

mitment to a terrorist life. Most were provided with an anarchist or Marxist world view, and were recruited into terrorist operations, whilst in the university.

No doubt many books will emerge over time describing the terrorists of the last ten years. Three women stand out as particularly interesting: Leila Khaled, who has dictated a biography of sorts, twice hijacked planes and lived to tell the tale. The key to her act is a deep bitterness over being displaced from "Palestinian soil". On the other hand, Fusako Shigenobu rose to leadership of the Japanese Red Army Faction and displayed remarkable organizational abilities and political instincts. Ulrike Meinhoff managed to galvanize the German student groups which still pose quite a security threat in West Germany. Doctors Woddi Haddad and George Habash on the other hand were eye specialists and Palestinians who managed to mastermind between them and often in opposition to one another, the whole Palestinian terrorist apparatus, in particular numerous international hijackings. In the Latin American setting Carlos Manghella is the major figure who both wrote on the need for political change through terrorism and died practising his own craft. Carlos' real name is Illich Ramirez Sanchez, son of a wealthy millionaire-Communist from Venezuela. He received his university training in the Soviet Union but it is by no means certain that he is a Soviet agent. Perhaps Col. Ghaddafi should be considered as the chief facilitator of much contemporary terrorism. One thing is certain: Libyan territory and money have been profusely at the disposal of terrorists willing to act. There was immediate suspicion on October 8 that Sadat's assassination was organized by Col. Ghaddafi. The really good terrorist cell consists of an ideologist, determined activists and drones. So far we have only discussed the ideologists who are naturally the leaders.

### The Future

Terrorism will increase not decrease as the years go by. As General Clutterbuck has said, "it is a disease, which is controllable but not eradicable". The future success of international terrorism will depend very much upon the Western response. There are six ways in which the phenomenon can be controlled. First, good intelligence on terrorist networks and movements with close governmental collaboration. In this respect, "Octopus" the CIA computer which can dig up the specs on any one of 25 million suspects within a few seconds, may prove helpful. Second, well-trained, psychologically prepared police are necessary, particularly in the handling of hostage situations. Ordinary police cannot do the job. Third, a cooperative media and press is essential since they can be manipulated, in the name of news, to accomplish the terrorists' very aims. The British authorities have made a deal with the press that all available news will be exchanged for press and media discretion. Fourth, a wise, unflappable government is needed when terrorists strike. The leadership must react firmly and yet not overreact. The reaction of the Canadian government to the October crisis of 1970 with the FLO is a case in point which still divides and preoccupies many Canadians. Fifth, efficient anti-terrorist squads with great versatility and courage must be ready at all times. The British SAS force which stormed the Iranian Embassy in

London in 1980 is a case in point. There was even a judicial enquiry into their behaviour after the event, in which they were exonerated. Sixth, governments need to work, over the long term, on the removal of the causes of terrorism. Governments must pay attention inside and outside their territories to the grievances of dissatisfied minorities with pretensions to independence. In Canada this very atmosphere hangs over much of the politics of the Constitution and its effect upon Quebec.

### Future Possibilities

There are several future possibilities for terrorist violence which might destabilize international relations. The exact strength of the "networks" is not yet known, but a rigorous coordination amongst many of the major 30 or 40 terrorist groups could pose a serious challenge for international security. The kind of role they would play would resemble an international Mafia, striking at will without necessarily claiming responsibility for their acts.

Even more discomfiting for the West might be the possibility of terrorist groups seizing a nuclear reactor and blackmailing the government into undesired political action. Nuclear reactors are largely open, vulnerable and undefended. They stretch across North America, Western Europe, Japan and India. A determined terrorist onslaught might well have far-reaching consequences for a particular country, even if the immediate threat were overcome.

Perhaps the most serious possibility of all is the threat of surrogate war. In this scenario, a superpower might easily be tempted to have a terrorist group launch an attack on the other as if it were from a third country which is a potential enemy. This scenario may seem fanciful, but the sheer sophistication and deadliness of weapons technologies available is not imaginary. The determined individual can bring down an incoming airplane with a hand-held surface to air missile from the balcony of an apartment along the plane's flight path to the runway. In fact this operation has already been mounted several times.

In the final analysis, Western societies will be able to withstand terrorist attacks, since the strategy is basically pin-prick in nature. But the Soviets have a large headstart in encouraging, arming and financing terrorist groups which will destabilize the West and leave room for Soviet activities in the Third World.

The greatest challenge, as intimated earlier, may lie in the possibility of terrorism becoming a feature of North-South conflict. Given present international economic conditions — the growing pressure of soaring oil prices on Third World countries and the possibility of the break-off of North-South negotiations — widespread international terrorism might well be perceived to be the only legitimate response to the affluent and uncaring West. In the meantime a thorough understanding of the political uses of terrorism is needed by those interested in stability. It is possible to see both Anwar Sadat's assassination and the attempted one on the Pope in May 1981 as aimed specifically at undermining Western policies in crucial areas of world politics. After all, Camp David is all about the stability of oil production, and Solidarity in Poland, with Papal support, is all about East-West trade relations.