States and other predominantly Christian countries have clearly codified laws that are intended to protect the human rights of all persons. The author believes that whereas radical Islamic nations justify the protection of the rights of Muslims, they often approve of the use of terrorism against non-Muslims. As long as these different views exist, subnational groups that practice terrorism will continue to take advantage of the situation.
Keyword(s): terrorism; international relations; legal aspects

"Terrorism Impact on Transportation Examined" Counter-Terrorism [Bethesda, MD]. June 9, 1986, 6. [Call Number: HV6432.C67]

This article assesses the U.S. public’s fear of terrorism. It observes that many Americans believe that the U.S. Government cannot deter terrorist attacks inside the United States, particularly attacks perpetrated against airlines. The editors of Counter-Terrorism suggest that the U.S. Government needs to augment its existing programs for informing the public about its efforts to improve security at airports and its other counterterrorism programs.

Keyword(s): terrorism; aviation; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


This brief commentary by a former Deputy Assistant Attorney General examines new types of legal action and law enforcement procedures being used to combat terrorism. The Department of Justice has developed U.S. counterterrorism policies in three main areas: antiterrorist laws, extradition treaties, and apprehension of suspected terrorists overseas. These measures have allowed the United States to extend jurisdiction beyond its borders in cases involving terrorism against U.S. citizens. The author concludes that these measures have helped deter further terrorism against U.S. citizens.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; law enforcement; U.S. Government policy; international relations

Turbiville, Graham H., and Harold S. Orenstein. "Drugs and Terror: Eastern European and Transnational Security
Threats," Military Review [Fort Leavenworth, KS], 71, December 1991, 57-68. [Call Number: Not in LC]

This article points out the way in which Eastern European nations are faced with a restructuring of their armed forces amid a growing threat from terrorism, narcotics trafficking, and organized crime. It also discusses some of the initiatives taken to combat these growing transnational security threats. More open borders, the disruption and reorganization of security and law enforcement agencies and a growing array of highly mobile international criminals seeking new opportunities and vast profits threaten to undermine state institutions struggling to achieve some measure of stability and effectiveness. Longstanding and newly energized ethnic and national tensions have heightened the potential for politically motivated violence throughout Eastern Europe. Added to this is the emergence of profit-oriented organized crime throughout the region and its involvement in weapons sales and the procurement and sale of embargoed items (chemical, nuclear, and bacteriological). Despite continuing programs to deal with the destabilizing potential of planned and random armed violence and with the rapidly developing problem of narcotics trafficking and organized crime, the gap between criminal success and law enforcement effectiveness is widening at an alarming rate. Carefully considered Western assistance to Eastern European law enforcement, security, and military establishments mounting sustained efforts against transnational threats may directly advance the interests of countries within and outside the region, including the United States.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; Eastern Europe; narcoterrorism; law enforcement; low-intensity conflict; future trends


The author, a former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, analyzes the ways in which U.S. societal values determine its response to terrorism, by focusing on actual presidential responses to terrorist threats. He takes into account limitations imposed on counterterrorism by the democratic system which may have prevented resorting to
certain kinds of solutions. The concluding chapter offers an assessment of U.S. counterterrorism policy under President Ronald Reagan, and a set of recommendations for future U.S. policy. He writes that it is ironic that President Reagan left office with a legacy of a proactive strategy towards terrorism, when he was able to employ only one of six proactive measures—a punitive military attack against Libya—and not the remaining steps, which he lists as assassination, covert action, rescue operations, improved intelligence, and media restraint. Admiral Turner’s own views are that assassinations are not an appropriate or effective counterterrorist tactic; that punitive military attacks should be used sparingly; that covert actions should be undertaken, but only carefully; that rescue operations are a valid measure but are highly risky; that improved human intelligence is difficult to achieve; that self-restraint is the most that can be expected of the media; that economic sanctions are a preferable course of action against state sponsors of terrorism; that defensive security is not likely to receive sufficient attention or money from federal agencies; that deals with terrorists are an option that cannot be ruled out; and, finally, that the legal option is most compatible with American democratic values. He concludes that the United States must be concerned about nuclear terrorism in the future, particularly when states that support terrorism, such as Libya and Iraq, also aim to acquire nuclear capabilities. Other future trends include the disintegration of certain intelligence services that supported terrorism as a result of the breakup of communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. As a consequence, terrorist groups and state sponsors no longer are able to rely on those relationships, and there is greater interdependence among nations because of their perception that terrorism can no longer be tolerated.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; intelligence; U.S. Government policy; nuclear weapons; state sponsorship; future trends

The report presents an overview of the state of research and development into technologies that can be used in countering terrorism. It covers research on explosives detectors, particularly as applied to airport security; protection against chemical and biological attacks; physical security; dissemination of relevant data; and incident response capability. It also assesses the degree of coordination among United States agencies involved in the counterterrorism effort. Its principal findings are that the Technical Support Working Group (TSWG), the research and development (R&D) subcommittee of the Policy Coordinating Committee on Terrorism (PCC/T) is the only interagency coordinating group for antiterrorism; however, its continued effectiveness is in danger because of budgetary cutbacks. Low or inconsistent funding threatens some promising areas of work in counterterrorist technologies. It is inadvisable at present to require the mass acquisition of thermal neutron analysis (TNA) devices for installation at airports. Testing protocols must be established for the Federal Aviation Agency's (FAA) proposed Explosives Detection Systems (EDS); and, finally, to solve problems in airline security not only technical equipment but a comprehensive systems approach using available technologies are required.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; future trends; U.S. Government policy


Keyword(s): terrorism; technology; future trends


This publication is a compilation of nine speeches delivered at the Conference on New Trends in Science and Technology: Implications for International Peace and Security held in Sendai, Japan in April 1990. The array of new technologies available to defense planners and law
enforcement officials are also being obtained by terrorists and nations that could use them in the future. Alan Shaw, manager of the International Security and Commerce Program, U.S. Congress Office of Technology Assessment, summarizes the problem this way: "Terrorists have an inherent advantage over those who try to stop them. Any advantage technology gives them just magnifies that advantage. Recent events such as the sabotage of Pan Am flight 103 and the murder of the Chairman of the Deutsche Bank demonstrate that terrorists can still operate with impunity. Committing an act of terrorism takes one cheap device; stopping acts of terrorism takes increasingly sophisticated and costly machines and operations, and many of them. Whenever technology allows the terrorist to countermeasure the counter-terrorist machines, it causes the expenditure of large sums." Two points were made throughout the Conference. First, when government officials are planning for the weapons their armed forces will need in the future, they should also consider implications to their own country's defense if another country or group obtains the same weapon. Second, as the international community is becoming more integrated it is increasingly important for each nation to monitor what weapons and components for bombs and other devices are being sold to whom.

Keyword(s): terrorism; technology; future trends; counterterrorism


This volume is a compilation of hearings held by the Committee on Governmental Affairs from February 7-8, 1989. Prepared statements on the vulnerability of telecommunications in the United States to acts of terrorism were presented by federal and state officials who are proponents of more government and private resources to improve the security of vital telecommunication networks against various types of terrorist attacks. Several corporate representatives of power companies then briefed the committee on the status of their counterterrorism programs. Edward V. Badolato,
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Energy Emergencies for the Department of Energy, briefed the committee on existing procedures designed to handle emergency situations should a terrorist group target electric power plants anywhere in the United States.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


This report is based on hearings held on May 19 and September 15, 1988 before the Technology and the Law Subcommittee on the issue of technology and terrorism. Witnesses included Oliver Revell, Executive Assistant Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); L. Paul Bremer, Ambassador at Large for Counterterrorism at the Department of State; Robert Kupperman, terrorism expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; and James Woolsey, an expert in defense and security matters. At the outset, the subcommittee defined high technology terrorism as "the actual or potential use of advanced or sophisticated technology by terrorists to achieve their objectives." In his testimony, Revell outlined five options to combat terrorism, consisting of diplomacy, economic sanctions, covert operations, military intervention, and law enforcement action. He referred to high technology terrorist implements as consisting of "access to advanced communication devices, remote control instruments for detonating explosives, undetectable firearms or explosives, electronic surveillance devices and other such technology." He added that the threat of nuclear, chemical and biological terrorism are of particular concern, with the FBI already participating in multi-agency training exercises to deal with such sophisticated terrorist attacks. Another concern is the vulnerability of the U.S. infrastructure to terrorist attack, particularly against industries that produce vital goods and services such as telecommunications, transportation, electrical power, gas and oil, banking, finance, and government operations. Ambassador Bremer referred to another future terrorist target as the disruption of computer networks. Among new technologies
available to terrorist groups, Ambassador Bremer mentioned sophisticated batteries and integrated circuits to improve the timing devices used on bombs. The explosive Semtex is popular with groups that can gain access to it. Other potential threats include motorized hand gliders, frequency jamming equipment, nonmetallic polymer-made weapons, night vision devices and stand-off weapons such as mortars and rocket-propelled grenades, lasers, and high-powered microwave transmitters, and sophisticated photo reproduction equipment that can easily forge documents. While discounting a nuclear terrorist attack in the near future, he said that chemical terrorism is a more likely near-term threat. Kupperman and Woolsey discussed the potential terrorist threats of radiological attacks that would deny access to important buildings, massive killings, the disruption of the critical infrastructural networks of electrical and natural gas utilities, potable water, communications, electronic funds transfers, and military networks. They pointed out that chemical warfare agents can be obtained commercially, and can kill hundreds or thousands of people, whereas biological weaponry, which is also easily accessible, can kill tens to hundreds of thousands of people.

Keyword(s): terrorism; technology; future trends; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; United States


Keyword(s): terrorism; biological weapons; United States; antiterrorism; U.S. Government policy

United States. Congress. 100th, 1st Session. Senate. Committee on Government Responses to Terrorism. "Threat of Terrorism

The purposes of this hearing were twofold: to examine the effectiveness of the U.S. Government's counterterrorism strategy; and to define the future terrorist threat within the United States and the threat affecting U.S. citizens abroad. There was a consensus that the 1986 attack on terrorist bases in Libya by U.S. forces reduced Libya's involvement in international terrorism. Improved embassy security and international cooperation are seen as beneficial to the United States. The following questions on future trends were addressed by the Senators to the experts and U.S. Government officials who appeared at the hearing: Which terrorist groups pose the most likely future threat to the United States? Do current U.S. laws provide adequate levels of protection for U.S. citizens? What are U.S. Government agencies doing to improve the collection of intelligence on the activities of domestic and foreign-based terrorist groups?

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; future trends; intelligence


This publication includes the statements of current and former U.S. Government officials on the counterterrorism and antiterrorism programs of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Department of State, Federal Emergency Management Agency, Department of Defense, and Department of Justice. Neil Gallagher, Chief of the FBI's Counterterrorism Section, summarized the key aspects of his agency's counterterrorism program. The FBI is using newly enacted extraterritorial legislation to apprehend international terrorists who attack U.S. citizens in foreign countries and in international waters and airspace. Gallagher believes such action by the U.S. Government sends a message to terrorists that will reduce the number of attacks on Americans in the future. Grant C. Peterson of the Federal Emergency Management Agency describes how the 1991 Persian Gulf War enhanced the
awareness of local jurisdictions of the need to be prepared to respond to terrorist attacks inside the United States. Peterson outlines current Federal policies and programs designed to assist local governments in the event of a terrorist attack. L. Paul Bremer, former Ambassador at Large for Counterterrorism, Department of State, discussed U.S. preparations overseas in response to Iraqi-sponsored terrorism during the Persian Gulf War. The other officials discuss how the Department of Defense and the Department of Justice have identified and responded to specific incidents of terrorism overseas that have threatened U.S. interests.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; U.S. Government policy; law enforcement


This Senate Judiciary Committee report contains the text of S. 2465, a bill to provide a new civil cause of action in Federal law for international terrorism that provides extraterritorial jurisdiction over terrorist acts abroad against United States nationals. In addition to the proposed legislation, the Committee report contains statements of Committee members, testimonies of Committee witnesses, and supplementary material submitted to the Committee.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; legal aspects; international relations; international law; U.S. Government policy


This hearing examined seven bills before the United States Senate that were designed to strengthen the U.S. Government's counterterrorism capabilities. The two primary bills discussed in the statements of Reagan administration officials and experts concerned a proposal to invoke economic sanctions against state sponsors of
terrorism and the recommendation that terrorists who attack Americans in foreign countries be prosecutable in the United States.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; antiterrorism; U.S. Government policy


This House of Representatives Judiciary Committee report contains the texts of H.R. 3712, a bill to provide for grants under the Bureau of Justice Assistance to local governments for innovative antiterrorism plans for deep draft ports and international airports; H.R. 4288 a bill to amend Title 18, United States Code, to authorize prosecution of terrorists who attack United States nationals abroad; its corresponding Senate Act, S.1429; and H.R. 4294, a bill to amend Title 18 to provide additional tools for the battle against terrorism. In addition to the proposed legislation, the Committee report contains statements by Committee members, testimonies of Committee witnesses, and supplementary material submitted to the Committee.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; law enforcement; U.S. Government policy


This hearing was held to publicize congressional concerns about the adequacy of Department of Energy policies for the protection of nuclear weapons. Congressman Dingell, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, summarized these concerns in a letter to President Reagan that is the first document in this publication. The following problems are noted in this letter and discussed throughout the publication: current
security measures are inadequate for preventing an employee from carrying weapons onto the site; security guards are not properly equipped or trained to handle an armed attack by terrorists; classified information has been lost; and there appears to be no clear interagency plan for recovering a stolen nuclear weapon.

Keyword(s): terrorism; nuclear weapons; U.S. Government policy


Keyword(s): terrorism; nuclear weapons; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy


This report to the U.S. Senate's Governmental Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees describes the salient points of current U.S. Government interagency cooperation on combating terrorism in the United States. Summaries of the ten findings discussed in the chapters are: (Finding 1) interagency coordination for responding to chemical and biological terrorism is improving; (Finding 2) there are numerous problem areas in interagency communications about plans, research and training; (Finding 3) current or near-term technology could quickly lead to the manufacture and distribution of highly effective bomb detection equipment for use in U.S. airports; (Finding 4) interagency cooperation is needed to establish standards for boarding procedures at all U.S. airports and to develop a complete security system to be used by all airlines; (Finding 5) law enforcement agencies and airport security personnel should utilize existing technology for passenger profiling; (Finding 6) the Federal Aviation Agency should coordinate the effort to implement passenger
profiling; (Finding 7) legal issues related to passenger profiling should be carefully researched to guarantee the protection of civil liberties; (Finding 8) the U.S. Government should encourage foreign airlines to implement passenger profiling on flights bound for the United States; (Finding 9) the Federal Aviation Agency should coordinate research and development on bomb-proof cargo bays; (Finding 10) communication among the various research organizations of the Federal Aviation Agency should be improved. Chapter two of the study provides a survey of international terrorism. Chapter three discusses problems involved in international cooperation on counterterrorism. Chapters four and five discuss problems in airline security systems. Chapters six and seven discuss research being conducted on less-than-lethal weapons and other equipment that will provide law enforcement officials with new methods of coping with terrorist attacks.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; technology; research and development; aviation; international relations; law enforcement


This report summary contains the five major findings of the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment's (OTA) second study of U.S. Government efforts in counterterrorism research and development (R&D). The study finds that: first, the downward spiral in the funding of efforts of the Technical Support Working Group (TSWG), a grantor office within the Department of State that supports counterterrorism R&D, has had a significant deleterious effect on counterterrorism R&D. Second, if it is decided that the threat of terrorism is more significant than indicated by the fraction of current military and other security-related R&D expenditures devoted to counterterrorist technologies, this would argue for an increase in resources. Third, requiring the mass acquisition of thermal neutron analysis devices for installation at airports at this time is inadvisable. Fourth, testing protocols for the Federal Aviation Administration's proposed Explosives Detection System need
to be established. Any acceptance test that will lead to mandated acquisition and use of a given device ought to use a testing procedure that is credible and acceptable. Fifth, solving airline security problems will require not only technical equipment but a systems approach that makes intelligent use of the technologies available. Immediate attention should be given to developing combined approaches to airline security that could be applied with current or nearly current technologies as soon as possible.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; research and development; technology; U.S. Government policy


The 1991 edition of the FBI's official report on terrorism in the United States was cautiously optimistic about the declining rate of domestic terrorism in the United States. There were five incidents: four were committed in Puerto Rico by terrorist groups that are proponents of independence from the United States; and one targeted an Internal Revenue Service office in California. A suspect was arrested in the latter case. The report notes that FBI and other law enforcement agencies have been successful over the past ten years in preventing international terrorist groups from carrying out a terrorist attack in the United States. However, the report states that future trends are unpredictable and notes nuclear terrorism as a major area of concern. FBI policies on dealing with a possible future attack on nuclear power and nuclear weapons facilities are discussed. Each FBI field office that has a nuclear facility within its jurisdiction is required to establish memoranda of agreement with the Department of Energy or Nuclear Regulatory Commission on interagency cooperation in the event of a terrorist attack. The report states that the FBI, other federal agencies including the Department of Defense, and local agencies hold regularly scheduled meetings to evaluate and improve planning for the U.S. Government's response to a terrorist attack on a nuclear facility. Although Libya and other state-sponsors of terrorism have not been
responsible for terrorism in the United States in the past
decade, the unstable political situation in the Middle
East has not changed and the FBI is attempting to monitor
foreign-based terrorist groups to deter any future plan to
perpetrate an attack in the United States.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; nuclear weapons;
Middle East; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy

United States. Department of State. Office of the Ambassador at
Large for Counterterrorism. "Iran’s Use of International
Terrorism," Department of State Bulletin [Washington],
88, January 1988, 50-53. [Call Number: JX 232.A33 LAW]

This paper and the chronology document Iranian support
for, and active use of, international terrorism as well as
responses to Iranian terrorism by Tunisia, France, the
United Kingdom, and the United States. The categories of
documented terrorist incidents include kidnappings in
Lebanon, assassinations of anti-Khomeini Iranian
dissidents, attacks against Arab and Islamic interests,
attacks on peacekeeping forces, embassy bombings, airline
hijackings, and bombings in Europe.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Iran; state sponsorship; Islamic
groups; Middle East; counterterrorism; Europe; U.S.
Government policy

United States. Senate. Committee on Governmental Affairs.
Countermeasures Against Terrorism: The Federal Effort.
Number: In Process]

The publication is a hearing before the Senate Committee
on Governmental Affairs on the subject of U.S. Government
efforts to combat terrorism, held on February 26, 1991.
It focuses on the role of technology in both increasing
the destructiveness of modern terrorism and in offering
tools to reduce the risks and effects of terrorist
attacks. Witnesses at the hearing included Tony Fainberg
of the Office of Technology Assessment; Ambassador Morris
Busby, Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism, Department of
State; Lynne Osmus, Acting Director, Policy and Planning,
Office of Civil Aviation Security, Federal Aviation
Administration; Ken Nimmich, Federal Bureau of
Investigation; and Tony Cantu, U.S. Secret Service.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; U.S. Government
policy

Vercher Noguera, Antonio. Antiterrorismo en el Ulster y en el
País Vasco: Legislacion y Medidas. [Antiterrorism in
Ulster and the Basque Country: Legislation and Measures].
Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias,

In this book, the author develops a comparative study of
special antiterrorism legislation in Britain and Spain. An
analysis is made of various special measures to combat
terrorism, such as detention, the use of informants, the
use of agents provocateurs, administrative internment, and
deportation. Special attention is devoted to analyzing the
"exceptional" characteristics of antiterrorism laws, as
well as their history and their effects on "ordinary"
criminal law beyond the realm of antiterrorism. This study
also develops an analysis of the political and social
contexts that produce special antiterrorism measures, and
compares these measures to comparable antiterrorism laws
in other European Community countries.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; legal aspects; Europe

Vercher, Antonio. Terrorism in Europe: An International
Comparative Legal Analysis. New York: Oxford University

Keyword(s): terrorism; legal aspects; Europe

Ward, Richard H., and Ahmed Galal Ezeldin (eds.). International
Responses to Terrorism: New Initiatives. Chicago:
University of Illinois at Chicago, Office of International
Criminal Justice, 1990. [Call Number: HV 6431 .I547 1990]

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; international
relations

The aim of this book is to outline the important policy considerations that confront a democratic state in trying to combat terrorism and at the same time remain democratic. Part one attempts to provide a comprehensive introduction to the definition, history, theory, operation and effects of terrorism as an essential background to policy analysis. Part two analyzes counterterrorist policies. It begins by outlining basic policy choices and then looks at specific policy areas such as the role of intelligence agencies, the use of the armed forces, the development of antiterrorist legislation and international treaties, and the issue of regulation of media reporting of terrorist incidents. Developments in the strategic dimension of terrorism are discussed in chapters on the importance of hostage taking to international terrorism and issues surrounding state involvement in international terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; theoretical aspects; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; international law; international relations; media


Part one of this book comprises four scholarly essays that attempt to clarify why the actions of terrorists are illegitimate when compared to other types of armed conflict between states and opposition groups, or one group against another group. Chapter two, entitled "Reflections on Terrorism and Violence" by Anthony Quinton, defines state terrorism as officially sanctioned violence against the nonviolent, whether they are citizens of that state or foreigners. Chapter three, entitled "Some Observations on the Relationships Between Terrorism and Freedom" by Paul Wilkinson, examines the goals of terrorist groups. Wilkinson defines terrorism as "the deliberate and systematic use of coercive intimidation to create a climate of extreme fear among a wider target group than the immediate victims of the violence." The author identifies the following as goals common to all groups
that use terrorism: the intention to create extreme fear; the targeting of symbolic targets; the desire to influence a targeted audience; the use of extreme methods of violence; and the desire to exploit others through terrorism. Chapter four, entitled "Terrorists or Freedom Fighters" by David George, makes the following distinction between these two groups. Freedom fighters attempt to obtain legitimacy by belonging to a revolutionary group. While there are legitimate revolutionary groups, these groups often use violence against noncombatants. When they do so, they become terrorists. George distinguishes terrorist groups from freedom fighters in this way: "Freedom fighters may be distinguished by the end they pursue, freedom, while terrorists can be defined by the means they employ, terror." In chapter five, entitled "Terrorism: Historical Roots and Moral Justifications," Robert Phillips argues that whereas terrorist groups claim to be fighting to change an unjust social system, no terrorist group has ever been successful in destabilizing a democratic political system. Phillips observes that most citizens of democracies would prefer to use nonviolent means to seek political changes and reject the methods of the terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; theoretical aspects


This book evaluates current U.S. Government policies and planning for a catastrophic disaster in the United States perpetrated by terrorists. It also discusses the laws, executive orders, and agencies that are responsible for responding to incidents of international terrorism outside the United States involving U.S. interests. Chapter five, entitled "Terrorism Policies and Programs in the United States," describes how the U.S. Government's past experiences with domestic terrorism, public resistance to direct citizen participation in civil defense planning, and the preoccupation of local law enforcement agencies with their primary missions have affected the implementation of current antiterrorist policies. The author compares the CIA and FBI definitions of terrorism to illustrate the difficulty the U.S. Government has in communicating to the public the nature of the terrorist threat to airports, public utilities, and other potential
targets in the United States. Waugh observes that few local governments in the United States have formulated policies and funded organizations that are prepared to respond to a major terrorist attack. New York City’s emergency management policy, which is monitored and maintained by the city’s Emergency Control Board, is described as a model for other cities in the United States. In chapter six. entitled "Managing Terrorism: Some Conclusions and Recommendations," the author assesses antiterrorism planning at the federal level as adequate; however he focuses attention on specific areas of concern such as offshore oil platforms. The author recommends designating one U.S. Government agency, possibly the Federal Emergency Management Agency, to have responsibility for designing, implementing, and monitoring the U.S. Government’s antiterrorism policies.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; definition

Webster, William. "New Challenges for Intelligence: The Problems of Terrorism and Narcotics," World Outlook [Hanover, HH], No. 8, Winter 1989, 162-72. [Call Number: D839.W5684]

Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) William H. Webster discusses recent improvements in intelligence collection, law enforcement, and international cooperation that, in his opinion, have improved the U.S. Government’s counterterrorism capabilities. Webster attributes the decrease in domestic terrorism in recent years to improvements in the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s (FBI) intelligence capabilities, particularly its use of new technologies, and predicts terrorist attacks in the United States will not be a major threat to national security in the future. However, international terrorism is increasing and is described by Webster as "more intense and widespread," U.S. citizens living and travelling abroad frequently are the targets of foreign-based terrorist groups and the U.S. Government is working to improve its counterterrorism programs to protect these Americans. For this purpose the CIA and other U.S. Government agencies involved with counterterrorism are attempting to improve their foreign collection of intelligence on terrorist groups and establish stronger links with foreign governments. The United States often provides timely information to foreign
governments on the movements of terrorists that leads to
the arrest of these individuals before a planned attack
can be carried out. Webster praises new U.S. laws that
have given the CIA and FBI more extraterritorial authority
for counterterrorist activities. The article also
describes the CIA's Counterterrorist Center which is
staffed by operations officers, analysts, engineers,
scientists, psychologists, weapons and explosives experts,
transportation, and support personnel. The mission of the
Counterterrorist Center is to conduct comprehensive
research on terrorist groups and their relations with
state sponsors in order to provide U.S. policymakers with
timely intelligence on trends in international terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; counterterrorism;
intelligence; U.S. Government policy; future trends

Weiman, Gabriel. "The Predictability of International Terrorism:
A Time-Series Analysis," Terrorism [Washington], No. 6,
June 1988, 491-502. [Call Number: HV6431.T46]

This article describes the usefulness of time-series
analysis for predicting future trends in international
terrorism. The Rand Corporation's computer database of
5,589 incidents of international terrorism provided the
author and his staff with the statistics used in this
study. The database provides comprehensive documentation
of incidents of international terrorism that occurred
between 1968 and 1986. The following conclusions resulted
from the analysis of the statistics provided by the
computer database. It is possible to use time-series
analysis to predict periodic cycles in the number of
terrorist attacks that can be expected in the near future.
While it is impossible to identify accurately the probable
targets of these attacks, time-series analysis can provide
warning of a period when several attacks are likely to
occur in succession. Time-series analysis is not useful in
predicting the number of victims of future attacks. Weiman
suggests that there is evidence that media coverage of
certain spectacular terrorist attacks contributes to a
predictable increase in attacks by other terrorist groups
that have political, religious, or ideological views
similar to the group that perpetrates the initial event.
The author focuses on the importance of media coverage to
the terrorists. Weimer states, "These new transnational
gunmen are, in fact, television producers constructing a
package so spectacular, so violent, so compelling that the networks, acting as executives, supplying the cameramen and the audience, cannot refuse the offer."

Keyword(s): terrorism; research and development; future trends


Keyword(s): terrorism; media; United States


Keyword(s): terrorism


This article reproduces an address before the Brookings Institution Conference on Terrorism delivered by Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead on December 10, 1986. The statement provides a definition of terrorism, its methods, and its objectives. It then identifies several terrorist sponsor states and discusses U.S. Government counterterrorism efforts. These include broadened intelligence gathering and intelligence sharing on terrorist activities, improved antiterrorist training for domestic and foreign law enforcement, the promotion of stricter legal sanctions on international terrorist activity, the improvement of security at U.S. diplomatic missions overseas, the expansion of the counterterrorist capabilities of the U.S. military, and the promotion of heightened public awareness of the terrorist threat.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; international relations

This article reproduces a statement before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, delivered on April 22, 1986 by Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead. The speaker addresses current U.S. Government policy on terrorism, citing specific counterterrorism action taken over the previous several months. Topics discussed include the U.S. military response to Libyan-sponsored terrorism, intensified efforts to improve the security of U.S. personnel and facilities overseas, increased U.S. Government efforts to obtain multilateral cooperation in combating terrorism, and recent improvements in aviation security.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; international relations; aviation


This article examines French counterterrorism policy since 1968. It argues that French counterterrorism policy has been inconsistent and uncoordinated during most of this period. Before 1980 the French response to terrorism was grounded in two main principles: on the one hand, domestic terrorism was considered to be subversion, and on the other, the significance of international terrorism was minimized. In response to the first principle, domestic terrorism, perpetrated primarily by the far-left Direct Action organization, was firmly suppressed. In its response to international terrorism, however, France attempted to adhere to the "sanctuary doctrine." In its most elementary form, this doctrine's objective was to isolate the country from international terrorism by making French soil as neutral as possible. Foreign or international terrorist groups would then know they had nothing to do and nothing to fear in France, where their members would neither be detained nor arrested. The sanctuary doctrine remained politically viable as long as international terrorists did not aim their acts at French interests or attempt to alter French policy. Starting in 1980, however, international terrorist actions were
carried out with the aim of modifying French diplomacy with respect to the PLO, Lebanon, Iran, and Iraq, and Corsican nationalist terrorism intensified. This new wave of terrorism against France sparked a period of vacillation in which Paris alternately hardened and then softened its approach to Corsican terrorists, while adhering to the sanctuary doctrine in the face of mounting terrorist violence by Abu Nidal and Islamic fundamentalist groups. Adherence to the sanctuary doctrine often entailed executive interference in the judicial process and ineffective law enforcement. As the frequency of terrorist attacks peaked during the mid-1980s, counterterrorism policy became increasingly coordinated and centralized. However, a coherent policy has not yet been devised.

Keyword(s): counterterrorism; Europe; law enforcement


The author, a philosopher, argues that one of the problems in discussing terrorism is that there is no agreed upon definition of the term, and that some definitions only serve to condemn the act of terrorism. Government agencies use definitions of terrorism to justify and favor their own activities and budget in this area. Thus, the Department of State defines terrorism to emphasize terrorists' political motivations, whereas the Federal Bureau of Investigation defines terrorism as the "unlawful nature of terrorist violence." The author attempts to resolve these methodological issues by proposing a minimal definition of terrorism that might gain acceptance. This definition is that "terrorism is the attempt to achieve political, social, economic, or religious change by the actual or threatened use of violence against persons or property; the violence employed in terrorism is aimed partly at destabilizing the existing political or social order, but mainly at publicizing the goals or cause espoused by the terrorists; often, though not always, terrorism is aimed at provoking extreme counter-measures which will win public support for the terrorists and their cause; terrorism will be perceived by its practitioners as an activity aimed at correcting grave injustice which otherwise would be allowed to stand." The author believes that while terrorism may be inimical to the values of
liberal democracy, under certain conditions it can be
morally justified—even though it is morally wrong in the
sense that it involves the violation of the rights of
innocent persons who may be killed or harmed. He further
argues that the ‘moral fanatic’ will still engage in
terrorism even though it may fail to produce political
change or the collapse of the state. The author concludes
that it may be warranted to strike against members of
terrorist groups because they are conspirators, but it may
be less morally justified to strike at the larger groups
that terrorist groups claim to represent, or even their
‘host’ communities or nations.

Keyword(s): terrorism; definition; counterterrorism; U.S.
Government policy

Terrorism." Toronto: Mackenzie Institute for the Study of
Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda, 1989. [Call Number:
HV 6431.W56 1989]

This paper is in two parts. Part I reviews the state of
the war against terrorism, directing particular attention
to state sponsorship and examining the performance of
Western powers in combating international terrorism. Part
II examines the the possible effects of current trends in
international terrorism on Canada’s security, from both a
national and the individual Canadian’s point of view.

Keyword(s): terrorism; state sponsorship;
counterterrorism; Canada

Intelligence Review [London], 5, No. 2, February 1993,
73-75. [Call Number: US 15 .J35]

The article examines both the factors responsible for a
decline in the incidence of Middle Eastern terrorism and
those causing an escalation in terrorist attacks. The
decline is attributed to improved intelligence cooperation
among allies; pressure on state sponsors of terrorism; a
move by Palestinian moderates in favor of a diplomatic
resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict; a realization by
the Iranian government that resolution of their economic
crisis involves increased Western investment in their country and ending the incarceration of Western hostages in Lebanon; and the collapse of Communism in the former Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact states has deprived Middle Eastern terrorist groups of valuable patrons and a source of political support, training, weapons and finance. Nevertheless, Wilkinson believes that the future portends an escalation in terrorist attacks in the Middle East because the majority of terrorist violence in the region is "internal rather than international." Thus, while there may be a decline in "occasional, spectacular international terrorist attacks against Western targets," "large-scale and protracted terrorism" within Middle Eastern states is more dangerous to the stability of the international system. This is demonstrated by the escalation in terrorist violence by Islamic extremist groups within the Palestinian national movement, such as Hamas; by the provision of support by Iran to Islamic extremist groups in Lebanon, in the Palestinian movement, and in Egypt; and coordination between Iran and Sudan in providing Islamic terrorists with safe haven and training facilities on Sudanese soil. Finally, the Algerian regime is threatened by the prospect of an overthrow by Islamic militants. Wilkinson thus concludes that in early 1993 the most dangerous trends are the rise of militant Islamic fundamentalism and the "anger and frustration" of militant Palestinians.

Keyword(s): terrorism; Middle East; Islamic groups; Iran; Lebanon; counterterrorism; intelligence; future trends


The author believes that terrorists in liberal societies are engaged in "making war" on democratically elected governments, with the ultimate aim of provoking a campaign of governmental repression that will serve to turn the people against the government. Thus, it is insufficient to focus only on the military and security threat posed by the terrorists because to win the allegiance of the people, the government must undertake a political struggle against the political front of the terrorist movement. The government must institute reforms to satisfy insurgent grievances or demands. Wilkinson therefore calls for a "two-wars" strategy of strong security measures and social
reform. The primary aim of this strategy is to isolate the terrorists from their host population. Wilkinson also examines several prominent counterterrorist measures used in the past. These include special or emergency powers at the political level, and giving the army a major security role in terrorist situations at the military level. Wilkinson also considers the problems posed by the internationalization of terrorism, particularly the reasons for the intractability of the problems of combating international terrorism. He concludes that the guiding principle of antiterrorist policies must be never to surrender to terrorist blackmail or extortion and to refuse to accede to terrorist demands.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; low-intensity conflict


This book examines the nature of the terrorist threat to liberal democracies. Part I attempts to clarify and refine the concept of political terrorism, to establish a working typology of political terrorism, and to relate terrorism to other modes of violence and to the basic political values, structures, and processes of liberal democracy. Part II, the heart of the book, deals with the special problems of revolutionary and subrevolutionary political terrorism in liberal democracies. It discusses the underlying and precipitative causes of terrorism in liberal states and assesses influential causal and developmental theories and models of terrorism under these conditions. Part III analyzes specific problems of skyjacking, diplomatic kidnappings, embassy attacks and assassinations and possible national, bilateral, regional, and international countermeasures and cooperative action against these forms of terrorism. One of the main conclusions is that there are effective measures democracies can take to defend the innocent and uphold the rule of law without putting basic civil liberties and democracy at risk. Firmness and determination to uphold the rule of law is the keynote of the approach advocated in the present work.
Keyword(s): terrorism; theoretical aspects; counterterrorism; legal aspects; international relations; international law; international relations


This book examines evidence indicating that, during the 1970s and early 1980s, the Italian Red Brigades terrorist organization was infiltrated by right-wing extremists, who, with the assistance of the Italian secret services, fostered leftist terrorism in order to discredit the Italian Communist Party and prevent it from assuming power. According to the author, this "strategy of tension" was intended to provoke a conservative backlash against the Italian Communist Party, which was on the verge of gaining power through elections in the mid-1970s. The book also suggests that the U.S. Government conspired with the Italian secret services in devising the strategy of tension, and that at least one agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation may have been actively involved in infiltrating the Red Brigades and provoking it to commit violent acts. The author cites a variety of primary sources, including former terrorists, Italian magistrates, and U.S. and Italian experts and officials, in an effort to corroborate evidence of a conspiracy and subsequent cover-up.

Keyword(s): terrorism; counterterrorism; Europe; U.S. Government policy


This study examines some of the reasons states, revolutionary movements, anarchists, separatists, and other groups use terrorism. The primary goal common to all is to bring about a political change that is desired by the perpetrators. However, in the case of states, governing by terror is found to create a cycle of violence that often affects the ability of an individual, party, or coalition to remain in power. The author believes that terrorists often have an irrational perception of their
own capability to achieve the goals they publicize in their communique and through their use of terrorism.

Keyword(s): terrorism; theoretical aspects


Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy

Woolsey, R. James. "Statement by Director of Central Intelligence R. James Woolsey on International Terrorism Before the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 21 April 1993." Washington: United States Congress, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Documents Collection, April 1993. [Call Number: Not in LC]

In this transcript of his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Director of Central Intelligence Woolsey assesses current and future trends in international terrorism and provides a general overview of the international terrorist threat to the United States. Four key topics are addressed: the recent World Trade Center bombing, state-sponsored terrorism, ethnic conflict, and violent religious extremism. The most recent significant terrorist incident on U.S. soil, the World Trade Center bombing, has raised concerns that it might embolden terrorists who may be led to conclude that operations in the U.S. are not as difficult as they once thought. With regard to state-sponsored terrorism, there continue to be varying levels of activity among the six designated state sponsors (Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Cuba, and North Korea) and the two emerging state sponsors (Sudan and Pakistan). Iran is by far the most active state sponsor. Despite the overall decline in state-sponsored terrorist attacks, Iranian-backed attacks have become more common, whereas Iraq has largely refrained from terrorism outside its borders since the Gulf War. As for Libya, Syria, Cuba, and North Korea, they are not now directly involved in international terrorist attacks. None, however, has irrevocably abandoned the terrorist option. Sudan and Pakistan, while not yet on the Department of State's list of state sponsors, are on the brink. Another
potential source of terrorism is ethnic conflict, which has become prominent in the wake of the Cold War. In addition to recent events in the former Yugoslavia, the intelligence community also notes intensified ethnic and religious conflict in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, and the Caucasuses, all of which may breed terrorism. Finally, there is an increasing use of violence by religious extremist groups in the Middle East. Although most such groups have not yet directly targeted U.S. interests, several have attacked governments friendly to the United States--such as those of Algeria and Egypt. Terrorism--conducted by both states and groups--remains a serious and largely unpredictable threat to U.S. citizens and U.S. interests.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; state sponsorship; ethnicity; future trends; counterterrorism; U.S. Government policy; intelligence


The Congressional Research Service (CRS) issue brief discusses current U.S. Government policy against terrorism; government organization for combating terrorism; responsibility for implementing U.S. policy; U.S. listing of states that sponsor terrorism; and options available to the government to combat international terrorism. The options include diplomacy, economic sanctions, self-restraint by the media, law enforcement, monetary rewards for information, using the International Court of Justice and international conventions, and employing covert and paramilitary operations as well as military force against terrorists.

Keyword(s): terrorism; antiterrorism; U.S. Government policy; law enforcement

This book attempts to explain how non-state terrorism sustains itself by examining the ideologies and propaganda of two groups operating in Western Europe, the Red Army Faction (RAF), and the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA). Part I begins with a definitional discussion of terrorism, that focuses on distinguishing terrorism from other strategies of conflict, most notably guerrilla warfare. The remaining two chapters of Part I present the contextual setting necessary for interpreting propaganda. Part II examines the propaganda of both groups. It identifies three target audiences and devotes a chapter to each. Part III tries to determine and explain the degree of success achieved by the RAF and the PIRA. Finally, the book suggests some areas where counterterrorism strategy should be reassessed or further researched, giving special consideration to propaganda.

Keyword(s): terrorism; psychological aspects; definition; Europe

Yaeger, Carl H. "The Vulnerability of the U.S. Network Systems to Sabotage or Terrorism Attack," TVI Report [Los Angeles], 9, No. 3, 1990, 26-34. [Call Number: HV 6431 .T87]

The article discusses the vulnerability of U.S. network systems, particularly intricate energy resources, to terrorist attack or sabotage. These systems include electrical power networks and natural gas and crude oil pipelines, and are crucial to national security. According to the author, these systems are extremely vulnerable to terrorism because they are accessible to the public and their locations listed on maps and in books. He recommends that contingency plans to deal with this problem must be formulated, with the Department of Energy serving as the focal point of government efforts in this area. Minimum security standards should be developed and enforced to safeguard these pipelines. The author concludes that the 21st century will be characterized by an escalation of terrorist incidents--the new war of the future--and that contingency plans must be developed to deal with this threat.

Keyword(s): terrorism; United States; future trends

Keyword(s): international relations; communism; future trends


The book, over 500 pages in length, is an in-depth look at right- and left-wing terrorism in Italy during the 1970s and early 1980s. The author briefly sets the scene, explaining the origins and aims of various terrorist groups, such as the Red Brigades, Prima Linea, and Lotta Continua, and relates some of their most notorious actions. This is followed by interviews with persons connected to the events: the terrorists themselves, politicians, relatives of the victims of terrorism, police; or expert outside observers such as historians, journalists, sociologists, prominent religious leaders and many others.

Keyword(s): Italy; terrorism
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Against Every Human Law
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