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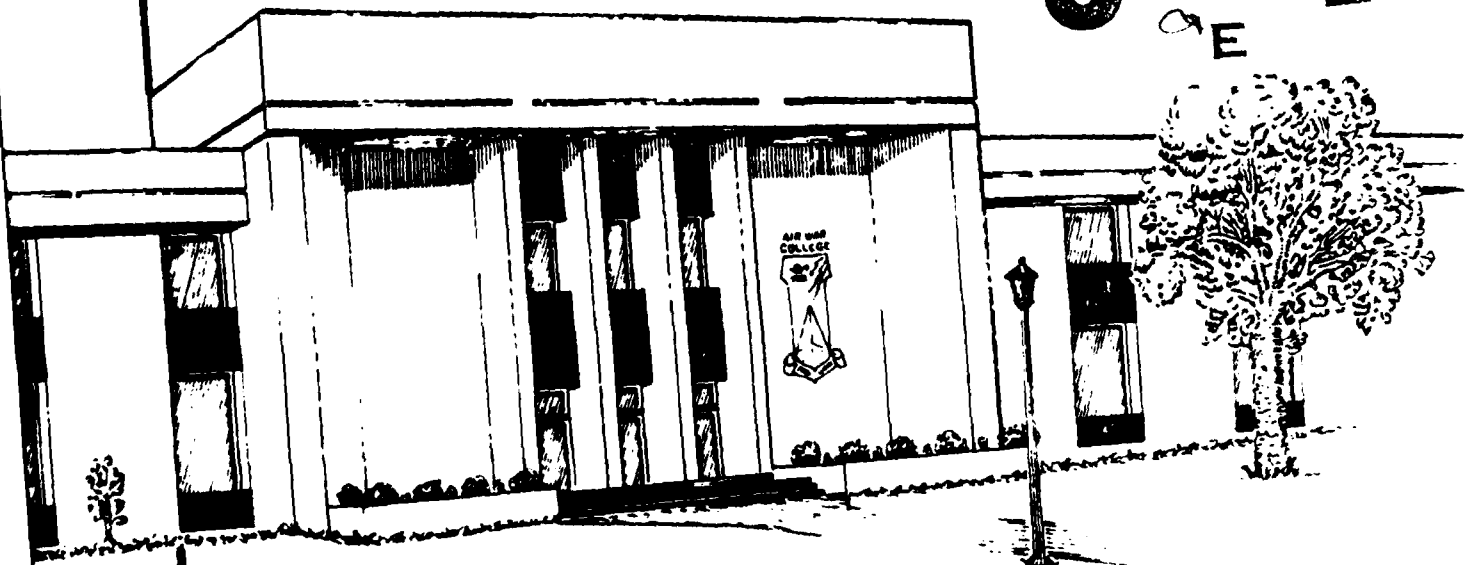
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INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

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AIR FORCE

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INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

By

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A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO
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RESEARCH REQUIREMENT

Thesis Advisor: Colonel Bruce S. Goodhue

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AIR WAR COLLEGE RESEARCH REPORT ABSTRACT

TITLE: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

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

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Colonel Mohammed F. Khawaldeh, a member of the Royal Jordanian Air Force, is currently a member of the Air War College Class of 1987. He joined the Air Force in 1965. He received his basic flying training in the Royal Air Force for two years. He flew Hawker Hunter aircraft as a squadron pilot in Jordan, Syria and Iraq. He flew the F104 Starfighter at Homestead AFB, Florida, attended the instrument pilot instructor school at Randolph AFB, Texas, and the Navy post-graduate school for management course at Monterey, California. He is a squadron officer school graduate from Air University, Maxwell AFB, Alabama, and an Air Command and Staff graduate of Taiwan Armed Forces University. Colonel Khawaldeh has 22 years of service, with various assignments in the front line from a squadron pilot to a base commander. He also served as an air attache in the Royal Jordanian Embassy in London from 1982-1984.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

... one of the first things we discovered is that Americans view terrorism as one of the most serious problems facing our government, ranking it alongside such issues as the budget deficit and strategic arms control ... while international terrorism poses a complex, dangerous threat for which there is no quick easy solution ... as long as vicious attacks continue, terrorism will remain top priority to this Administration ...¹ George Bush, Vice President of U.S.A.

Many other free world leaders made similar statements, indicating that terrorism is a recognized phenomenal which should be suppressed to maintain the world law and order. When a TWA aircraft was hijacked by a Lebanese Shiites gunman on June 14, 1985, His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan used unusually strong language in condemning the hijackers, he said, "They were the scum of the earth" whose crime has caused "revulsion and anger" among Jordanians, Palestinians and the majority of the Arab and Islamic world. The King called for "collective action by all civilized nations to stop such dastardly acts of terrorism."² It is certain that terrorism is a growing threat and the media is flooded with news and reports about its happenings, and these incidents are on the increase, but with changing tactics and patterns which makes it hard to predict and difficult to anticipate. In the next two chapters of this paper, I shall address terrorism in an attempt to arrive at a working definition to the word "terrorism" to be a guide for the reader to draw a line between the act of terrorism and the criminal act. Also I shall give a historical background on the origins of terrorism, its purposes and motives, its international links, and finally I will offer some guidelines to counter terrorism. These guidelines are not intended to be the cure from this complicated and dangerous phenomenal, but simply to be modified according to the particular situation, bearing in mind the individual cases and constraints.

CHAPTER II

DEFINITION AND EVOLUTION

A. What is Terrorism?

Martha Crenshaw Hutchinson of the University of Virginia refined the use of the term "Terrorism" by describing a concept called "Revolutionary Terrorism" as follows:³

Revolutionary terrorism is a part of insurgent strategy in the context of internal warfare or revolution Such terrorism, is manifested in acts of socially and politically unacceptable violence There is a consistant pattern of symbolic or representative selection of victims or objects of acts of terrorism The revolutionary movements delibrately intends these actions to create a psychological effect on specific groups and thereby to change their political behavior and attitudes.

In 1933 the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences listed terrorism as a word for "the method where by an organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims, chiefly through the systematic use of violence." It held that terrorist acts are directed against persons who as individuals, agents or representatives of authority interfere with the consummation of the objectives of such a group.

According to the Encyclopedia, the cardinal point is the strategy of terrorism, which is the publicity value of the act, a terrorist does not threaten, death or destruction is part of his program action, and if he is caught, his behavior during trial is generally directed primarily not towards his freedom, but towards spreading a knowledge of his doctrine. The popular front for the libration of Palestine, which is the radical wing of the Palistine Libration Organization (PLO) led by Dr. George Habash, considers terrorist acts to be "symbolic blows" resulting in vivid compelling propaganda.⁴

A number of definitions have been used to define terrorism but in a sence they all emphasize the abnormal quality of terrorism that is perceived by the victim.

the target, or the audience. The real dividing line between terrorism and violence is its unpredictable nature, the element of surprise and the spread of shock among the audience.

For the purpose of this paper, I constructed the following definition: Terrorism is an act of violence to spread fear, terror, and to undermine confidence of the victims and the surrounding society, thus achieving strategic objectives through wide publicity and systematic concessions, it is not unthoughtful, but a deliberate means to an end.

B. Historical Background:

The term terrorism is relatively new, but the use of violence to achieve special ends is as old as mankind. The Zealot struggle in Palestine (AD66-73), the Assassins of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries of an Ismaili Sect of Muslims, who developed a doctrine justifying the murder of their religious and political opponents, who they saw as the unrighteous ones,³ are only some examples, however, although there have been many other examples in many different forms of violence, the modern expression of terrorism emerged with the French Revolution and at the later part of the nineteenth century, and was used in a large extent by the Russian revolutionaries in 1878-81, and again in the twentieth century, by radical national groups in Ireland, Macedonia, Serbia and America, and by the Anarchists in France, Italy, Spain and the United States particularly in the 1890's.

In their early Communist years, both Marx and Engles were committed to the view that violence was the engine of social change, they argued that violence was primarily necessary to transform the nature of the working class; or, in other words "that it was therepeutic in character, and that it alone would psychologically renovate the working class so that it would be fit to rule."⁴

However, later in life, Marx tended to downplay his earlier advocacy of

therapeutic violence, and held that in some countries (notably England) it might be possible to bring about social revolution by peaceful and legal means.

From these beginnings, then sprang the ideology that powered the terrorist movements that have emerged since the second World War. Ranging from the terrorist activities of the Irgun and Stern gangs in Palestine, to the Colonial terrorist movements such as the Algerian Front De-libration National (FLN), to the Vietnam National Libration Front (NLF) to the temporary terrorist organizations of the Middle East, Africa, South America and Europe. In all these can be traced a philosophical and an intellectual (and in some cases an operational) debt to the Russian terrorists and the anarchists of the late nineteenth/early twentieth century.⁷

While earlier revolutionaries started out in the rural areas, in the hills and woods among farmers and the poor, as the example of those lead by Chey Guevara, the modern brand of terrorism is striking in the urban areas where the main population is, to create greater mass of people and a wider base of support, also to maximize the amount of destruction of lives and properties, thus, spreading terror faster and more effectively, which may lead to concessions from the opposing authorities, due to the amount of destruction, confusion, and demoralization of people and forces of the government.

So indeed there has been a tremendous change both in the philosophy and tactics of terrorism, and in the social and political environment in which it operates. These changes were created by the fast moving world of technology. Modern transportation systems are enabling terrorism to travel outside its origin and spread its targets and objectives beyond its original borders. The introduction of the airlines facilitates the quick spread of groups and the ability to reach any target at any range with specific timing. The airline transportation, besides being a target of some

value, also facilitates transnational terrorism by allowing different groups of different nationalities to plan, train, and execute a mission individually or collectively. Modern communications with satellite networks and media efficiency gave the terrorists the chance to be known, and to explain their theories and demands using public opinion as leverage to gain a concession or to spread an ideology. The probable greatest threat is posed by the technological advances in modern weapons which the terrorists can get and use as modern technology puts great effort into research and development for weapons to be used by the infantry which need to be small, portable, cheap, highly accurate and easy to operate. These are produced in great masses, which makes them vulnerable to fall into the hands of terrorist groups, only to add to the older types of weapons which are phased out and sold through arms dealers and finally reach the hands of terrorists.

CHAPTER III

DISCUSSION

A. Purpose of Terrorism:

... Terrorism is a revolting phenomenon undertaken by those who by choice stand outside the pale of civilized people. It is a form of warfare directed against the very heart of civilization, against any acceptable schema of political and cultural life. We have no realistic choice but to meet it, and that means head on, when nothing else works. The aim of terrorists and the ultimate objective of those who sponsor, train, and supply them are to undermine our values, to shatter our self-confidence, and blunt our responses" Robert C. McFarlane

Jean Paul Sartre, elevates terror to the highest position in human affairs. "It is the driving force of social organization, and the key to freedom."¹⁰ In this one may ask: Does terror produce change? If so, in what direction, with what intensity and how rapidly?

Terrorism may transform the fundamental character of society and government through change, a genuine revolutionary change or more commonly may result in changes that appear relatively minor, but that nonetheless may alter the character of the state. Furthermore, the results of terrorism are interrelated and subject to feed back effect. The outcome of terrorism effects the future of terrorism, for example, terrorism can provoke government repression, which in turn stimulates further terrorism, which provokes more repression. To complicate the analysis, the effects of terrorism are rarely limited to the state in which it occurs.¹¹ Terrorism may be aimed at several targets to achieve tactical and or strategic goals, it is done by those insurgents who enjoy a limited amount of support, by the public mass, but count on the potential support which might be triggered by their actions. If the potential of drawing more public support is low, then terrorism will be counter productive and those who use it may find themselves unwanted and face a massive

outrage against them by the public. A good example is some factions of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) actions in Jordan between 1967-1970, which undermined all the actual and the latent support they had enjoyed before, they lost any sympathy to their cause of revolutionary warfare, which eventually led to a counter violence chiefly by the organized Jordanian armed forces, supported by the public to oust the PLO from the country. Had this action not taken place, probably, a counter terrorist group may have had emerged and a snowball effect evolved, similar to that we have at hand in Lebanon today.

Generally the purpose of terrorism revolves around the following:

1. The spread of fear and terror: It is vital to the terrorists to study and understand the society and the after effect of terrorism on that society. At one level the terrorists must try to disorient the population by showing them that the government is no longer able to protect them, and can not maintain the required security and order which any state should have as part of its sovereignty by this the individual is isolated from his social context, and can only count on the support drawn from his/her own resources. Disorientation occurs when victims lose their grip and don't know what to expect and what to fear, since the source of fear is outside his/her field of experience, and when that individual can not make an understanding or prediction of the source of fear he/she can no longer alone formulate a plan to counter that source of fear. The natural thing to do is to turn to a leader (most likely the government) who may show some knowledge and abilities to control the events, but if the government does not prove compatible to the threat and is unable to provide the required security, then the time is ripe for the terrorists to show their political goals as workable alternatives to give the required stability. Now the time for agitational terror is over, and it is up to the insurgents to show their abilities by putting meaning into the structural

environment. To reach this point, terrorists must have a solid understanding of the psychology of fear and the potential ways of which the population may respond. While fear is an actual response to actual instance of terrorism, for the most part a well engineered campaign will engender a continuous high level of anxiety, because the threat is vague, unpredictable, and also uncomprehensible. A feeling of impotence in changing the course of events contributes significantly to anxiety. Studies of the air raids' victims in the second World War, illustrates the importance of a feeling of extreme helplessness as a major cause of anxiety and the consequent shaking of the belief that: "It won't happen to me."¹¹ The most psychologically damaging factor is the unpredictability of danger, a factor which is particularly amenable to manipulation by terrorists. The aim of drilling fear, is to force individuals to worry about their own personal survival, by this, solidarity, cooperation and interdependence are destroyed, while insecurity and mistrust are planted instead.

2. Another purpose of terrorists tactics is the disorientation of society by provoking repression towards that society by its government by creating measures of an illegal or unconstitutional nature, or forcing an intervention by a third force (similar to the Syrian presence in Lebanon), this will make the government lose credibility, legitimacy and finally lose public support.
3. A third purpose of terrorism, in some instances the foremost aim, is that of publicity. By staging acts which gain the world's attention, terrorists are able to gain recognition of their cause and project themselves as a group that must be listened to and taken into account. Frightening acts of violence and the ensuing atmosphere of alarm and fear cause people to exaggerate the importance, size, and strength of some terrorist organizations. However, because of their numerical inferiority it is important that terrorist groups indulge in dramatic

and shocking violence if they are to be noticed. The importance of the media as a vehicle for the expression of terrorist messages can not be over stated. Terrorism and media coverage enjoy something of a symbiotic relationship. Television in particular is no longer a medium which simply responds to terrorist events, it is an integral part of them. Because of the vast, instant audience that can be conjured up by television, terrorists have learned to stage manage their spectacles for maximum audience impact. This is at least partly the reason for the dramatic increase in the occurrence of hostage and siege situations in the recent years. The drama situation can be increased by taking hostages, who may be killed if certain demands are not met, thereby escalating the suspense and forcing the authorities to give in to all or some of the terrorists demands. The living example of the four American hostages presently in the hands of the Lebanese "Jihad" organization, with all the political pressure and demands to free the hostages is only a proof of some of the terrorist objectives in hostage takings.

For the most part then, terrorism is aimed at the audience, not the victims, except where an assassination is designed to remove a particular individual (from power, for example). Indeed as has been claimed often, I agree that terrorism is primarily theatrical, and that the use of terror as a vehicle for attention-getting is successful can be illustrated in many contemporary examples, thus as Jenkins says:

Insurgents fought in Angola, Mozambique, Portugese, Guinea, for fourteen years, using the standard tactics of guerrilla warfare, the world hardly noticed their struggle. While an approximately equal number of Palestinian commandos employing terrorists tactics, have in a few years become a primary concern to the world.¹²

In the 1970's, generally Palestinian bombings or hostage takings were carried out randomly, mainly to attract publicity and gain the world attention, and a by-

product would be to free other comrades in custody or prisons. It is at the same period of time when factions of the PLO introduced hijacking tactics, their aim was to get the world attention to their cause which was forgotten for twenty two years; as Leila Khalid, who took part in more than one hijacking put it to Time Magazine: "If we throw bombs it is not our responsibility. You may care for the death of a child, but the whole world ignored the death of Palestinian children for 22 years; We are not responsible."¹³ The implication is that the "whole world is responsible" for the attack and should give way for the demands.

4. **Terrorism and the cold war:** There could be more sophisticated objectives and purposes of terrorism, using the indirect approach, to drive a wedge between allied nations and promote an argument amongst them over the policies of combating terrorism. Such differences in opinion, though small, may appear likely to break the solidarity among partners, and a recent example is the difference in policies over handling counter terrorism cases in Europe, where several NATO allies showed various responses and points of views, forcing each individual ally to reveal his own interests and put them ahead of the overall alliance policies. From this we can see how terrorism serves in participation of the Cold War between the East and the West. The increasing unrest among western countries is a victory for the Eastern block, as the slang goes: "Anything bad for my enemy, is good for me".
5. **A further major purpose of terrorists' activities is to gain concessions from a controlling power, which the terrorists can not face with regular inferior forces, to create a change of policies or sharing of power, an example would be the Austrian government agreeing not to allow Jewish emigrants to stop in Austria while in transit to Israel, in exchange for hostages taken by the Palestinians in 1973.**

6. Other internal purposes of terrorism include testing individual members obedience to the organization, by making him/her do something which may contradict his/her ethical and morale background. Also it may be used to blackmail an individual, so he/she can not refuse to carry out further future missions, otherwise the individual's criminal record would be exposed by which safety and personal reputation is jeopardized.

Another internal purpose to terrorism is to build up morale to the group itself and to its supporters, especially if a high security target had been penetrated and destroyed, or a large concession was extracted from a larger power, this will not only boost the morale, but also enhances credibility.

B. International Links:

... The question of the Soviet Union's close relationship with almost all of the terrorist states that I have mentioned and the implications of these Soviet ties on bilateral relations with the United States and other democratic nations must be recognized¹⁴
President R. Reagan

A trend which has revealed itself in recent years is the emergence of working relations between terrorist groups from divergent political, ethnic, and geographical backgrounds, with physical evidence of cooperative efforts in the fields of training, procurment of weapons and documentation (passports, visas, identity cards), reconnaissance of targets, airline routes and actual operations.¹⁵ Those relations are very much different than the usual supportive relations between previous terrorists. Today many terrorist operations take the looks of an international affair, as the groups carrying out the activities are doing it through a larger powerful state support system which could be financial, political, or training, also the operation can be carried out on behalf of another state which leaves the door of cooperation between the terrorist group and that nation-state quite open.

The debate about the extent of the international terrorist network and

the question of who, if anybody, directs it became an important political issue when President R. Reagan took office in 1981, and opened an accusation by his administration that the Soviet Union was the puppet master of international terrorism. The debate has centered in particular on a book entitled "The Terror Network" by Claire Sterling. Who also gave evidence to a new senate subcommittee on terrorism and security which, among other issues, began to probe international links between terrorist organizations in a series of hearings which started in April 1981.¹⁶

Sterling's book does not assert that the Soviet Union is the mastermind behind some international groups, but rather shows a long list of incidents carried out by organizations which are financed, trained and given arms or any other form of assistance by the Soviets. Yet still the book was used as public evidence of Soviet involvement in sponsoring international terrorism. Now among these confusing evidences, what is the situation regarding the Soviet involvement in international terrorism? In the United States, the State Department, the CIA, and the Defense Intelligence Agency all initially denied that evidence existed of extensive Soviet involvement.

All three agencies were asked to review their data on this issue and, in their 1981 report on international terrorism, the CIA claimed that the Soviet Union is deeply involved in support of revolutionary violence "which frequently intails acts of international terrorism."¹⁷ However, nobody has yet provided unequivocal evidence that supports a simple minded Soviet-culprit theory of terrorist control. Neither has there been a serious analysis of Soviet strategic objectives and the manner in which these ends would be served by support for terrorism. The evidence of Soviet support for destabilizing influences in the Western Aligned World is over whelming but it indicates a capacity of opportunistic exploitation of situations rather than their

specific creations and direction.¹⁸

The development of International terrorist links and their support from foreign government raises the possibilities of governments rather than groups assisting in terrorist activities to be used as an instrument of foreign policy. Since conventional weapons and waging a war is very expensive, terror could undermine the enemy's policies while involving a nominal cost. This method surely is very cheap and cost effective. So it could be seen that terrorism is used as an accepted mode of state vs state war without declaration.

The international configuration of power, however, has changed little as a result of terrorism. Some may say that the sponsorship of terrorism by the Soviet Union is an asset in the Cold War Configuration, but this assertion is questionable. Terrorism is not a prerogative of Soviet inspired revolutionism, it is, for instance, the favored device of the Islamic Fundamentalist Organization, known as the Moslem Brotherhood, in its opposition to the Soviet Union's ally, Syria. The hostage crisis in Iran, where terrorism stemmed from indigenous radicalism, not Soviet-inspired subversion, is considered to have damaged the power position of the United States. The sponsorship of terrorism has earned Iran the enmity of the United States, but has not otherwise affected the international status quo. Cuba's responsibility for terrorism in Latin America, despite the Reagan administration's charges, seems to have little basis in fact, as Robert Cox notes with respect to Argentina, in particular, and to general movement in Latin America from rural guerrilla warfare to urban terrorism.¹⁹

C. Counter Terrorism:

... The civilized world has got to find a method to protect ourselves from terrorists, who ... are the most cowardly of the human species ...
President R. Reagan

One may argue, why waste the time and effort on combating terrorism, since the

number of incidents or victims does not go beyond that of daily crimes or traffic accidents, or one airliner crash? No matter how true this argument may be, the significant difference is the tension, fear, and anxiety involved within individuals in a terrorist environment, versus the unpremeditated accident environment. On the state side of the issue, prestige and political power is at risk, which puts actions of terrorism in the low intensity conflict area, so the individual state is in fact at war without a declaration. And to be more realistic with the wide spread of terror, it could be said that "The Third World War" had already started for the last two decades. As various people make moves to achieve some objectives, and counter moves are applied, but without using a conventional weapons like a "real" war. So a conscience effort and an honest commitment to counter terrorism and other forms of peace disturbance is essential for a stable, peaceful, and democratic world order. An action against international terrorism must be taken by the international community to protect human lives and innocent victims. As President Reagan puts it:

... Much needs to be done by all of us in the community of civilized nations. We must act against the criminal menace of terrorism with the full weight of the law, both domestic and international. We will act to indict, apprehend, and prosecute those who commit the kind of atrocities the world has witnessed in recent weeks²¹

So it is the duty of the international community collectively and the responsibility of each individual country to evolve policies aimed specifically at countering terrorism. these policies may include: intelligence gathering, the news media, the military options against terrorism, different situations handling and response to demands and finally international treaties.

I suggest the following options to be parts of anti-terrorism campaign:

1. Find the seed of the terrorist problem, and try to find a long term solution, as all "Revolutionary" terrorist acts usually, raise a flag of some cause, so if the root of the problem is identified and solved, the terrorist activities should stop in

response to the good will gestures, and the recognition of their problems, or the group will be condemned by all supporters, and should lose the wide popular base, which should eventually lead to their termination.

2. Activate legislation, to give the right to search and question individuals by security forces freely, and introduce capital punishment against terrorists, their supporters and harborers. This measure should deter personnel from joining the group, which creates a recruiting problem and a loss of support, by this the terrorists will have a very short endurance, and will not outlast the organized government forces.
3. Establish a new strong force from the elite forces to combat terrorism. This force should be provided with good equipment and special training for different situations, and a good leadership to make decisions on the scene. But above all their use should be carefully planned according to time and size of threat, and with careful analysis to the following consequences.
4. Adopt a policy of no concessions to terrorists demands, but I believe negotiations should not be ruled out, as it will depend on the individual situation, especially if lives are involved or a dangerous threat is met, such as a nuclear one.
5. Place legal limits on the media coverage of terrorist news, as there is no sense in combatting terrorism in one hand while the media is achieving a big portion of the terrorist objectives, by giving them world wide publicity. So a compromise should be adopted, concerning the duration, the timing and the information released, as the media without control may jeopardize the over all objectives of combatting terrorism.
6. Participate in, and sponsor international treaties regarding the combating of terrorism, such as extradition and trial of captured terrorists, or a collective world wide sanction against countries who may assist or approve of terrorist

activities, or does not comply with international treaties. (For example, a denial of landing rights for the airlines of any country who hosts hijackers may eliminate hijacking problems.)

7. Keep the intelligence sources alive and well, with good personnel and monetary funds, as humans are an excellent intelligence source. An exchange of information between different countries regarding the activities and moves of the terrorists should restrict their freedom of action. This option of intelligence will make the task of military options very easy and successful.
8. If all efforts failed to deter terrorism, then a military response should be adopted, to include preemptive strikes on the confirmed bases of the terrorists; but to make sure not to hit other targets, because this may rally more support to the terrorists from the angry innocent people who had been hit by a military action. Reappraisals and retaliations should be carried out, bearing in mind they will not stop terrorism completely. Certainly it will raise the cost of the relatively inexpensive terrorist warfare by making it risky and dangerous. One must remember that the military option is not easy as it may trigger individuals to being active terrorists, which needs further military action, if such a policy is to go ahead the country should be prepared for such an escalation and frequency. Another handicap is the domestic and international public opinion, so a lot of preparation and propaganda work should take place before the commitment of the military option, so the world should sympathize with that option as it is sought as the last resort, and a useful deterrent to cut back on terrorist activities.

However I feel that the above guidelines have lots of restraints because of the potential threats to some democratic nations, which would require a constitutional change, and in effect a change to "a way of life" a nation is used to.

Therefore, I suggest to strike a balance between measures to counter terrorism and the amount of danger anticipated in terrorism. To preserve the democratic life and free society, some nations will have to accept the challenge of terrorism. To describe this dilemma, I find nothing better than a speaker at the Department of State Conference on International Terrorism held in Washington, D.C. (at the end of February 1976) who puts it: "Terrorism is like the weather, everyone talks about it, but no one ever does a thing to change it."²²

9. In summary, I feel there are major principles around which counter terrorist strategy should evolve:

- a. No concessions, because if any country gives in to terrorist demands, the end results will be further actions by the terrorists for further concessions. We may take the hostage crisis in Lebanon and the American-Israeli-Iranian deal as a clear example, that concessions get the situation nowhere.
- b. Avoid the contagious areas, try to educate the people, not to be in that high threat area. If any citizens happened to be there, monitor the situation, until things start getting out of hand, then evacuate the citizens to avoid any hostage taking situation.
- c. Pressure the states sponsoring the terrorists, by applying diplomatic, economic, or military pressure, to ensure elimination or reduction of terrorist actions.
- d. As a last resort, use force to destroy hideouts, training camps and logistics.
- e. In a special hostage situation, I think negotiations are a must to ensure safety and not to let the kidnapers lose their tempers which may lead to the killing of hostages. Negotiations are preferable through a third country to preserve prestige and not to show weakness to the terrorists' demands.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Terrorism, with its variable definitions and contradicting perceptions from various sides, has made the media headlines in late years. In this paper I pointed out that terrorism has objectives which are achieved through publicity and systematic concessions. It is aimed at the audience and its purpose is to spread fear and terror, disorientation of society and to promote a cold war. I also indicated that there are evidences of cooperation between various terrorist groups and various nation-states whether it be a financial and political support or training, procurement, and operational assistance. To counter terrorism I suggested that it is the duty of the international community individually or collectively to adopt a sound and firm policy against terrorism. The main guidelines to counter terrorism are to try and solve the initial cause of any revolutionary movement and to take some preventive measures even, if needed, to create new legislation or amend their constitutions, to trade off some individuals' freedom to create a safe and secure society. Terrorism can be dampened by reducing media coverage and adopting "no concessions" policies, also by promoting and participating in international treaties. And an exchange of intelligence information or extraditions of terrorists should restrict the freedom of movement of the terrorists. Military actions should be kept as a last resort which may not eliminate terrorism, but it would certainly reduce it in both magnitude and frequency. Finally I offer some strategy principles to counter terrorism especially in a hostage taking situation which are; no concessions, avoidance of contagious areas, political and economical pressure applications on terrorists and their sponsoring nation-states, negotiate through a mediator, and lastly use force if all else fails.

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