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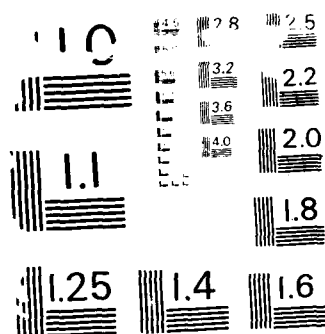
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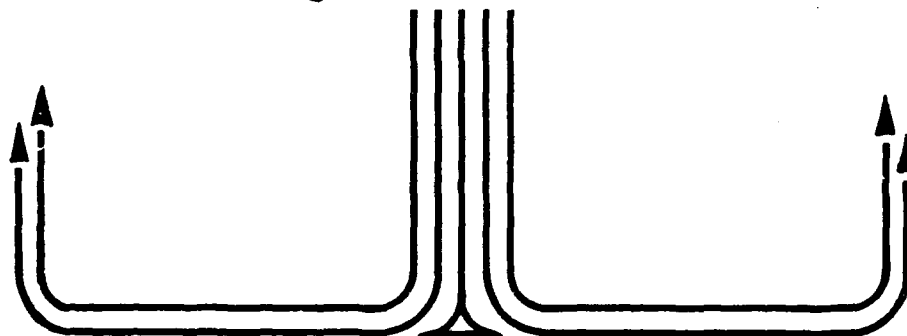
BOOK ANALYSIS
TERRORISM--HOW THE WEST CAN WIN

MAJOR STEPHEN R. CARR

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REPORT NUMBER 88-0475

TITLE BOOK ANALYSIS: TERRORISM--HOW THE WEST CAN WIN

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Submitted to the faculty in partial fulfillment of
requirements for graduation.

AIR COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE
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Terrorism--How the West Can Win is edited by Mr. Benjamin Netanyahu, Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations, and includes essays by 37 other distinguished contributors. The book defines terrorism, discusses the threat to the West, identifies the sources of terrorism, reviews the role of the media and proposes a solution for its elimination. This paper analyzes the book by comparing and contrasting its contents with other authors in the field of terrorism. Specific emphasis is placed on the threat to democracies, the terrorist network, the role of the media and the potential solution. The study concludes that Mr. Netanyahu's book offers little to policy makers and other experts in the field, however, it is recommended for the beginner.			
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PREFACE

"A decade ago, the world experienced an average of 10 incidents of terrorist violence per week--assassinations, bombings, air hijackings, kidnappings, maimings or attacks on facilities. The average now: nearly 10 a day." (14:27) This data from U.S. News & World Report portends a growing phenomenon in our world today. The stark reality of the death and destruction committed by terrorist groups makes headline news all too often. The ease with which these atrocities are committed instills fear in individual citizens and frustrates attempts by governments to eliminate this terrible disease. Obviously, this problem will not go away by itself. Therefore, we must begin by understanding what terrorism is so that we can formulate effective policies to eradicate it.

To begin my own understanding of terrorism, I read Terrorism--How the West Can Win by Benjamin Netanyahu. Several interesting ideas and concepts were proposed which prompted me to do further research to see if other authors shared his views. The result of this research is presented here in the form of a book analysis. This project has certainly enhanced my understanding of terrorism and I offer it in hopes that it will contribute positively to the understanding of others.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Major Stephen R. Carr was commissioned in September 1978 as a distinguished graduate of Officer Training School. Subsequently, he attended entry-level training as an Air Weapons Controller at Tyndall AFB, Florida. Upon completion as an honor graduate in March 1979, Major Carr served with the 22d Radar Squadron at Saint Margarets, New Brunswick, Canada, as the Combat Crew Training Officer. In March 1980, he was assigned to USAF Interceptor Weapons School at Tyndall AFB, Florida as an Air Weapons Controller Instructor teaching entry-level and advanced courses. Assigned to Langley AFB, Virginia in June of 1982, Major Carr became the Chief, Aerospace Defense Training Branch, in the Directorate of Command and Control, Headquarters Tactical Air Command (TAC). In January 1985 he was reassigned as Executive Special Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff, Operations, Headquarters TAC. He returned to Florida in September 1985 and assumed command of Detachment 1, 23rd Air Defense Squadron at Cape Canaveral AFS, one of only two aerostat (balloon-borne) radar units in the United States Air Force.

Major Carr received his Bachelor's Degree in Psychology from Troy State University in 1977. Additionally, he is a graduate of Academic instructor School and an honor graduate of the Air Weapons Director Staff Officer Course. He is also a distinguished graduate of Squadron Officer's School. Major Carr is currently a student at Air Command and Staff College.

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REPORT NUMBER S8-047b

AUTHOR(S) MAJOR STEPHEN R. CARR, USAF

TITLE BOOK ANALYSIS: TERROPISM--HOW THE WEST CAN WIN

I. Purpose: To conduct a comparative book analysis of Terrorism--How the West Can Win by Benjamin Netanyahu.

II. Objectives: To compare and contrast the ideas and concepts of Mr. Netanyahu with those of other authors who have examined the subject.

III. Discussion of Analysis: Terrorism is an aberration of our society that has increased more than seven times in the last decade. Death of innocent people and indiscriminate property damage are the results of terrorist aggression. Moreover, the latest phenomenon of state supported terrorism is waging a relentless war against the democracies of the West. Mr. Benjamin Netanyahu, Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations and brother of Jonathon Netanyahu who died leading the raid on Entebbe, formed the Jonathon Institute "to increase the understanding of international terrorism, and the way that democratic nations have to organize themselves to fight it." (15:8) The proceedings of the second international conference sponsored by the Jonathon Institute were published as a book entitled Terrorism--How the West Can Win.

This book analysis begins with a look at Mr. Netanyahu's background. Born and raised in Israel, he is no stranger to terrorism. He has seen its effects on his country and has become politically involved in supporting Israeli

CONTINUED

solutions to eradicate it. Moreover, the death of his brother Jonathon at the hands of terrorists provided him with a personal experience of terrorism. His life experiences describe his unique credentials on the subject of terrorism, but also provide potential for bias which is reviewed in the second part of Chapter One. Chapter Two provides a synopsis of the entire book which should prepare the reader for the succeeding analysis.

Chapters Three through Six constitute the body of this analysis. Throughout these chapters Mr. Netanyahu's ideas and concepts are compared and contrasted with other authors' views. Chapter Three begins with an analysis of Netanyahu's definition of terrorism. Close scrutiny shows that it fails the test of broad application. His view that democracies are the primary targets of terrorism are not statistically substantiated within the book. However, other authors do share his view, some providing very detailed statistics. Chapter Four looks at the concept of state sponsored terrorism as the greatest international threat to the West. Netanyahu says that Iran, Libya, and Syria are the major perpetrators with underlying support from the Soviet Union. Again, a lack of statistics tends to weaken his argument. Moreover, investigation of other sources reveals other states outside the Middle East that actively support terrorist groups. Chapter Five looks at the role of the media providing the essential catalyst for the success of the terrorist. Little more than individual perceptions of problems and solutions are found in this section of the book, requiring additional research to find a more detailed analysis of the media-terrorist relationship. Chapter Six explores Mr. Netanyahu's prescription for success which proposes a coalition of the democracies led by the U.S. using political, economic and military instruments of power. Although there is little disagreement from other authors, they are quick to point out the utopian aspects of this solution and its general ineffectiveness against terrorist groups without state sponsors.

IV. Conclusion: Terrorism--How the West Can Win Addresses most of the major issues on terrorism today. However, the distinguished contributors (37 total) to this book were given only approximately two to four pages to state their case. This paucity of space provided little opportunity to develop their points in depth. Moreover, the book is permeated with a distinctively Middle Eastern flavor in its description of terrorism, the magnitude of the threat to the West and the proposed solution to eliminate it.

V. Recommendation: Terrorism--How the West Can Win Would be of little value to government policy makers and other experts in the field of terrorism. However, the broad coverage in this book provides a good place for the beginner to embark upon an initial understanding of terrorism.

Chapter One

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

A thoughtful analysis of any manuscript must begin with a look at the author. Culture, education and significant "life experiences" are some of the factors that most certainly influence any author's need or desire to write on a particular subject as well as shaping the opinions or conclusions that are advocated. Therefore, a quick look at Mr. Netanyahu's background should provide us with a baseline for evaluation of his arguments in addition to indications of any potential for bias. The following two sections will review Mr. Netanyahu's background and discuss his potential for bias. (24:1)

AUTHOR'S BACKGROUND

"Benjamin Netanyahu was born in Israel in 1949--one year after Israel was recognized as an independent state. One of three brothers, he grew up in the midst of Israel's struggle for existence." (24:1) He entered the Israeli Army and was posted to a special forces paratroop unit. He performed well, cited for his outstanding command ability. He saw combat in the 1973 Yom Kippur War and was subsequently promoted to the rank of captain. In 1974, after discharge from the army, he returned to the U.S. to complete his undergraduate degree in architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). In 1976, he completed work for his Master's degree from MIT's Sloan School of Management. (15:6)

While completing his work at MIT, Mr. Netanyahu developed an intense interest in political science. He became very much aware of the increasingly pervasive Arab propaganda both on and beyond college campuses since the Yom Kippur War. He essentially doubled his workload at MIT by enrolling in political science courses at Harvard. Moreover, he felt an additional need to become involved and joined the Israeli Student Organization on campus as the Director of Information. (15:8) However, on July 4, 1976 an event that shocked the world would also change Benjamin Netanyahu's life. (15:6)

On that fateful day his older brother, Jonathon, was killed while leading the Israeli hostage rescue mission at Entebbe. Consequently, Benjamin became very interested in terrorism, helping to establish The Jonathon Institute in Jerusalem and later serving as its executive director. (15:6) The objective of this research foundation is "to increase the understanding of international terrorism and the way that democratic nations have to organize themselves to fight it." (15:8) Since its inception, two international conferences on terrorism have been held. The first in Jerusalem in 1979, followed by a conference in Washington D.C. in 1984. Terrorism--How the West Can Win is the result from the proceedings of the last conference, published in 1986. (24:2)

This is Netanyahu's third book on the subject of terrorism. In 1980 he published The Letters of Jonathon Netanyahu and in 1981, International Terrorism: Challenge and Response. (24:2) From 1982 to 1984, Benjamin Netanyahu was the Deputy Chief at the Israeli Embassy in Washington D.C. On October 1, 1984, he became "Israel's first native-born Ambassador to the United Nations." (15:6)

POTENTIAL FOR BIAS

Benjamin Netanyahu's life experiences have most certainly shaped his view of what terrorism is, who terrorists are and how to counter their atrocities. "His national heritage, political involvement and personal life have all been touched by various acts of terrorism." (24:2)

Growing up in the young and tumultuous state of Israel, Mr. Netanyahu has witnessed three major wars of national survival with Arab neighbors. Moreover, the threat of terrorist activities against Israeli citizens continues even today, orchestrated mostly by Arab extremists. Keenly aware of its enemies, Israel's view of terrorism as a potential threat to national survival has engendered a strong willingness to fight. (24:2) Without question, Mr. Netanyahu's concept of a terrorist and the magnitude of the terrorist threat have been shaped by these experiences.

As Israel's top political representative to the United Nations, he is an outspoken advocate of Israel's tough policies toward terrorism. He has often boasted about Israel's success in countering terrorists while chastising the West for their failure to recognize the pervasive threat of terrorism and our apparent reluctance to mount a strong coordinated response. (24:2) Therefore, we must assume that this book reflects Israel's views on terrorism.

Finally, the fact that his brother Jonathon was killed at Entebbe brings Mr. Netanyahu personally close to the murderous acts of terrorists. As stated previously, this event was responsible for Benjamin's interest in terrorism. More importantly, it may be safe to assume that he espouses many of the thoughts on terrorism held by his brother. In an interview conducted in 1984, Benjamin said, "Yoni (Jonathon) had always believed that this problem (terrorists) was going to spread, and his prognosis was correct." (15:8)

Identification of potential bias is not an attempt on my part to denigrate the author's credibility. Afterall, Mr. Netanyahu's life experiences are responsible for motivating him to write this book and serve as his credentials on the subject of terrorism. (24:2) However, I expect the author's background and allegiance to Israel will be readily apparent throughout his book.

Chapter Two

BOOK SYNOPSIS

Terrorism--How the West Can Win is an attempt by Mr. Netanyahu to capture the essence of the second international conference on terrorism sponsored by The Jonathon Institute. The majority of the book is composed of short essays (2 to 6 pages) written by 37 participants representing various countries in the Western world. "These countries include the U.S., Israel, France, Britain, Japan and West Germany." (24:3) Contributors from the U.S. include current CIA Director William Webster, U.S. Senators Alan Cranston, Paul Laxalt and Jack Kemp, former U.N. Ambassadors Arthur Goldberg and Jean Kirkpatrick, U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese III and Secretary of State George P. Shultz. (1:241-245) Benjamin Netanyahu contributes two chapters (essays) and serves as the editor, writing introductions to the eight major topic areas.

The first major topic entitled "The Challenge to the Democracies" begins with the definition of terrorism adopted in Jerusalem in 1979. (1:9) "Terrorism is the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends." (1:9) Furthermore, international terrorism is not a sporadic event resulting from social frustration and misery, but is founded in the political ambitions of expansionist states and the groups that support them. Moreover, if these states removed their support, international terrorism would cease to exist. (1:7) This definition rejects completely the idea that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." (1:3) The remainder of this section is devoted to the susceptibility of democracies (The West) to terrorism, identifying two key reasons. First, terrorists see the openness of Western societies providing a relatively easy environment to attack. Secondly, they assume that our emphasis on human rights and the rule of law will hamper a strong response. (1:5) Next, the author devotes three major sections of the book to convince the reader that Totalitarianism, Islamic Radicalism and their supporting states are responsible for all international terrorism.

Although Netanyahu recognizes that several ideological, national and religious movements may be responsible for terrorism, Totalitarianism and Islamic Fundamentalism are behind the modern terrorist. "Under Totalitarianism the individual is always subordinate to some higher cause, whether racial, political, or religious; man is inconsequential in and of himself." (1:39) Like the Totalitarian, the terrorist believes that his cause justifies any means. (1:39) Islamic Fundamentalism essentially divides the world into Muslims and Infidels. Muslims have traditionally held the West responsible for the historical containment, humiliation and defeat of Islam. (1:61) "Although Islamic Radicalism is opposed to Communist Secularism, their common antagonism to the West has often united them." (1:63) However,

Netanyahu claims that international terrorism could not have attained its international pervasiveness without the support of various states providing training, money, weapons, intelligence and sanctuary. (1:85) He claims that overwhelming evidence reveals that terrorist organizations receive support from the Soviet Union and many of its surrogates, especially Cuba, as well as many radical Arab states and Iran. (1:85) Moreover, beyond this state support, Netanyahu asserts that ample documentation exists to show that various terrorist groups have collaborated with each other and in many cases the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was the pivotal group. (1:86)

Next, Mr. Netanyahu assaults the Western media. He declares that the world's free press is vital to the success of terrorism, providing an open and sometimes sympathetic forum to transmit the terrorist message. He acknowledges that much of this may be unavoidable in a free society, however, it can be controlled by discretion in reporting terrorist actions. Netanyahu does not advocate censorship but encourages self-discipline by media organizations. Much could be done to counter the pernicious effects of terrorism if the press would "exercise toward terrorism the same discretion it applies to coverage of pornography and excessively deviant behavior." (1:109)

Next, Mr. Netanyahu turns to a discussion of the legal foundations to enhance our struggle against the terrorist. Since democracies are based on moral principles and the rule of law, many questions are raised in our fight against terrorism. Can we pursue terrorists into countries that support them? How much force can we use? What about the potential of killing innocent people? What about the question of diplomatic immunity? (1:131) Mr. Netanyahu asserts that the body of international law and agreements, specifically The United Nations Charter and The Geneva Conventions, were written before international terrorism attained its current proliferation. (1:131) However, the contributors to this section of the book affirm that the current body of international law does provide answers. (1:131) Some examples are the prohibition of deliberate attack on non-combatants, provisions for military attack against the terrorist and supporting states outlined in Article 51 of The United Nations Charter and the nullification of diplomatic immunity when used to protect shipment of weapons and explosives across state boundaries as stated in The Vienna Convention on International Relations. (1:Ch6)

The remaining two sections of the book are devoted to the domestic and international battle against terrorism, respectively. Domestically, the authors suggest that successes have occurred, citing Italy, Britain, Israel and West Germany for successful assaults against terrorist organizations within their own borders. (1:163) Netanyahu argues that the key to success is to treat "terrorism as a crime and terrorists as criminals." (1:164) However, since terrorism has become a method for some states to wage warfare against the West it has increasingly become an international problem requiring an international response. Mr. Netanyahu writes the last chapter of the book, proposing a formula for the defeat of international terrorism by the West. He asserts that all democracies must recognize that a terrorist attack against one of them must be considered as ultimately directed against

all of them. (1:176) He then calls for a coordinated head-on assault against terrorism with the U.S. in the lead collectively orchestrating massed political, economic and military instruments of power to defeat the terrorists and their sponsors. Without this massive assault on terrorism, it will most certainly continue at an accelerating pace. (1:Ch7-8)

Chapter Three

THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACIES

Beginning with Mr. Netanyahu's chapter (essay) on defining terrorism, this first major area of his book contains three other essays which concentrate on the challenge that terrorism poses to democracies--the main target, who supports the terrorists and possible strategies to defeat them. My purpose here is to concentrate on analyzing the definition on terrorism and substantiate the special challenge to democracies. The support structure of the terrorists and strategies to defeat them will be addressed in succeeding chapters of this paper.

Mr. Netanyahu believes that "to win the war against terrorism, free societies must first know what they are fighting." (1:3) He defines terrorism as "the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends." (1:9) Emphasis is placed on the words "deliberate" and "systematic." He uses the word "deliberate" to distinguish between victims of terrorism and accidental civilian casualties during a declared war. The word "systematic" conveys that terrorism is a calculated campaign against its intended victims and not an aberration. (1:9) Mr. Netanyahu completely rejects the argument that terrorists can be considered guerrillas or freedom fighters. He argues that the key difference is that terrorists specifically attack defenseless civilians while guerrillas "are irregular soldiers who wage war on regular military forces, not on civilians." (1:9) Although Mr. Netanyahu has formulated a definition that he believes clearly differentiates terrorism from other types of violence, other individuals, nations and international organizations have failed to do so. Secretary of State George Shultz, a contributor to this section, avoids prescribing a specific definition of terrorism in favor of identifying some things we have learned about terrorism. (1:17) The Public Report of the Vice-President's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism acknowledges that the United States has not adopted an official definition of terrorism, citing that "terrorism is a phenomenon that is easier to describe than define" (2:1) Even The Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, inspite of protracted debate, could not arrive at an acceptable definition. (17:129) Moreover, a book review in The New Republic by Walter Laqueur states that "according to this (Netanyahu's) definition, a group of Abu Nidal's followers who ambush an Israeli soldier in South Lebanon (or try to kill an Israeli cabinet minister inside Israel) are not terrorists, a proposition which the author is unlikely to agree." (7:44) Therefore, it appears that defining terrorism is not as simple as Mr. Netanyahu would have us believe.

Throughout the book the assertion is made that international terrorism is on the rise and democracies are its primary target. However, the entire book is surprisingly void of specific data to support these claims. Nonetheless, outside sources do provide some supporting data. For example, Professor Oscar Rechtschaffen of Saint Mary's University writes that almost 6000 terrorist incidents were recorded between 1973 and 1987. Of these, 40 to 50 percent have been directed against the U.S. (13:15) In a statement before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in June 1984, Secretary of State George Shultz said that "some 40% of all the incidents and a large proportion of all the threats and hoaxes are aimed at the United States-our diplomats, members of our armed forces, our businessmen, or other Americans." (18:29) Although few, less than ½ percent, of the total terrorist incidents in 1985 occurred in the United States, more than 33 percent were targeted directly at the United States. Add to this the fact that more than 41 percent of all incidents in 1985 occurred in Western Europe and Latin America, you have ample indication that democracies are a favored target of the terrorist. (2:3-5) Now, the most obvious question becomes, why do terrorists prefer to pick on democracies?

Two reasons permeate the entire book. First, the terrorist sees our open societies as unparalleled opportunities for attack. Secondly, they feel that our emphasis on the rule of law will prevent a strong response. (1:5) Adrian A. Basora, Minister Counselor for Political Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Paris says,

Terrorism is ideally suited for use on our terrain. The freedom of movement and of political action, the easy anonymity, the open communications, and of course the instant availability of the free media as a multiplier of impact makes terrorism all the easier and more undetectable and yet the more powerful when deployed in open societies. And, even if a terrorist is caught, there is always due process, the difficulty of extradition, and many other legal and political sources of protection to decrease the chances of severe retribution. (3:62)

Expanding on this inherent vulnerability, Mr. R. G. Sawhney in an article for Strategic Analysis says,

Terrorism poses a serious dilemma for the democratic state, since under-reaction and political inertia would expose it as vulnerable while over-reaction and indiscriminate repression would bring about loss of popular support and legitimacy. Either way the state loses its democratic values and becomes increasingly vulnerable to terrorism. One could say that the democratic values and ethos of a nation and the moral fibre of its society will be tested by the way it tackles the problem of terrorism. (17:138)

Even our own government acknowledges these vulnerabilities, stating that terrorism is "political theater" designed to undermine our government's authority. Our apparent inability to respond has a negative effect on our citizens and allies. Thus, our enemies are delighted when our apparent weaknesses are exposed to the entire world. (2:6) Considering all of this testimony, it appears that democracies are not only extremely vulnerable to

terrorism, but are unable to fight it. However, it must be noted that "in the post--second world war era, no democratic state has yet succumbed to terroristic violence." (17:129)

Chapter Four

THE TERRORIST SUPPORT NETWORK

Netanyahu affirms that terrorism could not have achieved its current international proportions without a synergistic effect derived from support by governments and in some cases collaboration among various terrorist groups. However, the book appears to focus on the Middle East, paying little attention to state sponsored terrorist activities in other parts of the world. "More specifically, fingers are pointed directly at the PLO, Syria, Iran and Libya as being major perpetrators of the atrocities aimed at the Western world (1:62,72,81)... (however) he touches only the fringes of terrorist activities of the IRA, The Meinhof Gang, The Red Brigade, etc. He continually stresses the internationality of the problem, but provides little data outside the Middle East area." (24:13) Underlying this network according to the book's contributors, is the Soviet Union supplying training, money, weapons and intelligence through their surrogates.

Research into other sources on terrorism has yielded virtual unanimity on the existence of state sponsored terrorism. Brian Jenkins, director of research on subnational conflict and political violence for the Rand Corporation, asserts that a "growing number of governments themselves are using terrorist tactics, employing terrorist groups, or exploiting terrorist incidents as a mode of surrogate warfare." (6:41) He has compiled data since 1969 and subsequently developed some characteristics of state sponsored terrorist groups. First, they are eight times more lethal than non-state supported groups. Second, their geographic sphere of operations is almost three times broader. Third, they attack less business targets because their state sponsors provide necessary financial support. Fourth, Americans are their targets almost as frequently as terrorists groups without state support. (6:41) Although Mr. Jenkins does not attempt to list the primary supporting states, he concedes that the primary threat to the U.S. comes from a handful of states concentrated in the Middle East, however, others (states) could be included in the future. (6:39-45)

Mr. Richard Shultz Jr., associate professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, agrees with Mr. Netanyahu that state sponsored terrorism is "a new and alarming development in world politics." Furthermore, he also names Libya, Syria and Iran as the "most direct and overt actors." (19:207) Additionally, an article entitled "The Sources of Terror" appearing in the April 28, 1986 issue of U.S. News and World Report, not only confirms the primacy of this trio but ranks them in terms of the frequency of their support. Citing unnamed intelligence sources, Libya is number one, supporting some two hundred operations between 1975 and

1985. Syria is second, supporting more than 70 terrorist actions between 1983 and 1986. Iran is listed as third but numbers of incidents supported were not reported. (20:28) The U.S. government also acknowledges the Middle East as the source of the world's most deadly terrorists, however, attributing only about 50 percent of all 1985 terrorist incidents to them. (2:2) An article appearing in the New York Times on July 8, 1985 begins with, "President Reagan today characterized Iran, Libya, North Korea, Cuba and Nicaragua as 'a confederation of terrorist states' that had carried out 'outright acts of war' against the United States." (21:1) A USA Today article the following day provided a list of the specific groups supported by each of the countries. Interestingly, of the terrorist groups listed, more than two-thirds were supported by Cuba, North Korea and Nicaragua. (5:2) Although, the State Department lists Syria as one of the nations providing support to international terrorism, it was inexplicably absent from President Reagan's list. (21:3)

The Soviet connection to terrorism is one that is not so direct and therefore difficult to specifically define. In Netanyahu's book, Michael Ledeen, a senior fellow at The Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, cites captured documents, defectors' testimony and information gained from the investigation of the General Dozier kidnapping as evidence linking the Soviets to international terrorism via their surrogates. (1:87-92) Additionally, another essay by Claire Sterling, a foreign correspondent based in Italy, connects the Soviets to the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul through Bulgaria and the Turkish Mafia. (1:103) Mr. Gayle Rivers in his book entitled The War Against Terrorists--How to Win It cites his personal experience interrogating captured terrorists as support for the Soviet connection. (24:14) The U.S. government, on the other hand, has been reluctant to directly accuse the Soviets. However, President Reagan and Secretaries of State Haig and Shultz have "raised the question" of Soviet support citing their "close relationship with almost all the terrorist states." (12:109) Despite all this testimony, "there is no evidence currently of direct Soviet involvement in planning and orchestrating specific terrorist actions." (19:207)

Chapter Five

WESTERN MEDIA--THE ACHILLES' HEEL

"A terrorist is a criminal who seeks publicity... if the media were not there to report terrorist acts and to explain their political and social significance, terrorism as such would cease to exist." (1:120) This statement by Mr. John O'Sullivan, deputy editor for the Times of London and contributor to Mr. Netanyahu's book, generally reflects the attitude of all the contributors to this section of the book. Individually, their essays reflect their personal and professional assessment of the problem, developing two or three ways in which the media serves terrorism. Searching for solutions, the authors unanimously favor some form of self-discipline over censorship by the government. (1:109-129) Not a surprising conclusion since all but one are members of the professional media. However, this section of the book is devoid of any detailed analysis supporting their claims that the media carry a large share of the responsibility for the current state of international terrorism.

Mr. Brian Jenkins, director of research on subnational conflict and political violence for the Rand Corporation, has looked at the terrorist-media relationship in some detail. His study, published in 1981, looks at five different questions. First, does the media report only sensational aspects of terrorism? His research shows that the media (particularly television) focuses on action which often leads to an unbalanced picture of the intensity of terrorism. Analysis of terrorism coverage in the New York Times and Times of London shows "almost no coverage of the phenomenon of terrorism between episodes because nothing visible and dramatic is happening." (23:85) Television and radio are even worse because of their "emphasis on brief snips of sight and sound." (23:85) Secondly, does the media exaggerate the significance of terrorism? Mr. Jenkins found that terrorist incidents do tend to crowd out other news because they provide drama. He cites statistics that show ordinary murder far outnumbers deaths by terrorism. For example, 80 U.S. citizens died at the hands of terrorists between 1970 and 1978 while nearly 20,000 murders were committed annually. The media is interested in sensational, alarming, unusual and dramatic events. Terrorism provides all these while murder, because of its frequency and lack of drama is just plain ordinary. Thirdly, does the media exaggerate the problem of terrorism? Exaggeration of the strength of the terrorists by the media spreads alarm and creates the illusion that they are omnipresent. Mr. Jenkins cites public opinion polls from the U.S. and Britain showing 90 percent and 85 percent, respectively, view international terrorism as a very serious problem. However, the quality of the terrorist incident determines whether and how much coverage is given. His research shows that a significant number of international terrorist events are overlooked. Less than half the incidents

in 1968 to 1974 were reported by the New York Times and the Times of London. Moreover, hostage, hijacking and kidnapping events were most often covered because of their inherent drama. Fourth, does the media distort the perception of the government? Focus on hostage situations, especially, tend to distort the public's perception of their government. People see their government only in crisis, unable to provide security for its citizens, sometimes yielding to terrorist demands and often unable to bring them to justice. This tends to build public support for more "totalitarian" solutions because of the perception of government impotence. Finally, does the media encourage more terrorism? A Gallop Poll taken in 1977 says yes by a margin of 64 percent to 27 percent. Mr. Jenkins verifies a "cluster effect" citing a Rand Corporation research which shows an increased likelihood of similar events during a period immediately following an incident. Additionally, discussions with captured terrorists show some that say they got their idea from similar actions. (23:84-93) I believe this five part discussion provides a more expanded characterization of media's effect on international terrorism than is available in Netanyahu's book as well as most other authors uncovered in my research.

On the matter of controlling media coverage of terrorist incidents, all other authors I consulted in my research agree with the thrust of Netanyahu's book. Individual or organizational self-discipline is preferred over any form of censorship. "Individual media organizations have discussed professional reporting guidelines and ethical standards have been adopted by some members of the press, including television networks. However, there is no industry consensus on either the need for or substance of such guidelines." (2:20) Mr. Leon Grossman, President of NBC News, says that "precise planning and rigid rules serve little practical use when it comes to deciding how to cover each highly emotional, terrifying and unpredictable terrorism episode. Decisions must be made on a case by-case basis." (4:1) Moreover, the bottom line is that Western media organizations are also competitive businesses. "The press-at least in the West-has to build up an audience and keep it to remain in business." (9:133)

Interestingly, neither Netanyahu's book nor most other authors discuss potential benefits from coverage of terrorism by the media. Dr. Rudolph Levy, former instructor on international terrorism and counterterrorism with the U.S. Army Intelligence Center, believes that the media has been very helpful to the authorities. The media has contributed immeasurably to the law enforcement and intelligence community data bases. The media has been able to expose foreign influence and support of international terrorism. In some cases, the media has supplied key information which has led to apprehension of terrorists and foreign agents. Dr. Levy also believes that the threat of media coverage may prevent some terrorist activities because it exposes the individual terrorists. "In short, the media can do for the authorities what they do for the terrorists." (8:38)

Chapter Six

PRESCRIPTION FOR SUCCESS

Mr. Netanyahu ignores claims by others that the covert nature of terrorism and the openness of Western societies makes it nearly impossible to stop. He claims that once you weaken its ability to operate with impunity, you have broken its back. The West has the means to do this. (11:49) The essence of Mr. Netanyahu's formula for success is best stated in the following excerpt from an analysis of this book by Major Hankins.

In offering solutions to terrorism, Mr. Netanyahu has two central tenets: unity and courage. He believes unity is critical to meeting the terrorist threat and offers numerous advantages. First, it pits the terrorist against a united front--not a group of divided nations. Unity means cooperation in developing an international synergism of political, economic and military strategies. Unity requires that a terrorist attack against one nation invoke an international response from all. Mr. Netanyahu calls for this unity to lead an "anti-terrorist alliance" among cooperating countries (1:217-218). The second element is courage. The essence here is acquiring the national will to meet the threat (1:216). While there is no simple method to galvanize national will toward a common objective, perhaps the first steps include aggressive leadership and continued education about the dangers of not meeting the threat (1:225-226). (24:16)

Before evaluating the feasibility and soundness of Mr. Netanyahu's recommended course of action, it is necessary to describe in more detail how Mr. Netanyahu intends to exploit the vulnerabilities of terrorist-sponsoring nations through the use of political, economic and military instruments of power.

Politically, Mr. Netanyahu suggests actions from "international condemnation to cutting off diplomatic relations." (1:212) Initially, exposing the offending state to public opinion might cause other states to speak out against them or at least stop supporting them. This may also cause the terrorist supporting state to reduce their support since their cover has been blown. Additionally, closing down the embassies of offending states can deal a severe blow by eliminating "safe houses" for the terrorists and denying them the use of the "diplomatic pouch" which is often used to transport their weapons. (1:212-213)

Economically, Netanyahu relies on the assumption that "most of these

countries that support terrorism desperately need Western goods, weapons or credit" (1:213) Using the West's "formidable economic clout" via embargoes, boycotts, denial of aircraft landing rights and ship docking rights, refusal to transfer Western technology and in some cases withdrawal of economic aid. He realizes that economic sanctions are often very tough on the nations which implement them, however, they must be prepared to shoulder the burden. A concerted effort by a voluntary association of states will be the most effective. (1:213-214)

Militarily, Mr. Netanyahu discusses the twofold problem of jurisdiction and sovereignty. He believes that the country where the terrorist act occurs has jurisdiction so long as they pursue a solution. Take the case of Entebbe where a French airliner with Israeli passengers on board was held by terrorists in Uganda. Uganda had jurisdiction and thus a responsibility to terminate the crisis. When they refused to do so, the right to intervene passed to France and/or Israel. Thus arises the question of sovereignty. According to Netanyahu, states forfeit their sovereignty when they harbor or assist terrorists. He implies that Uganda's failure to act was a sign of their support for the terrorists. Therefore Israel, and other sovereign states in similar circumstances, had every right to take action to protect their citizens. (1:214-217)

Mr. Michael Yardley, a terrorism researcher at London University, embraces Netanyahu's principal of a united response to terrorism. However, he has taken it one step further by specifically designing an organization which he calls the Multi-National Alliance for Criminal Emergencies (MACE). The major components of this organization would include crisis management, intelligence and some type of direct intervention unit. Additionally, he admits that the word "terrorism" is charged with emotionalism and imprecision and therefore prefers to use his own acronym, PMCV, which stands for politically motivated crimes of violence. PMCV is specifically defined as aerial or maritime piracy involving hostages. Even with this more precise definition of the threat, he concedes that attempts at international cooperation on diplomatic levels have been a failure. He cites the difficulty of forming a consensus among nations with differing views. Two existing agreements (The European Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism and The Bonn Declaration) have provided a beginning, however, in practice they are full of loopholes. (22:1621-1625)

The U.S. government also affirms that "international cooperation is crucial to long-term deterrence of terrorism." (2:23) In The Public Report of the Vice-President's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism, the government acknowledges that progress has been slow, however, efforts must continue in securing multi-national agreements. The United Nations as well as other specialized organizations like civil aviation, maritime affairs and tourism are prime targets. (2:24) But as Mr. Nestlehutt cites in his article entitled "Combatting Terrorism: Policies in the Making," efforts to achieve international agreement on this subject are hampered by differing views and interests of individual countries which are often times too difficult to overcome. (10:16)

Notwithstanding past and present problems with international cooperation,

Netanyahu's solution does not address the response to "ordinary terrorism." Mr. Brian Jenkins defines "ordinary terrorism" as violence conducted by groups without state support and declares that this is still a formidable threat. Without providing specific terrorist group names, Mr. Jenkins claims that U.S. targets in 72 countries have been attacked since 1968 by terrorists with no state support. (6:44) These acts have little influence on U.S. policy. Moreover, diplomatic and economic sanctions cannot be applied against individual groups. Military responses, although potentially appropriate, would most likely be imposed unilaterally.

Theoretically, Mr. Netanyahu's formula to combat terrorism appears sound. However, it requires the democracies to put aside their individual agendas in favor of a united front. As Mr. Laqueur of The New Republic says, "unfortunately, these things will not happen until the situation considerably deteriorates--in which case action will be taken regardless of all such exhortations." (7:44)

Chapter Seven

CONCLUSION

Terrorism is an interesting often confusing and perplexing outgrowth of our society. The shock and terror created by the outrageous acts of violence and communicated by Western media have elevated terrorism to our primary national security threat according to some intellectuals and policy makers. The truth is, "more Americans drown in their bathtubs, are struck by lightning or die in traffic accidents..." (15:828)

Mr. Netanyahu's stated purpose is to educate the world, especially the West, on the pervasive threat of terrorism to our way of life and to construct a cogent strategy to defeat it. He begins with a valiant attempt to define terrorism, which upon closer scrutiny fails the test of broad application. However, this should not be considered as an indictment against Mr. Netanyahu for trying to do what other individuals, governments and international organizations have failed to do as well. Next, he declares that democracies are the primary target of terrorism because of their openness and reliance on human rights and the rule of law when contemplating retribution. Although other experts generally agree with these assertions, the book was conspicuously devoid of statistics to substantiate this.

State sponsored terrorism is cited by Mr. Netanyahu as the greatest international threat to the West. He identifies the major perpetrators as Iran, Libya and Syria. Underlying this network is the Soviet Union. Virtually all other sources I consulted agree with Mr. Netanyahu's big three but add Cuba, North Korea, Nicaragua and others as supporters of international terrorism. Although others accuse the Soviet Union, no direct evidence was found to substantiate this. Lack of statistics on state sponsored terrorism tends to weaken Mr. Netanyahu's argument when consulted alone. Moreover, his failure to include terrorist sponsors from outside the Middle East does not fully support his thesis of an international threat.

Next, Mr. Netanyahu fingers the media as the conduit of modern terrorism, implying that if they didn't report terrorism it would disappear. He does not advocate censorship but prefers self discipline by media organizations. The material in this section is provided mostly by media professionals and amounts to little more than individual perceptions of the problems and solutions. One would have to look elsewhere for a more detailed analysis of media terrorist relationship. Outside research reveals that a cogent set of rules for media coverage of terrorism does not exist and probably will never exist as long as Western media organizations are businesses trying to increase their market share and make a profit. Furthermore, this section was completely void of any

discussion on the potential positive benefits which the media can and has provided to authorities.

Finally, Mr. Netanyahu prescribes his approach to defeat international state sponsored terrorism. The West must unite under the leadership of the U.S. An attack against an individual democracy must be considered as an attack against all democracies. Retribution for states which sponsor terrorism would come from the massed political, economic or military instruments of power. Theoretically, his argument is well developed and appears on the surface to be very credible. However, further research finds that democratic nations can't even agree on a common definition of terrorism and initial efforts to collaborate on international agreements to combat terrorism have been largely unsuccessful. Moreover, his prescription for defeat of state sponsored terrorism does nothing to thwart unsponsored terrorist groups which still provide an ominous threat to our society.

Mr. Walter Laqueur of The New Republic summarizes the value of Terrorism- How the West Can Win in the following remarks.

Now I have no doubt that virtually every one of the participants could have written a valuable book (or at least a thoughtful essay) on terrorism, but the average length of the contributions in this volume is three to four pages. There is no way to develop any reasoned argument, to say anything profound or original, in such a setting. Indeed, to publish these snippets is rather an injustice to the many distinguished people who may have had much of substance to offer. (7:43)

In summary, Terrorism- How the West Can Win provides the Israeli view on what terrorism is and who the terrorists are. It is a rather superficial look at terrorism lacking originality and depth of support. Although this book would be of little value to government policy makers and other experts in the field, it provides the beginner with a good place to begin to understand terrorism.

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