San Jose State University

SJSU ScholarWorks

Summer 2004

State-sponsored terrorism: A historical comparative analysis

Claudia Campos Daigle
San Jose State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses

STATE SPONSORED TERRORISM:

A HISTORICAL COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Sociology

San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Art

by

Claudia Campos Daigle

August 2004

UMI Number: 1445232

Copyright 2004 by
Daigle, Claudia Campos

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy
submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and
photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper
alignment can adversely affect reproduction.
    In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized
copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI®
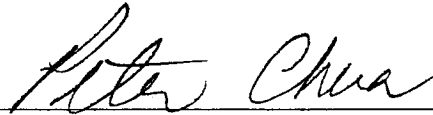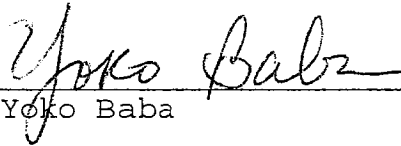
APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

_____

Dr. Christopher Hebert

_____
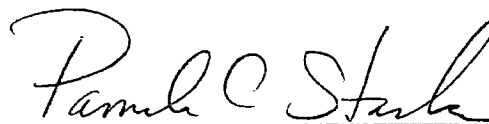
Dr. Peter Chua

_____

Dr. Yoko Baba

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

_____

ABSTRACT

STATE SPONSORED TERRORISM:
A HISTORICAL COMPARITIVE ANALYSIS

By Claudia C. Daigle

This thesis undertakes an examination of the social
and historical contexts that lead to the continuation and
maintenance of terrorist organizations using a cross-
national, historical, and comparative analysis. In order
to identify the conditions under which terrorist actions
emerge or fail to emerge, four pairs of nations were
chosen, a) Libya and Egypt, b) Iran and Saudi Arabia, c)
Syria and Jordan, and d) North Korea and South Korea. One
of each pair is designated by the United States Government
as a state sponsor of terrorism.

While no conclusive findings were obtained from this
research, it did reach important preliminary findings on
the characteristics of state sponsors of terrorism.
Further research is needed to determine the effects of
colonization and the importance of economy on each state
sponsor of terrorism.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Dr. Christopher Hebert for his invaluable advice and guidance. To Sara González for time spent reading countless drafts and for giving me the inspiration to aspire. To Mark for his unwavering support, and encouragement. To my parents for teaching me that "sí se puede."

I could not have accomplished this research without the love and support of my family, thank you.

Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

On September 11, 2001, the United States was the victim of terrorist attacks carried out by at least 19 terrorists with affiliations to Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida network. These 19 terrorists hijacked and then crashed four commercial flights into symbolic sites in the United States. The terror began at 8:46 AM EST, when American Airlines Flight 11 from Boston, Massachusetts, to Los Angeles, California, with 92 persons onboard, crashed into the north tower of 1 World Trade Center (US Department of State [USDOS], Fact Sheet, 2002). Seventeen minutes later, American Airlines Flight 77 from Washington, D.C. to Los Angeles, California with 64 persons onboard crashed into the Pentagon (USDOS, Fact Sheet, 2002). Following the attacks at the World Trade Center, at 9:38 AM EST, United Airlines Flight 175 from Boston, Massachusetts, to Los Angeles, California, with 65 persons on board crashed into the south tower of 2 World Trade Center (USDOS, Fact Sheet, 2002). Lastly, United Airlines Flight 93 from Newark, New Jersey, to San Francisco, California, with 44 persons onboard crashed into a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania (USDOS, Fact Sheet, 2002). It has been speculated that

Flight 44 was actually headed for Washington, D.C. and possibly intended to crash into the White House.

These events resulted in the single most deadly terrorist attack against the United States, claiming over 3,000 lives and on a scale unmatched by previous terrorist operations. The US Department of State (2002) reported that 2,823 persons perished in the World Trade Center attacks, 189 in the Pentagon, and 44 in Pennsylvania (Fact Sheet). In response to these horrific attacks, the United States Government, led by President George W. Bush, called for a global coalition against terrorism. The United States Government has since been engaged in a "war on terror" against nations it believes harbor and sponsor terrorist organizations, specifically, those that pose an imminent threat to the United States.

Significance of the Problem

It was not until the morning of September 11, 2001, that the citizens of the United States realized that the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans no longer could protect the United States from a massive terrorist attack. The attacks on September 11, 2001, were different from previous attacks because they were carried out by an organization that

trained and operated in Afghanistan, a country that was fully aware and supportive of its terrorist activities. Taliban controlled Afghanistan not only provided a safe haven for bin Laden and the al-Qaida network, it also allowed them to use its country as a training facility. Prior to September 11, 2004, the United States and the United Nations requested that Afghanistan turn over bin Laden, but Afghanistan refused. Even though Afghanistan knew of the threat posed by al-Qaida, it continued to provide support to the terrorist organization.

State sponsored terrorism poses a grave danger to the United States and to much of the world because state sponsored terrorist groups are able to obtain greater resources, including financial, human, and organizational resources, than traditional terrorist groups. The fight against state sponsored terrorism is critical because of the extent of damage and devastating results it can cause worldwide.

History of Terrorism

The word "terrorism" originated in revolutionary France, and the first definition for terrorism in the Oxford English Dictionary refers to "government by

intimidation as carried out by the party in power in France during the Revolution of 1789-1797" (Stern, 1999, p. 13). This narrow definition of terrorism has expanded since revolutionary France.

Terrorist organizations use acts of terrorism as a means to an end or to achieve a response. The goal of the terrorist organization depends on its ideology. A terrorist organization's ideology can vary from political or religious, to revolutionary as it attempts to overthrow their government. Acts of terrorism have been carried out for centuries throughout the world, instilling fear in nations and projecting the image of power and control as a tool to intimidate (Ranstorp, 1996). Countries use terrorist organizations as cheap and effective tools for the advancement of their foreign policy political agenda (Ranstorp, 1996).

Acts of terrorism can be traced back to the Jewish Zeolots-Sicorii of the 1st century who sought mass insurrection against Roman rulers, the Islamic Assassins of the 11th through 13th centuries who sought to purify Islam, and the Hindu Thugs of the 13th through 19th century who intended their victims to experience terror and to express

it visibly for the pleasure of Kali, the Hindu goddess of terror and destruction (Rapoport, 1984, p. 659).

The definition of terrorism has evolved and changed in the last century, "Stalin's [Soviet Union] regime in the 1930s and 1940s was called a reign of terror, but from the late 1940s to the 1960s the word was associated with the armed struggles for independence waged in Palestine and Algeria" (Jenkins, 1992, p. 2168). Following World War II, the definition of terrorism evolved further and emerged as a component of nuclear strategy as a result of the tension between the United States and Soviet Union (Jenkins, 1992, p. 2168). In the 1980s state sponsored terrorism came to the forefront of the United States Government's attention as "…some governments began to use terrorist tactics themselves or to employ terrorist tactics as a mode of surrogate warfare" (Jenkins, 1992, p. 2169).

The definition of terrorism has changed and evolved, with each historical setting. Prior to the 19th century, religion provided the only acceptable justifications for terror (Rapoport, 1984, p. 659). However, justifications for terrorism evolved during the 19th century to include political motives. Justifications for terrorism change to meet the goals of the organization as seen with al-Qaida.

Al-Qaida's justifications for terrorism began with the intent of cleansing the Muslim world of non-believers to the establishment of a theocracy.

Purpose of Study

This thesis undertakes a historical analysis examining the socio-historical events that have led a nation to become a state sponsor of terrorism. The analysis examines countries that have been designated state sponsors of terrorism with countries that face the same or similar circumstances and yet are not state sponsors of terrorism. The characteristics that will be examined for each nation will include economy, colonization, population characteristics, and governance. Through the comparison of the following pairs of countries: a) Libya and Egypt, b) Iran and Saudi Arabia, c) Syria and Jordan, and d) North Korea and South Korea, this thesis will be able to determine the characteristics that are likely to result in a country's sponsorship of terrorism.

Definition of State Sponsored Terrorism

There are numerous definitions on terrorism and depending on what aspect or instance of terrorism a

researcher is examining, the definition is modified to

support their conclusion on terrorism.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) classifies

terrorism as either being domestic or foreign.

International terrorism involves:

> Violent acts or acts dangerous to human life….These
> acts appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a
> civilian population, influence the policy of a
> government by intimidation or coercion, or affect the
> conduct of a government by assassination or
> kidnapping. (US Department of Justice [USDOJ] &
> Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 1999, pg. ii).

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) defines

international terrorism as "terrorism conducted with the

support of foreign governments or organizations and/or

directed against foreign nations, institutions, or

governments" (Holms, 2001, p. 20).

This thesis uses the definition of terrorism and

international terrorism contained in Title 22 of the United

States Code, Section 2656f(d) which states that "the term

'international terrorism' means terrorism involving

citizens or the territory of more than 1 country…the term

'terrorism' means premeditated, politically motivated

violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by

subnational groups or clandestine agents" (Foreign

Relations and Intercourse, 2000). This definition of

international terrorism is used by the US Department of State (2003) to classify state sponsored terrorism as a "government [that] has repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism" (Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. 150). This designation is given to a country that supports organizations that commit acts of terrorism. The types of support provided to terrorist organizations include the following: providing organizations with a safe haven, financial funding, weapons, explosives, military support, training, logistical assistance, political aid, diplomatic aid, and organizational aid. There are currently seven countries that have been designated as such; Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria. Once designated a state sponsor of terrorism by the Secretary of State, United States law requires the imposition of sanctions on the country. The types of sanctions imposed on a state sponsor of terrorism fall under four main categories:

1. A ban on arms-related exports and sales.
2. Controls over exports of dual use items, requiring 30-day Congressional notification for goods or services that could significantly enhance the terrorist list country's military capability or ability to support terrorism.
3. Prohibitions on economic assistance.
4. Imposition of miscellaneous financial and other restrictions.

(USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 77)

According to the US Department of State (2003), the United States' policy on countering terrorism is made up of four principle elements. The first of these elements is to "make no concessions to terrorists and strike no deals," (Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. xi). Second, "bring terrorists to justice for their crimes," (Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. xi). Third, "isolate and apply pressure on states that sponsor terrorism to force them to change their behavior" (Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. xi), by designating a country as a state sponsor of terrorism. Finally, "bolster the counterterrorist capabilities of those countries that work with the United States and require assistance" (Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. xi), like the Antiterrorism Assistance program. Under this program the United States Government provides a country with training and related assistance to law-enforcement and security services. The training includes airport security, bomb detection, hostage rescue, crisis management, and money laundering (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. xi). The US Department of State (2003) reported that in the past 18 years, 35,000 officials from 152 countries have been trained under the

Antiterrorism Assistance program (Patterns of Global Terrorism).

This thesis focuses on the third element of countering terrorism. The US Department of State (2003) maintains that state sponsors of terrorism counter the efforts of the United States and the international community to fight terrorism by providing a resource base for terrorist groups. Without state support, terrorist groups find it more difficult to obtain funds, weapons, materials, and secure areas to plan and conduct operations (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 76). The designation of a state sponsor of terrorism includes states that have direct involvement in terrorist acts and states whose support is indirect, for example, failing to prosecute terrorist organizations in their country. Even though these nations are not themselves committing direct acts of terrorism, by ignoring the terrorist groups existence or providing financial support and weapons, the nation is indirectly participating in terrorism, and is therefore also accountable for the death and destruction caused by the terrorist acts.

Range of United States Action Against State Sponsors

The United States Government has a range of options available to combat international terrorism. These options range from diplomacy to military force. The United States Government will begin with diplomacy, international cooperation and constructive engagement to address international terrorism with a country (Perl & Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, 2001). If these options fail, the United States Government proceeds to economic sanctions, covert action, protective security measures, and ultimately military force (Perl & Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, 2001). The most widely used option is the implementation of economic sanctions.

By law, the United States Government has the ability to impose miscellaneous sanctions and restrictions on state sponsors of terrorism. The sanctions and restrictions include:

- Requiring the United States to oppose loans by the World Bank and other international financial institutions.
- Lifting the diplomatic immunity to allow families of terrorist victims to file civil lawsuits in US courts.
- Denying companies and individuals tax credits for income earned in terrorist list countries.

- Denial of duty-free treatment for goods exported to the United States.
- Authority to prohibit any US person from engaging in a financial transaction with a terrorist list government without a Treasury Department license.
- Prohibition of Defense Department contracts above $100,000 with companies controlled by terrorist list states.

(USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 77)

The designation of a country as a state sponsor of terrorism serves to prevent terrorism, punish terrorists and their supporters, and pressure changes in the behavior of designated states (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003). However, naming a country as a state sponsor of terrorism does not trigger a total economic embargo. Sanction policy is not only determined by concerns over terrorism but also foreign policy conflicts, as is the case with Cuba and North Korea (Hufbauer, Schott, Oegg, & Institute for International Economics, 2001).

The implementation of economic sanctions on Libya contributed to the extradition and subsequent trial of the suspects in the December 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland that resulted in 270 deaths (Hufbauer et al., 2001). In addition, on December 19, 2003, "Qadhafi announced that Libya would eliminate its

weapons of mass destruction programs and MTCR-class

missiles" (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2004).

Economic sanctions also succeeded in convincing Sudan

to cooperate with United States terrorism efforts. In

August of 1993, Sudan was designated by the U.S Department

of State as a state sponsor of terrorism. In its attempt

to rid itself of this designation, "in 1994 Sudan

extradited 'Carlos the Jackal' to France…[and] expelled

Osama bin Laden in 1996" (Hufbauer et al., 2001, para. 27).

Ultimate Sanction – Violent Regime Change

If the United States Government determines that

sanctions and restrictions against state sponsors of

terrorism are not sufficient to protect it against

terrorist attacks, the United States Government will

conduct a military operation to overthrow the existing

government. This is exemplified in the United States led

military actions against Afghanistan and Iraq.

Afghanistan

In 1999, the US Department of State characterized

Afghanistan as a safe haven for terrorists but never

designated it as a state sponsor of terrorism even though

it was known to be harboring bin Laden, a wanted international terrorist (Hufbauer et al., 2001). The US State Department did not designate Afghanistan as a state sponsor of terrorism because doing so "would constitute a de facto recognition of the Taliban as the legitimate government of Afghanistan" (Hufbauer et al., 2001, para. 23). Nevertheless, in 1997, the United States Government found a way to sanction Afghanistan without designating it a state sponsor of terrorism, under the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, newly created designation category of noncooperation (Hufbauer et al., 2001, para. 23). "Section 330 prohibits sale of arms to any country the president determines and certifies is not cooperating fully with US antiterrorism efforts" (Hufbauer et al., 2001, para. 23). In May of 1997, United States President William Clinton certified Afghanistan as not fully cooperating with United States antiterrorism efforts (Hufbauer et al., 2001, para. 23).

After September 11, 2001, the United States intelligence community determined that al-Qaida was responsible for the terrorist attacks. The support provided by Afghanistan resulted in al-Qaida's ability to carry out the brutal attacks of September 11, 2001. Al-

Qaida's leadership and training bases were under the protection of the Taliban rulers of Afghanistan. The United States Government "was faced with the need to overcome the Taliban in order to disrupt further al-Qaida activities. President Bush determined that this called for military action on a grand scale" (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2002, p. 161).

The United States executed Operation Enduring Freedom in response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks (Global Security, 2004). The first major military operation of the "war on terror" and search for bin Laden was the invasion of Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. On that date, during an address to the Nation, President George W. Bush stated that he had given Taliban leaders specific demands to "close terrorist training camps; hand over leaders of the al-Qaida network; and return all foreign nationals, including American citizens, unjustly detained", (2001, para. 3). However, the President's demands were not met and military strikes were ordered against al-Qaida terrorist training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime in order to "disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a terrorist base of operations, and to attack the military capability of the Taliban

regime" (Bush, 2001, para. 1). The United States and its

allies joined the ongoing war between the fundamentalist

Taliban movement and the Northern Alliance, a coalition of

tribal groups. The US Department of State (2001) reported

that by the end of 2001 the United States coalition

fighting al-Qaida and the Taliban consisted of 55

countries, including Great Britain, Canada, Australia,

Germany, and France (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism,

2001; Bush, 2001). The invasion of Afghanistan was

unconventional in that United States Special Operation

Forces were sent to engage in unconventional warfare

tactics alongside opposition forces (anti-Taliban groups),

the Northern Alliance (Global Security, 2004). This close

coordination between the Northern Alliance and the United

States' military operation in Afghanistan resulted in

success:

> These victories were credited to coordination among
> Northern Alliance commanders and Special Forces
> liaison teams, Coalition air attacks, the rejection by
> Afghan citizens of Taliban control, and, in some
> areas, Taliban forces defecting to the opposition to
> prevent their own destruction. (Global Security, 2004)

By mid-March 2002 the Taliban had been removed from power

and the al-Qaida network in Afghanistan had been largely

destroyed.

However, the invasion and massive man search have failed to produce bin Laden. Nevertheless, strides have been made in the war on terrorism. The FBI reported that between September 11, 2001, and January 1, 2003, the war on terror led to the capture of more than 3,000 al-Qaida leaders and foot soldiers around the world (USDOJ & FBI, 2004).

The rise of the Taliban is traced back to 1979, with the invasion of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. In December of that year, Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan, and killed its leader, Hafizullah Amin. Unfortunately for the Soviets, the Afghanistan people did not accept the Soviet regime (USDOS, Afghanistan, 2004).

Resistance groups, the mujahedeen (mujahadin), made up of tribal leaders, formed throughout Afghanistan, and "made it almost impossible for the regime to maintain a system of local government outside major urban centers" (USDOS Afghanistan, 2004, para. 23). Between 1979 and 1989, the United States and the West backed the mujahedeen by providing them with approximately seven million dollars in military and economic aid. It is during this time that the CIA secretly backed the mujahedeen, "Arming and training the 'Mooj' was one of the most successful covert actions

ever mounted by the CIA. It turned the tide against the Soviet invaders" (Thomas, 2001, p. 41).

In 1989 the mujahedeen succeeded in driving the Soviet Union out of Afghanistan. However, the mujahedeen then turned on each other, resulting in a civil war. In "Afghanistan: Ending the Policy Quagmire" (2001), Ahmed Rashid discusses how the United States played an intricate role in forming the civil war in Afghanistan:

> The United States walked away from Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal, but allowed its two strategic allies in the region, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, to fund whichever warlord they fancied. At the same time, Afghanistan's regional rivals, Iran, India, Russia, and the newly independent Central Asia Republics, were funding and arming the opposite side, quickly internationalizing Afghanistan's civil war. (p. 397).

In 1992 the mujahedeen began a civil war and overthrew the pro-Communist government of Najibullah, the head of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) (Rashid, 2001; Blood & Library of Congress, 1997). In November of 1994 the Taliban, a new political and military force took control of Kandahar and came to the forefront (Blood & Library of Congress, 1997). The most significant and immediate result of the Taliban's rise to power was the humiliating collapse of Hekmatyar's Hezb-i-Islami as a fighting force, which profoundly changed the struggle for

power and led to the Taliban's ultimate control of Afghanistan in February of 1995 (Blood & Library of Congress, 1997).

The Taliban offered the Afghanistan people a religious cause that offered political purification and an end to Afghanistan's suffering and therefore, won widespread support (Blood & Library of Congress, 1997). The Taliban, who "identified with religious students… was centered among the Durrani Pushtuns who had been politically passive during the previous fifteen years of war and tumult" (Blood & Library of Congress, 1997).

The Taliban was formed in 1994 by religious students, schooled in Islamic seminaries (madrasahs) in Pakistan, who fought with the mujahedeen in the war against the Soviets (Rashid, 2001; The National Security Archive & The George Washington University, 2003). The goal of the Taliban was to "rid Afghanistan of the instability, violence, and warlordism that had been plaguing the country since the defeat and withdrawal of the Soviets in 1989" (The National Security Archive & The George Washington University, 2003) as well as imposing Islam on the country (USDOS Afghanistan, 2004). The Taliban takes the responsibility

of imposing Islam very seriously, and confirms to a strict interpretation of Islamic law.

After being expelled from Sudan in 1996, bin Laden sought refuge in the isolated desserts and mountains of Afghanistan. Taliban leader Mohammad Omar, gave bin Laden, a Saudi Arabian national, refuge in Afghanistan. Under pressure from the United States and the UN, the Taliban refused to extradite bin Laden, who at the time was wanted for the 1998 bombings of two US Embassies in East Africa that killed 225 people (Rashid, 2001, p. 398) (See Appendix A for a complete timeline of terrorist incidents in connection to bin Laden and al-Qaida). In November of 1999, in response to the Taliban for its support of terrorism, the UN Security Council imposed limited sanctions on the Taliban. As a result, "…throughout the year 2000, the UN threatened the imposition of even tougher sanctions as international efforts to coordinate anti-terrorism measures between the US, Russia, China and Central Asian states were stepped up" (Rashid, 2001, p. 399). On December 2000 as a result of the Taliban's refusal to close down all terrorist training camps and renounce bin Laden', the UN followed through with its

threats and imposed a second round of sanctions (Rashid, 2001, p. 404).

> [The sanctions] reinforced an air embargo on the Taliban that was imposed in 1999, it froze overseas Taliban assets, most of which are in Pakistan banks, and banned the import of acetic anhydride, which is used to convert opium into heroin. The sanctions also required the withdrawal of military advisors from Taliban controlled areas, restricted the travel of officials' abroad and ordered all countries to close down or reduce the staff in Taliban offices… (Rashid, 2001, p. 404).

After two and a half years, United States military actions in Afghanistan have not ended. In 2004, the US Department of State reports that United States military forces continue to operate in the mountains of southern Afghanistan fighting and searching for al-Qaida operatives, anti-Coalition militias, and Taliban insurgents (Patterns of Global Terrorism). Al-Qaida regards Afghanistan as an important base of operations and continues its armed opposition to the United States presence. Al-Qaida fighters remain along the rough eastern border between Afghanistan and Pakistan's tribal areas (USDOS, 2004, Patterns of Global Terrorism).

In 2003 a Grand Assembly, or Loya Jirga, was formed consisting of 502 members from around the country, including 100 women (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism,

2004). The Loya Jirga was created to debate the proposed new national constitution in December of 2003 and UN mandated elections followed in June of 2004 (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2004). President Hamid Karzai worked throughout 2003 "to replace unresponsive provincial governors and security chiefs and to centralize collection of customs revenues and taxes" (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. 170).

Iraq

In 1979 Saddam Hussein became President of Iraq and Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC], Iraq, 2003). Iraq was initially designated a state sponsor of terrorism in December of 1979 and then removed in 1982 (Hufbauer et al., 2001). However, following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 the US Department of State re-designated Iraq a state sponsor of terrorism (Hufbauer et al., 2001). Historically, Iraq has been subjected to the most comprehensive United States and UN trade and financial sanctions imposed since World War II (Hufbauer et al., 2001).

In 2002, the US Department of State (2003) informed that Iraq actively planned and sponsored international terrorism through its Intelligence Services (IIS) (Patterns of Global Terrorism). The IIS "laid the groundwork for possible attacks against civilian and military targets in the United States and other Western countries" (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003). Iraq was accused of being a safe haven, transit point, and operational base for groups and individuals who direct violence against the United States, Israel, and other countries. These terrorist groups included the Iranian Mujahedin-e Khalq, the Abu Nidal organization, the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), the Arab Liberation Front (ALF), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, HAMAS, and the Palestine Islamic Jihad (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003). Furthermore, Hussein "paid the families of Palestinian suicide bombers to encourage Palestinian terrorism, channeling $25,000 since March [of 2002] through the ALF alone to families of suicide bombers in Gaza and the West Bank" (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 79). Throughout 2002 and 2003, the United States Government alleged that Iraq was connected to al-Qaida,

however, there has not been any evidence to support this claim.

In his State of the Union Address on January 28, 2003, President Bush stated that Hussein systematically violated UN agreements and continued to pursue chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. President Bush further stated that according to United States' intelligence agencies "Saddam Hussein had the materials to produce as much as 500 tons of sarin mustard and VX nerve agent…[and] upwards of 30,000 munitions capable of delivering chemical agents" (2003). President Bush also contended that when UN inspectors questioned Hussein, he could not provide any evidence of destroying these items (2003). Perhaps the most disturbing statement in President Bush's State of the Union Address was that Hussein had an advanced nuclear weapons development program and was working on five different methods of enriching uranium to develop a bomb with uranium purchased from Africa (2003). President Bush further stated that there was a connection between Hussein and al-Qaida and that Hussein could be providing these weapons to terrorist groups, possibly al-Qaida (2003).

On February 5, 2003, United State Secretary of State, Colin Powell met with the United Nations Security Council

regarding Iraq's failure to disarm. Powell gave an

extensive briefing consisting of satellite images,

intercepted telephone conversations, and other intelligence

reports, to provide the UN Security Council with evidence

that Iraq had not complied with resolutions, calling for it

to disarm itself of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)

(Powell, 2003).

During an address to the nation on March 17, 2003,

President Bush stated that the United States Government

would not wait for Iraq to attack and would take preemptive

strikes against Iraq to protect the United States:

> Before the day of horror can come, before it is too
> late to act, this danger will be removed. The United
> States of America has the sovereign authority to use
> force in assuring its own national security. That
> duty falls to me, as Commander-in-Chief, by the oath I
> have sworn, by the oath I will keep.

As a result of Iraq's suspected involvement with al-Qaida

and possession of WMD on March 19, 2003, United States and

Coalition forces, consisting of over 35 countries, launched

Operation Iraqi Freedom (USDOS, Patterns of Global

Terrorism, 2004).

According to the US Department of State (2004),

Operation Iraqi Freedom "removed the prospective threat to

the international community posed by the combination of an

aggressive Iraqi regime, weapons of mass destruction capabilities, and terrorists" (Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. 169). In April of 2003, Hussein's regime collapsed only three weeks into the United States military campaign (BBC, Iraq, 2004). On December 14, 2003 Hussein was captured in Tikrit (BBC).

On June 28, 2004, the United States granted the transfer of sovereignty to the interim government, two days ahead of schedule (BBC, Iraq, 2004). However, according to President Bush, coalition troops will remain in Iraq as long as the country needs their presence (BBC, Iraq, 2004). Members of the United States appointed Governing Council chose the Iraqi interim president Ghazi Yawer, a Sunni businessman and tribal leader (BBC, Iraq, 2004). Iraq's Governing Council nominated interim Prime Minister, Iyad Allawi to lead the country after the formal handover of power from the United States led coalition on June 28, 2004 (BBC, Iraq, 2004).

According to the US Department of State (2004), since the end of major combat operations, coalition forces continue to be engaged in military operations in Iraq against Hussein loyalists, members of Ansar al-Islam, and other anti coalition militia groups (Patterns of Global

Terrorism). These resistance groups were responsible for multiple attacks in 2003 including, "the bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad on 19 August, the attack of 12 November on the Italian military police at Nasiriyah, and the coordinated attack on Bulgarian and Thai troops at Karbala on 27 December" (Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. 169). To date, United States Military and coalition groups have failed to turn up any evidence of Iraq's connection to al-Qaida or weapons of mass destruction.

The future of Iraq is unclear, but the United States is committed to maintain a presence until it is no longer needed or required.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The terrorist literature consists largely of particular groups or broad "movements" in one country or region. Only a handful of studies have undertaken a theoretical perspective. The majority of studies have been conducted on the rationale and causes of terrorism among specific terrorist groups.

Case studies include the Arab-Israeli dispute and the tumultuous relationship between Israel and the Palestinian

PLO (Austin, 1986; Davidson, 1986; Kapeliouk, 1986; Rokach, 1980). Kapeliouk (1986) and Rokach (1980) found that Israel is responsible for the lack of peace in the Middle East. Kapeliouk concluded that the PLO and Israel are committing terrorist acts against each other as a result of Palestine's desire to have their own country and Israel's determination to keep them from doing so. Davidson (1986) stated that in order to understand the Arab resistance movements in the West Bank, you must also consider the modern struggle to defeat imperialism and colonialism. Davidson (1986) summarized the West Bank struggle as "a people trying to free itself from colonial occupation versus another people for whom colonialism is a holy mission" (p. 114). Austin (1996) also examined the Arab-Israel dispute, specifically by examining the United States raid against Libya. An important point made by Austin is that the Arabs have lost the battle for American public opinion in part due to the "Arab ineffectiveness and Israeli effectiveness in presenting their respective views" (1996). Austin concluded that the frustrations from the Arab-Israeli dispute are a significant cause for terrorism and therefore the United States must become more involved in bringing peace to the region.

A common rationale for terrorism includes revolutionary motives. Hutchinson (1972) examined the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) during the Algerian Revolution of 1954-1962. According to Hutchinson, revolutionary terrorism is part of an insurgent strategy in the context of internal warfare or revolution. Hutchinson concluded that terrorism occurs when it appears functional to the insurgents.

Many researchers have also examined the root causes of terrorism (Bonanate, 1979; Crenshaw, 1981; Dale, 1988). Both Dale (1988) and Bonanate (1979) address colonialism as a cause of terrorism. Dale (1988) examined the conflicts that gave rise to suicide terrorist attacks in India, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Dale found that suicide attacks were sometimes conducted in response to Western expansion and colonial rule. According to Dale's research, "for Asian Muslims that had experienced the destruction of their economies, assaults of their cities, massacres of their coreligionists, and attempts at conversion, suicide jihads were not so unreasonable" (1988, p. 56). Dale concluded that jihads are a by-product of the prolonged confrontation between Western powers and Asian Muslim communities.

Crenshaw (1981) analyzed the causes of terrorism and examined terrorism as a form of political behavior resulting from deliberate actions and decisions by rational actors, the terrorist organization. She found that individuals and organizations that commit terrorist acts perceive an absence of choice. For the individual or organization, terrorism is the only choice left to them in an attempt to have their issues addressed by the target government. Crenshaw states that if political conditions are favorable, and an opportunity is provided, the terrorist act can easily and effectively be carried out. Furthermore, if there is an immediate and visible payoff, individuals will make the choice to carry out a terrorist act. In addition, terrorism is a strategy for "small organizations of diverse ideological persuasions who want to attract attention for their cause, provoke the government, intimidate opponents, appeal for sympathy, impress an audience or promote the adherence of the faithful" (Crenshaw, 1981, p. 396).

While multiple studies have been conducted on terrorist acts surrounding the Arab-Israeli dispute, root causes of terrorism, and revolutionary motives for

terrorism, a historical comparative analysis on designated state sponsors of terrorism has not been conducted.

In "Violence and the Process of Terror" (1964), E.V. Walter examined the system of terror, which is made up of three elements, violence, fear, and reactive behavior. The system of terror is then classified into one of two main categories; these are typologies of power systems based on the use of violence. The first category is oriented towards overthrowing a system of authority (siege of terror). The second category coincides with systems of authority and is directed by those who already control the ordinary institutions of power (regime of terror). Walter (1964) concluded that terrorism differs from war and punishment in the way that violence is used, "The violent process may be a means of destruction, an instrument of punishment, or a method of control, and it may shift from war to terrorism, to punishment, and back." It is not the presence of violence, but rather the degree of violence that affects the power system.

Jack Gibbs (1989) asserted that a theory of terrorism should require more than a conceptualization that confronts issues and problems. In "Conceptualization of Terrorism" (1989), Gibbs states that a definition of terrorism must

ensure empirical applicability and facilitate recognition
of logical connections and possible empirical associations.
This requires a model that facilitates describing and
thinking about terrorism. In his examination of terrorism,
Gibbs uses the term "control" instead of "social control"
because he feels that social control is too narrow of a
term to encompass his theory. The notion of terrorism must
be compatible with each of the three possible explanatory
mechanisms: strict causation, selective survival, and
purposiveness. Strict causation is "the mechanism if the
explanation neither makes reference to selective survival
nor emphasizes the purposive quality of human behavior"
(Gibbs, 1989, p. 335). Selective survival consists of "the
probability of society's survival [being] greater if an
increase in material density is accomplished or followed by
an increase in the division of labor, even though the
association was not anticipated" (Gibbs, 1989, p. 335).
Purposiveness refers to the purposive quality of human
behavior. Gibbs stated that control should be a component
of a terrorism theory because in describing terrorism, it
requires more recognition of what terrorists attempt to
control than what they actually control (pgs. 336-339).

In "Dynamics of Terrorism" (1983), Lawrence C. Hamilton and James C. Hamilton examined the dynamics of terrorism in quantitative social research using a class of stochastic models for social contagion. Hamilton and Hamilton (1983) based their analysis on data of foreign terrorism in 16 countries from 1968 through 1978. Their findings suggest that:

> The forces which produce a reversal of terrorism are stronger in repressive environments than they are in environments more conducive to moderate reform. Democratic, affluent, and well-educated states seem to have particular difficulty in reversing terrorism, whereas autocratic, poor, and uneducated countries do not. (p. 52).

Hamilton and Hamilton acknowledge that these findings are preliminary, however, they do pose an interesting perspective. These findings were thought evoking in that a democratic state with a high GDP and literacy rate is more likely to have a sophisticated criminal justice system and ability to maintain greater control over its citizens. It is unclear how Hamilton and Hamilton measured their variables, but perhaps, a third world country that has harsh punishments and utilizes torture as part of their justice system, serves as a deterrent to terrorist organizations.

Martha Crenshaw (1990) examined the ways in which terrorism can be understood as an expression of political strategy in "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice." According to Crenshaw, terrorism follows a logical process that can be discovered and explained as a willful choice made by an organization for political and strategic reasons. Since the French Revolution, a strategy of terrorism has evolved as a means of bringing about political change opposed by established governments. The choice to carry out terrorist actions involves many considerations including, timing, the popular contribution to revolt, and the relationship between the government and opponents. "Radicals choose terrorism when they want immediate action, think that only violence can build organizations and mobilize supporters, and accept the risks of challenging the government in particularly provocative ways" (Crenshaw, 1998, p. 61).

Through the use of a messianic model of holy assassinations, Sonia Alianak (1998) examined the factors that influence a religious fanatic's thought process. Alianak used the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar el Sadat and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin as the basis for the messianic model of holy assassinations. Sadat was

assassinated as a result of signing a peace treaty with Israel, an action that shunned Egypt from the rest of the Arab world. Rabin was assassinated because his assassin believed that Rabin was interfering with the coming of the Messiah and therefore needed to be removed. According to Alianak, two conditions must exist for a holy assassination to take place. First, there must be a religious delegitimization of the ruler or person to be assassinated. Second, there must be an existence of a devout person willing to participate in a violent act. The following subfactors must also be in place:

> This human agent [i.e. religious terrorist] considers himself to be morally worthy because he has an unshakable faith, his sins are potentially holy, and he believes in martyrdom. However, he feels powerless in the ruler's political system. Therefore, he must resort to violence to prevent the ruler's threat to the messianic process. This threat is seen through physical signs, Western innovations, and/or major reversals of policy by the ruler causing psychological shocks. (p. 175)

In Magnus Ranstorp's "Terrorism in the Name of Religion" (1996), he examined the surge of religious fanaticism, which has manifested itself in acts of terrorism worldwide. Ranstorp explored the reasons for the rise in religiously motivated terrorism from the mid 1960s to the mid 1990s, and identified the triggering mechanisms

that bring about violence out of religious beliefs in both established and newly founded terrorist groups. Ranstorp also stated that the rise of religious terrorism is a result of Muslim terrorist groups "since religion and politics cannot be separated in Islam" (1996, p. 2). He demonstrated that the nature and scope of religious terrorism is not disorganized or random, but rather "driven by an inner logic common among diverse groups and faiths that use political violence to further their causes" (1996, p. 8). Ranstorp (1996) concluded that it is important to understand the inner logic of religious terrorist groups and gain a better grasp on the mechanisms that produce terrorism. The inner logic of religious terrorists is that they perceive their actions to be in defense of the preservation and advancement of their religion and justify their terrorist actions in this way (Ranstorp, 1996).

Metraux (1995) also examined the connection of religion and terrorism and the rationale used by religious fanatics. Metraux (1995) studied religious terrorism in Japan and the terrorist attacks carried out by Aum Shinrikyo and its followers on three subway lines in Tokyo, resulting in the deaths of 12 and injury to 6,000. Metraux (1995) examined how a religious group promoting peace and

compassion commit terrorist acts. Aum's following consisted mostly of young Japanese seeking direction in life and a group of scientists and engineers who abandoned their careers to become followers of Aum. Metraux concluded that many of these followers sought the religious group to find serenity away for the reality of their lives and unknowingly became involved in a cult.

Research conducted on terrorism encompasses various empirical and theoretical frameworks on the Arab-Israeli dispute, root causes of terrorism, and revolutionary and religious motives. The literature on religion and terrorism most closely addresses the issue of state sponsored terrorism since religion plays a crucial role in the politics of a Muslim state. Specifically, Ranstorp's research emphasizes the importance of a religious terrorist's motives and thought process involved in the execution of a terrorist act. Four of the six countries examined in this thesis are Muslim and as Ranstorp states, in Muslim countries, politics and religion cannot be separated.

Crenshaw's examination of terrorism as an expression of political strategy can be used to examine state sponsors of terrorism. There may be a connection between a

country's decision to sponsor terrorist organizations and the country's political agenda. Some state sponsors of terrorism, like Syria and Libya have a logical explanation for harboring terrorist organizations. Ultimately these countries are using terrorist groups to further their political agenda.

Both Dale (1988) and Bonanate (1979) address colonialism as a cause of terrorism, however, they do not take into consideration other factors that lead to terrorism. Even though these case studies present various approaches to examine terrorism, the literature does not take multiple factors to assess the likelihood of terrorism to conduct a comparative historical analysis on state sponsors of terrorism. This thesis conducts a historical comparative analysis to examine state sponsored terrorism.

METHODOLOGY

Data

Dale's (1988) findings suggested that colonized countries experiencing prolonged confrontation between Western powers and Asian Muslims have higher rates of terrorist actions.

This thesis utilizes a comparative historical analysis to assess common factors distinguishing state sponsors of terrorism from non-state sponsors of terrorism in four pairs of countries. This approach offers a historically grounded explanation of large-scale and substantially important outcomes that are "defined by a concern with a causal analyses, an emphasis on process over time, and the use of systematic and contextualized comparisons" (Mahoney, 2003, p. 6). Through the use of comparative historical analysis, this thesis derives factual information from each country's past experiences that speak to the present day concern of state sponsored terrorism.

Economy is an important indicator of the country's stability. GDP per capita, GDP growth rate and unemployment rate are all important variables in determining the strength of an economy. This thesis speculates that in comparing state sponsors of terrorism with non-sponsors of terrorism, the countries with the stronger economy will be the non-sponsors of terrorism.

In examining each country's history it is important to examine to what extent colonization affected the country's development. Specifically, the colonized country's government type and legal system. A country's governance

is examined to determine the type of government that is likely to support terrorism. This thesis hypothesizes that a non-democratic country with a religious based legal system is more likely to support terrorism.

Population is examined in connection to a country's economy. A country that cannot support its population is more likely to have dissent among its citizens, which can lead to extremism. It is hypothesized that a country with a large population and weak economy is more likely to sponsor terrorism. In addition, a large population under the age of 14 will increase future unemployment rates. As a result, high unemployment rates can cause dissent and lead to the increase of violence and terrorist activity. Therefore, it is hypothesized that a country with a large population under age 14, a weak economy, and high unemployment rates is more likely to be a sponsor of terrorism. The data on these variables was obtained from the 2000, 2001, 2002, and 2003 editions of the Central Intelligence Agency Fact Book.

Operational Variables

The independent variables examined are economy, colonization, population and governance. Economy is

measured by: 1) current Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita; 2) GDP growth rate; and 3) unemployment rate. Standard GDP is the monetary value of all final goods and services produced annually, while GDP per capita is the GDP divided by the population. GDP growth rate is GDP growth on an annual basis adjusted for inflation and expressed as a percent. Unemployment rate is the percentage of the labor force that is not employed. Colonization is whether a country was colonized or not, and the number of years since achieving its sovereignty. All the countries examined achieved sovereignty from a nation, empire, or trusteeship. Years of independence are the number of years since the country achieved sovereignty, or years since the country was founded, unified, or became a federation.

Additional independent variables include demographic variables which are measured by: 1) the country's population as of 2003; 2) the percentage of the population under age 14; and 3) population growth. The country's population growth is the average annual percent change in the population, resulting from a surplus (or deficit) of births over deaths and the balance of migrants entering and leaving the country from 2000 to 2003.

Governance is measured by: 1) the country's government type and 2) the country's legal system. A country's government is classified as communist, republic, monarchy, or socialist. Legal system refers to whether a government has a secular or religious based legal system.

The dependent variable is whether a country is a state sponsor of terrorism. The following sets of countries are examined using a historical analysis, one of each sets of countries is a state sponsor of terrorism while the other country is not.

Libya

Libya has a long history of supporting terrorism and as a result, the US Department of State placed it on the first state sponsor of terrorism list on December 29, 1979 after "a mob attacked and set fire to the [United States] Embassy in December 1979" (USDS, Libya, 2004, para. 41) (See Appendix B for a complete listing of terrorist organizations sponsored by Libya). Libya's record of terrorist connections includes the December 1995 terrorist attacks on airports in Rome and Vienna, the December 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland that resulted in 270 deaths, and the September 1989 bombing of

France UTA Flight 772, where seven United States citizens died (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 80) (See Table 2 for a complete listing of terrorist attacks in connection to Libya).

As a result of Libya's foreign policies supporting international terrorism and subversion against moderate Arab and African governments, the United States imposed sanctions on Libya (Hufbauer et al., 2001). Upon inception to the state sponsor of terrorism list, the United States Government imposed a ban on crude oil imports and refined oil products (Hufbauer et al., 2001). The sanctions also included restrictions on exports of sophisticated oil and gas equipment and technology (Hufbauer et al., 2001). Following the December 1995 terrorist attacks on airports in Rome and Vienna a ban was placed on most exports and imports of goods, services, and technology; prohibition on all loans or credits to the Libyan government; and freezing Libyan government assets in United States banks (Hufbauer et al., 2001).

Within the last three years, Libya has been working to counter its reputation as a terrorist sponsoring nation by pledging to French authorities to increase payments to victims of the UTA flight 772 bombing and for extraditing

suspects in connection to the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003). In August 2003, 15 years since the Pan Am bombing, the Libyan Government formally took responsibility for the terrorist incident (BBC, Libya, 2004).

According to the US State Department (2003) since September 11, 2001, Libyan President, Muammar Qadhafi has identified Libya with the war on terrorism and the struggle against Islamic extremism (Patterns of Global Terrorism). Qadhafi told British officials that he regards bin Laden and his Libyan followers as a threat to Libya (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. 80). He further went on to state that Libya would combat members of al-Qaida, as well as Libyan extremists allied with al-Qaida and opposed to his regime as persistently as the United States (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 80). Libya has taken further actions in an attempt to shed its reputation as a sponsor of terrorism including, becoming party to the 1999 Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and the 1991 Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection in 2002. Libya is a party to all 12 international conventions and protocols

relating to terrorism (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003) (See Appendix C).

Libyan History.

Prior to 1911 Libya consisted mostly of tribes, regions, and cities under the Turkish Empire (Metz & Library of Congress, Libya, 1989). In that year, Italy invaded and colonized Libya. For 20-years, Libya fought the Italian occupation in a colonial war. Following World War II, in 1947, under the terms of a peace treaty with the Allies, Italy relinquished all claims to Libya (USDOS, Libya, 2003). On December 24, 1951, Libya declared its independence and proclaimed a constitutional and hereditary monarchy under King Idris (USDOS, Libya, 2004). Libya "was the first country to achieve independence through the United Nations and one of the first former European possessions in Africa to gain independence" (USDOS, Libya, 2004, para. 6).

On September 1, 1969, the monarchy fell as a result of a military coup against King Idris. Colonel Muammar Abu Minyar al-Qadhafi led the coup and came into power as Libya's leader. The new regime, headed by the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), abolished the monarchy

and proclaimed the new Libyan Arab Republic (USDOS, Libya, 2004). Libya's current government is socialist and its legal system is a combination of socialism and Islam, referred to as the Third International Theory (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], Libya, 2003). This theoretically based political system rejects parliamentary democracy and political parties. Although Qadhafi holds no official office, he exercises total control and power over the government (USDOS, Libya, 2004).

Qadhafi's foreign policy has included "Arab unity, elimination of Israel, advancement of Islam, support for Palestinians, elimination of outside influence, particularly Western influence in the Middle East and Africa, and support for a range of 'revolutionary' causes" (USDOS, Libya, 2004, para. 32). Since the onset of Qadhafi's regime, he has closed American and British bases on Libyan territory and partially nationalized all foreign oil and commercial interests in Libya (USDOS, Libya, 2004).

Oil reserves were discovered in Libya in 1959, brining wealth to one of the world's poorest countries (USDOS, Libya, 2004). The Libyan government controls all profits generated from their oil reserves, "…[the government] dominates Libya's socialist-oriented economy through

complete control of the country's oil resources, which account for approximately 95% of export earnings, 75% of government receipts, and 30% of the gross domestic product" (USDOS, Libya, 2004, para. 25). Libya's population of 5,499,074 is small considering the size of the country, with a population density of 3.125 per square kilometer and an average population growth rate of 2.41% between 2000 and 2003 (CIA, 2003). Despite Libya's small population, its unemployment rate is high at 30% as of 2003 (CIA, Libya 2003). Nevertheless, as a result of its small population and large oil revenues, Libya now has "one of the highest GDPs in Africa," (USDOS, 2004, para. 26) which in 2003 measured $6,200 per capita. However, the revenue from oil has been mismanaged and wasted through corruption, weapons, military costs, weapons of mass destruction, and substantial donations to developing countries (USDOS, Libya, 2004). As a result of the government's mismanagement of finances, Libya suffers from high inflation rates resulting in a decline in the standard of living (USDOS, Libya, 2004).

Even though Libya's history is traced to eighth millennium B.C., "modern Libya must be viewed as a new

country still developing national consciousness and

institutions" (Metz & Library of Congress, Libya, 1989).

Table 1

Libyan Terrorist Involvement

Date	Terrorist Act
12/06/1981	US defense attaché is murdered in Paris.
12/27/1985	Coordinated terrorist attacks at Rome, Vienna airports kills 19 people, wounds 110.
4/05/1986	Terrorist bomb destroys West Berlin discotheque frequented by US servicemen, killing three persons, injuring over 150.
12/21/1988	Bombing of Pan Am Flight over Lockerbie, Scotland, killing 270 people.
09/19/1989	A French airliner, UTA Flight 772, explodes over Niger, killing all persons aboard.

(Institute for International Economics, Libya, 2004)

Egypt

Although Libya and Egypt are both Arab nations in

Africa, share a strong economy due to petroleum, and have

extensive experiences with terrorism in their counties,

Egypt is not designated a state sponsor of terrorism. To

the contrary, according to the US Department of State

(2003), the Egyptian Government continues to work in close

coordination with the United States in regards to

counterterrorism issues "The Egyptian Government, both

secular and clerical, continued to make public statements supportive of US efforts and indicative of its commitment to the worldwide campaign against terrorism" (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. 54). For example, in January 2003, 43 members of a jihad group, Gund Allah (Soldiers of God) were arrested for planning attacks against United States and Israeli interests (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism 2004, p. 60). With one of the largest armed forces consisting of an army, air defense, air force and navy, Egypt is a strong military and strategic partner to the United States (USDOS, Egypt, 2003).

Egypt has dealt with terrorism for many years, and with assistance and training from the United States, Egypt has been able to effectively combat the threat posed by terrorist organizations (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism). "There were no acts of terrorism in Egypt in 2002, either against US citizens, Egyptians, or other nationals" (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. 55). This success is also due to Egypt's zero tolerance policy toward suspected terrorists. For example, the US State Department (2003) reported that in 2002, the Egyptian Government successfully prosecuted 94 members of the

terrorist organization, al-Wa'ad (the Promise) (Patterns of
Global Terrorism, p. 55). Al-Wa'ad members were charged
and sentenced for supplying arms and financial support to
Chechen rebels and HAMAS (Patterns of Global Terrorism, p.
55). The Egyptian government also has a zero tolerance
policy toward suspected extremists. In October, of 2002
the Government brought to trial 26 members of the Islamic
Liberation Party who were "accused of joining a banned
group, attempting to recruit members for that group, and
spreading extremist ideology" (USDOS, Patterns of Global
Terrorism, 2003, p. 55). Egypt is a party to 9 of the 12
international conventions and protocols relating to
terrorism and is a signatory to an additional two, (USDOS,
Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2004, p. 61). (See Appendix
C.)

Egyptian History.

Egypt belonged to the Ottoman Turkish Empire until the
British took control of Egypt in 1882 (USDOS, Egypt, 2004).
Between 1882 and 1922, Egypt was part of the British
Empire. It was not until after World War II, on June 19,
1953 that Egypt acquired full sovereignty and was declared
a republic (CIA, Egypt, 2003).

Following British rule, Egypt's history has been marked with three wars against Israel in 1948, 1967 and 1973. In 1948 Egypt together with Iraq, Jordan, and Syria attacked Israel (BBC, 2003, Egypt). In July of 1952 a group of army officers who blamed King Farouk for Egypt's loss in the 1948 war overthrew the king and gained control of Egypt. This coup propelled one of the army officers, Gamal Abdel Nasser into Presidency (USDOS, Egypt, 2003). Nasser's presidency was a turning point in Egypt's history.

> For contemporary Egypt, the Free Officers' 1952 Revolution, spearheaded by Gamal Abdul Nasser, has clearly been the formative event. Nasser's charismatic leadership institutionalized the role of the military and created an authoritarian state that pursued goals of "Arab socialism." (Metz & Library of Congress, 1990).

In June of 1967 Egypt rejoined with Jordan and Syria in a six-day war against Israel. Israel prevailed and took control of Sinai, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem and the West Bank, "…[the war] virtually destroyed Egypt's armed forces along with those of Jordan and Syria" (USDOS, Egypt, 2003, para. 22). In October of 1973 in an attempt to gain back the land they lost, Egypt and Syria went to war against Israel for a third time (BBC, 2003, Egypt). Egypt achieved initial success against·

Israel, but was ultimately defeated in Israeli

counterattacks (USDOS, 2003, Egypt).

In 1970, following the death of President Nasser and

the subsequent Presidential election of Anwar el-Sadat,

Egypt underwent a change "President Sadat shifted Egypt

from a policy of confrontation with Israel to one of

peaceful accommodation through negotiations" (USDOS, Egypt,

2003, para. 24). With Sadat also came more political

freedom and a new economic policy that relaxed government

controls over the economy and encouraged private and

foreign investment (USDOS, 2003, Egypt). On September 17,

1978, in an attempt to end the state of war with Israel,

Sadat signed the Camp David Accords with the mediation of

United States President Jimmy Carter. This accord was

followed by Egypt and Israel signing a peace treaty in

March of 1979 (Metz & Library of Congress, 1990). However,

the results of the peace treaty were not all positive for

Egypt. As a result of signing the treaty, other Arab

nations condemned Egypt and excluded it from the Arab

League. The signing of these documents ultimately resulted

in the assassination of Sadat by the Islamic extremist

group, Al Jihad in 1981.

President Sadat's assassination brought Vice President, Hosni Mubarak to Presidency. It was under Mubarak's presidency that Egypt was allowed to rejoin the Arab league in 1989 (BBC, 2003, Egypt). During his presidency, Sadat made decisions setting Egypt apart from the rest of the Arab countries. One of those decisions pertained to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and Egypt's public stance against it (Metz & Library of Congress, 1990).

Egypt is a republic state and while opposition parties to the government are tolerated "…power is concentrated in the hands of the President and the National Democratic Party majority in the People's Assembly and those institutions dominate the political system" (USDOS, Egypt, 2003, para. 31). Egypt's judicial system is a combination of religious and secular laws, based primarily on French legal concepts and methods, and Islamic law (Sharia) overseeing family matters (USDOS, Egypt, 2003, para. 31). Under Mubarak's leadership, Egypt's judicial system has demonstrated increasing independence, and the principles of due process and judicial review have gained greater respect (USDOS, Egypt, 2003, para. 31).

Among Arab countries, Egypt has a strong economy, its GDP is second only to Saudi Arabia and in 2003 its GDP per

capita was reported at $4,000 (CIA, Egypt, 2003). However, its economy is heavily dependent on tourism, which has suffered in light of recent terrorist attacks worldwide (USDOS, Egypt, 2003). An additional problem facing Egypt is its large population of 74,718,797 with an average population growth of 1.73% between 2000 and 2003 (CIA, Egypt, 2003). According to the US Department of State, Egypt is the most populous country in the Arab world and the second-most populous on the African Continent (Egypt, 2003). However with such a large population, Egypt has managed to maintain control of its unemployment rate, which as of 2003 stood at 16.3% (CIA, Egypt). Nonetheless, as a result of its population, limited arable land, and their dependence on the Nile River, Egyptian recourses continue to be overtaxed and to stress society (CIA, Egypt, 2003).

Iran

On November 4, 1979, Iranian militant students, with the support of Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini, occupied the American Embassy in Tehran (USDOS, Iran, 2003; BBC, Iran, 2004). The Islamic militants held 52 Americans hostage for 444 days (USDOS, Iran, 2003; BBC, Iran, 2004). In 1984 Iran was added to the list of state sponsors of terrorism

as a result of their involvement in the bombings of the

United States Marine base in Lebanon in October of 1983

(Hufbauer et al., 2001; Institute for International

Economics, 2003). On April 7, 1987 the United States broke

diplomatic relations with Iran. As a result of their

support of terrorism, the United States has imposed

multiple sanctions on Iran. In 1987 the United States

Government banned all imports from Iran and prohibited

exports of several military items (Hufbauer et al., 2001).

In 1992 the United States expanded the sanctions to include

a ban on the export of defense items, nuclear material, and

certain dual-use goods (Hufbauer et al., 2001). Following

the imposition of these sanctions, Iran continued to

support terrorism:

> Concerned about nuclear proliferation and Iran's
> continued support for terrorist groups, President
> Clinton issued a series of executive orders beginning
> in 1995. These eventually banned all US trade,
> investment, and financial dealings with Iran. In
> addition, US residents and companies are barred from
> financing, supervising, and managing oil development
> projects in Iran under the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act of
> 1996 (which was extended for 5 years in August 2001).
> (Hufbauer et al., 2001, para. 11)

However, between 1999 and 2000, some of these

sanctions were lifted by the Clinton administration to show

support for reforms taken by Iran's moderate President Mohammad Khatami (Hufbauer et al., 2001).

In January 2002, President Bush described Iran, along with Iraq and North Korea as "an axis of evil warning of the proliferation of long-range missiles being developed in these countries" (BBC, Iran 2004). As of 2003, Iran continued to be labeled as the most active state sponsor of terrorism by the US Department of State (Iran, 2003) (See Table 2). Iran's continued connections to terrorist organizations can be seen in its Revolutionary Guard Corps and Ministry of Intelligence and Security involvement in the planning and support of terrorist acts. In addition, Iran urges groups to use terrorism to pursue their goals (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 77). Even though Iran has turned over some al-Qaida members to foreign governments, there are still many al-Qaida members who remain secure in Iran with assistance from the Iranian government (USDOS Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 77). In order to ease pressure from foreign governments, Iran may be turning in a selected few al-Qaida members to make it appear as if it is not protecting them.

Included among the terrorist organizations that Iran sponsors are Hizballah, HAMAS, the Palestine Islamic Jihad,

and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (USDOS Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 77) (See Appendix B for a complete listing of terrorist organizations sponsored by Iran). Iran has also been found to sponsor extremist groups who have ties to al-Qaida in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Iraq (USDOS Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, 77).

Iran is a party to five of the 12 international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism 2003, p. 88) (See Appendix C).

Iranian History.

Iran, formally known as Persia, is unique in that it was never colonized (CIA Iran, 2003). To the contrary, Persia was a major empire that colonized other countries. Up until 1979 Iran was ruled by a monarchy. The Pahlavi Empire ruled from 1925 to 1979 and differed from previous empires in that it was pro westernization.

> [Reza Shan Pahlavi] stressed measures designed to
> reduce the powers of both tribal and religious leaders
> and to bring about economic development and legal and
> educational reforms along Western lines…[he] promoted
> such Westernization and largely ignored the
> traditional role in Iranian society of conservative
> Shia religious leaders. (Metz & Library of Congress,
> Iran, 1989)

The Pahlavi Empire fell in 1979 when exiled religious leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returned to Iran to start a revolution (USDOS, Iran, 2004). The revolution brought the demise of the monarchy and resulted in a new theocratic republic government, guided by Islamic principles (USDOS, Iran, 2004). Khomeini believed that as a theocratic state, its "rulers [were responsible for] representing God in governing a Muslim people" (Metz & Library of Congress, Iran, 1989).

Iran has a stressed relationship with its neighbor, Iraq. In 1980 Iraq invaded Iran over a boundary dispute, thus beginning an eight-year war (BBC, Iran, 2004). The dispute centered on sovereignty over Shatt al-Arab, the waterway between Iran and Iraq. However, an underlying cause was each nation's desire for the overthrow of the other's government (USDOS, Iran, 2003). Neither country made any significant gains during the war and on July 1988, Iran agreed to UN Security Council Resolution 598, which called for a cease-fire (USDOS, Iran, 2003). On August 20, 1988 the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq was implemented (USDOS, Iran, 2003).

However, that is not the only problem Iran has faced, according to the US Department of State (2003), "Iran's

post-revolution difficulties have included an 8-year war

with Iraq, internal political struggles and unrest, and

economic disorder" (Iran, para. 21). Iran experienced

rapid economic growth prior to the revolution, in part due

to the discovery of petroleum in 1908. However, after the

revolution the economy slowed for multiple reasons,

including the revolution, the war with Iraq, and the

decline in oil prices (USDOS, Iran, 2004). Iran's GDP per

capita in 2002 was $6,800 (CIA, Iran, 2003). The slowing

economy has also affected Iran's unemployment rate, which

as of 2003 was 16.3%. In addition, Iran has a large

population of 68,278,826 with an average population growth

of 0.85% between 2000 and 2003 (CIA, Iran, 2003). Other

factors that have affected Iran's economy include,

"mismanagement and inefficient bureaucracy, as well as

political and ideological infighting, [which] have hampered

the formulation and execution of coherent economic

policies" (USDOS, Iran, 2004, para. 24).

Table 2

Iranian Terrorist Involvement

Date	Terrorist Act
11/4/1979	Militant Iranian students occupied the American embassy in Tehran and take 52 Americans hostage for 444 days.
10/1983	US Marine base in Beirut, Lebanon, is bombed killing more than 200 people; simultaneous attack occurs at base of French peacekeepers.
06/1985	Iranian backed fundamentalist Shiite faction in Lebanon takes Americans hostage in Beirut.
07/1991	Professor Itashi Igarashi, who translated Salman Rushdie's Satanic Verses, is assassinated in Japan.
1992	Four Kurdish dissidents are murdered in Berlin.
03/07/1996	US and Israeli intelligence sources allege Iranian involvement in a recent wave of terrorist attacks in Israel.
06/25/1996	A truck bomb explodes outside a US Air Force housing complex near Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 American servicemen.
05/20/1998	Argentina announces it has "absolutely no doubt" that Iran was behind two bombings in Buenos Aires (the Israeli embassy in 1992 and the Jewish Community Center in 1994) that took the lives of 110 people and injured hundreds more.
12/1999	US officials say that intelligence reports suggest that Iran has recently increased aid to terrorist groups opposing the Middle East peace process.

(Institute for International Economics, Iran, 2003)

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia is similar to Iran in that both countries have extensive experiences of terrorism in their country.

However, the United States has not designated Saudi Arabia

a state sponsor of terrorism even though it is the

birthplace of bin Laden and 15 of the 19 hijackers involved

in the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 were Saudi

nationals (BBC, Saudi Arabia, 2003). In addition, a large

amount of funding and support to terrorist organizations

has been connected to Saudi Arabian charities and

individuals (Levitt, 2002). "Former State Department

official Johnathan Winer told the Senate shortly after

September 11, 'A number of [Saudi] Islamic charities either

provided funds to terrorists or failed to prevent their

funds from being diverted to terrorist use.'" (Levitt,

2002, p. 82).

Regardless of this information, the United States and

Saudi Arabia share a close partnership. According to the

US Department of State (2003), Saudi Arabia continues to

provide support for the war on terror by supporting

Operation Enduring Freedom. This support has grown since

the terrorist attacks in Saudi Arabia on May 12, 2003, and

November 9, 2003, "Riyadh has aggressively attacked al-

Qaida's operational and support network in Saudi Arabia and

detained or killed a number of prominent operatives and

financial facilitators" (Patterns of Global Terrorism,

2004, p. 67). Saudi Arabia's counterterrorism efforts have
been aggressive, including the inception of a rewards
program for information leading to the arrest of suspects
or the disruption of terrorist attacks with rewards ranging
from $270,000 to $1.87 million (USDOS, Patterns of Global
Terrorism, 2004, p. 67).

The US Department of State (2004) also recognizes
Saudi Arabia's cooperation with the United States in
combating terrorist financing, "The Government prohibited
the collection of cash donations at mosques or commercial
establishments" (Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. 67) in
addition, "…the central bank issued a banking circular
prohibiting charities from depositing or withdrawing cash
or transferring funds abroad" (Patterns of Global
Terrorism, p. 67). As a result of the financial funding of
terrorist organizations from charitable organizations,
Saudi Arabia has taken strict actions. In August of 2003
the Saudi Government adopted an anti-money laundering and
antiterrorist financing law, therefore, criminalizing money
laundering and terrorist financing (USDOS, Patterns of Global
Terrorism, 2004, pp. 67-68). Saudi Arabia's cooperation
with the United States also includes a Joint Task Force on
Terrorist Financing to facilitate law-enforcement

cooperation at the operational level (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2004, p. 68).

Saudi Arabia is home to Mecca and Medina, two of Islam's holiest places. Mecca is the birthplace of Muhammad, an Arab prophet and the founder of Islam (Metz & Library of Congress, 1993). Muslims believe that it was in Mecca that Muhammad received revelation from God through the angel Gabriel (Metz & Library of Congress, 1993). Medina is a city that Muhammad relocated to after leaving Mecca (Metz & Library of Congress, 1993). Saudi Arabia uses its position as the keeper of Islam's holiest places to initiate an ideological campaign against Islamic terrorist organizations, and advocates a consistent message of moderation and tolerance, explaining that Islam and terrorism are incompatible (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2004, p. 67). According to the US Department of State (2004), "Saudi Arabia has expressed its commitment to undertake internal political, social, and economic reforms aimed at combating the underlying causes of terrorism, and authorities have worked to delegitimize or correct those who would use Islam to justify terrorist acts" (Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. 67).

Saudi Arabian History.

Saudi Arabia's history is different from other Arab nations in that it has never been under the direct control of a European nation. King Abd-al-Aziz Al Sa'ud established Saudi Arabia as a monarchy in 1932, the empire that continues to rule the country (CIA, Saudi Arabia, 2003). In 1975 Khalid was crowned King and named Prime Minister of Saudi Arabia. Under King Khalid's rule economic development grew rapidly and the country gained an influence in regional politics and international economic and financial matters (USDOS, Saudi Arabia, 2003). Following King Khalid's death, his half brother, Fahd became King and Prime Minister. As the custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd used his influence to bring about change and peace among Arab countries.

> King Fahd played a major part in bringing about the August 1988 cease-fire between Iraq and Iran and in organizing and strengthening the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), a group of six Arabian Gulf states dedicated to fostering regional economic cooperation and peaceful development. (USDOS, Saudi Arabia, 2003, para. 15).

King Fahd was also influential during the Gulf War. It was King Fahd who consolidated the coalition of forces against Iraq and established the operation as "a multilateral effort to reestablish the sovereignty and

territorial integrity of Kuwait" (USDOS, Saudi Arabia, 2003, para. 16). King Fahd remains the ruler of Saudi Arabia, however, following a stroke in November of 1995, Crown Prince Abdullah has taken the majority of the responsibility of running the government (USDOS, Saudi Arabia, 2003).

The country is exceedingly conservative and religious being that the Holy Qur'an is the constitution of the country, and is governed on the basis of Islamic law (Shari'a) (USDOS, Saudi Arabia, 2003). The monarchy espouses a strict interpretation of Sunni Islam, known as Wahhabism. Consequently, the King's powers are limited because he too must observe the strict code of the Shari'a. The government does not tolerate any type of opposition or extremist elements (BBC, Saudi Arabia, 2003). The Shari'a also governs the justice system through a system of religious courts whose judges are appointed by the King. However, the King maintains ultimate power and control, and acts as the highest court of appeal with the power to pardon (USDOS, Saudi Arabia, 2003).

Even though Saudi Arabia is a strict Islamic state, it has always maintained close relations with Western nations. This is due to it being the world's leading exporter of

petroleum and as such, has a special interest in preserving

a stable and long-term market for its vast oil resources.

Therefore, it maintains a close relationship with the

United States, which can protect the value of Saudi

financial assets. The United States also shares in this

interest of maintaining an alliance. Not only do both

nations share a common concern about regional security and

oil exports and imports, they also have shared interests in

the Middle East peace process and in the Persian Gulf.

Saudi Arabia provides approximately 20% of the total United

States crude imports and 10% of the United States

consumption.

> The U.S. is Saudi Arabia's largest trading partner,
> and Saudi Arabia is the largest U.S. exports market in
> the Middle East. The continued availability of
> reliable sources of oil, particularly from Saudi
> Arabia, remains important to the prosperity of the
> United States as well as to Europe and Japan. (USDOS,
> Saudi Arabia, 2003, para. 47).

Saudi Arabia has a strong economy with a GDP per

capita of $11,400(CIA, Iran, 2003). Oil was discovered in

Saudi Arabia in the 1930s and according to the CIA, "Saudi

Arabia has the largest reserves of petroleum in the world

(26% of the proved reserves), ranks as the largest exporter

of petroleum, and plays a leading role in OPEC

[Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries]" (Saudi

Arabia, 2003, para. 57). Its economy is petroleum-based with strong government controls over major economic activities. Following decades of fluctuating oil prices and demands, Saudi Arabia adopted an oil policy that "…has been guided by a desire to maintain market and quota shares" (USDOS, Saudi Arabia, 2003, para. 30).

The discovery of oil and the profit generated as a result of the discovery allowed Saudi Arabia to develop its country and provide for its population of 24,293,844 (CIA, Saudi Arabia, 2003). The government initiated programs focused on the creation of infrastructure in the areas of transportation, telecommunications, electric power, and water (Metz & Library of Congress, 1993). In addition, programs were created that addressed the fields of education, health, and social welfare (Metz & Library of Congress, 1993). The profits generated by the petroleum industry also allowed the government to build and expand its armed forces.

Ironically, one of the problems facing Saudi Arabia's economy is its dependence on petroleum output and prices as well as aquifer depletion (CIA, Saudi Arabia, 2003). In an attempt to lessen the country's dependency on oil, the government began supporting private sector growth. Private

sector growth would also help increase employment

opportunities for the Saudi population who faces an

unemployment rate of 25% (CIA, Saudi Arabia, 2003). An

additional problem that Saudi Arabia faces is its rapidly

increasing population of 24,293,844 with an average

population growth of 3.27% between 2000 and 2003 (CIA,

Saudi Arabia, 2003). The government's goal is to convert

its oil-based economy into that of a modern industrial

state, however still maintain its traditional Islamic

values and customs (USDOS, Saudi Arabia, 2003).

Syria

Syria has been designated a state sponsor of terrorism

since the inception of the list in December of 1979

(Hufbauer et al., 2001). While the Syrian Government has

not been directly connected to a terrorist act since 1986,

(See Table 3) its relation to terrorism is due to its

continued support of Palestinian rejectionist groups,

including the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

(PFLP), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-

General Command (PFLP-GC), the Palestine Islamic Jihad

(PIJ), and the Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS) (See

Appendix B for a complete listing of terrorist

organizations sponsored by Syria). Syria has provided
political and material support to these organizations,
including allowance to maintain offices in Damascus (USDOS,
Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 81). As a result of
this continued support, Syria has been subjected to export
sanctions and is ineligible to receive most forms of aid
from the United States, including the purchase of US
military equipment (USDOS, Syria, 2003, para. 56).

Even though Syria condemns international terrorism, it
continues to distinguish between terrorism and "…what they
[Syria] consider to be the legitimate armed resistance of
Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and of Lebanese
Hizballah" (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2004, p.
93). Syria encourages international support for
Palestinian national aspirations and advocates that
Palestinian and Lebanese terrorist groups fighting Israel
are not terrorists. Syria contends that it is the Israeli
actions against the Palestinians that are terrorist acts
(USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, 81). According
to the State Department (2003), Syria has cooperated
significantly with the United States and other foreign
governments against al-Qaida, the Taliban, and other
terrorist organizations and individuals. In addition, it

has discouraged any signs of public support for al-Qaida,
including in the media and at mosques (USDOS, Patterns of
Global Terrorism, p. 81). In 2002 Syria became a party to
the 1988 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of
Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation,
and is party to 7 of the 12 international conventions and
protocols relating to terrorism (USDOS, Patterns of Global
Terrorism, 2003 and 2004) (See Appendix C).

Syrian History.

Syria was ruled under the Ottoman Empire for 400 years
until its breakup during World War I (CIA, Syria, 2003,
para. 1). In 1920 the French government gained control of
Syria and remained until 1946 (USDOS, 2003, Syria). In
1940 during World War II and following the fall of France
to German forces, Syria came under the control of the Axis
powers (BBC, Syria, 2004). The period of French control
was a sad and distressing time for Syrians, as the French
rule was extremely oppressive (Collelo & Library of
Congress, 1988). Since its independence in 1946, there
have been four factors that have dominated Syria's history
(Collelo and the Library of Congress, 1988). The first of
these factors "is the deeply felt desire among Syrian

Arabs--Christian and Muslim alike--to achieve some kind of unity with the other Arabs of the Middle East in fulfillment of their aspirations for regional leadership" (1988). The second "is a desire for economic and social prosperity" (1988). The third factor "is a universal dislike of Israel, which Syrians feel was forcibly imposed by the West and which they view as a threat to Arab unity" (1988). Lastly, "the dominant political role of the military" (1988).

Syria gained its independence in 1946 from France as a result of UN intervention and pressure from England and the United States to withdraw from Syria (Collelo & Library of Congress, 1988). Much political instability followed Syria's independence, including multiple coup attempts. In hopes to stabilize the political activity, on February 1, 1958, Syria and Egypt merged and created the United Arab Republic (USDOS, Syria, 2003). However, the merger was not permanent and on September 28, 1961, following a military coup, Syria separated and again became the Syrian Arab Republic. Multiple coups followed and in 1963, Syria fell under the control of the Arab Socialist Resurrection Party (Ba'ath Party). During this same time period, a second attempt at unification was formed, this time including

Ba'ath controlled Iraq. This unification failed to materialize due to disagreements among the parties, yet Syria continued to pursue a merger with Iraq that never materialized (USDOS, Syria, 2003).

Many of the problems in Syria stem from its loss of the Golan Heights to Israel in 1967 during the Arab-Israeli War (CIA, 2003, Syria). In addition, Lebanon claims ownership of Shaba'a farms in Golan Heights. In 1973 Syria partnered with Egypt and went to war with Israel for a second time in an attempt to retake the Golan Heights (BBC, Syria, 2004). In May of 1974 Syria and Israel signed a disengagement agreement, which resulted in Syria not receiving the Golan Heights (BBC, Syria, 2004). However, Syria has maintained troops in Lebanon since 1976, supposedly in a peacekeeping capacity (BBC, Syria, 2004; CIA, 2003, Syria). Syria remains adamant that the Golan Heights belongs to them and has made several attempts to convince Israel to return them to Syria (CIA, Syria, 2003).

Approximately 85% of Syrians are Muslims, however internal tensions within Syria have been said to stem from the domination of President Assad's small Alawi sect over the'larger Sunni community to be the source of internal friction (Collelo & Library of Congress, 1987).

Syria's government is a republic under military regime, "Syria is ruled by an authoritarian regime which exhibits the forms of a democratic system but in which President Asad wields almost absolute authority. Although citizens ostensibly vote for the President and members of Parliament, they do not have the right to change their government" (USDOS, Syria, 2003, para. 24). As of 1963 Syria has implemented martial law due to the war between Israel and threats posed by terrorist groups. As a result of this state of political mind, opposition to the president and his office is forbidden (USDOS, Syria, 2003).

The Asad regime has successfully been in power for so many years in part due to its success in providing "religious minority groups and peasant farmers a stake in society" (USDOS, 2003, para. 25). In addition, the public receives social services at nominal fees and basic commodities are largely subsidized by the government (USDOS, Syria, 2003). While these good deeds are beneficial to the Syrian people, the government has been known to commit human rights violations.

Syria's legal system is based on Islamic and civil law. Syria's constitution requires that their president be Muslim, however it does not mandate Islam as the country's

official religion. Syria's judicial system is a combination of Ottam, French and Islamic laws. There are three courts including a religious court that handles questions of personal and family law (USDOS, Syria, 2003). President Bashar al-Asad's sect, the Alawis, hold the majority of high-ranking military and security positions. The dominated military party also consumes the majority of Syria's economic resources (USDOS, Syria, 2003).

Syria is a middle-income, developing country, with a GDP per capita of $3,700 (CIA, Syria, 2003; USDOS, Syria, 2003). However, its petroleum dominant economy is "slowed by large numbers of poorly performing public sector firms, low investment levels, and relatively low industrial, and agricultural productivity" (USDOS, Syria, 2003, para. 30). According to the US Department of State (2003), Syria's economy faces tremendous challenges. Syria has a population of 17,585,540 with an average growth of 2.51% between 2000 and 2003 (CIA, Syria, 2003). Syria's unemployment rate of 20% remains a serious problem since 38.6% of the population is under 14 years of age (CIA, Syria, 2003). The unemployment rate will continue to rise within the next 10 years since there are only a limited number of jobs available to young males. Young males will

be left without the ability to provide for their families

resulting in desperation among the Syrian people.

Table 3

Syrian Terrorist Involvement

Date	Terrorist Act
04/26/1986	Time bomb is discovered in luggage of woman boarding El Al flight at London's Heathrow Airport.
11/27/1986	West German court concludes that officials at Syrian embassy in East Berlin provided bomb that two Arab terrorists exploded at German-Arab Social Club in West Berlin in March.
2/1996	Four suicide bombings in Israel by Palestinian terrorists.
06/25/1996	A truck bomb explodes outside a US Air Force housing complex near Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 American servicemen.

(Institute for International Economics, Syria, 2004; USDOS,

Iran, 2003)

Jordan

Syria and Jordan share a common border, as well as

other historical characteristics, however, Jordan is not

designated a state sponsor of terrorism and shares a

cooperative relationship with the United States. According

to the US Department of State (2003), the Jordanian

Government continues to support counterterrorist efforts

worldwide (Patterns of Global Terrorism, 57). Jordan has been active in assuring that Jordanian territory is not exploited for attacks in Israel (Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 57). In addition, Jordan has "aggressively pursued suspected terrorists and successfully prosecuted and convicted many involved in plots against US or Israeli interests" (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 57). In 2002 Jordanian authorities arrested multiple persons for suspected arms and explosives transporting and for using Jordan as a means to infiltrate into Israel to conduct terrorist attacks (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 57). Specifically, Jordan worked in close coordination with United States officials to investigate the murder of a USAID officer, Laurence Foley. The murder was determined to have been ordered by al-Qaida leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 57).

Historically, Jordan has had a positive relationship with the United States, however, that relationship was severed temporarily by Jordan's support for Iraq during the first Gulf war (USDOS, 2003, Jordan). While the Jordanian government opposed Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, Jordan's Palestinian population supported Iraq and Saddam Hussein

because he was against the West's support of Israel (USDOS, Jordan, 2003). Following the first Gulf war, Jordan participated in the Middle East peace process and enforcement of UN sanctions against Iraq (USDOS, Jordan, 2003, para. 23). In addition, following the fall of the Iraqi regime, Jordan has played a critical role in supporting the restoration of stability and security to Iraq, "The Government of Jordan signed a memorandum of understanding with the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq to facilitate the training of up to 30,000 Iraqi police cadets at a Jordanian facility" (USDOS, Jordan, 2003, para. 23).

Jordan has signed 10 of the 12 international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism and is a party to eight (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 57) (See Appendix C).

Jordanian History.

Following World War I, the areas now comprising Israel, Jordan (formally the Emirate of Transjordan), the West Bank, Gaza, and Jerusalem were awarded to the United Kingdom, "In 1922, the British divided the mandate by establishing the semiautonomous Emirate of Transjordan,

ruled by the Hashemite Prince Abdullah" (USDOS, Jordan, 2003, para. 7). In 1946 Jordan gained independence from the British and became the independent Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan (USDOS, Jordan, 2003). King Hussein ibn Talal ibn Abdullahn ibn Hussein Al Hashimi ruled Jordan from 1953 until his death in February of 1999. King Hussein was recognized as overcoming various challenges during his reign "A pragmatic ruler, he successfully navigated competing pressures from the major powers (US, USSR, and UK), various Arab states, Israel, and a large internal Palestinian population, through several wars and coup attempts" (CIA, Jordan, 2003).

King Hussein's eldest son, King Abdullah took over the thrown following his father's death (BBC, Jordan, 2004). There are many controversial factors surrounding King Abdullah's inheritance of the thrown including the fact that his mother was born in England, "the constitution stipulates that both parents of the king must be Arab and Muslim by birth" (BBC, Jordan, 2004, para. 8). In addition, King Abdullah married a Palestinian, rather than a Jordanian woman. This marriage was likely a strategic and political move on his part since much of Jordan's population is of Palestinian origin. King Abdullah's reign

has focused on economic reform, and is committed to accelerating economic and political reforms (USDOS, Jordan, 2003).

As a result of the creation of Israel in 1948 and the 1967 war, thousands of Palestinians fled the region and descended to the West Bank and Jordan. This created a huge influx of Palestinians in Jordan. According to the US Department of State (2003), of Jordan's 5.4 million inhabitants, 1.5 million are Palestinians (Jordan). With a large Palestinian population also came an upsurge in the power and importance of Palestinian resistance elements (fedayeen) "The heavily armed fedayeen constituted a growing threat to the sovereignty and security of the Hashemite state, and open fighting erupted in June 1970" (USDOS, Jordan, 2003, para. 11). Beginning in 1967 sporadic fighting occurred with Israel engaging in retaliation raids against Jordan for fedayeen operations launched from Jordan. To make matters worse, the fedayeen increasingly directed their efforts against Jordan rather than against Israel (Metz & Library of Congress, 1991). These events culminated in 1970 and resulted in a civil war, where major clashes broke out between government forces and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)

guerrilla groups that were based in refugee camps (Metz &

Library of Congress, 1991). Known as Black September, this

incident brought the reinstitution of martial law and

resulted in thousands of casualties (BBC, Jordan, 2004).

The war caused many strained relations between Jordan and

other Arab countries, "Isolated by the other Arab states

because of its repression of the fedayeen, Jordan gradually

had to repair relations with those countries because they

constituted the major source of its financial aid" (Metz &

Library of Congress, 1991).

In 1950 Jordan annexed the West Bank. However, during

the 1967 war with Israel, Jordan lost the West Bank region

resulting in a 46-year bitter dispute (BBC, Jordan, 2004).

The dispute over the West Bank and its large Palestinian

population has historically played a critical role in

Jordan's relationship with Israel and other Arab countries.

Jordan was opposed to the creation of Israel and took part

in the warfare between Arab states and Israel (USDOS,

Jordan, 2003). After 46 years of disputing, on October 26,

1994, Jordan signed a peace treaty with Israel. Even

though Jordan relinquished all claims to the West Bank in

1988, it retained an administrative role pending a final

settlement, "…its 1994 treaty with Israel allowed for a

continuing Jordanian role in Muslim holy places in Jerusalem" (USDOS, Jordan, 2003, para. 10).

Jordan is a constitutional monarchy with executive authority vested in the king and his council of ministers (USDOS, Jordan, 2003). There are three categories of court as set forth in the constitution, civil, religious, and special (USDOS, Jordan, 2003). Jordan's legal system is based on Islamic law and French codes (CIA, Jordan, 2003). The government is strict and does not tolerate dissent from its citizens. In 2001 the government established prison terms for individuals found guilty of "…criticizing the king, reporting 'false' news, or harming the country's reputation" (BBC, Jordan, 2004, para. 12).

Unlike its rich neighbor, Saudi Arabia, Jordan does not have any oil and has limited natural resources. According to the World Bank, Jordan is classified as a lower middle-income country with a GDP per capita of $4,300 (CIA, 2003; USDOS, Jordan, 2003). Jordan has a population of 5,460,265 with an average population growth of 2.94% between 2000 and 2003. Of the almost 5.5 million inhabitants 16% are unemployment (CIA, 2003; USDOS, Jordan, 2003). In comparison to other countries with similar incomes, education, and literacy rates, measures of social

well-being remain relatively high. However, King Abdallah
has made changes to improve Jordan's Economy, "Amman in the
past three years has worked closely with the IMF, practiced
careful monetary policy, and made significant headway with
privatization" (CIA, 2003, Jordan).

Korea

In 1910 after war with China and Russia, Japan won
control of Korea and annexed Korea as part of their empire
(USDOS, North Korea, 2004). From 1910 to 1945, Japan
maintained imperial rule over Korea. This period is
bitterly remembered by Koreans and stirs feelings of anger
and resentment (USDOS, South Korea, 2004). The thirty-five
years of Japanese rule are marked by many changes. From
1910 to 1921 the Japanese government restricted the freedom
of the Korean people. In 1921 under pressure from protest,
Japan granted some freedoms to Koreans, "Many developments
of the period, including the organization of labor unions
and other social and economic movements…" (Savada, Shaw &
Library of Congress, South Korea, 1992). The 1930's
however, brought a revocation of those freedoms and a rise
in Japanese military power. It was during this time that
Japan attempted to completely assimilate the Koreans. The

war between Japan and China, the Second Sino Japanese War from 1937 to 1945, further expanded the requirement for assimilation. However, assimilation went further than forcing Koreans to speak only Japanese.

> In 1939 another decree "encouraged" Koreans to adopt Japanese names, and by the following year it was reported that 84 percent of all Korean families had done so. During the war years Korean-language newspapers and magazines were shut down…. Had Japanese rule not ended in 1945, the fate of indigenous Korean language, culture, and religious practices would have been extremely uncertain. (Savada et al., 1992)

Following World War II, in 1945 when Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union occupied Korea. The United States and Soviet Union agreed on dividing the country at the thirty-eighth parallel (Savada et al., 1992). This was originally intended to be a temporary arrangement to facilitate the surrender of Japanese forces. However, rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union resulted in the establishment of two hostile, competitive nations (Savada & Library of Congress, 1993). By 1947 the United States realized that the Cold War had begun in Korea and therefore abandoned attempts to negotiate with the Soviet Union in order to form a unified, multilateral Korean administration (Savada & Library of Congress, 1993).

North Korea.

North Korea has not sponsored any known terrorist acts since 1987. However, the US Department of State (2003) contends that North Korea has not taken substantial steps to cooperate in the efforts to combat terrorism and reduce its production of weapons of mass destruction. "Its initial and supplementary reports to the UN Counterterrorism Committee on actions it had undertaken to comply with its obligations under UNSCR 1373 were largely uninformative and nonresponsive" (Patterns of Global Terrorism, p. 80). North Korea has failed to respond to "U.S. proposals for discussions on terrorism and has not reported any efforts to freeze without delay, funds and other financial assets or economic resources of persons who commit, or attempt to commit, terrorist acts under UNSCR 1373" (USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 80). In addition, North Korea has sold weapons to several terrorist groups. The capitol of North Korea, Pyongyang, has been a safe haven to several Japanese Red Army members who participated in the 1970 hijacking of a Japanese Airlines flight to North Korea in 1970. In addition, Pyongyang has "continued to sell ballistic missile technology to countries designated by the United States as

state sponsors of terrorism, including Syria and Libya"
(USDOS, 2003, p. 80).

In response to North Korea's continued support of
terrorism, between 1993 and 1994, the Clinton
Administration proposed a strategy of gradual escalation of
sanctions (Elliot, 2003). The first phase involved
boycotting North Korean arms exports, and the second phase
banned all financial transactions (Elliott, 2003).

North Korea stands firm that it is their policy to
oppose terrorism and any support for terrorism. In 2001
North Korea signed the UN Convention for the Suppression of
the Financing of Terrorism and became a party to the
Convention Against the Taking of Hostages (USDOS, Patterns
of Global Terrorism, 2003, p. 80) (See Appendix C).

Following World War II, on August 15, 1945, North
Korea gained its independence from Japan with the
assistance of the Soviet Union. The country was split in
two with the northern half (North Korea) coming under
communist control (CIA, North Korea, 2003). The Soviet
Union sought a communist leader and in 1945 Kim Il Sung
returned to Korea from exile where Soviet leaders presented
him as a guerrilla hero (Savada & Library of Congress,
1993). Within a year of the liberation from Japanese rule,

North Korea had a powerful political party, a growing economy, and a single powerful leader, Kim Il Sung. In 1946 North Korea's Communist Party, the Korean Workers' Party (KWP) was inaugurated (BBC, North Korea, 2004). Kim's experience included involvement in the Chinese Communist Party in the 1930s, "He was also a dynamic leader and pursued a style of mass leadership that involved using his considerable charisma and getting close to the people" (Savada & Library of Congress, 1993). The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established on September 9, 1948, and Kim Il Sung was named its leader.

North Korean society revolves around the religion of Kim Il Sungism and his chuch'e ideology, which is North Korea's own brand of Marxism-Leninism, national identity, and self-reliance (Savada & Library of Congress, 1993). North Korea's government is an authoritarian socialist consisting of a one-man dictatorship. Following the death of his father in 1994, Kim Jong-il took power in 1997. However, little is known about the actual lines of power and authority (USDOS, 2004, North Korea).

The people of North Korea have suffered due to the government's mismanagement. As a result, the country is heavily dependent on international food aid. Ironically,

the government cannot afford to feed its population, yet it spends a disproportionate amount on its military (CIA, North Korea, 2003). North Korea's GNP per capita is only $1,000, however, according to the US Department of State (2004), North Korea spends 20% - 25% of its total GNP on military and has the fourth largest army in the world of approximately 1.2 million (North Korea). In addition, North Korea has "the world's second-largest special operations force, designed for insertion behind the lines in wartime…a relatively impressive fleet of submarines…[and] its air force has twice the number of aircraft as the South" (USDOS, North Korea, 2004, para. 38)

North Korea has a population of 22,466,481 with an average population growth of 1.18% between 2000 and 2003 (CIA, North Korea, 2003). Food shortages pose a significant problem to Koreans, "Aid agencies have estimated that up to two million people have died since the mid-1990s as a result of acute food shortages caused by natural disasters and economic mismanagement" (BBC, North Korea, 2004, para. 5). In addition to food shortages, the country suffers from extreme draughts and floods.

A major concern of the United States is over North Korea's nuclear program. In January of 1993, North Korea

"refused IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] access to two suspected nuclear waste sites and then announced in March 1993 its intent to withdraw from the NPT [Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty]" (USDOS, North Korea, 2004, para. 53). In 2002 after years of trying to convince North Korea to cease its pursuit of a nuclear program, it was discovered that North Korea was pursuing a uranium enrichment program for nuclear weapons (USDOS, North Korea, 2004, para. 53). In January of 1993 North Korea withdrew from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), an international agreement aimed at preventing the spread of atomic weapons. In April of that year, North Korea claimed that it had produced enough plutonium to begin making nuclear bombs (BBC, North Korea, 2004).

South Korea.

North and South Korea share the same peninsula, history, culture, and people, however, South Korea is not designated a state sponsor of terrorism. South Korea shares a cooperative relationship with the United States.

Following World War II, the United States occupied the South of Korea for three years. This timeframe was filled with uncertainty and confusion for three primary reasons:

Absence of a clearly formulated United States policy
for Korea, the intensification of the confrontation
between the United States and the Soviet Union, and
the polarization of Korean politics between left and
right. (Savada et al., 1992)

To further exacerbate the situation, the division of

the country caused significant economic problems. South

Korea was not a self-sufficient country and was not

prepared to deal with separation from the North. The North

housed the majority of the heavy industrial facilities.

These included chemical plants that produced necessary

agricultural fertilizers, electricity from hydraulic

generators and bituminous coal for railroads and industries

in the South (Savada et al., 1993). In addition, most of

the mines and industries throughout Korea had been operated

by Japan. After the departure of 700,000 Japanese from

South Korea, the mines and factories were left without

managers, technicians, and capital resources, thus leading

to severe problems of unemployment and material shortages

throughout the country (Savada & Library of Congress,

1993).

In November of 1947 the UN General Assembly recognized

Korea's claim to independence and made preparations for the

establishment of a government and the withdrawal of

occupation forces (Savada et al., 1992). "The National

Assembly elected in May 1948 adopted a constitution setting forth a presidential form of government and specifying a four-year term for the presidency" (Savada et al., 1992). The Republic of Korea was established with Syngman Ree as President in 1948. Within a month, a communist regime in North Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was proclaimed under Premier Kim Il Sung. However, Sung claimed authority over the entire country of Korea, which resulted in the invasion of South Korea in June of 1950 (Savada & Library of Congress, 1993).

The North had a superior army, having received military training and equipment from the Soviet Union and China, as a result, Seoul fell to the North within three days (Savada & Library of Congress, 1993). The United States' quick decision to intervene and provide military assistance to South Korea saved South Korea from the North. "On June 26, 1950, [President] Truman ordered the use of United States planes and naval vessels against North Korean forces, and on June 30 United States ground troops were dispatched" (Savada et al., 1992). The United States took quick action as a way to show the world that communist aggression would not be tolerated. The United States asked for the United Nations intervention, and by the end of the

war, fifteen member-nations of the United Nations had contributed armed forces and medical units to South Korea (Savada et al., 1992). The Korean War lasted until 1953 when a cease-fire agreement was signed at P'anmunjom, however a peace agreement was never signed (BBC, South Korea). Therefore, the countries are technically still at war with each other. This condition is evident by the demilitarized zone (DMZ) between South and North Korea, which remains the world's most heavily fortified border with the United States maintaining approximately 37,000 troops in South Korea (BBC, South Korea, 2004).

Since the Korean War, South Korea has been confronted with many obstacles, but the country has managed to excel, surpassing its northern neighbor. Since the division of Korea, the South has managed to develop into one of Asia's most affluent countries, while the North with its immense poverty has slipped into totalitarianism (BBC, South Korea, 2004).

In the 1960s, the Korean Government, under President Park Chung Hee, emphasized exports and labor-intensive light industries. These expensive industries lead the country into rapid debt-financed industrial expansion (USDOS, South Korea, 2004). "In the 1970s South Korea

directed fiscal and financial policies toward promoting heavy and chemical industries, consumer electronics and automobile manufacturing, which continued to grow in the 1980s and early 1990s "(USDOS, South Korea, 2004). In recent years, South Korea's economy has departed from a centrally planned, government-directed investment model and has moved toward a more market-oriented one "(USDOS, South Korea, 2004). South Korea's economy has flourished over the past 30 years. In 1963 the country's per capita GNP, was $100 and as of 2003 was at $11,400 "South Korea is now the United States' seventh-largest trading partner and is the 12th-largest economy in the world" (CIA, South Korea, 2003; USDOS, South Korea, 2004).

Although South Korea is considered to be a successful and rich country, its history includes civil disturbances regarding free speech and democracy. In 1980 martial law was declared following a student led, pro-democracy rally in Kwangju (BBC, South Korea, 2004). In an attempt to stop the demonstrations, the South Korean Army killed approximately 200 persons (BBC, South Korea, 2004).

Another area affecting South Korea's future is its population of 48.3 million with an average population growth rate of 0.83%, in a country slightly large than the

state of Indiana. Yet with such a large population, the
unemployment rate in South Korea is relatively low, at
3.85% (CIA, South Korea, 2003). The large population has
resulted in the government's implementation of population
policies that began in the 1960s. However, by 1991 the
government soon realized the implication that these
policies caused, "a possible male-female imbalance by the
end of the 1990s, resulting from a continuing preference
for sons" (Savada et al. 1992) and "projections of a
steadily increasing proportion of elderly in the population
over the coming two decades" (Savada et al., 1992).

Another problem faced by South Korea as a result of a
boosting economy, industrialization, and urbanization, was
a drop in the agriculture sector. Farmer's children left
the rural areas for education and employment opportunities
in the cities, leaving the farms to an aging population.
In addition, the farmers who remained had difficulty
finding wives who would choose farm life over city life
(Savada, et al., 1992).

RESULTS

Table 4A: Economy and Colonization Among State Sponsors and Non-Sponsors of Terrorism

State Sponsored Countries

| | Economy | | | Colonization | |
	GDP/ capita	GDP growth rate	Unemp. Rate	Yes/ No	Years since indepen.
Libya	$6,200	1.2%	30%	Yes	52
Iran	$6,800	7.6%	16.30%	Yes	68
Syria	$3,700	3.6%	20%	Yes	58
North Korea	$1,000	1%	*	Yes	56
Average	$4,425	3.35%	22.10%**		55.33

* Date not provided   ** Excludes North Korea since data not available

Matched Countries

| | Economy | | | Colonization | |
	GDP/ capita	GDP growth rate	Unemp. Rate	Yes/ No	Years since indepen.
Egypt	$4,000	3.2%	12%	Yes	51
Saudi Arabia	$11,400	1%	25%	No	N/A
Jordan	$4,300	4.9%	16%	Yes	58
South Korea	$19,600	6.3%	3.1%	Yes	56
Average	$9,825	3.85%	14.05%		55

Table 4B: Population and Governance among State Sponsors and Non-Sponsors of Terrorism

State Sponsored Countries

| | Population | | | Governance | |
	Total	Under 14 years	Pop. growth	Govt. type	Legal System
Libya	5,499,074	34.5%	2.41%	Socialist	Combination: religious and secular law
Iran	68,278,826	29.3%	0.85%	Theocratic Republic	Religious
Syria	17,585,540	38.6%	2.51%	Republic	Combination: religious and secular law
North Korea	22,466,481	25%	1.18%	Communist	Secular
Average	28,457,480	31.85%	1.74%		

Matched Countries

| | Population | | | Governance | |
	Total	Under 14 years	Pop. growth	Govt. type	Legal System
Egypt	74,718,797	33.9%	1.73%	Republic	Combo: religious & secular law
Saudi Arabia	24,293,844	42.3%	3.27%	Monarchy	Religious
Jordan	5,460,265	35.9%	2.94%	Monarchy	Combo: religious & secular law
South Korea	48,286,037	20.6%	0.83%	Republic	Secular
Average	38,189,736	33.2%	2.19%		

DISCUSSION

Overall, Tables 4A and 4B illustrate that there are no clear causal patterns showing a relationship among the variables and state sponsors of terrorism.

Economy is an important indicator of the country's stability and as hypothesized, the countries with weaker economies were the designated state sponsors of terrorism, with the exception of Iran. GDP growth rate and unemployment rate are also important variables in determining the strength of an economy.

The average GDP per capita among state sponsors of terrorism is $4,425 and $9,825 among non-state sponsors of terrorism. Table 4A shows that three of the non-sponsors of terrorism had a higher GDP than their terrorist-sponsoring partner. The exception was Libya with a GDP of $6,200 versus Egypt with a GDP of $4,000. However, even though Libya has a greater GDP than Egypt, Egypt has a GDP growth rate 2.5 times greater than Libya and a lower unemployment rate. Libya's unemployment rate is 2.5 times greater than Egypt's.

For 2002 the average GDP growth rate among state sponsors of terrorism was 3.35% and 3.85% among non-state sponsors of terrorism. Three of the non-sponsors of

terrorism had a higher GDP growth rate than its terrorist sponsoring partner. The exception was Iran with a GDP growth rate of 7.6% versus Saudi Arabia with a 1% GDP growth rate. In addition, Saudi Arabia's unemployment rate is 25%, which is greater than Iran's rate of 16.3%.

Jordan clearly has a stronger economy than Syria. Jordan has a stronger GDP per capita, growth rate and a lower unemployment rate. Between North and South Korea the findings are similar, South Korea, the non-state sponsor of terrorism has a stronger economy than North Korea. South Korea's GDP is more than 19 times that of North Korea with a GDP growth of 6.3% verse 1% for North Korea.

Population was examined in connection to a country's economy. According to Table 4B, there is no relationship between a country's total population and a weak economy. However, other notable observations were found. It is important to examine population characteristics because a country that cannot support its population is more likely to have dissent among its citizens, which can lead to extremism. In addition, a large population under the age of 14 will increase future unemployment rates. Table 4B shows that the average population under age 14 among state sponsors of terrorism is 31.85% and 33.2% among non-

sponsors of terrorism. This data would lead the reader to assume that non-sponsors of terrorism have a higher number of persons under age 14, however, further examination of the data reveals that three of the four terrorist sponsoring countries had a higher percentage of its population under age 14. In comparing the population under age 14, the following observations were made: Libya has a greater population under age 14 than Egypt; Syria has a greater population under age 14 than Jordan; and North Korea has a greater population under age 14. The exception was Saudi Arabia with 42.3% of its population under age 14 versus Iran with 29.3% of its population under age 14. These findings directly relate to a country's population growth.

In regards to population growth, two of the non-state sponsors of terrorism have a population growth lower than their state sponsors of terrorism counterparts. Table 4B shows that Saudi Arabia had an average population growth of 3.27% versus Iran with an average population growth of 0.85% and Syria had an average population growth of 2.51% versus Jordan with an average population growth of 2.94%. Therefore, this research was unable to determine if a country with a large population under age 14, a weak

economy, and a high unemployment rate lead to terrorism. A relationship between population and economy was only found among Libya and Egypt, and Syria and Jordan. North and South Korea could not be assessed due to data not available on North Korea's unemployment rate.

A country's governance was examined to determine the type of government that is most likely to support terrorism. In comparing the country's governance, the legal system of each paired country matched exactly. Therefore, no results can be concluded. In reference to government type the following observations were made: Libya has a socialist government in comparison to Egypt which has a Republic; Iran has a republic government in comparison to Saudi Arabia which has a monarchy; Syria has a republic in comparison to Jordan which has a monarchy; and North Korea has a communist government were as South Korea has a republic. However, only one of the state sponsors of terrorism, Iran, has a democratic state. Therefore it could not be determined whether a non-democratic country with a religious based legal system is more likely to sponsor terrorism as hypothesized. However, it was observed that there are no monarchies among the state sponsors of terrorism. This thesis speculates that

monarchies are better able to maintain control of their citizen's actions. Further research is required in this area in order to fully understand the impact of a government's type and its relation to sponsoring terrorism.

Lastly, whether a country was colonized was examined. In examining each country's history it is important to examine to what extent colonization affected the country's development. However, the variable used to determine colonization did not produce any significant findings. Libya and Egypt were both colonized and achieved sovereignty within a year of each other. Syria and Jordan were both colonized and achieved sovereignty the same year. North and South Korea were colonized by the same country and achieved sovereignty the same year. The only difference found was between Iran and Saudi Arabia because Iran was not colonized whereas Saudi Arabia gained sovereignty in 1932.

Conclusion

Since the days of the Jewish Zealots-Sicorii of the first century to Osama bin Laden and the al-Qaida network, terrorism has evolved. Religious motives, a subject's faith, political oppression, and social change are no

longer the sole cause of terrorism. In addition, the
international community is experiencing the effects of
state sponsored terrorism.

Terrorism is a worldwide problem that has gained
attention since the terrorist attacks of September 11,
2001. Following these events, countering state sponsored
terrorism has become a priority. Specifically, in
reference to Afghanistan's harboring of al-Qaida and Iran's
alleged connection to bin Laden.

The problem of terrorism cannot be easily resolved.
Capturing Hussein or bin Laden will not end international
terrorism. There are complex issues behind the causes of
terrorism that go beyond these two men. As Appendix A
shows, there are multiple terrorist organizations that can
carryout terrorist acts with the support of a country, as
al-Qaida did. In search for the root causes of terrorism,
researchers must continue to explore the issues surrounding
terrorism.

While no conclusive findings were obtained from this
research, it did reach important preliminary findings on
the characteristics of state sponsors of terrorism. This
study drew attention to the possible connection between a
country's economy and their sponsorship of terrorism.

Future research should examine the variables further, specifically in the area of colonization and economy. More needs to be learned about the impact of colonization on each country. Future research should examine the colonizing country, the length of colonization, and the number of times the country was colonized. In addition, economy can be expanded further by examining the rate of persons living under the poverty level, and the level of education among each country's population. Lastly, a limitation of this study was that only 4 of the 7 designated state sponsors of terrorism were examined. A more comprehensive analysis could be drawn from a comparative historical analysis of all 7 countries. However, since there are only 7 countries that can be examined, the findings would be limited. Another limitation of this study was the lack of information available on North Korea's unemployment rate. Without this data, some portions of the comparative analysis were incomplete.

Further research needs to be conducted in the examination of state sponsored terrorism. However, there are limitations to these types of studies. Iraq and Afghanistan are examples of terrorist sponsoring nations

that were invaded as an attempt to overthrow governments

supporting terrorism. If terrorism rises as a result of

state sponsorship, the next ten years will be crucial in

analyzing the presence of terrorist organizations in

Afghanistan and Iraq.

WORKS CITED

Alianak, S. L. (1998). Religion, Politics and Assassination in the Middle East. *World Affairs, 160*(3), 163-176.

Austin, G. (1986). The Libya Raid and the Arab-Israel Dispute. *Journal of Palestine Studies, 15*(4), 99-111.

Blood, P. R., & Library of Congress. Federal Research Division. (1997). *Afghanistan: A Country Study*. Retrieved 2004, from http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/aftoc.html

Bonanate, L. (1979). Some Unanticipated Consequences of Terrorism. *Journal of Peace Research, 16*(3), 197-211.

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2003, November 4). *Country Profile: Jordan*. Retrieved 2004, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/middle_east/country_profiles/828763.stm

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2003, November 16). *Country Profile: Saudi Arabia*. Retrieved 2004, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/middle_east/country_profiles/791936.stm

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2004, January 3). *Country Profile: Egypt*. Retrieved 2004, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/middle_east/country_profiles/737642.stm

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2004, January 15). *Country Profile: Iran*. Retrieved 2004, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/middle_east/country_profiles/790877.stm

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2004, February 10).
    Country Profile: Syria. Retrieved 2004, from
    http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/
    middle_east/country_profiles/801669.stm

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2004, February 14).
    Country Profile: North Korea. Retrieved 2004, from
    http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/asia-
    pacific/country_profiles/1131421.stm

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2004, February 25).
    Country Profile: Libya. Retrieved 2004, from
    http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/africa/
    country_profiles/819291.stm

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2004, April 15). *Country
    Profile: South Korea*. Retrieved 2004, from
    http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/asia-
    pacific/country_profiles/1123668.stm

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2004, June 28). *Country
    Profile: Iraq*. Retrieved 2004, from http://
    news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/country_profiles
    /791014.stm

Bush, G. W. (2001, October 7). *Presidential Address to the
    Nation*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.whitehouse.
    gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-8.html

Bush, G. W. (2003, January 28). *State of the Union*.
    Retrieved 2004, from http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/
    releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html

Bush, G. W. (2003, March 17). *Address to the Nation*.
    Retrieved 2004, from http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/
    releases/2003/03/20030317-7.html

CNN.com. (2002). *Deadly Bali Bomb Made from Fertilizer.* Retrieved 2002, from www.cnn.com/2002/world/asiapcf/ southeast/10/21/indonesia.probe/index.html

Central Intelligence Agency. (2000). *The World Fact Book.* Retrieved 2004, from http://www.cia.gov/cia/ download2001.html

Central Intelligence Agency. (2001). *The World Fact Book.* Retrieved 2004, from http://www.cia.gov/cia/ download2001.html

Central Intelligence Agency. (2002). *The World Fact Book.* Retrieved 2004, from http://www.cia.gov/cia/ download2002.htm

Central Intelligence Agency. (2003, December). *The World Fact Book.* Retrieved 2004, from http://www.cia.gov/ cia/download2003.htm

Collelo, T., & Library of Congress. Federal Research Division. (1988). *Syria : a country study.* Retrieved 2003, from http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/cntrystd.sy

Crenshaw, M. (1981). The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics, 13*(4), 379-399.

Crenshaw, M. C. (1998). The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice. In R. D. Howard & R. L. Sawyer (Eds.), *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (pp. 54-66). Connecticut: MaGraw Hill.

Dale, S. F. (1988). Religious Suicide in Islamic Asia: Anticolonial Terrorism in India, Indonesia, and the Philippines. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 32*(1), 37-59.

Davidson, L. (1986). Terrorism in Context: The Case of the West Bank. *Journal of Palestine Studies, 15*(3), 109-124.

Elliott, K. A. (2003). Economic Leverage and the North Korean Nuclear Crisis. *International Economics Policy Brief*, 1-7.

Foreign Relations and Intercourse, 22 U.S.C. §2656f(d)(2) (2000).

Gibbs, J. P. (1989). Conceptualization of Terrorism. *American Sociological Review, 53*(3), 329-340.

Global Security. (2004, March 16). *Operation Enduring Freedom - Afghanistan*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/enduring-freedom.htm

Griset, P. L., & Mahan, S. (2003). *Terrorism in Perspective*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Hamilton, L. C., & Hamilton, J. D. (1983). Dynamics of Terrorism. *International Studies Quarterly, 27*(1), 39-54.

Holms, J. P., & Burke, T. (2001). *Terrorism: Today's Biggest Threat to Freedom*. New York: Kensington.

Hufbauer, G. C., Schott, J. J., Oegg, B., & Institute for International Economics. (2001, November). *Policy Brief 01-11 Using Sanctions to Fight Terrorism*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.iie.com/publications/pb/pb01-11.htm

Hutchinson, M. C. (1972). The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 16*(3), 383-396.

Institute for International Economics. (2003). *Case Studies in Sanctions and Terrorism: Iran.* Retrieved 2004, from http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/iran.htm

Institute for International Economics. (2004). *Case Studies in Sanctions and Terrorism: Libya.* Retrieved 2004, from http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/libya.htm

Institute for International Economics. (2004). *Case Studies in Sanctions and Terrorism: Syria.* Retrieved 2004, from http://www.iie.com/research/topics/sanctions/syria.htm

Jenkins, B. M. (1992). Terrorism. In E. F. Borgatta & M. L. Borgatta (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Sociology* (Vol. 4, pp. 2168-2171). New York: MacMillan.

Kapeliouk, A. (1986). Israel, Terrorism, and the PLO. *Journal of Palestine Studies, 16*(1), 187-190.

Levitt, M. (2002). *Targeting Terror: U.S. Policy toward Middle Eastern State Sponsors and Terrorist Organizations, Post - September 11.* Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Mahoney, J., & Rueschemeyer, D. (Eds.). (2003). *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Science.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Metraux, D. A. (1995). Religious Terrorism in Japan: The Fatal Appeal of Aum Shinrikyo. *Asian Survey, 35*(12), 1140-1154.

Metz, H. C., & Library of Congress. Federal Research
    Division. (1989). *Iran : a country study.* Retrieved
    2003, from http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/cntrystd.ir

Metz, H. C., & Library of Congress. Federal Research
    Division. (1989). *Libya : a country study.* Retrieved
    2003, from http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/cntrystd.ly

Metz, H. C., & Library of Congress. Federal Research
    Division. (1990). *Egypt, a Country Study.* Retrieved
    2003, from http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/egtoc.html

Metz, H. C., & Library of Congress. Federal Research
    Division. (1991). *Jordan : a country study.* Retrieved
    2003, from http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/cntrystd.jo

Metz, H. C., & Library of Congress. Federal Research
    Division. (1993). *Saudi Arabia : a country study.*
    Retrieved 2003, from http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gdc/
    cntrystd.sa

Perl, R. F., & Foreign Affairs, D., and Trade Division,.
    (2001, September 19). *CRS Issue Brief for Congress:
    Terrorism, the Future and U.S. Foreign Policy.*
    Retrieved 2004, from http://fpc.state.gov/documents/
    organization/6215.pdf

Powell, C. (2003, February 5). *Briefing on Evidence of
    Iraq's Failure to Disarm.* Retrieved 2004, from
    http://www.un.org/av/photo/sc/sc020503.htm

Ranstorp, M. (1996). Terrorism in the Name of Religion.
    Journal of International Affairs, 50, 1-12.

Rapoport, D. C. (1984). Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in
    Three Religious Traditions. *The American Political
    Science Review, 78*(3), 658-677.

Rashid, A. (2001). Afghanistan: Ending the Policy Quagmire. *Journal of International Affairs, 54*(2), 395-410.

Rokach, L. (1980). Israeli State Terrorism: An Analysis of the Sharett Diaries. *Journal of Palestine Studies, 9*(3), 3-28.

Savada, A. M., & Library of Congress. Federal Research Division. (1993). *North Korea a Country Study*. Retrieved 2003, from http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/kptoc.html

Savada, A. M., Shaw, W., & Library of Congress. Federal Research Division. (1992). *South Korea, a Country Study*. Retrieved 2003, from http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/krtoc.html

Stern, J. (1999). *The Ultimate Terrorists*. Cambridge: Harvard UP.

The International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism. (2002). *Al-Qa'ida (the Base)*. Retrieved 2002, from http://www.ict.org.il/inter_ter/orgattack.cfm?orgid=74

The National Security Archive, & The George Washington University. (2003, September 11). *The September 11th Sourcebooks, Electronic Briefing Book No. 97,*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB97/#doc5

Thomas, E. (2001, October 1). The 10-Year Hunt for bin Laden. *Newsweek,* 38-49.

United States Department of Justice, & Federal Bureau of Investigation. (1999). *Terrorism in the United States 1999*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.fbi.gov/publications/terror/terror99.pdf

United States Department of Justice, & Federal Bureau of
Investigation. (2004) *War on Terrorism*. Retrieved
2004, from http://www.fbi.gov/terrorinfo/
counterrorism/waronterrorhome.htm

United States Department of State. (2002, August 15). *Fact
Sheet*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.state.gov/
coalition/cr/fs/12701.htm

United States Department of State. (2002). *Patterns of
Global Terrorism 2001*. Retrieved 2004, from
http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/
10312.pdf

United States Department of State. (2003). *Patterns of
Global Terrorism 2002*. Retrieved 2004, from
http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2002/html/

United States Department of State. (2004). *Patterns of
Global Terrorism 2003*. Retrieved 2004, from
http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/
31912.pdf

United States Department of State, & Bureau of East Asian
and Pacific Affairs. (2004, March). *Background Note:
North Korea*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.state.
gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2792.htm

United States Department of State, & Bureau of East Asian
and Pacific Affairs. (2004, March). *Background Note:
South Korea*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.state.
gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2800.htm

United States Department of State, & Bureau of Near Eastern
Affairs. (2003). *Background Note: Iran*. Retrieved
2004, from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5314.htm

United States Department of State, & Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. (2003, October). *Background Note: Iraq*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/6804.htm

United States Department of State & Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. (2003, October). *Background Note: Syria*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3580.htm

United States Department of State, & Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. (2003, November). *Background Note: Egypt*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5309.htm

United States Department of State, & Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. (2003, November). *Background Note: Jordan*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3464.htm

United States Department of State, & Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. (2003, November). *Background Note: Libya*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5425.htm

United States Department of State, & Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. (2003, November). *Background Note: Saudi Arabia*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3584.htm

United States Department of State, & Bureau of South Asian Affairs. (2004, May). *Background Note: Afghanistan*. Retrieved 2004, from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5380.htm

United Nations. (2003, October 20). *United Nations Treaty Collections: Conventions on Terrorism*. Retrieved 2004, from http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp

Walter, E. V. (1964). Violence and the Process of Terror. American Sociological Review, 29(2), 248-257.

Appendix A:

Timeline of terrorist attacks linked to Osama bin Laden and

the al-Qaida network:

Date	Location	Attack Type	Target Type	Casualties	Basic Information
11/20/03	Istanbul, Turkey	Bombing	Consulate and Bank.	Killed: 27 Injured: 455	Bombings of the British Consulate and HSBC Bank.
11/15/03	Istanbul, Turkey	Bombing	Synagogues	Killed: 23 Injured: 200	Bombings of two synagogues.
11/09/03	Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	Bombing	Housing Complex	Killed: 17 Injured: 100.	Assault and bombing of a housing complex.
8/05/03	Jakarta, Indonesia	Bombing	Hotel	Killed: 17 Injured: 137.	Bombing of the J.W. Marriott Hotel.
05/16/03	Casablanca, Morocco	Bombing	Jewish center, restaurant, nightclub, and hotel	Killed: 41 Injured: 101	Bombings of a Jewish center, restaurant, nightclub, and hotel.
05/12/03	Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	Bombing	Housing complexes	Killed: 20 Injured: 139	Bombing of three expatriate housing complexes.
11/28/02	Mombassa, Kenya	Suicide Bomb	Hotel & Aircraft	Killed: 15 Injured: 40	Bomb explosion at a hotel and a failed attempt to shoot down an Israeli aircraft taking off nearby.
10/12/02	Bali, Indonesia	Bombing	Tourist Site	Killed: Over 180	Bomb explosion at a hotel and a failed attempt to shoot down an

					Israeli aircraft taking off nearby.
04/11/02	Djerba, Tunisia	Suicide Bomb	Tourist Site	Killed: 19 Injured: 15	A truck filled with natural gas crashed into a wall surrounding a historic synagogue on the Tunisian resort island of Djerba.
09/11/01	New York, Penn., and Washington D.C., United States	Suicide Mission	United States	Killed: Over 3,000 Injured: 250	Four aircraft were hijacked and deliberately crashed into major targets, including the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.
10/12/00	Aden Harbor, Yemen	Suicide Mission	Military Personnel	Killed: 15 Injured: 33	A suicide squad targeted the U.S.S. Cole, a US warship. The squad rammed the ship with an explosive-laden boat.
08/07/98	Dares Sala'am, Tanzania	Car Bomb	Embassy	Killed: 10 Injured: 77	A car bomb exploded outside the US Embassy in Dares Sala'am.
08/07/98	Nairobi, Kenya	Car Bomb	Embassy	Killed: 254 Injured: 5,000	A car bomb exploded at the rear entrance of the US Embassy in Nairobi. The explosion topped a five-story building.

| 06/25/96 | Dhahran, Saudi Arabia | Bomb | Military Personnel | Killed: 19 Injured: 500 | A fuel truck bomb exploded outside the Khobar Towers housing facility. |
| 02/26/93 | New York, United States | Car Bomb | United States | Killed: 6 Injured: 1,042 | A 1,200-pound explosive device was left in a rented van in a basement parking garage of the World Trade Center. |

(CNN.com., 2002; Griset & Mahan, 2003; The International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, 2002; USDOS, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2003)

Appendix B

Designated state sponsors of terrorism, and the terrorist organizations they support.

Country	Terrorist Organization	Activities	Support
Libya	Abu Nidal Organization (ANO) a.k.a. Fatah - the Revolutionary Council, Arab Revolutionary Brigades, Black September, and Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims*	Has carried out terrorist attacks in 20 countries, killing or injuring almost 900 persons.	Safe haven, training, logistic assistance, and financial aid, in addition to close support for selected operations.
	Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)*	Engages in kidnappings for ransom, bombings, assassinations, and extortion.	Libya publicly paid millions of dollars for the release of the foreign hostages seized from Malaysia in 2000.
	Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) a.k.a. Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna*	Involved in bombings and assassinations of Spanish Government officials, security and military forces, politicians, and judicial figures.	Training
	Irish Republican Army (IRA) a.k.a. Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), the Provos (Sometimes referred to as the PIRA to distinguish it from RIRA and CIRA.)	Bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, punishment beatings, extortion, smuggling, and robberies against various targets in Northern Ireland and Great Britain, included senior British Government	Considerable training and arms

		officials, civilians, police, and British military targets.	
	Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)*	The Abu Abbas-led faction is known for aerial attacks against Israel.	Has received support from Libya in the past.
	Revolutionary United Front (RUF)	From 1991 to 2000, they used guerrilla, criminal, and terror tactics, such as murder, torture, and mutilation, to fight the government, intimidate civilians, and keep UN peacekeeping units in check in Sierra Leone.	The UN identified Libya as a conduit for weapons and other material for the RUF.
Iran	Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group, IG)*	Has conducted armed attacks against Egyptian security and other government officials, Coptic Christians, and Egyptian opponents of Islamic extremism before the cease-fire.	Unknown, but believed by the Egyptian government to provide support.
	HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement)*	Has conducted many attacks, including large-scale suicide bombings against Israeli civilian and military targets.	Financial funding
	Hizballah (Party of God) a.k.a. Islamic Jihad, Revolutionary Justice Organization, Organization of the Oppressed on Earth,	Known or suspected to have been involved in numerous anti-US and anti-Israeli. terrorist attacks.	Financial, training, weapons, explosives, political, diplomatic, and organizational aid

	and Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine*		
	Al-Jihad a.k.a. Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Jihad Group, Islamic Jihad*	Historically specialized in armed attacks against high-level Egyptian Government personnel, including cabinet ministers, and car bombings against official US and Egyptian facilities.	Unknown, but believed by the Egyptian government to provide support.
	Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) a.k.a. Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress (KADEK) and Freedom and Democracy Congress of Kurdistan*	Primary targets have been Turkish Government security forces in Turkey, local Turkish officials, and villagers who oppose the organization in Turkey.	Safe haven and modest aid
	The Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ)*	Has conducted many attacks including large-scale suicide bombings against Israeli civilian and military targets.	Financial assistance
	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)*	Carried out dozens of attacks in Europe and the Middle East during 1970s-80s. Known for cross-border terrorist attacks into Israel using unusual means, such as hot-air balloons and motorized hang gliders	Financial support
Syria	Abu Nidal Organization (ANO) a.k.a. Fatah - the Revolutionary Council, Arab	Has carried out terrorist attacks in 20 countries, killing or injuring almost 900 persons.	Safe haven, training, logistic assistance, and financial aid (until 1987), in

Revolutionary Brigades, Black September, and Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims*	Targets include the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Israel, moderate Palestinians, the PLO, and various Arab countries.	addition to close support for selected operations.
Hizballah (Party of God) a.k.a. Islamic Jihad, Revolutionary Justice Organization, Organization of the Oppressed on Earth, and Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine*	Known or suspected to have been involved in numerous anti-US and anti-Israeli terrorist Attacks.	Diplomatic, political, and logistic support
Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) a.k.a. Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress (KADEK) and Freedom and Democracy Congress of Kurdistan*	Primary targets have been Turkish Government security forces in Turkey, local Turkish officials, and villagers who oppose the organization in Turkey.	Safe haven and modest aid
The Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ)*	Has conducted many attacks including large-scale suicide bombings against Israeli civilian and military targets.	Limited logistic support assistance
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)*	Committed numerous international terrorist attacks during the 1970s. Since 1978 has conducted attacks against Israeli or moderate Arab targets.	Safe haven and some logistic assistance
Popular Front for the Liberation of	Carried out dozens of attacks in	Logistic and military support

	Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)*	Europe and the Middle East during 1970s-80s. Known for cross-border terrorist attacks into Israel using unusual means, such as hot-air balloons and motorized hang gliders.	

(USDOS, Pattern of Global Terrorism, 2002)

*Terrorist groups that are designated by the Secretary of State as Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs), pursuant to section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996.

Appendix C

International conventions and protocols relating to

terrorism and its victims:

International Conventions and Protocols	Parties/Signatures
1963 Tokyo Convention on Offenses and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft	Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Libya, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, & Syria
1970 Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft	Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Libya, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, & Syria
1971 Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation	Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Libya, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, & Syria
1973 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Offences Against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents	Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Libya, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, & Syria
1979 Convention Against the Taking of Hostages	Egypt, Jordan, Libya, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, & South Korea,
1980 Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material	Libya & South Korea
1988 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, (supplements the 1971 Montreal Convention)	Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Libya, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, & Syria
1988 Rome Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation	Egypt, Libya, South Korea, & Syria
1988 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf (supplements the Rome Convention)	Egypt, Libya, South Korea, & Syria
1991 Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection	Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, & South Korea
1997 Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings	Libya, Egypt, & South Korea

1999 Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism	Egypt, Jordan, Libya, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, & South Korea

(United Nations, 2003)