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The Director of Central Intelligence
Washington, D.C. 20505

National Intelligence Council

NIC-06821-84
5 December 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: [redacted] SA/DCI/IA

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FROM: David D. Whipple [redacted]
National Intelligence Officer for Counterterrorism

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SUBJECT: Draft of DCI Speech on Terrorism [redacted]

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REFERENCE: Your memo dated 30 November 1984

1. Attached is the paper you asked me to be responsible for getting to you to be the basis for an unclassified speech by the DCI. The paper was drafted by DDI/OGI/TNAD/TAB with a few treatment adjustments by me. The analysts have agreed to my adjustments. [redacted]

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2. I think this coverage of the points you wanted is excellent. The paper may be longer than you wanted, but I assume the speech writer will correct that by picking and choosing what he wants. [redacted]

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3. One suggestion I would make to you and to the speech writer: You might want to delete the first paragraph on page 5 relating to the possibility of high tech terrorism in the future. Our assessment, in effect that high tech terrorism is no more likely to be used today than it was 10 years ago, is correct but probably classified. That particular paragraph may not really conform to what you wanted as a current description of "the degree to which smaller nations are increasingly capable of violent actions." Alternatively, the speech writer might present the DCI with the paragraph 5 (as drafted) as a suggestion for an appropriate response to an anticipated question from the audience. [redacted]

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David D. Whipple

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Attachment:
As Stated

cc: SA/DCI [redacted] (w/Att)

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SUBJECT: Draft of a DCI Speech on Terrorism

DCI/NIC/NIO/CT/DWhipple:map [redacted] (5 December 1984)

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Distribution:

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GLOBAL TERRORISM

NO DEVELOPMENT DOES MORE TO UNDERSCORE THE MOUNTING CHALLENGE THAT THE UNITED STATES FACES AROUND THE WORLD THAN DOES THE GROWTH OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE. GLOBAL TERRORISM UNDERCUTS THE SYSTEM OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS UPON WHICH THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES DEPEND TO PRESERVE, PROTECT, AND PROMOTE THEIR NATIONAL AND MUTUAL INTERESTS. ITS DIRECT COSTS IN LIVES AND TREASURE ARE MULTIPLIED MANYFOLD BY ITS INDIRECT EFFECTS. TERRORISM THREATENS THE FOUNDATIONS OF CIVILIZED CONDUCT AMONG PEOPLES BY IGNORING THE CUSTOMARY DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN, BETWEEN ENEMY AND INNOCENT BYSTANDER, BETWEEN OFFICIAL AND NONOFFICIAL. IT COMPLICATES INTERNATIONAL DISCOURSE BY TURNING DIPLOMATIC FACILITIES INTO COMBAT ZONES. IT FORECLOSES PEACEFUL OPTIONS AND STIMULATES CONFRONTATION, INTIMIDATION, AND VENDETTA. DESPITE THE INCREASING ATTENTION AND MONEY BEING DEVOTED TO COUNTERTERRORISM PROGRAMS AROUND THE WORLD TERRORISM IS BECOMING MORE WIDESPREAD AND COMMONPLACE. MORE AND MORE GROUPS--AND GOVERNMENTS--APPEAR TO VIEW TERRORISM AS A CHEAP, SAFE, EFFECTIVE, AND INCREASINGLY ACCEPTABLE TACTIC WHERE NEGOTIATIONS OR MILITARY FORCE ARE INEFFECTIVE OR UNFEASIBLE. TERRORISM IS ALSO BECOMING MORE LETHAL, AND TERRORIST GROUPS MORE INDISCRIMINATE IN THEIR CHOICE OF VICTIMS.

YOU HAVE ALL HEARD THE EXPRESSION, "ONE FELLOW'S TERRORIST IS THE OTHER FELLOW'S FREEDOM FIGHTER." WE AT THE CIA FIND THAT NOT ONLY CYNICAL BUT SIMPLISTIC. WE WOULD SAY THAT THERE ARE

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SOME ACTS WHICH ARE TERRORISM NO MATTER WHO COMMITS THEM, AND NO MATTER HOW LAUDABLE THEIR GOALS MIGHT APPEAR TO US TO BE. FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN GUERRILLAS ATTACK AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL OR A GUNMAN ASSASSINATES A DIPLOMAT, WE THINK ALMOST EVERYBODY WOULD AGREE THAT WAS TERRORISM.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT DOES SEEM TO US THAT THE CONTEXT MATTERS, TOO. AN AFGHAN REBEL HAS A REASON AND A RIGHT TO COMMIT VIOLENT ACTS AGAINST THE SOVIETS THAT OCCUPY HIS COUNTRY. BUT A WEST GERMAN LEFTIST DOES NOT HAVE EQUIVALENT JUSTIFICATION FOR COMMITTING VIOLENT ACTS AGAINST AMERICANS IN GERMANY.

BEARING IN MIND, THEN, THAT NO DEFINITION OF TERRORISM IS BOTH BROAD ENOUGH YET FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO SERVE AS AN INFALLIBLE GUIDELINE, HERE IS THE ONE WE HAVE BEEN USING AT THE CIA:

TERRORISM IS CALCULATED, POLITICALLY MOTIVATED VIOLENCE PERPETRATED AGAINST NONCOMBATANTS BY SUBNATIONAL GROUPS OR CLANDESTINE STATE AGENTS, USUALLY TO IMPRESS A TARGET AUDIENCE.

EACH YEAR, THOUSANDS OF TERRORIST SHOOTINGS AND BOMBINGS AND ARSONS AND KIDNAPINGS TAKE PLACE IN SCORES OF COUNTRIES. IF YOU JUST THINK OF THEM AS TERRORIST INCIDENTS, THEY ALL SORT OF BLUR TOGETHER. ACTUALLY, HOWEVER, THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF TERRORISM VARY CONSIDERABLY AROUND THE WORLD.

FOR ONE THING, IN MANY COUNTRIES THERE IS VERY LITTLE TERRORISM. FOR EXAMPLE, IN COUNTRIES WITH STRONG TOTALITARIAN GOVERNMENTS, SUCH AS CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION, SECURITY FORCES ARE USUALLY SO OVERPOWERING AND THE PEOPLE SO COWED THAT LOCAL TERRORISTS DO NOT DEVELOP AND FOREIGN TERRORISTS KEEP AWAY.

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THE OPPOSITE KIND OF COUNTRIES -- THOSE WITH WEAK GOVERNMENTS AND INEFFECTUAL SECURITY FORCES -- ALSO RARELY SUFFER FROM TERRORISM. IN SUCH A COUNTRY, POLITICAL OPPONENTS OF THE REGIME NEED NOT BOTHER WITH TERRORISM; THEY CAN PROCEED DIRECTLY TO ARMED INSURGENCY OR SIMPLY MOUNT A COUP. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF SUCH COUNTRIES IN AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA.

THEN WHERE DOES TERRORISM FLOURISH? MOSTLY IN ONE OF TWO ENVIRONMENTS:

- FIRST, IN DEMOCRACIES, SUCH AS THOSE IN WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN, WHERE THE SIZE AND CAPABILITIES OF SECURITY FORCES ARE LIMITED AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS ENJOYED BY THE PEOPLE CAN BE EXPLOITED BY TERRORISTS TO EVADE CAPTURE.
- SECOND, IN COUNTRIES WHERE THE GOVERNMENT IS STRONG ENOUGH TO KEEP ITSELF IN POWER BUT NOT STRONG ENOUGH TO ELIMINATE VIOLENT DOMESTIC POLITICAL OPPOSITION OR SCARE AWAY FOREIGN TERRORISTS. A GOOD NUMBER OF THIRD-WORLD COUNTRIES FALL INTO THIS CATEGORY.

OF COURSE, JUST BECAUSE THE CLIMATE MIGHT BE DEEMED HOSPITABLE TO TERRORISTS DOES NOT MEAN THAT TERRORISM NECESSARILY DEVELOPS IN A PARTICULAR COUNTRY. MANY EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE LITTLE OR NO TERRORISM. IN OUR OWN COUNTRY THE TERRORIST INCIDENT RATE IS EXTREMELY LOW, CONSIDERING HOW BIG WE ARE. LAST YEAR THE FBI COUNTED FEWER THAN 50 TERRORIST INCIDENTS OF ALL SORTS IN THE WHOLE UNITED STATES -- LESS THAN ONE-TENTH AS MANY AS TOOK PLACE ON THE LITTLE ISLAND OF CORSICA. THERE IS LITTLE CONSOLATION IN THESE STATISTICS HOWEVER, THE UNITED STATES HAS GLOBAL PRESENCE, AND OUR INTERESTS GO FAR BEYOND WHAT HAPPENS ON OUR OWN SOIL.

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WHEN AN ARMENIAN, SAY FROM LEBANON, KILLS A TURKISH DIPLOMAT, WE CALL THAT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BECAUSE IT INVOLVES MORE THAN ONE COUNTRY. BY DEFINITION, INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IS THE KIND THAT MOST DIRECTLY IMPACTS ON U.S. INTERESTS. THERE IS NO WAY WE CAN KEEP TRACK OF ALL THE TERRORISM IN THE WORLD; THERE ARE JUST TOO MANY INCIDENTS IN TOO MANY PLACES. WE DO, HOWEVER, TRY TO KEEP STATISTICS ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, SO NOW I'M FINALLY GOING TO GIVE YOU SOME NUMBERS -- ALTHOUGH I MUST WARN YOU THAT THESE STATISTICS ARE BOTH INCOMPLETE AND OPEN TO DISPUTE BY ANYBODY WHO USES DIFFERENT DEFINITIONS THAN WE DO.

PERHAPS ONLY 1 OR 2 PERCENT OF ALL TERRORIST INCIDENTS ARE INTERNATIONAL INCIDENTS, BUT STILL, IN RECENT YEARS, WE HAVE BEEN RECORDING ABOUT 500 SUCH INCIDENTS ANNUALLY. ABOUT 300 OF THEM WE MIGHT CALL SIGNIFICANT INCIDENTS -- THAT IS, THEY RESULT IN CASUALTIES OR IN SUBSTANTIAL DAMAGE.

NEARLY HALF OF ALL SIGNIFICANT INCIDENTS INVOLVE EXPLOSIVE BOMBINGS--AND THIS IS A MAJOR SHIFT UPWARDS IN THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE. INCENDIARY BOMBINGS AND SHOOTINGS ACCOUNT FOR MOST OF THE REST, WITH A FEW KIDNAPINGS, SKYJACKINGS, AND OTHER ODDS AND ENDS BRINGING UP THE REAR. DIPLOMATIC AND OTHER GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL AND FACILITIES ACCOUNT FOR NEARLY HALF OF THE VICTIMS, MOST YEARS, WITH MILITARY AND COMMERCIAL TARGETS ACCOUNTING FOR ANOTHER THIRD. THIS SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISING, SINCE THESE ARE THE SORTS OF FOREIGN FACILITIES AND PERSONNEL MOST OFTEN FOUND IN COUNTRIES WHERE TERRORISTS OPERATE.

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ONE OF OUR MAIN CONCERNS HAS BEEN THAT SOMEDAY SOME TERRORISTS WILL DISCOVER HIGH TECHNOLOGY AND UP THE ANTE BY USING -- OR THREATENING TO USE -- CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL OR RADIOACTIVE AGENTS OR BY SOMEHOW BUILDING OR STEALING A NUCLEAR DEVICE. WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE, HOWEVER, THAT THE DAY OF HIGH-TECH TERRORISM IS ANY NEARER TO US NOW THAN IT WAS, SAY, 10 YEARS AGO. ON THE CONTRARY, BOTH INDIGENOUS AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS TEND TO BE LOW-TECH, EVEN TRADITIONAL IN THEIR CHOICE OF TACTICS. THEY ARE FAMOUS FOR BEING COPYCATS.

IN TERMS OF THE NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST INCIDENTS, MOST YEARS, WESTERN EUROPE HEADS THE LIST, FOLLOWED BY THE MIDDLE EAST AND LATIN AMERICA, WITH AFRICA AND EAST AND SOUTH ASIA FAR BEHIND. (THAT'S BECAUSE MOST OF THE TERRORISM IN AFRICA AND EAST AND SOUTH ASIA IS INDIGENOUS -- SIKHS KILLING ATTACKING HINDUS IN INDIA, FOR EXAMPLE, OR TAMILS KILLING SINHALESE IN SRI LANKA.) THE WEST EUROPEAN TOTALS INCLUDE A LOT OF TERRORISM COMMITTED BY PERSONS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST, HOWEVER, AND IF THIS IS FACTORED IN, RATHER MORE THAN HALF OF THE INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST INCIDENTS EACH YEAR SOMEHOW INVOLVE THE MIDDLE EAST. MOREOVER, IN TERMS OF LETHALITY, THE MIDDLE EAST ACCOUNTS FOR FAR MORE CASUALTIES THAN THE REST OF THE WORLD PUT TOGETHER.

EACH YEAR, THE SAME FEW COUNTRIES HEAD THE LIST OF VICTIMS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, ALTHOUGH THE ORDER VARIES. DURING THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF THIS YEAR, FOR EXAMPLE, THE FOLLOWING EIGHT COUNTRIES EACH SUFFERED AT LEAST 10 SIGNIFICANT ATTACKS:

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--	FRANCE	69
--	UNITED STATES	61
--	ISRAEL	32
--	UNITED KINGDOM	21
--	SOVIET UNION	16
--	JORDAN	13
--	WEST GERMANY	12
--	TURKEY	11

IT'S A BIT UNUSUAL FOR FRANCE TO HEAD THE LIST; NORMALLY EITHER THE UNITED STATES OR ISRAEL DOES. STILL, YEAR AFTER YEAR, FRANCE IS RIGHT UP THERE. WHY DO THE SAME FEW COUNTRIES SUFFER MOST OF THE INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM? THE ANSWERS VARY:

- THE UNITED STATES IS DEEMED A PRIMARY ENEMY BY SEVERAL MAJOR TYPES OF TERRORISTS, ESPECIALLY THE LEFTWING EXTREMISTS OF EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA, AND THE PRO-IRANIAN MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. MOREOVER, THE UNITED STATES HAS MORE PERSONNEL AND FACILITIES ABROAD THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY; HENCE, ITS INTERESTS ARE MORE VISIBLE AND MORE EASILY TARGETED THAN THOSE OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY.
- ISRAEL'S MILITARY STRENGTH COUPLED WITH WHAT ITS ENEMIES VIEW AS INTRANSIGENCE TOWARD THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM PRECLUDES EITHER MILITARY CONFRONTATION OR NEGOTIATION. CONSEQUENTLY, CERTAIN OF THE PALESTINIAN GROUPS AND ARAB STATES SEE NO ALTERNATIVE EXCEPT WHAT WE CALL TERRORISM.

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-- IN THE PAST COUPLE OF YEARS, **FRANCE** HAS MANAGED TO ALIENATE IRAN, LIBYA, THE ARMENIANS, THE BASQUES, AND THE CARLOS APPARAT. IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE A GROUP MORE LIKELY TO RETALIATE THROUGH TERRORISM.

HERE WE COME TO AN ESPECIALLY DISTURBING PROBLEM. THE MOST COMMON--AND VIOLENT--INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST THREAT WE NOW FACE COME FROM GROUPS OPERATING OUT OF THE MIDDLE EAST. THEIR VIOLENCE HAS ALREADY SPILLED OVER TO EUROPE, AND PARTS OF ASIA, AND OCCASIONALLY EVEN SHOWS UP IN NORTH AMERICA. AND, VERY LITTLE OF THIS TERRORISM WOULD BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT **THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF PATRON STATES**. MOST OF MIDDLE EASTERN TERRORIST GROUPS HAVE GOVERNMENT PROTECTORS AND COLLABORATORS. A GOOD NUMBER OF MIDDLE EASTERN STATES HAVE USED SUCH TERRORISTS AGAINST THEIR ENEMIES. **IRAQ** HAS DEPLOYED THEM AGAINST SYRIA AND NOW TRIES TO DO SO AGAINST IRAN. **SYRIA** HAS DEPLOYED TERRORISTS AGAINST IRAQ, AND JORDAN, AND EGYPT AMONG OTHER COUNTRIES. **SOUTH YEMEN** HAS SENT TERRORISTS INTO NORTH YEMEN. OF COURSE MANY MIDDLE EASTERN STATES SUPPORT RADICAL PALESTINIANS WHO ATTACK MODERATE PALESTINIANS AS WELL AS TARGETS IN ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

THE QADHAFI GOVERNMENT OF **LIBYA** ASSASSINATES EXILED OPPONENTS ALL AROUND THE WORLD USING AGENTS SENT FROM TRIPOLI -- SOMETIMES EVEN ITS OWN DIPLOMATS. YOU MAY REMEMBER THE CASE IN LONDON LAST YEAR IN WHICH SOMEONE FROM INSIDE THE LIBYAN EMBASSY FIRED INTO A CROWD OF ANTI-QADHAFI DEMONSTRATORS AND KILLED A BRITISH POLICEWOMAN. QADHAFI ALSO TALKS TOUGH AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, BUT RARELY FOLLOWS THROUGH WITH ACTION. HIS GOVERNMENT

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HAS BEEN IMPLICATED, HOWEVER, IN A NUMBER OF CASES INVOLVING WOULD-BE TERRORISTS IN NEIGHBORING AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

THE WORST STATE OFFENDER IS IRAN, HOWEVER, WHICH PROMOTES ITS ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST REVOLUTION BY ENCOURAGING, FACILITATING, AND SPONSORING TERRORISM AGAINST ITS ENEMIES -- PARTICULARLY THE UNITED STATES, IRAQ, AND MODERATE SECULAR ARAB REGIMES, ESPECIALLY IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

CURRENTLY THE FOCAL POINT OF MOST OF THIS TERRORIST VIOLENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS LEBANON, WHERE EXTREMIST SHIA MUSLIMS WHO CALL THEMSELVES MEMBERS OF THE HIZBALLAH, OR PARTY OF GOD, MOUNT TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST ENEMIES OF THE IRANIAN-SPONSORED ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST REVOLUTION. THE HIZBALLAH ARE GUIDED AND TRAINED BY A CONTINGENT OF IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS THAT MAINTAINS A MILITARY CAMP IN A REGION OF LEBANON UNDER SYRIAN CONTROL. MEMBERS OF THE HIZBALLAH WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR NUMEROUS TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST U.S., FRENCH, AND LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TARGETS, PRIMARILY IN BEIRUT. THEY CLAIM CREDIT FOR THEIR ACTS IN THE NAME OF ISLAMIC JIHAD (HOLY WAR).

OUTSIDE LEBANON, TEHRAN'S MAIN TERRORIST VEHICLE IS AN ORGANIZATION CALLED THE DA'WA PARTY, OR ISLAMIC CALL PARTY. DA'WA PARTY MEMBERS TRAINED IN IRAN HAVE MOUNTED TERRORIST ATTACKS IN SEVERAL PERSIAN GULF COUNTRIES ON BEHALF OF IRAN AND ITS GOALS. THEY ALSO OPERATE IN THE NAME OF ISLAMIC JIHAD.

SUICIDE VEHICLE BOMBINGS BY ISLAMIC JIHAD -- THREE IN BEIRUT, ONE IN KUWAIT -- HAVE CLAIMED MORE AMERICAN LIVES IN THE PAST TWO YEARS THAN ALL OTHER TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST U.S. TARGETS DURING THE PAST 15 YEARS PUT TOGETHER. LET ME PUT IT

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ANOTHER WAY: IN RECENT YEARS, FEWER THAN 20 -- OFTEN FEWER THAN 10 -- U.S. CITIZENS WERE KILLED ANNUALLY BY TERRORISTS ALL AROUND THE WORLD. LAST YEAR PRO-IRANIAN SHIAS KILLED MORE THAN 260 AMERICANS. IN OTHER WORDS, IRANIAN INSPIRED TERRORISM INCREASED OUR CASUALTIES A HUNDREDFOLD LAST YEAR. EVEN AS I SPEAK, HIZBALLAH TERRORISTS ARE BELIEVED TO BE HOLDING THREE U.S. CITIZENS HOSTAGE SOMEWHERE IN LEBANON. I THINK IT IS SAFE TO SAY THAT IRAN'S FREEWHEELING USE OF TERRORISM IN PURSUIT OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY GOALS IS THE **NUMBER ONE COUNTERTERRORISM PROBLEM** FACING THE UNITED STATES TODAY.

LET ME NOW TURN TO HOW WE TRY TO COMBAT TERRORISM. THE FIRST RULE OF **MILITARY** COMBAT IS TO KNOW YOUR ENEMY, SO LET'S START BY TRYING FOR A MOMENT TO PUT OURSELVES IN THE SHOES OF A TYPICAL ANTI-U.S. TERRORIST. CONSIDER THIS: **HE THINKS HE'S A GOOD GUY.** HE IS CONVINCED THAT WHAT HE IS DOING IS RIGHT, IS NECESSARY, IS JUSTIFIED. HE FEELS PRIDE, NOT SHAME. HE WILL NOT BE DISSUADED BY APPEALS TO MORALITY. HE THINKS WE'RE THE ONES WHO ARE IMMORAL. AND THE MORE APPALLED WE ARE AT OUR LOSSES, THE HAPPIER HE IS.

LOOK AT THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE EYES OF THE TERRORISTS: EXCEPT IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD, WE SUPPORT THE STATUS QUO THEY WANT TO CHANGE. WE HAVE NUCLEAR MISSILES AND AIRCRAFT CARRIERS AND JET PLANES AND TANKS. THEY HAVE STOLEN PISTOLS AND MOLOTOV COCKTAILS AND BOMBS MADE OUT OF WEEDKILLER, SUGAR, FLASHBULBS, AND MATCHHEADS. IN LEBANON WE HAD THE BATTLESHIP **NEW JERSEY** AND THEY HAD CAR BOMBS WITH DRIVERS WILLING TO DIE.

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THE TERRORISTS SEE US AS THE REDCOATS AND THEMSELVES AS THE COLONIAL AMERICAN MILITIAMEN; **NATURALLY** THEY HIDE BEHIND TREES AND SHOOT WHEN WE'RE NOT LOOKING; IN A STRAIGHT-UP BATTLE THEY'D GET CLOBBERED. IN ESSENCE, THEN, TERRORISM IS NOT JUST WARFARE ON THE CHEAP, IT IS THE ONLY FORM OF WARFARE OUR MILITARY AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH LEAVES OPEN TO OUR OPPONENTS.

THAT DOESN'T MEAN THERE'S NOTHING WE CAN DO. YOU MIGHT THINK OF TERRORISM AS ANALOGOUS TO CANCER. THERE IS NO ONE THING OR EVEN ANY COMBINATION OF THINGS YOU CAN DO TO PREVENT CANCER, AND THERE IS NO SUREFIRE CURE FOR CANCER PER SE. BUT THERE ARE THINGS YOU CAN DO TO REDUCE YOUR CHANCES OF GETTING CANCER, AND IF YOU DO GET CANCER, SOMETIMES IT CAN BE CURED, OR AT LEAST AMELIORATED. IT IS THE SAME WITH REGARD TO TERRORISM. I DRAW THIS ANALOGY BECAUSE MANY PEOPLE BECOME IMPATIENT WHEN THEY HEAR HOW LIMITED OUR ABILITY TO RESPOND TO TERRORISM IS. IT IS PRECISELY **BECAUSE** OUR ABILITY TO RESPOND IS LIMITED THAT WE SUFFER FROM TERRORISM.

WELL THEN, WHAT ARE WE DOING? **UNILATERALLY**, WE ARE FORTIFYING OUR DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY INSTALLATIONS ABROAD. WE ARE TRAINING OUR FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE IN GOOD PERSONAL SECURITY PRACTICES. WE ARE TRYING TO IMPROVE OUR INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF TERRORIST INFORMATION. WE ARE ENHANCING COMMUNICATIONS AND COOPERATION AMONG THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF OUR GOVERNMENT CONCERNED WITH TERRORISM. WE ARE TRYING TO FIGURE OUT WHEN AND WHERE TERRORISTS WILL STRIKE BEFORE THEY DO IT, SO WE CAN EITHER STOP THEM OR GET OUT OF THE WAY. IF WE HAVE LEVERAGE AGAINST A STATE THAT IS ENGAGING IN TERRORISM, WE USE IT. (OBVIOUSLY, WE LACK AN APPROPRIATE LEVER TO USE AGAINST IRAN.)

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BUT UNILATERAL STEPS WILL NOT TAKE US VERY FAR OR PROTECT US VERY MUCH. COMBATING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM **REQUIRES THE JOINT EFFORTS OF MANY GOVERNMENTS.** AS A GOVERNMENT, WE ARE PROMOTING CLOSER COOPERATION AND INFORMATION SHARING AMONG THE NATIONAL POLICE, SECURITY, AND INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF MANY COUNTRIES. WE URGE AND SUPPORT JOINT INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS AGAINST COUNTRIES THAT ENGAGE IN OR FOMENT TERRORISM. WE ARE WORKING TO ESTABLISH INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS THAT DEFINE TERRORIST ACTS AS CRIMES WHICH MUST BE PUNISHED AND WHICH PROHIBIT STATES FROM SERVING AS SAFEHAVENS FOR TERRORISTS. AN EXAMPLE IS THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION THAT MANDATES CRIMINAL PUNISHMENT OR EXTRADITION FOR ALL SKYJACKERS, EVEN IF THEIR MOTIVES WERE POLITICAL.

ONE OTHER POTENTIAL COUNTERTERRORISM STRATEGY WHICH HAS RECEIVED SOME PUBLICITY RECENTLY CONCERNS **THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST TERRORISTS -- FIGHTING FIRE WITH FIRE --** EITHER IN RETALIATION FOR SOME TERRORIST ATTACK WE HAVE SUFFERED OR AS A MEANS OF PREEMPTING THE TERRORISTS SO AS TO PREVENT A PLANNED ATTACK. ALTHOUGH THE USE OF FORCE MIGHT BE JUSTIFIED IN ONE PARTICULAR INSTANCE OR ANOTHER, RATHER LIKE THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST PIRATES THE OPPORTUNITIES TO DO SO ARE LIMITED AND THE CONSTRAINTS MANY.

AS REGARDS **RETALIATION**, WE LEAVE OURSELVES OPEN TO COUNTERRETALIATION -- AND OUR PERSONNEL OVERSEAS ARE GENERALLY MUCH MORE VULNERABLE THAN THE TERRORISTS ARE. MOREOVER, IT IS FREQUENTLY IMPOSSIBLE EVEN TO IDENTIFY MUCH LESS LOCATE THE PRECISE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE ATTACKED US. WE WOULD BE FORCED, MOST TIMES, TO RETALIATE AGAINST SURROGATES, AND THAT IS

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DIFFICULT FOR A COUNTRY WITH OUR VALUES AND TRADITIONS TO JUSTIFY
-- MUCH LESS EXPLAIN TO OUR ALLIES.

AS REGARDS **PREEMPTION**, WHEN WE DISCOVER THE PLANS OF
TERRORISTS IN ADVANCE, AS WE SOMETIMES DO, IT IS USUALLY LESS
RISKY AND MORE APPROPRIATE TO TAKE DEFENSIVE MEASURES. IN ORDER
FOR PREEMPTIVE OFFENSIVE MEASURES TO APPEAR JUSTIFIED, PUBLIC
PROOF MUST BE OFFERED CONCERNING THE INTENT AND PLANS OF THE
TERRORISTS. MOST TIMES THIS WOULD COMPROMISE THE SOURCE FROM
WHICH WE OBTAINED THE INFORMATION.

UNFORTUNATELY, THERE ARE NO EASY SOLUTIONS TO THESE
PROBLEMS. IF THERE WERE, TERRORISM WOULD NOT BE ONE OF THE
SUBJECTS OF MY TALK TODAY.