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STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM

BY

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conducting terrorist attacks. The PLO wants a fair understanding to the Palestinian question and they want to go back home.

Maybe the extremists want to send a message to the whole world, telling the world to think about the Palestinians and to find a fair solution to their difficult problems.

Some countries support the extremists with money, weapons and housing, because they believe that the only way to solve the Palestinian question is violence. The United States, as a superpower and having a good relationship with Israel, should participate positively to find a fair and acceptable solution to the Middle East crisis.

I believe that the Arabs and the PLO do not want to throw Israel in the sea, but they need a better understanding to their question.

USAWC MILITARY STUDIES PROGRAM PAPER

STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM

An Individual Essay

by

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ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Ahmed B. Makki, MG, IF

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Terrorism, one of the most widely discussed issues of our time, is also one of the least understood.

Terrorist attacks are directed to the United States and the Western hemisphere.

The PLO and the moderate Arab leaders believe that the United States can find a fair solution to the Middle East crisis. Other Arab countries believe that the only way to find a fair solution is through violence. The PLO is not involved in international terrorism but there are other extremist organizations conducting terrorist attacks. The PLO wants a fair understanding to the Palestinian question and they want to go back home.

Maybe the extremists want to send a message to the whole world, telling the world to think about the Palestinians and to find a fair solution to their difficult problems.

Some countries support the extremists with money, weapons and housing, because they believe that the only way to solve the Palestinian question is violence. The United States, as a superpower and having a good relationship with Israel, should participate positively to find a fair and acceptable solution to the Middle East crisis.

I believe that the Arabs and the PLO do not want to throw Israel in the sea, but they need a better understanding to their question.

Introduction

Terrorism has long exercised a great fascination, especially at a safe distance, but it is not an easy topic for discussion and explanation. The fascination it exerts and the difficulty of interpreting it have the same roots: its unexpected, shocking and outrageous character. War, even civil war, is predictable in many ways; it occurs in the light of day and there is no mystery about the identity of the participant. Even in civil war there are certain rules, where the characteristic features of terrorism are anonymity and violation of established norms.

The United States and the West, the principal target of international terrorism, must organize itself for this battle. It must adopt a variety of means--political, economic and military--with which to fight back.

Definition of Terrorism

What is terrorism in the first place? Is it not really a term that we use to condemn acts of violence with which we happen to disagree? Are these acts isolated incidents, or are they somehow related to one another? Do they pose a fundamental threat to the society or are they merely sensational news stories? Are they senseless "killings" or do they have a purpose?

Above all, what can we do about them? In fact, can anything be done?

We must recognize that terrorism is not sporadic phenomenon born of social misery and frustration. It is rooted in the political ambitions and designs of expansionist states and the groups that serve them. Without the support of such states, international terrorism would be impossible.

Terrorism is the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends.

This distinction is not mere quibble, but lies at the heart of the problem. For, without a clear understanding of terrorism, the problem cannot be tackled.

Another definition for terrorism is the calculated use of violence or the threat of violence to attain goals that are political, religious or ideological in nature. This is done through intimidation, coercion, or instilling fear. Terrorism involves a criminal act that is often symbolic in nature and affects an audience beyond the immediate victims.

Freedom Fighter and Terrorist

The freedom fighters are engaged in selected forms of violence directed against colonial or dictatorial regimes, when all political and legal steps, both on the domestic and international levels, have been exhausted.

The selective violence is directed against administrative and military buildings and agents of the power they claim to fight. It never includes civilian targets as is used to the minimum extent possible. This distinguishes the methods used by freedom fighters from indiscriminate violence used by terrorists. The war between the Moughahdeen of Afghanistan and the regime in Kabul, assisted by the Soviets, is a good example of freedom fighters.

Terrorism is the threat and use of indiscriminate and unrestrained psychological and physical extra-legal force, including unlimited coercion, repression and ultimately destruction of human lives and property for the purpose of attaining political goals.

Terrorist actions are intended to destroy, shock, stun and intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims. Terrorists act in complete disregard of fundamental human rights; and a typical feature is an organized attack on innocent victims, frequently bystanders who have no direct connection to a particular cause or conflict.

Terrorist attacks are contrary to international law and flaunt the letter and spirit of the U.N. Charter; no claim to act on behalf of attaining freedom can justify terrorism.

The attacks of Rome and Vienna airports are examples of terrorism.

Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, born in a desert nomad's tent and reared on the KORAN, was a devout and austere young Muslem officer when he overthrew a senile King in 1969. Not long afterward, he came into an income of a billion dollars a month when Libya struck oil.

He soon made his name a big spender, especially in the arms department. From items like the French Mirage fighter planes, and West German Leopard tanks, he went on to make the biggest deal of our time with the Soviet Union, a \$12 billion order for tanks, planes, artillery, missile system.

He did not seem to care whether terrorism was black or red, though his preference might shift as time went by.

At the start of the seventies, he was practically all black. The head of his early Italy-Libya association, afloat on Libyan money and eventually outlawed as a black terrorist front, was Claudio Mutti, one of Italy's star Nazi-Maoist terrorists, jailed in 1980 for his alleged role in the Bologna railroad station bombing. Mutti claimed to have been inspired by Qaddafi's brand of Islamic socialism.

Qaddafi made his first investment in terror abroad, providing the funds, arms and training to conduct terrorist attacks.

Almost anybody claiming to be revolutionary could put the bite on Qaddafi after that, and did.

The list ran from Nicaragua's Sandinista, Argentina's Montoneros, and Uruguay's Tupamaros to the IRA provisionals, Spanish Basques, French Bretons, Iranians, Japanese and group insurgents in Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines.

Naturally, he devoted a good part of the money to the Palestinian cause, dividing his favors between Arafat Fath and the more radical Rejection Front. He also spent handsome sums on efforts to unseat "conservative" Arab leaders. He had a standing offer of one million dollars for anybody able or willing to kill Anwar El Sadat.

His Tunisian invasion in 1980 ended in the first public trial of Qadaffism ever held, revealing its deep roots in the Mediterranean and in planting terrorism.

The raid on Gafsa began at 2:00 a.m. on a Sunday morning when Qaddafi's heavily armed and trained commandos crossed over from Algeria in the southern Tunisian desert. A million dollars worth of weapons were already stockpiled in town for them, left behind when they fled in disarray.

They took Gafsa utterly by surprise and held it for a day, waiting for all Tunisia to rise up in popular insurrection. Qaddafi had assured them it would, but it did not. The survivors told their story later in copious detail.

The captured raiders spoke of seeing other foreigners in Libyan camps by hundreds and thousands. There were Egyptians in separate camps well trained to attack the regime in Egypt. The instructors in those camps were Russian and others from Cuba.

The Qaddafi famous "foreign legion" was designed to destabilize Africa South of the Sahara to create a vast Libyan Empire.

Destabilization was the operative word. The Palestinian cause would have to be stretched pretty far to embrace it.

It seemed plain all along that Colonel Qaddafi was motivated by more than a single-minded concern for Palestinian Liberation. Among other things, he had also a problem of scope.

Combined with such ambition was a messianic sense of mission, though just what kind was less than clear.

In London two gunmen in the Libya People's Bureau opened fire on a crowd of anti-Qaddafi demonstrators. Those demonstrators were conducting a peaceful legal protest on a sidewalk adjacent to the People's Bureau. In plain view the gunmen inside fired from an open window, riddling the demonstrators with automatic gunfire, killing Constable Fletcher and wounding eleven others. The unarmed policewoman was shot in the back. She was facing the demonstrators to keep them orderly and to provide security for the Libyans.

Ten days after the incident, the British Government provided the Libyans, along with their weapons, with safe passage out of the country, because the Libyans successfully claimed immunity under the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations.

The British police, after superficial interviews with the Libyans shortly before they departed, issued a statement saying they were diplomats and, under the Vienna Convention, the police had no right to storm the People's Bureau, capture the killers and confiscate their weapons.

The British Government also had the concrete evidence that the People's Bureau committed the crime of killing the policewoman, but let the Libyans go home because Britain, as a civilized free country, respected the Vienna Convention of diplomatic relations.

This is substantial evidence that diplomatic bags are indeed being abused by some countries, besides Libya, to transfer such weapons.

In less than a decade, President Assad has survived internal challenge to his rule and has forged alliances with the Soviet Union, Libya and Iran, and most of the terrorist groups of Middle Eastern origin.

The Soviets provide him with sophisticated weapons. His other allies provide foot soldiers in the unconventional terrorist war for control of the Middle East and the Arab world.

One goal of this war is the incorporation of Lebanon into a great Syria.

The great Syria of Assad's dream includes the areas that were occupied by Israel in 1967. Great Syria could accommodate a Palestinian State with the leaders strictly subordinate to Assad.

Assad does not speak in public places about the destruction of Israel, but his allies do. A map provided to Iranian soldiers shows the city of Jerusalem as their ultimate destination but shows no state called Israel. The Libyan leader speaks clearly of the destruction of Israel as the operational goal of his foreign policy and alliances.

Each year in the United Nations, Syria joins Libya and Iran in sponsoring a resolution that calls for the expulsion and complete isolation of Israel. The Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc vote in favor of this resolution.

Testimony in a London courtroom about the Syrian government's involvement last April in an attempt to blow up an airliner with 315 people aboard, suggests that state-sponsored terrorism has reached a new plateau.

Evidence is being presented that Syrian military intelligence supplied the man accused of planting the bomb not only with an official passport and \$12,000, but also the bag and the explosives in it, along with training on how to detonate the device. The Syrian Embassy in

London allegedly took part in the plot, as did a crew member of Syrian's airline.

A Jordanian named Nazar Hindawi has been charged with attempting to blow up the El Al flight by giving an unsuspecting woman passenger the bag containing the bomb, which was primed to go off when the aircraft would have been high above Austria. El Al security discovered the bomb when the woman was about to board the plane at London's Heathrow Airport. The story she told chilled newspaper readers around the world.

In May Britain expelled three Syrian diplomats after they refused to waive diplomatic immunity and be questioned by Scotland Yard detectives working on the case.

The British government condemned Syria for terrorism. The evidence provided at a trial of Hindawi, who attempted to place a bomb aboard an El Al airliner, demonstrates that Syria takes part in terrorism.

The British government took measures against the Syrian Embassy in London and asked its allies to follow the United Kingdom, asking for economic sanctions against Syria.

The Syrians denied the connection between them and the terrorist who tried to bomb the El Al airliner.

The terrorist's objective, of course, is not negotiation but capitulation. As long as he can sustain the pressure, as long as he can launch attacks with increasing frequency, he will advance towards his goals.

The primary task in fighting terrorism is to weaken and ultimately destroy the terrorist's ability to consistently launch attacks. This is often presented as a difficult or even impossible task. It is asserted that the clandestine nature of terrorism and the openness of democratic societies make terrorism against the open societies nearly impossible to root out. Terrorism can be easily stopped. The time the governments weaken the terrorist's ability to deliver repeated blows, you have broken the terrorist's back.

U.S.A. Raid on Libya

As early as 1981 the CIA accused Libya of being the most prominent sponsor of international terrorism. President Reagan talked ominously about Libya's hit squads sent out to attack U.S. citizens.

The Secretary of State and Defense Secretary have consistently advocated retribution against Qaddafi and anyone else connected with terrorist acts.

Two events accelerated U.S. planning: Libya's installation of Soviet-made SA5 missiles at Surt and the terrifying terrorist massacres at the Rome and Vienna airports. The United States found indirect links between Libya and the airport actions; it announced economic sanctions against Libya and ordered its citizens in Libya to leave at once.

Some of the Allies didn't agree with the United States about the economic sanctions against Libya, because they had no concrete evidence.

On March 23, 1986, the United States Navy conducted exercises near the line of death, the boundary line which Qaddafi claimed in the Gulf of Sidra. The Libyans shot at the Naval air force. Then the Naval air force attacked the Soviet-made missiles.

On April 5 in West Berlin, a terrorist's bomb exploded in a nightclub frequented by American servicemen. One American and a Turkish woman were killed and 230 were wounded, among them some 50 American military personnel. After this attack Libya announced that Libya would hit all the American installations. Qaddafi was suspected. The United States had concrete evidence that the terrorist bombing of West Berlin was planned and executed under the direct orders of the Libyan regime. The United States had direct and solid evidence about other attacks Qaddafi had planned against the United States installations and diplomats and even American tourists.

On March 25 orders were sent from Libya to the Libyan People's Bureau in East Berlin to conduct a terrorist attack against Americans to cause maximum and indiscriminate casualties. Libyan agents then planted the bomb.

On April 14 air and naval forces launched a series of strikes against Libya. The attacks were concentrated and carefully targeted to minimize casualties among the Libyan people.

The raid of the U.S. navy and air force was successful as a military operation, but the results will never be as required. The Libyans did not change their minds and promised to continue their struggle against the United States.

Counterterrorism

Why are the United States and Western Allies concerned with terrorism? Its victims are few, its physical damage limited, its violence sporadic. In comparison with war, it poses a relatively minor threat to lives and property of the citizens of free societies. Yet, terrorism cannot be dismissed so easily. For one thing, it is escalating. The number and scope of attacks is steadily increasing. Aircraft are commandeered, passenger ships seized, politicians assassinated. Anyone is a potential victim.

While the number of those actually involved may be small, the entire world is set on edge, or rather the democratic world, the principal target of terrorism.

Terrorism induces a similar anxiety with one important difference. Unlike natural catastrophies, terrorism is neither purposeless nor fortuitous. It is deliberately planned, organized, initiated and launched by people who wish to dramatize the powerlessness of governments.

There are political pressures that can be brought to bear. These could range from international condemnation

to cutting off diplomatic relations. Political pressures are important for several reasons.

The signal to the terrorist state is that the victim is not only willing to complain but also prepared to fully expose the offender to the light of public opinion. This could force other states to take opposition against the offender, or at least to curb their support for it. Since many states sponsoring terrorism depend on the ability to deny complicity in terrorist crimes, this is not a minor threat. In the case of a severance of diplomatic relations, there is an added penalty, the shutting down of embassies. The critical role of embassies, and the abuse of diplomatic privileges and immunities in general, in facilitating international terrorism has not been adequately appreciated.

Terrorists simply cannot sustain a concerted campaign of attacks in most democratic countries without sanctuary or an inviolable means of passing funds, arms and intelligence. For whatever their specific motives or demands may be, the overriding consideration of all terrorist acts is to humiliate the governments and expose their impotence. And this impotence is dramatized with special force when a handful of people are able to strike at anyone, anywhere, anytime.

Without embassies, the effectiveness of terrorism in the open societies would be sharply diminished. The embassies and diplomatic pouches of states sponsoring terrorism, as well as Soviet Bloc embassies, have turned parts of West Europe into a veritable playground of terrorists. Weapons, passports, money, safe houses, indeed the full gamut of support, had been available to terrorists by people hiding behind the designation diplomat and the protection offered by diplomatic immunity. When irrefutable proof links particular embassies to terrorism, they should be shut down. Offending states will be denied their fortresses of terror in any place.

The second broad area in which the United States can work against states which engage in terrorism is economic pressure. Most of those countries desperately need U.S. or European goods, weapons, or credit. There are certain sophisticated products, including advanced weapons, that only the West can supply. The combined purchasing power of the democracies is enormous. If the democratic countries used but a fraction of their formidable economic clout, they could cause regimes supporting terrorism to rethink some of their activities.

Economic pressure could be a combination of boycott and embargo. For example, don't buy anything from offenders and don't sell any Western technology. Even a partial boycott and embargo have an effect, because the need to

go through intermediaries and brokers raises costs significantly.

The United States, for example, has willingly forfeited hundreds of millions of dollars of trade with Libya in order to send an unmistakable message to the regime. Unlike the more difficult task of taking on a cartel, however, this kind of economic pressure isolates individual governments.

In addition to trade measures, there is another potent sanction that can be readily applied. It, too, has the virtue of not exacting a significant price from the West--the denial of landing rights to the commercial planes of terrorist states. The same could apply to docking rights for the ships of offending states. Even without sanctions, the mere withdrawal of economic aid or other benefits that could otherwise accrue to governments which promote terrorism can have a sobering effect on them.

Another area of response by the United States is necessary military actions. When we talk about using military forces, we must first consider it in a unilateral context. This is one state taking action against terrorists or any state that shelters them. Obviously, if a terrorist action occurs on a government's own soil, it will take action to foil the terrorists whether during an actual incident, such as hostages taking, or on an ongoing basis. There is no question that a state has the right to act.

The United States can effectively create specialized military units to track down terrorists. I think in the democratic countries, tracking terrorists is the responsibility of the police.

If the terrorists attack a country's citizens or installation abroad, such as embassies, businessmen or airlines, then in this case the responsibility of securing the release of the hostages is the government's on whose soil the incident takes place. One would hope such governments would adopt a firm policy against the terrorists.

It is precisely in terrorist crises the military cooperation between states could prove especially useful.

International terrorists are emboldened when they believe that vast geographic distance protects them from any possible retaliation. What is required is a basic realignment of international attitudes toward terrorism. While all governments uniformly offer rhetorical opposition to terrorism, including the adoption of a United Nations' resolution condemning terrorism in 1985, in practice they fall into one of three categories. A few governments actually oppose terrorism and do so consistently; others actively support terrorism; but most fall into a third broad category, the neutrals.

When states deliberately employ terrorists, the distinction between striking back at the terrorists themselves or at the governments that shelter them is one of practical consideration, not of principle.

A successful war on terrorism will involve a succession of blows and counterblows, and some unavoidable casualties along the way. What is required is a commitment to continuous campaign against its sponsors, not just erratic responses to individual terrorist acts.

The terrorists for the most part are focusing on commercial aviation, which they have identified correctly as a vulnerable pressure point of the Western economic system.

They also strike all government targets, American businessmen overseas, and random groups of U.S. citizens. The terrorists have taken their toll not only in lives but also in altered travel plans, cancelled overseas projects and lost marketing opportunities. Terrorism's effect on the U.S. woeful trade balance has yet to be measured, but it plainly is substantial and is certain to grow. The terrorist's strategy is remarkably simple, to test the depth of American support for allies and the willingness of the United States to shed the blood of its citizens for their allies' sake.

Libya denied its commitment of terrorist acts. Abul Salaam Jalloud, Libya's effective prime minister and Colonel Qaddafi's second in command, challenged the United States to furnish details on planned Libyan terrorist action so that Libya could abort such attacks and apprehend the individuals to avoid confrontation with the United States.

Jalloud repeatedly stressed that if the United States disclosed names and specifics on purported terrorist plots, Libya would cooperate fully to avert and abort such attacks and apprehend the individuals and put them on trial.

Libya, before the revolution of 1969, was a good friend of the United States. The oil companies and the people who ran those companies were Americans. Libya is not the number one enemy of the United States, but maybe some countries get benefit from the situation existing between Libya and the United States.

I think new contacts between Libya and the United States will be possible in the long run.

Syria is accused of supporting terrorists. But on the other hand, Syria participated in releasing American hostages in Lebanon.

Iran is considered as a state sponsoring terrorism, but it took part in negotiations with terrorists to release American hostages. The United States considers Iran a terrorist state and President Reagan announced no negotiations with terrorists. In spite of that, the United

States made an arms deal with Iran to release hostages and to defend itself against Iraq. Iran is of vital interest to the United States; according to its situation, I believe that the United States should make some approach with Iran for better relations.

Libya, Syria and Iran believe that the Palestinians should go home. I believe that the PLO is not a terrorist organization and that the PLO does not want to destroy Israel. They can live together, the Israelis in their state and the Palestinians in the West Bank.

The United States of America is the only country which can solve the Middle East crisis. The United States should convince Israel to withdraw to the boundaries of 1967.

I don't think the Arabs want to destroy Israel. The moderate Arab leaders believe that the Palestinians can live peacefully with Jews in Israel.

The United States should support the moderate Arab leaders, who are the best friends of America. The extremist countries are supporting the PLO to get back home by violence. Others believe in peace, but through negotiations.

The Soviet Bloc is supporting terrorism by training and giving weapons to terrorists, so as to exhaust the Western countries and keep them busy.

Terrorism is believed to appear wherever people have genuine legitimate grievance. Remove the grievance through wide participation in solving their problems; remove poverty, inequality, injustice, lack of political participation; and terror will cease.

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