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Counterattack: The West's Battle Against the Terrorists

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others which are little more than unsupported assertions, or are otherwise lacking in significant analytical content. There is one glaring omission. Practically every paper in the book is critical of the possible restoration of the draft. Some authors say that the country should not return to the draft; others say that it cannot, because the draft is politically infeasible. There is no paper by an advocate of restoring the draft. But there certainly are respected scholars and policymakers who do advocate just that. As for political feasibility, few would argue that national service, extensively discussed here, is more politically feasible than restoring the draft. Despite my reservations, I would recommend this volume as worthwhile reading to anyone interested in military manpower issues. Even the specialist will find some new insights here.

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Dobson, Christopher and Payne, Ronald.
Counterattack: The West's Battle Against the Terrorists. New York: Facts on File, Inc. 1982. 198pp. \$14.95

This book, according to the publishers, tells the "inside story of the strategies, weapons and leadership that are winning the struggle against international terrorism." It is divided into 11 chapters and delves into the policies of eight nations, Britain, the United States, Israel, West Germany, Holland, France, Italy, and Spain. One section deals with "private enterprise vs. the terrorists." The authors state that terrorism is the employment of violence for political ends and includes any use of violence for the purpose of placing the public or part of the community in fear. In an era where there have been many attempts to come to grips with a definition of terrorism

this is within acceptable bounds. Unfortunately, many examples of terrorism cited throughout the book fail to meet their definitional criteria.

Chapter I, titled, "Terrorism and the World Community" begins with a description of violent acts directed against notable persons. The attempt on President Reagan's life, an Irish Republican Army bombing, the incident of a 17-year-old youth firing blanks at Queen Elizabeth, a bombing directed against Iranian leaders, the shooting of Pope John Paul II, and the assassination of Anwar Sadat are all lumped together.

Two of these six acts, (those directed at President Reagan and Queen Elizabeth) and possibly a third (that targeting Sadat) do not qualify as acts of terrorism. There exists today, a tendency to label all high risk violence as terrorism. However, terrorism in and of itself can not be identified *solely* by reason of (1) the horrifying nature of the act; (2) scale and magnitude of the activity; (3) identity, ideology, and character of the perpetrators; (4) the methods used; or (5) the nature of the immediate, as opposed to the long term, goal or objective.

Accepting the authors' premise of the political end of terrorist acts it is difficult to find such a motive in the violence directed at Reagan and the Queen. Likewise, the political nature of an assassination does not in and of itself qualify the act as terrorism. The authors, by mingling non-political violent activity with true terrorism, provide a disservice to their readers and cloud the true understanding of a very complex phenomenon.

In their effort to market this book the publishers list several "discoveries" to be found in this "vital and fascinating" study. These points while initially stimulating interest are not, in my judgment, terribly relevant. For example, the dust cover tells the reader he will learn "why,

in an ironic coincidence, the toughest, most secret and most effective anti-terrorist unit of the British Army in Northern Ireland consists largely of Roman Catholics." Could it be that the British government is deliberately employing Catholics against Catholics to soothe the local Protestant mood? Did they volunteer so as to counter persons of their own faith thereby showing the rest of Britain that such behavior (IRA) is not condoned by Catholics? Could Catholics better infiltrate and neutralize the IRA?

What the reader learns is that the British Special Air Service which has been employed against the IRA has notable leaders who are of Scottish Catholic descent and these leaders "tended to pick men of a similar type" as themselves. That is not germane, I believe, to understanding the West's battle against terrorism.

The publisher further promises that one will discover "what the 'Three T System' of the Los Angeles Police SWAT Team stands for." Quite simply, it stands for time, talk and tear gas. The SWAT team takes time to set up a cordon, talks to the captors and, if that fails, will employ tear gas. The authors point out that the L.A. team is "one of the busiest, though usually with criminals rather than with terrorists" This same problem of criminal activity being blended with terrorism appears in several parts of the book. Hijacking is dealt with in detail but this is not usually or necessarily terrorism. Granted, certain terrorist groups have carried out spectacular hijackings in the past. However, if you examine the approximately 150 attempted or successful hijackings against US-registered aircraft between 1968 and 1980, you will find only a few that come even close to terrorism. Most were carried out by emotionally disturbed persons, criminals, and homesick

Cubans.

Chapter three is entitled, "Reagan Rearms Against Terrorism" but one is hard pressed to find more than a half a page dealing with anything President Reagan has done to combat terrorism. This section, rather, surveys various approaches to both criminal and terrorist activity in the United States from the 1960s through 1980. There is interesting background concerning the development of hostage negotiations techniques and the US efforts to counter hijacking attempts. Once again, the reader must be careful and note that much of what is discussed deals with crimes against persons and with aviation security, and not with political acts.

Reading this chapter one would receive the impression the US government is well organized to handle terrorist attacks. The Department of State Office for Combating Terrorism is described as being capable of instant communication worldwide and responsible for setting up an interagency task force which will handle the American reaction and manage the crisis. The impression is conveyed that a well ordered procedure is in place ready to employ. What is not said and what other research has clearly shown is that there is still a long way to go in developing an adequate response to terrorism. The Office for Combating Terrorism has often been treated as a stepchild by State. It has had eight directors in ten years and has not been a stepping stone to more prestigious assignments. It was also quite clear, at least through the beginning of the Reagan Administration, that the Office would not manage any major terrorist incidents. That would be done from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

The book does contain some very interesting items concerning efforts to counter terrorism. And it may be, as the

publisher claims, "the first book to be released to the general public that reveals in detail how the Western democracies are beginning to win the war against international terrorism." However, the interesting items are anecdotal in nature and most of the data have already been published in the press, journals, and other books. The rash of terrorism in Europe in the wake of the Middle East crisis of 1982 causes me to wonder how well the "winning" is actually progressing.

I have taken much issue with the publisher's attempt to convey to the buyer that the book is more than I believe the authors intended, for the publisher's attempt detracts from the efforts to truly come to grips with terrorism. Firm data based upon accurate research is a must.

Terrorism, to be discerned from other forms of violence, requires a close examination of all available evidence. It always has a purpose, often beyond the immediate manifestation of a particular act. The creation of intense fear is at the very core of terrorism; its use is to weaken or overcome resistance to the terrorist's purposes. While many forms of criminal activity induce fear in their victims, fear is incidental to the criminal's true purpose. The terror felt by the victim of a criminal act is no less real and is instrumental to the accomplishment of the crime (i.e., rape, robbery). However, once the objective is obtained the terror generally serves no further purpose. With terrorism, fear is continuous. Both the purpose and the fear involved in the terrorist act must be directed toward the resolution of a social conflict. Politically inspired terrorism is employed in an attempt to gain control of (to usurp) public powers. To the terrorist, if the ultimate end is believed correct, then the means chosen is right. But to others, one

man's freedom fighter can well be the same man's terrorist. The freedom fighter's goal may be laudable but his tactics damnable. Such an understanding of terrorism is not to be found in this book.

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Staar, Richard F. *Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe*. 4th ed. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1982. 392pp. paper \$9.95

This volume constitutes the third updating of *Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe* since Professor Richard F. Staar published the first edition of his book in December 1967. Successive versions of the original work then made their appearance in print at the Hoover Institution Press in 1971, 1977, and now 1982.

The changes made by Dr. Staar in these texts have been and are, amply justified. The best reason for the publication of this fourth edition of his book is the political change endemic within the client states of the Soviet Union in eastern Europe. Besides, all previous editions of Staar's book are now out of stock.

Distinct differences between portions of the texts of all four editions of *Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe* reflect, in most instances, abrupt changes in the Soviet Union's policy toward the satellite nations on its western frontiers. For example, the rise of the "Solidarity" movement in Poland led to the dismissal by the Polish *Sejm* (parliament) "of three consecutive premiers: Piotr Jaroszewicz, replaced by Edward Babiuch (18 February 1980); Babiuch by Jozef Pinkowski (24 August 1980); [and] Pinkowski by Wojciech Jaruzelski (9 February 1981)." Unfortunately, the fourth edition of