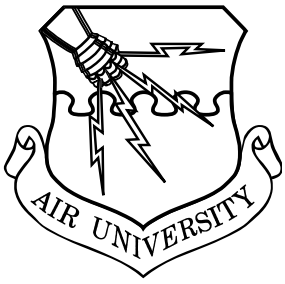

Airpower versus Terrorism

Three Case Studies

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Contents

Illustrations

Abstract

This study analyzes the effectiveness of airpower versus terrorism using three case studies. The first case study is Operation El Dorado Canyon, America's response to Libyan state-sponsored terrorism. The second case study is Operation Infinite Reach, America's cruise missile response to the 1998 al-Qaeda bombings of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The third case study is the Israeli use of airpower versus the second Palestinian intifada of September 2000. The case studies address multiple common questions: What was the context? Why was airpower selected? How was airpower employed? What were the objectives and were they achieved? And, finally, What were the lessons learned? Additionally, each case study looks at the impact of military action on domestic opinion and third-party opinions. Overall, these three case studies reveal a spectrum of responses with which states can respond to terrorism. Operation Infinite Reach shows that when a nation is unwilling to commit itself seriously against an enemy, the message it sends is one of timidity and inertia. Operation El Dorado Canyon showed Mu'ammar Gadhafi that his support of terrorism would not come without cost. Further, Libya offered multiple high-value targets that could be destroyed—thus revealing a major weakness of states that sponsor terrorism. The Israeli use of air and ground power to combat terrorism has been effective, but this case also shows that military power alone cannot stop terrorism; at some point diplomacy must prevail.

About the Author

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Chapter 1

Terrorism

Its Impact, the New American Approach, and Airpower

Our war on terror begins with al-Qaida, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.

—Pres. George W. Bush
Address to the Joint Session of Congress

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 (9/11) served as a rude wake-up call to America. Terrorism was not an irritant that would "just go away." In the short span of one morning, this became crystal clear. President Bush announced to a stunned and outraged nation that "Freedom and democracy are under attack."[1] In a manner akin to Franklin D. Roosevelt's address to the Congress following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, President Bush subsequently declared war on terrorism. Further, he warned the nation that "freedom and fear are at war, and there will be no quick or easy end to this conflict."[2] Secretary of State Colin Powell indicated that the scope of tools used to wage this new war would be all encompassing. Supporting this, Powell said in the *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, "We and our Coalition partners must be prepared to conduct a . . . campaign . . . with every tool of statecraft—political, diplomatic, legal, economic, financial, intelligence, and when necessary, military."[3]

Airpower, a key element of the military tool, has and will continue to play a vital role in this war against terrorism. RAND's *Countering the New Terrorism* discusses the unique capabilities airpower brings to the war on terror.

> Airpower offers a flexible, timely strike capability, including a new generation of highly discriminate weapons. It also affords the least politically risky of the military options for striking back at terror, because it does not entail putting troops on the ground or moving significant naval asset[s] in harm's way. Moreover, the high speed of response associated with airpower will become increasingly important as terrorists acquire the capabilities to move swiftly from one theater to another and to attack with little or no warning. Thus, the USAF, with the strike capabilities afforded by air-launched cruise missiles and other smart munitions, should be considered a natural, leading element in any proactive strategy for countering terror. Beyond direct bombardment, the USAF can provide tactical mobility for special forces teams—and give them close support—should they be called upon to strike directly at key terrorist nodes.[4]

This work analyzes three case studies where airpower was employed to combat terrorism. The first case study is Operation El Dorado Canyon where American airpower struck Libya in retaliation for its role in state-sponsored terrorism. The second is the 1998 cruise missile response to the US Embassy bombings in Africa. The third case study examines Israel's

use of airpower versus terrorism with a focus on the second Palestinian intifada. The central question being asked in these case studies is how effective has airpower been in combating terrorism? To answer this, several questions are consistently explored. For example, what was the context of each case? Why was airpower selected? How was airpower employed? What were the objectives and were they achieved? What enhances and what limits airpower? Also, what lessons learned have emerged? Finally, these case studies are analyzed to draw conclusions about the most appropriate and effective uses of airpower versus terrorism.

This thesis does not imply that airpower is the best military tool to combat terrorism, nor does it imply that military strikes alone can win the war on terrorism. However, as President Bush says, the way to win the war against terrorism is to make use of "every resource at our command."[5] Airpower has been called upon in the past, is currently being used to combat terrorism, and will certainly be used in the future to combat terrorism. Therefore, it becomes apparent that exploring the effective uses of airpower against terrorism is important.

Terrorism and Its Implications

In October 2002, the State Department released a chronology of major terror events since 1961.[6] The first incident listed was a hijacking of a National Airlines airplane in 1961. Since then the State Department has listed 105 global incidents of terrorism; nearly two-thirds or 65 of these involved US citizens.[7] Americans have been and continue to be the targets of numerous major terrorism attacks.

The 9/11 attacks served as a rude awakening for the United States and the world and vividly showed the threat that terrorism poses. In President Bush's words, members of al-Qaeda were able to bring "great chaos and suffering to our shores for less than it costs to purchase a single tank."[8] The loss of life—approximately 3,000 dead—was staggering.[9] Economically, the attacks were massive. According to Amb. Francis X. Taylor, US Department of State coordinator for counterterrorism, a month after the 9/11 attacks, "200,000 people were laid off . . . including close to 40,000 in the aerospace industry."[10] The airline industry "may have lost $15 billion," while New York City registered an estimated "$1.7 billion in lost sales and $1.75 billion in lost rent by the end of FY [fiscal year] 2003."[11] Finally, Ambassador Taylor indicated that "the world's insurance industry took an estimated $50 billion hit."[12] The Associated Press reported in late 2001 that "the shock was most acute in the United States, but the impact rumbled across the globe in a massive military mobilization . . . in the accelerated decline of the world economy."[13] Juan Somavia, director general of the International Labor Organization, stated, "We are staring into the face of the first synchronized world recession of the globalization era."[14] World Bank president James D. Wolfensohn said, "Weakening global growth, falling commodity prices, increased refugee flows, and loss of tourism earn-

ings will adversely affect most of the world's poorest countries, and keep millions of people from climbing out of poverty."[15] All of this supports Secretary of State Powell's argument that "terrorism not only kills people, . . . it also threatens democratic institutions, undermines economies, and destabilizes regions."[16] The world irrevocably changed on 9/11—terrorism finally achieved the ability to have a massive and global impact with a single attack. It is also disconcerting that "thousands of trained terrorists remain at large with cells in North America, South America, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and across Asia."[17] Perhaps what scares people most is the possibility of terrorists acquiring weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

The world was first introduced to the use of WMD for terrorism in 1995 when the Aum Shinrikyu cult used sarin nerve gas to kill 12 people and wound approximately 5,700 in the Tokyo subway system.[18] President Bush has made it clear that he intends to stop terrorists from acquiring or employing WMD against the United States or other nations.[19] As the *National Security Strategy of the United States* (*NSS*) states, "The gravest danger our Nation faces lies at the crossroads of radicalism and technology. Our enemies have openly declared that they are seeking weapons of mass destruction, and evidence indicates that they are doing so with determination. The United States will not allow these efforts to succeed."[20]

The New American Counterterrorism Policy

America's counterterrorism approach has changed. One impetus for this change is the 9/11 attacks. A significant factor is the change in leadership in the White House. Greg Miller of the *Los Angeles Times* quotes an administration official as saying, "We've got new authorities, new tools and a new willingness to do it [fight terrorism] wherever it has to be done."[21] Miller remarks, "The U.S. shift . . . shows the Bush administration has rejected the long-held American view that refraining from violence offers at least some protection from retaliation."[22] Some contend that this new offensive doctrine is not without risks. Miller quotes a former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) official as saying, "It may be the right policy, but it's not going to be without consequences."[23] Others rightly claim that "restraint earned America no protection from Al-Qaeda." Miller quotes a former CIA official, "The fact is, we've been getting shot at for the last 30 to 40 years. The weaker they think you are, the more they'll go after us."[24]

This new aggressive approach to counterterrorism has been labeled the "Bush doctrine," which makes it clear that terrorists of "global reach" will be sought, targeted, and "preemptively" engaged.[25] According to President Bush, "We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. So we must be prepared to defeat our enemies' plans, using the best intelligence and proceeding with deliberation. History will judge harshly those who saw this coming danger but failed to act. In the new world we have entered, the only path to peace and security is the path of action."[26] According to the *NSS*, the new "priority will be first to disrupt and destroy terrorist

organizations of global reach and attack their leadership; command, control, and communications; material support; and finances. This will have a disabling effect upon the terrorists' ability to plan and operate."[27] Addressing WMD, President Bush proclaimed, "As a matter of common sense and self-defense, America will act against such emerging threats before they are fully formed."[28] The *NSS* contends that to execute preemptive action, "we will continue to transform our military forces to ensure our ability to conduct rapid and precise operations to achieve decisive results."[29] Airpower, with its inherent speed, range, stealth, and precision weapons' employment capabilities, will be an important tool to support this new Bush doctrine.

A Common Understanding: Terminology

This section defines *terrorism*, *international terrorism*, and *terrorist groups* as listed in Title 22 of the *United States Code*, section 2656f(d):[30] "*Terrorism* means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. The term *international terrorism* means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country. The term *terrorist group* means any group practicing, or that has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism."[31] Comprehending these terms and their meanings is central in describing the airpower strategies that can be employed against an opponent.

In *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War,* Robert Pape offers four broad coercion strategies that airpower can employ. While designed more for conventional conflicts, his terms offer a worthwhile method for discussing the different strategies discussed in this paper.

Pape's first form of airpower coercion is punishment. He says, "Punishment strategies seek to inflict enough pain on enemy civilians to overwhelm their territorial interest in the dispute. The hope is that the government will concede or the population will revolt."[32] The punishment approach rears from the early days of airpower where such airpower leaders as Giulio Douhet, Sir Hugh Trenchard, and the officers assigned to the US Air Corps Tactical School (ACTS) believed that airpower could influence the will of the people.[33]

The second airpower strategy is risk. Pape attributes this concept to the work of Thomas Schelling and his book, *Arms and Influence*.[34] According to Pape, "The heart of this strategy is to raise the risk of civilian damage slowly, compelling the opponent to concede to avoid suffering future costs."[35] While the punishment strategy applies overwhelming force in "all-out attacks," the risk strategy holds what the enemy cherishes as *hostage* and relies upon a gradual escalation of force.[36] Critical to the risk approach is that "the coercer must signal clearly that the bombing is contingent on the opponent's behavior and will be stopped upon compliance with the coercer's demands." The American Rolling Thunder bombing campaign in Vietnam from 1965 to 1968 serves as an excellent example of a risk

strategy.[37] A more recent example of a risk strategy was the use of airpower in 1999 that compelled the former Serbian leader, Slobodan Milosevic, to agree to NATO demands regarding Serbian involvement in Kosovo.[38]

The third airpower strategy offered by Pape is denial. He contends that "using air power for *denial* entails smashing enemy military forces, weakening them to the point where friendly ground forces can seize disputed territories without suffering unacceptable losses. . . . [D]enial campaigns generally center on destruction of arms manufacturing, interdiction of supplies from home front to battlefront, disruption of movement and communication in theater, and attrition of fielded forces" (emphasis in original).[39] A recent example of a denial campaign is the initial use of airpower in Afghanistan in Operation Enduring Freedom. In this case, airpower helped to destroy Taliban forces and removed al-Qaeda's state supporter and resultant safe haven.

Pape's fourth airpower strategy is decapitation. He maintains that "the use of air power for *decapitation*—a strategy spawned by precision guided munitions and used against Iraq [during Operation Desert Storm]—strikes against key leadership and telecommunications facilities. The main assumption is that these targets are a modern state's Achilles' heel" (emphasis in original).[40] One advantage of decapitation via airpower is that direct targeting of leadership with precision-guided munitions (PGM) does not necessarily entail large force-on-force scenarios, thereby minimizing cost, damage, and loss of life.[41]

An Early Example of Airpower versus Terrorism

An early case of airpower versus terrorism was carried out in 1916 by the US Army Air Service's 1st Aero Squadron while helping search for Pancho Villa. Mexico was embroiled in conflict by different factions fighting for power.[42] Having been ousted from power, Villa and his supporters fled to regroup in northern Mexico.[43] Pres. Woodrow Wilson dealt a blow to Villa's cause by recognizing his opponent, Venustiano Carranza, as the "legitimate ruler of Mexico."[44] "Villa knew that his only hope for victory lay in forcing American intervention in Mexico, which he in turn hoped would trigger a revolt among the peasants of Chihuahua, many of whom regarded the charismatic guerilla [*sic*] leader as a folk hero. With this in mind, Villa and a large band of horsemen stopped a train in Mexico on January 11, 1916, and executed 19 of the Americans on board."[45] Two months later, Villa's men crossed into Columbus, New Mexico, and killed 17 Americans and lay fire to the town.[46] After panic erupted along the border, President Wilson asked Carranza for permission to "send U.S. troops into the territory" to which Carranza agreed, but stipulated that the mission was "for the sole purpose of capturing the bandit Villa."[47] Wilson ordered Gen John "Black Jack" Pershing and a force of over 6,000 soldiers south of the border to pursue Villa.[48] Gary Glynn wrote that "one of Pershing's first acts was to order the 1st Aero Squadron to New Mexico which they did on March 13, 1916."[49]

It is ironic that given the "peerless" status of the US Air Force today, in 1913, just three years prior to the Mexico campaign, when "[compared] to what other governments invested in their military air effort . . . the United States came in thirteenth in the world rankings."[50] The 1st Aero Squadron's commanding officer, Capt Benjamin Foulois, led a well-intentioned, but ill-prepared and poorly equipped group of fledgling aviators into the first American air combat endeavor.[51] One of the squadron pilots, Edgar Gorrell, noted that the squadron "was in horrible shape. The airplanes were not fit for military service, especially along the border. Some of us carried pistols, and two fliers had .22 rifles."[52] Untested aviation procedures, maintenance problems, crashes, a hostile climate, and an indigenous population proved formidable obstacles.[53] The squadron flew 540 missions but had a relatively minor impact on the campaign, and Villa was never captured.[54] The significance of this event in history is not the mission effectiveness of this campaign but, rather, that it was America's first airpower foray into these types of operations—something that airpower is well suited to execute today.[55] While the 1st Aero Squadron's primary mission was to perform reconnaissance, airpower offers a variety of significant capabilities that can be utilized to combat terrorism.[56]

Notes

(All notes appear in shortened form. For full details, see the appropriate entry in the bibliography.)

1. US Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, 1.
2. White House, *National Security Strategy*, 7.
3. US Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism,* iii.
4. Lesser et al., *Countering the New Terrorism*, 79.
5. US Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism,* iii.
6. "4 Decades of Worldwide Terrorism," 70.
7. Ibid.
8. White House, *National Security Strategy,* introduction.
9. US Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, xxi.
10. Ibid., "Impact of Global Terrorism."
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Barr, "Global Impact of Sept. 11 Attacks."
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. White House, *National Security Strategy,* 5.
18. "4 Decades of Worldwide Terrorism," 73.
19. Ibid.
20. White House, *National Security Strategy,* introduction.
21. Miller, "Despite the Accuracy of Strike."
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. White House, *National Security Strategy,* introduction.

27. Ibid., 5.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., 16.
30. The US Department of State uses these definitions. See also, Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism,* xvi.
31. Ibid.
32. Pape, *Bombing to Win*, 21.
33. Ibid. See also chapter 3.
34. Ibid., 66.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., 67.
37. Ibid., 68.
38. According to Stephen Hosmer of RAND, "Milosevic was under increasing pressure—particularly from his closest associates—to agree to a settlement that would halt the bombing. Much of the impulse for this pressure seems to have resulted from NATO attacks on six types of largely 'dual use' infrastructure targets: command, control and communication (C3); electric power; industrial plant; leadership; lines of communication (LOC); and petroleum, oil, and lubricant (POL) facilities—the bulk of which were located in Serbia, the area of transcending political importance to Milosevic and his colleagues." See Stephen T. Hosmer, *Conflict over Kosovo*, xvi.
39. Pape, *Bombing to Win,* 69.
40. Ibid., 79.
41. Ibid., 80.
42. Glynn, "1st Aero Squadron."
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. White, *Mason Patrick,* 8.
51. Glynn, "1st Aero Squadron."
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. The first use of airpower versus terrorism was the French use of aviation to quell rebel tribes in Morocco in 1913. See Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars,* 1.
56. Glynn, "1st Aero Squadron."

Chapter 2

Operation El Dorado Canyon

Airpower versus Libyan-Sponsored Terrorism

Every Libyan must take up guns, bombs, and with their guns and bombs they will teach a lesson to America. We will teach a lesson to America greater than the Vietnam lesson. We have fought alongside Nicaragua because they are fighting America. Nicaragua is fighting near its borders. The American people will be strangled. We are working to build a wide front of people who are against America, Iran revolutionaries, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Cuba, Namibia, Palestine, South Africa, Northern Ireland—we will form a wide integrated front which encircles imperialism.

—Col Mu'ammar Gadhafi

We Americans are slow to anger. We always seek peaceful avenues before resorting to the use of force—and we did. We tried quiet diplomacy, public condemnation, economic sanctions, and demonstrations of military force. None succeeded. Despite our repeated warnings, Ghadafi continued his reckless policy of intimidation, his relentless pursuit of terror. He counted on America to be passive. He counted wrong.

—Pres. Ronald Reagan

By the early 1980s, relations between Libya and America had soured. Former secretary of defense Caspar W. Weinberger typified Washington's view of the Libyan leader by describing him as a "theatrically posturing, fake mystic, with a considerable dollop of madness thrown in."[1] Events set Washington and Tripoli on a collision course for violence. When the collision did occur, the world was shocked. Says George J. Church, "Despite years of agonizing Western debate about combating terrorism, months of mostly fruitless diplomatic maneuvering, weeks of U.S. warnings and finally days of ominous silence, the world still seemed unprepared when the bombers struck."[2] What then were the events that led to Operation El Dorado Canyon?

Background

In 1981 Gadhafi had been the Libyan leader for 12 years.[3] For years Gadhafi had been spending Libya's oil and gas earnings to build a robust military.[4] According to Weinberger, "Qaddafi had long maintained claims, insupportable under international law, that he controlled the entire Gulf of Sidra, the great body of Mediterranean water that lies between Tripoli and Benghazi north of Libya, and that everything within the Gulf should be considered Libyan territory."[5] When Gadhafi issued his famous proclamation that the line below 32 degrees 30 minutes would be enforced as a

"line of death" (see fig. 1), Weinberger "concluded that we would have to ignore these claims, and continue planned exercises for that region."[6] On the night of 18 August 1981, Libyan SU-22 fighters engaged two US Navy F-14s that were below the line of death and were promptly shot down.[7] Tensions continued to rise until 1986 when the US Navy began its 19th exercise in the area since 1981. It was the eighth time that American forces would operate below the 32 degrees 30 minutes line.[8] On 24 March portions of the US Navy's Task Force 60, under the command of Vice Adm Frank B. Kelso, crossed Gadhafi's line of death.[9] This time Gadhafi chose to defend his claimed territory in earnest. When the US Navy decided to depart above the line of death three days later, it left behind several sunken Libyan warships, as well as one destroyed SA-5 missile battery.[10] President Reagan reminded the world that "the American exercises in the Gulf of Sidra were standard procedure. So it wasn't an unusual thing we set out to do. And he did open hostilities and we closed them."[11] Says Weinberger, "Qaddafi now turned to the use of terrorism to try to secure some advantage and escape from the continued humiliation he suffered as the world perceived how idle were his threats, and unequal his courage, for taking any military action to match his words."[12]

Figure 1. Map of Libya. (Reprinted from General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin, 18 March 2002, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia02/libya_sm02.gif.)

Three days after the US Navy departed, Gadhafi called upon all Arabs to seek revenge against the Americans, including, in his own words, "any interest, goods, ship, plane or person."[13] In 1986 Gadhafi was certainly not new to the world of terrorism. Besides training over 8,000 terrorists annually, Libya provided them with the ways and means to execute their attacks. In its support for terrorism, only Iran exceeded Libya.[14] Gadhafi had enlisted the aid of international terrorist Abu Nidal and his Fatah Revolutionary Council (FRC) well before his embarrassing defeat in the Gulf of Sidra.[15] Nidal and his FRC had a string of horrendous terrorist accomplishments from the 1972 murder of Israeli Olympic athletes to the Christmas 1985 murders in the Rome and Vienna airports that killed 19 and wounded 117 innocent travelers.[16] Gadhafi praised these attacks and acknowledged that he sheltered members of the FRC.[17] Terrorism was becoming more of a problem. Western nations were becoming increasingly alarmed at the frequency and severity of these attacks.[18] In 1970 there were 300 such attacks; by 1985 the number had increased to 3,000.[19] Former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher said, "The phenomenon of the terrorist state which projects violence against its enemies across the globe, using surrogates wherever possible, is one in [*sic*] which earlier generations never confronted. The means required to crush this kind of threat to world order and peace are bound to be different too."[20] Thatcher had come to realize that something new had to be done to curb state-sponsored terrorism.

American actions to stop the escalating terror had been nonviolent. President Reagan received little international support to pressure Gadhafi to change his ways. On 7 January 1985, he imposed economic sanctions on Libya and asked for western European nations to follow suit.[21] The European leaders ignored Reagan's request.[22] Members of Reagan's administration were becoming exasperated.[23] The Reagan administration had had enough: "Within days of the battle in the Gulf of Sidra, a senior U.S. official vowed, 'The next act of terrorism will bring the hammer down' on Libya."[24] Before President Reagan could authorize the use of force against Libya, he required direct proof to secure domestic support.[25] When this proof came, the American military would be ready. Libya provided the "smoking gun" required by President Reagan for military retaliation.

American intelligence intercepts revealed that Gadhafi and his regime were instructing their terror organizations to attack locations where Americans congregated.[26] Brian L. Davis recounts that "on Friday evening, April 4, the East Berlin people's bureau [embassy] sent Tripoli a cable declaring, 'We have something planned that will make you happy. . . . It will happen soon, the bomb will blow [*sic*], American soldiers must be hit."[27] In the early morning hours of the next day, a Libyan-placed bomb exploded in the La Belle Club discotheque that was a favorite of American servicemen.[28] The blast killed two American soldiers and a Turkish woman and wounded 229 others, of which 79 were Americans.[29] Shortly after the blast, American intelligence decoded another message sent to Tripoli from the Libyan Embassy in East Berlin saying, "An event occurred. You will be pleased with the result."[30] Secretary of

State George Schultz told Reagan, "We've taken enough punishment and beating. We have to act."[31] Weinberger said, "In short, this time we have our proof. And so we decided to give the focused response to terrorism that we had always planned to deliver when our proof was clear."[32] President Reagan said "[w]e had irrefutable proof that Colonel Qadhafi was responsible for bombing the disco" and that "[w]e had to show him he couldn't get away with such things."[33] Reportedly, the president told an aide on 7 April that it was time to "[t]ry to make the world smaller for the terrorists."[34]

Now that the decision to act had been made, time became a crucial factor. Davis recounts:

> One key consideration was intelligence concerning continuing Libyan plotting against the United States worldwide. A rocket explosion near the American embassy in Beirut early on April 6 was traced to Libya; there were unclaimed bombings directed against the United States in Bangkok and Stockholm on April 7 and 8, respectively. Libyan plots were discovered for an attack on the U.S. consulate in Munich and for the bombing of the U.S. chancery and embassy and kidnapping of the American ambassador in an African country. Orders from Tripoli were issued for striking U.S. international air carriers, and numerous other plots were in motion for attacks on American embassies and individuals in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, where a car with Libyan diplomatic tags was found trailing a bus filled with American school children. Reagan was incensed by these plans.[35]

Gadhafi, reacting to reports in the American press of the possibility of military retaliation, raised the possibility of seizing American and European citizens in Libya as hostages and moving them onto likely US strike objectives.[36]

Based on the lack of support for economic sanctions earlier suggested against Libya, it is not surprising that nearly all of the Europeans chose not to support a military response. Only the British supported military action.[37] Their decision would play a critical role in planning and executing El Dorado Canyon. Globally, the United States seemed to go it alone. Only Israel and Canada supported the use of force.[38]

The Selection of Airpower

It quickly became apparent that the military response could be best carried out by airpower. It was the only option seriously considered.[39] For example, four of the five proposed targets were within the range of the US Navy's battleships, but none were on station with the Sixth Fleet.[40] Vice Admiral Kelso, who had been placed in charge of El Dorado Canyon, had three alternatives with which to execute the attack.[41] The first option was to use sea-air-land (SEAL) teams or Army special forces to conduct raids utilizing helicopters, small surface boats, or scuba infiltration. This option was ruled out due to the lengthy planning and complex execution and the possibility of friendly casualties.[42] The second option was to use BGM-109C Tomahawk missiles, but cruise missiles had been decided against in early operational planning.[43] During the Gulf of Sidra actions in March, both Tomahawks and B-52s were ruled out. If these weapons were some-

how captured, they would be turned over to the Russians and compromised.[44] The third and final option was to use sea- and land-based airpower.[45] Kelso turned to airpower because it offered the qualities of a quick, precise, and punishing attack.[46]

The Objectives

President Reagan wanted to show Gadhafi that "he couldn't get away with such things."[47] Moments after the air attack, President Reagan addressed the nation and indicated that "we believe this preemptive action against his terrorist installations will not only diminish Col Qadhafi's capacity to export terror, it will provide him with incentives and reasons to alter his criminal behavior. I have no illusion that tonight's action will bring down the curtain on Qadhafi's reign of terror."[48]

Secretary of Defense Weinberger echoed President Reagan's stated objectives by saying, "The purpose of our plan was to teach Qaddafi and others the lesson that the practice of terrorism would not be free of cost to themselves; that indeed they would pay a terrible price for practicing it."[49] He noted that "the president's goal was to preempt, or disrupt, and discourage further Libyan operations abroad and to teach Qaddafi a lesson that the practice of state-sponsored terrorism carried a high cost."[50] Various Libyan acts of terror were planned but *not yet* executed. The strong message to Gadhafi would force him to call off these terrorist operations.[51]

Another objective or motive for the bombing appears plausible. Reagan's advisors hoped that this attack would energize the Europeans to take a stand against terrorism.[52] Reagan could exert greater leverage against Gadhafi if he had European support for diplomatic and economic initiatives.

How Airpower Was Employed

As Daniel P. Bolger notes, Gen Bernard W. Rogers of the European Command (EUCOM) gave command responsibilities for Operation El Dorado Canyon to Vice Admiral Kelso, who had commanded the Sixth Fleet's combat operations in the Gulf of Sidra. Kelso and his staff, aided by EUCOM, set out to build their plan. The strikes had to commence before Gadhafi rounded up westerners to use as human shields and renewed Libyan terrorism attacks. Remembering the poor results that occurred during the previous US Navy attacks in Lebanon, President Reagan gave Vice Admiral Kelso control of the planning and execution of the attack. This time there would be little outside interference.[53]

President Reagan provided overall targeting guidance. Weinberger noted that the president "was always most insistent that each target be clearly associated with the Libyan-employed, Libyan-trained terrorist, and that we take all possible precautions to avoid any casualties or danger to civilians."[54] Five targets were selected. Four dealt directly with Gadhafi's terrorism operations, and the fifth was struck to protect the strike force.[55] President Reagan's mechanism for change was based upon a denial

strategy designed to smash the assets Gadhafi used to support terrorism. According to Weinberger, the targets included the following:

1. The facilities at Murrat Sidi Bilal were known to be a swimmers/commando training school.

2. The Aziziyah barracks were the command, control, and communications center for Libya's terrorist related activities.

3. The Tripoli International Airport had Libya's IL-76/CANDID large transport planes and also was identified as a terrorist logistics "node."

4. The Benghazi barracks housed many of Qaddafi's elite guards and others involved in terrorist activities.

5. The Benina Airfield was not directly tied to terrorist activity, but was targeted to ensure that the Libyan air defense forces did not intercept our strike force.[56]

The level of punishment sought drove the strike-force composition. The administration wanted the attack to cause significant damage to the targets.[57] It was felt that a pinprick attack would have negligible deterrent value and might be turned by Gadhafi into a victory for Libya.[58] The strike force needed to be robust and should occur at night. One of President Reagan's guidelines was that the attack should be planned to minimize the risk for the American aircrew. The 1983 US Navy attacks in Syria showed that attacking during daylight significantly increased the risk. In that raid a shoulder-fired missile downed an American jet after it was visually acquired.[59] The Sixth Fleet only had 20 A-6s on hand for the attack—the need to deliver precision munitions at night ruled out the F/A-18s and A-7s.[60] This precision delivery requirement was driven by President Reagan's desire to minimize civilian casualties.[61] To fill the gap, General Rogers offered the use of F-111s stationed in the United Kingdom.[62] He also wanted potential foes to know that the threat of US airpower was not limited to the times when the US fleet was close by.[63] The F-111s provided something else as well. The press, the Libyans, and the world were transfixed on the Sixth Fleet.[64] Vice Admiral Kelso recognized that he could not hide the significant American naval movements from the press.[65] While the Libyans were anticipating a strike from the US Navy, they were not suspecting a backdoor, low-level ingress from the F-111s.[66] Masterfully, Kelso turned a weakness into a strength.[67]

The final strike force was comprised of F-111s and A-6s as strikers, EF-111s and EA-6Bs acting as jammers, A-7s and F-18s suppressing Libyan air defenses, and F-14s providing fleet support. USAF KC-10s and KC-135s supported the United Kingdom–based F-111s and EF-111s for air refueling and aid in navigation.[68] El Dorado Canyon employed over 100 strike and support aircraft from two different regions (Europe and the Mediterranean). These aircraft composed two strike packages—one Air Force and the other Navy.[69]

The desire to minimize collateral damage drove tight rules of engagement (ROE) when the aircrews were allowed to release their ordnance.[70] Vice Admiral Kelso limited the crews to a single target run.[71] He also insisted that crews achieve 100 percent target identification with all onboard target acquisition systems.[72] Crews were prohibited from dropping ordnance when aircraft malfunctions impacted precision capabilities.[73]

To maintain the element of surprise, split-second execution was essential.[74] The time over target (TOT) was set for 0200, 15 April, Libya time.[75] Unfortunately for the F-111s, France and Spain refused overflight rights (that would have led to a direct route to the Mediterranean)—rather, the F-111s had to enter the Mediterranean through the Strait of Gibraltar, which added hours of extra flight time to each leg of the mission.[76] They flew over 6,400 miles round-trip, which took 13 hours of flight time and up to 13 air refuelings.[77] To make this TOT, the Air Force component based in the United Kingdom (UK) had to begin departing at 1913 Tripoli time (1713 UK time).[78] At 150 miles north of Libya in the Mediterranean, the Sixth Fleet began launching aircraft just after the stroke of midnight.[79] The strike packages were over their targets within a few seconds of their planned TOTs.[80]

As the strike aircraft raced towards their targets, they faced a vast array of enemy air defenses. Gadhafi had purchased ZSU-23 antiaircraft guns; SA-2, SA-3, SA-6, and SA-8 batteries; and French Crotale missiles.[81] Having been on alert since 3 April, the Libyan air-defense gunners on the night of the strike were more fatigued than ready.[82] The Libyan air-defense operators who did turn on their radars were quickly hammered by high-speed antiradiation missiles (HARM) fired by the F/A-18s and A-7s.[83] One Navy pilot commented, "If they turned them on [their radars] to guide their missiles, they would get a HARM down their throat."[84] All of this resulted in remarkably low casualties for the strike aircraft, for only one F-111 was lost.

Weinberger summarized the bombing effectiveness saying, "Here are the *real* results of the attack: The Sidi Bilal complex was severely damaged. The Aziziyah barracks received substantial damage. The Tripoli International Airport was hit hard, and five IL-76/CANDID heavy transport aircraft on the apron were destroyed. The Benghazi barracks were hit and a warehouse in the complex, involved in MiG assembly, was destroyed. At Benina Airfield many planes were damaged or destroyed, including at least four MiGs; but most important, the Libyans were unable to launch planes from the airport during, or immediately after, the attack" (emphasis in original).[85] A comprehensive review of the mission results is displayed in Table 1 below.

Were the Objectives Achieved?

From the Reagan administration's perspective, the raid was a success. Weinberger said, "The surest way to measure the success of an enterprise is to ask whether it achieved its objectives. Our objective here was to end Qaddafi's belief that he could use terrorism without cost. That was accomplished. . . . Thus, our goals were realized, and one source of the export of terrorism was stopped at least temporarily."[86] President Reagan said,

Table 1. Operation El Dorado Canyon results summary

Target	*Planned planes over target*	*Planned bombing**	*Actual planes over target*	*Actual bombing*
Azizyah Barracks	9 F-111F (48 TFW) 4 x 2,000 lb. each	36 Mk 84 2,000-lb. LGBs	3 F-111F bombed 1 F-111F missed 4 aborts; 1 lost	13 hits 3 misses
Murat Sidi Bilal Camp	3 F-111F (48 TFW) 4 x 2,000 lb. each	12 Mk 84 2,000-lb. LGBs	3 F-111F bombed	12 hits
Tripoli Airfield	6 F-111F (48 TFW) 12 x 500 lb. each	72 Mk 82 500-lb. RDBs	5 F-111F bombed 1 F-111F abort	60 hits
Jamahiriyah Barracks	7 A-6E (VA-34) 12 x 500 lb. each	84 Mk 82 500-lb. RDBs	6 A-6E bombed 1 aborted on deck	70 hits 2 misses
Benina Airfield	8 A-6E (VA-55) 12 x 500 lb. each	72 Mk 20 500-lb. CBUs; 24 Mk 82 500-lb. RDBs	6 A-6E bombed 2 aborts	60 Mk 20 hits; 12 Mk 82 hits
Tripoli Air Defense Network	6 A-7E (CVW-1) 4 x Shrike/ HARM each	8 Shrikes 16 HARMs	6 A-7E fired	8 Shrikes 16 HARMs
Benghazi Air Defense Network	6 F/A-18 (CVW-13) 4 x Shrike/ HARM each	4 Shrikes 20 HARMs	6 F/A-18 fired	4 Shrikes 20 HARMs
Totals	45 aircraft	300 bombs 48 homing missiles	35 bombed 1 missed 1 lost 8 aborts	227 hits 5 misses 48 homing missiles

Reprinted from Daniel P. Bolger, *Americans at War: 1975–1986, An Era of Violent Peace* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1988), 423.

*LGB, Paveway family laser-guided bomb; RDB, Snakeye retarded delivery (high-drag) bomb; CBU, Rockeye cluster bomb unit—a container with hundreds of submunitions; Shrike, older, shorter-range (about 10 miles) antiradiation missile; HARM, newer, longer-range (about 30 miles) antiradiation missile.

"I have to say that he quieted down after the attack. I guess he's sane enough to understand that we would retaliate anytime we had proof linking him to terrorist acts."[87] Oliver North, who wrote the *National Security Directive* for the attack, said, "In point of fact, it worked; there was a serious diminution of terrorism in its immediate aftermath."[88] Across the Atlantic, the only European leader to support the attacks, Margaret Thatcher, said, "The raid was undoubtedly a success. . . . [Further] the Libyan raid was also a turning point. . . . It turned out to be a more decisive blow against Libyan sponsored terrorism than I could ever have imagined. We are all too inclined to forget that tyrants rule by force and fear and are kept in check the same way."[89]

While terrorism did not immediately disappear altogether, American intelligence noted a decrease in Libyan message traffic and agents normally associated with terrorist operations.[90] It appears El Dorado Canyon did have an impact on international terrorism. Davis notes "International terrorist incidents in Western Europe dropped by 28 percent, and Middle Eastern terrorism in Europe dropped almost by half in 1986, from seventy-four to thirty-nine incidents, the decline being accounted for by the portion of the year after the attack on Libya; the lowered level continued for both categories in 1987. To the great relief of the Americans, bloody anti-American episodes became less common: international terrorist incidents directed at U.S. targets declined by over 25 percent from 1986 to 1987, and terrorism fatalities for Americans dropped from thirty-eight in 1985 to twelve in 1986 to seven in 1987."[91]

The secondary objective of shocking the Europeans out of their inactivity against terrorism appears to have also been achieved. West German chancellor Helmut Kohl said, "Too frequently, the Europeans have been too satisfied with mere declarations which have been politically ineffective while leaving the U.S. alone in its struggle against international terrorism. . . . If we Europeans do not want to follow the Americans for reasons of our own, we must develop political initiatives."[92] European actions suggest that they developed a tougher stance on terrorism. It has been widely acknowledged that European governments took a stronger stance on terrorism following the attack. Proof of this came in the expulsion from Europe of several Libyan diplomats who were seen as real "bad apples."[93] Soviet actions, discussed in the next section, support this.

Lessons Learned

Operation El Dorado Canyon demonstrated American airpower capability. American aircraft were now capable of flying tremendous distances (in fact, the F-111 flew the longest-duration fighter sorties that had been flown up to that time), penetrating sophisticated air-defense systems, and doing so under tight ROE delivery of precision munitions against specific targets.[94] As General Rogers wanted to demonstrate, American airpower was not just a threat when a US Navy aircraft carrier was in the vicinity.[95] This capability, much of which was due to the military buildup during the Reagan era, underpinned President Reagan's newly found leveraged position in dealing with allies and foes alike.[96] As Secretary Weinberger said, "So our allies and our potential enemies now had a far more accurate realization that neither threats nor terrorism could succeed against a newly strengthened America. Our people and our allies took comfort from that proof."[97]

The significance of aircrew training on performance was highlighted as well.[98] The Navy's new training approach paid big dividends.

> The positive outcome over Tripoli and Benghazi related directly to the disappointing, mixed-up daylight attacks against Syrian gunners in Lebanon back in 1983. The recriminations after that miscarried mission led to the establishment of the Naval Strike Warfare Center at Lemoore Naval Air Station (NAS), Califor-

> nia, in May 1984. The center moved to the wide-open spaces of Fallon NAS, Nevada, in 1985. Navy fliers trained in a full free play environment, and the curriculum allowed for intensive practice raids under strict political rules of engagement. High tempos of operation, small concealed targets, and opposing forces complicated the environment. When the navy flew over Libya in the spring of 1986, they knew their business. Given that the Sixth Fleet planned the mission, the new Fallon mentality . . . permeated the operation.[99]

A third lesson that El Dorado Canyon brought forth was the value of precision-guided munitions. Of the 60 tons of weapons employed in just over 10 minutes, the strikers employed only PGMs.[100] Without these it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to remain within President Reagan's guidelines that civilian casualties be kept to a minimum.[101] The inevitable misses caused by "dumb bombs" in Tripoli and Benghazi would have caused a tremendous international backlash. However, even with the most sophisticated tactical bombers of the day, the bombing results were not flawless. In poststrike analysis, the assistant secretary of defense for public affairs, Robert B. Sims, admitted that 2 percent of the bombs dropped missed their targets and landed in civilian-populated areas.[102] Perhaps one lesson is that no matter how tight the ROE, how good the aircrew, and how aircraft and weapons are employed, it is difficult to remove Clausewitz's infamous "fog and friction of war" that often leads to unintended consequences. As Weinberger admitted, "Our Libyan plans were carefully drawn to do everything we could to prevent any collateral damage. We knew, however, that almost inevitably a bomb or two would go astray."[103]

A look at how the attacks were perceived—domestically and abroad—merits attention. Domestically, it appeared that Americans were pleased to be going after terrorists, their supporters, and their assets.[104] A poll conducted by *Time* a week after the raid showed that "an overwhelming 71% of 1,007 adults polled . . . approved the strike, vs. only 20% who disapproved and 9% who were not sure." Some 60 percent went further to agree with the statement that the raids "made me feel proud to be an American."[105] This poll also showed that many Americans maintained a realistic outlook for the future: "Many respondents approved the strike despite a sober appreciation of the dangers involved. Three out of five declared themselves to be 'afraid of what will happen in the future,' and 48% agreed that 'the bombing will only make the situation with Libya worse, not better.' But the majority looked for eventual gains; 56% agreed that 'in the long run, the bombing will help stop terrorist attacks against Americans.'"[106]

Secretary Weinberger addressed the impact that El Dorado Canyon had on the Europeans. He said, "The allied reaction was predictable. People in opposition parties in England, Germany, the Netherlands, and some in Italy, protested most violently, sensing some political gain from their attacks on our raid. But after a short time, it appeared that a very great number of people, including many governments, were delighted that someone was able to teach Qaddafi a lesson."[107] Not all Europeans appear to have been against the attacks. Polling showed that the French (ironically)

and Swiss supported the attacks.[108] The Greeks, who saw terrorism as an attack on their tourism industry, also supported the attack.[109]

In England Margaret Thatcher said, "The initial impact on public opinion in Britain, as elsewhere, was even worse than I had feared [one survey showed that after the attacks, 66 percent of those polled in Britain felt Reagan should not have ordered the bombing of Libya]. Public sympathy for Libyan civilians was mixed with fear of terrorist retaliation by Libya."[110] Thatcher appears to have been pleased with her decision to allow American operations from British bases. She noted that,

> There was a wave of gratitude from the United States for what we had done which is still serving this country well. The *Wall Street Journal* flatteringly described me as "magnificent". Senators wrote to thank me. In marked contrast to feelings in Britain, our Washington embassy's switchboard was jammed with congratulatory telephone calls. It was made quite clear by the Administration that Britain's voice would be accorded special weight in Arms control negotiations. The extradition treaty, which we regarded as vital to bringing IRA terrorists back from America, was to receive stronger Administration support against filibustering opposition. The fact that so few had [been] struck by America in her time of trial strengthened the "special relationship," which will always be special because of the cultural and historical links between our two countries, but which had a particular closeness for as long as President Reagan was in the White House.
>
> Another benefit, oddly enough, was domestic, though it was by no means immediate. However unpopular, no one could doubt that our action had been strong and decisive. I had set my course and stuck to it. Ministers and disaffected MPs might mutter; but they were muttering now about leadership they did not like, rather than a failure of leadership. I had faced down the anti-Americanism which threatened to poison our relations with our closest and most powerful ally, and not only survived but emerged with greater authority and influence on the world stage: this the critics could not ignore.[111]

Another interesting result of Operation El Dorado Canyon was the change in relationship between Libya and their superpower sponsor, the Soviet Union, as observed by Thatcher: "Unquestionably, the U.S. attack had a souring effect on the Soviet-Libyan relations. It was an embarrassment to the Soviets in the Arab world, and Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson reported that in his talks with Gorbachev, the Soviet leader expressed 'general displeasure' with Qaddafi."[112] A Gorbachev statement in TASS was seen as a warning for Gadhafi to back off his stance against America and to stop supporting terrorism.[113] More significantly, though, these words were backed up by Soviet deeds. A few months after the bombing, American intelligence became aware that a high-level Libyan diplomat responsible for planning terrorism attacks had recently arrived in East Berlin.[114] Once notified of this, the Soviets and East Germans had him sent home.[115]

Several fears were "debunked" concerning preoccupations with Arab reactions. First, the fear that Gadhafi would be turned into a popular hero in the Arab world never materialized.[116] During its April conference, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) put forward a generic condemnation of the attack but promptly ignored Gadhafi's exhor-

tations for further action. Verbal support was all Gadhafi received from much of the third world—many of these nations felt that Gadhafi had been dealt what he deserved.[117] A second fear was that Muslim nations would distance themselves from America.[118] While there were statements issued against the attacks, in private, back-channel communications from Arab nations quietly supported America's actions. One Arab minister said, "Gaddafi has done more harm to us [by sponsoring terror] than to the Americans. The only problem with the attack on Libya, is that you didn't get him."[119] Third, the fear of popular uprisings and mob attacks on Americans overseas also did not materialize.[120] In a region known for such reactions, these did not occur.[121] The only significant anti-American demonstrations occurred in Sudan and Tunisia.[122] The Arab response indicated that they understood America's need to respond.[123] Thus, the majority of the reasons for inaction noted by the European leaders (save Thatcher) never materialized.

Secretary of Defense Weinberger aptly summarized Operation El Dorado Canyon: "So at least twice, Qaddafi had tried by overt attacks, intimidation, threats and bluster, to assert control over international waters. He failed each time. When he saw that he could not accomplish his aim overtly, he then tried the covert use of terrorism. Here our response to him was so immediate and so devastating that for over a year he took no action of any kind."[124] The final lesson to be learned from Operation El Dorado Canyon is that states that sponsor terrorism have vulnerabilities that can be exploited. Such states as Libya can be coerced or punished by striking assets they value. In this case, Libyan command centers, compounds, and high-priced aircraft were destroyed. Beyond the monetary value lost, Gadhafi lost a great deal of credibility. For a dictator, credibility is undoubtedly quite important.

Notes

1. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace*, 175.
2. Church, "Hitting the Source," 17.
3. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* 175.
4. Ibid., 176.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. See also Bolger, *Americans at War*, 388.
7. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* 177.
8. Ibid., 183.
9. Bolger, *Americans at War*, 393.
10. Ibid., 400.
11. Ibid., 401.
12. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* 187.
13. Ibid.
14. Boyne, "El Dorado Canyon," 58.
15. Ibid.; and Bolger, *Americans at War,* 383.
16. Bolger, *Americans at War,* 385–86.
17. Ibid., 386.
18. Boyne, "El Dorado Canyon," 58.

19. Ibid.
20. Thatcher, *Downing Years*, 444.
21. Ibid., 442.
22. Ibid.
23. Church, "Hitting the Source," 24.
24. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism*, 115.
25. Bolger, *Americans at War*, 387.
26. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism*, 115.
27. Ibid.
28. Bolger, *Americans at War*, 404.
29. Ibid.; and Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism,* 116.
30. Bolger, *Americans at War*, 404.
31. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism*, 119.
32. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace*, 188.
33. Reagan, *Speaking My Mind*, 285.
34. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism*, 119.
35. Ibid., 121.
36. Bolger, *Americans at War*, 406.
37. Thatcher, *Downing Years*, 446.
38. Church, "Hitting the Source," 17.
39. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism*, 119.
40. Bolger, *Americans at War*, 411.
41. Ibid., 407, 414.
42. Ibid., 411, 414.
43. Ibid., 414.
44. Ibid., 388.
45. Ibid., 411.
46. Ibid., 414.
47. Reagan, *Speaking My Mind*, 285.
48. Ibid., 288.
49. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* 189.
50. Ibid., 193.
51. Bolger, *Americans at War*, 406.
52. Church, "Hitting the Source," 27. This objective is also supported by Davis. He says, "An ancillary motive for bombing Libya was to shock the Europeans out of their torpid posture, although others who supported the attack feared it could be counterproductive in those respects." See Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism*, 123.
53. Bolger, *Americans at War*, 407, 416.
54. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* 190.
55. Ibid., 192.
56. Ibid.
57. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism*, 120.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 119.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid. See also Boyne, "El Dorado Canyon," 60.
63. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism*, 121.
64. Bolger, *Americans at War*, 417.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., 418–23; and Boyne, "El Dorado Canyon," 60.
69. Bolger, *Americans at War*, 416.

70. Ibid., 415.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* 199.
76. Bolger, *Americans at War,* 429.
77. Boyne, "El Dorado Canyon," 59.
78. Ibid.
79. Bolger, *Americans at War,* 429.
80. Ibid., 421.
81. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism,* 135.
82. Ibid.
83. Bolger, *Americans at War,* 421.
84. Ibid., 422.
85. Doerner, "In the Dead of the Night."
86. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* 198.
87. Ibid., 197, 199.
88. Reagan, *Speaking My Mind*, 286.
89. Strober and Strober, *Reagan,* 382.
90. Thatcher, *Downing Years,* 447–48.
91. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism,* 162.
92. Ibid., 166.
93. Church, "Hitting the Source," 26.
94. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism,* 166.
95. Boyne, "El Dorado Canyon," 62.
96. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism,* 121.
97. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* 200.
98. Ibid., 201.
99. Lt Col William P. Stroud III noted in 1987 that "the raid on Libya showed how effective improved weaponry, well-trained crews, and superb tactics could be." See Stroud, "Use and Misuse of Conventional Tactical Air Power," 19.
100. Bolger, *Americans at War,* 428–29.
101. "Operation El Dorado Canyon."
102. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism,* 119. Bolger says, "In any event, without Pave Tack, Target Recognition and Attack Multisensor, and guided weapons, the entire operation would have been impossible." See Bolger, *Americans at War,* 430.
103. Bolger, *Americans at War,* 431.
104. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* 196.
105. Strober and Strober, *Reagan*, 381.
106. Church, "Hitting the Source," 23.
107. Ibid.
108. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* 199.
109. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism,* 46.
110. Ibid.
111. Thatcher, *Downing Years,* 447. For British survey numbers, see Church, *"Hitting the Source,"* 26.
112. Thatcher, *Downing Years,* 447, 449.
113. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism,* 147.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid., 162–63.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid., 151.
118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.
120. Church, "Hitting the Source," 26.
121. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism,* 148.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid., 149.
124. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* 200.

Chapter 3

Operation Infinite Reach

The 1998 US Embassy Bombing Response

We—with God's help—call on every Muslim who believes in God and wishes to be rewarded to comply with God's order to kill Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it. . . . The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies—civilian and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it.

—Osama bin Laden

Muslims burn with anger at America. For its own good, America should leave [Saudi Arabia]. . . . There is no more important duty than pushing the American enemy out of the holy land. . . . Due to the imbalance of power between our armed forces and the enemy forces, a suitable means of fighting the enemy must be adopted, i.e. using fast-moving, light forces that work under complete secrecy. In other words, to initiate a guerrilla war, where sons of the nation, and not military forces, take part in it.

—Osama bin Laden

As mentioned in the first chapter of this study, the US Navy, using sea-launched cruise missiles, superbly executed Operation Infinite Reach. The author salutes the men and women of the surface Navy and their accomplishments. However, cruise missiles could have been launched from aircraft for this strike or for similar strikes in the future. The author feels that cruise missiles that are able to navigate to targets hundreds of miles away, regardless of their launching platforms, in fact, constitute a form of airpower.

Background

Following the 1998 terrorist bombings of the US embassies in East Africa, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said, "I think it is important for the American people to understand that we are in a long-term struggle. This [the war against terrorism] is, unfortunately, the war of the future."[1] The American military response to the embassy bombings was described at the time by James Bennet of the *New York Times* as the "most formidable American military assault ever against a private sponsor of terrorism."[2]

One of the principal reasons that the United States and the world finds itself in such a war is Osama bin Laden and his terrorist organization, al-Qaeda (Arabic for "the base").[3] Bin Laden, one of 52 children, is the son of a wealthy architect and construction magnate who earned his fortune building for King Fahd.[4] In his early twenties, Osama bin Laden left Saudi Arabia

for Afghanistan to join the guerrilla fighters, or mujahedeen, fighting the Soviet invaders.[5] During the war, bin Laden organized and ran an organization known as the Services Office, which recruited fighters from over 50 countries for the Afghan resistance.[6] Using his personal fortune of an estimated $250 million, bin Laden was instrumental in bringing in and supporting these mujahedeen who eventually numbered as many as 20,000.[7] According to the *New York Times*, "Bin Laden spent millions supporting the Afghan guerrillas, financing thousands of volunteer foreign soldiers who came to Afghanistan from throughout the Islamic world, and creating a network of guest houses and charities to support them and their families."[8] Following the withdrawal of the Soviets in 1989 from Afghanistan, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia and quickly traded his hatred of the Soviets for the same feelings towards moderate Arabic governments.[9] The arrival of American forces on Saudi soil during the Gulf War was viewed by bin Laden as a desecration of the Muslim Holy Lands, and from that point forward he dedicated himself, according to a "U.S. intelligence official," to creating "a multinational organization for jihad, to purge the world of Western corrupters and their Arab friends."[10] Most would see this as a daunting task. Bin Laden claims that from the war in Afghanistan, to him, "The biggest benefit was the myth of the superpower was destroyed."[11]

Recruiting former mujahedeen members to join his cause was aided by the contacts he developed while performing his duties in Afghanistan (fig. 2). By 1998 bin Laden was able to amass a following of roughly 3,000 followers.[12] Even more important, these followers were already geographically dispersed when they returned home to Africa, Asia, and the Middle East following their combat experiences in Afghanistan.[13]

According to the US State Department, "The bin Ladin network [in 1998] is multi-national and has established a worldwide presence. Senior figures in the network are also senior leaders in other Islamic terrorist networks. . . . Bin Ladin and his network seek to provoke a war between Islam and the West and the overthrow of existing Muslim governments, such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia."[14]

Before the 1998 US Embassy bombings in Africa, al-Qaeda had already committed significant acts of violence. One of bin Laden's first attempted strikes at the United States occurred in December 1992 when his terrorists attempted to bomb a hotel in Yemen where 100 American peacekeepers were billeted before entering Somalia.[15] The attack failed to kill American soldiers but did kill two Australian tourists.[16] Next al-Qaeda was linked to the February 1993 World Trade Center truck bombing.[17] In October 1993, al-Qaeda was involved in the killing of 18 American servicemen in Mogadishu, Somalia.[18] In 1995 al-Qaeda detonated a car bomb in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, killing five Americans and two Indians.[19] This same year also saw al-Qaeda aid in the assassination attempt on Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak.[20] In June 1996, al-Qaeda was implicated in the Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia that killed 19 US service members and injured 264 others.[21] In 1997 bin Laden's terrorist organization was involved in a

Figure 2. Map of Afghanistan. (Reprinted from General Libraries, University of Texas, 18 March 2002, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia02/afghanistan_sm02.gif.)

bus bombing in Egypt that killed nine German tourists.[22] Other attacks that did not materialize during this time period were plots to assassinate Pope John Paul and to blow up six US 747s over the Pacific.[23]

During this extended period of violence, a "turf war" in East Africa was developing between radical Islam and the West. According to Yossef Bodansky,

> Hassan Al-Turabi, the spiritual leader of Sudan and preeminent guide of militant Sunni Islam, has always been committed to the spread of Islam into sub-Saharan Africa. Since early 1992, Iran and Sudan have been engaged in a fierce campaign to consolidate their control over the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa. The clashes with and ultimate eviction of the U.S.-led U.N. forces from Somalia in 1993 constituted the first major round in the Islamist struggle for East Africa. Despite the dramatic outcome of the Islamist jihad in Somalia—effecting the U.S. withdrawal—Khartoum [Sudan] and Tehran were fully cognizant that they had not made tangible gains. After all, no Islamist government was established in Mogadishu in the aftermath of the Islamists' triumph, and the fratricidal fighting between the various militias and other armed groups continued. The escalating civil war in southern Sudan served as a constant reminder of this. In addition, the foreign assistance reaching the blacks of southern Sudan via East African states added an incentive to strike out against these states and their strategic protector, the United States. Khartoum [al-Turabi] was convinced, not without logic, that if it made assistance to the rebels in southern Sudan prohibitively "expensive" to the neighboring states through terrorism, subversion, and destabilization, these governments would be reluctant to permit access to

> southern Sudan through their territories. Khartoum also thought that once the United States began to "suffer"—to be subjected to international terrorism—as a result of its support for Sudanese rebels, Washington would immediately cease its support and stop encouraging neighboring countries to assist the rebels.[24]

Several Islamic entities supported al-Turabi, who headed Sudan's National Islamic Front (NIF).[25] For example, Iran sent political specialists, while Iraq sent military officers.[26] Osama bin Laden was introduced to the NIF by the Iranians and lived in Khartoum (fig. 3) from 1991 to 1996.[27]

Figure 3. Map of Sudan. (Reprinted from General Libraries, University of Texas, 18 March 2002, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia02/sudan_sm02.gif.)

During this period, the Clinton administration was actively engaged in the region as well. Admitting that it wanted to foster a regime change, the administration pledged $20 million in nonmilitary aid for the forces opposed to the NIF.[28] The Clinton administration also was able to apply enough pressure on Khartoum to expel bin Laden in 1996.[29] This did not curtail bin Laden's influence over the region.

In early 1998 bin Laden and the Islamic extremists in East Africa committed themselves to a string of operations designed to show the world their commitment to jihad and their wide span of operations.[30] Bin Laden's

alliance warned the world that "they would soon deliver a message to Americans 'which we hope they read with care, because we will write it, with God's help, in a language they will understand.'"[31]

To these ends terrorism cells were placed in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.[32] A thousand pounds of explosives were delivered to safe houses in each of the African capitals, where these cells assembled the explosives into bombs.[33] With guidance to conduct the bombings, the two terrorist groups approached the embassy buildings in their bomb-laden vehicles on the morning of 7 August 1998.[34] In Nairobi an unarmed embassy guard had a brush with the terrorists as they tried to unsuccessfully enter the embassy compound.[35] As he fled for his life, the terrorists detonated their bomb. The ensuing blast killed 247 people and wounded another 5,000.[36] Among the dead were 12 Americans.[37] At about the same time, the bomb in Tanzania was detonated and exploded outside the embassy gate. While killing no Americans, this blast killed 11 Africans and injured 72.[38] Islamic extremists soon touted their achievements. According to the State Department, "[O]n August 19, an Islamic front created by the bin Ladin network . . . praised the bombings of our embassies and warned that, 'America will face a black fate . . . strikes will continue from everywhere, and Islamic groups will appear one after another to fight American interest [*sic*].'"[39]

Before the embassy bombings, the Clinton administration had a nonviolent, four-pronged approach to dealing with terrorism. First, the United States would "make no concessions with terrorists." Second, the United States would seek to bring justice to those that were involved in terrorism. Third, the government would "isolate" and "change the behavior of terrorist [*sic*]." Fourth, the United States would work with other nations to create a global antiterrorism environment.[40] Following the embassy bombings, it appeared that this policy, divorced from the use of military force, was inadequate. Madeleine Albright said, "I've just returned from both sites, and they are chilling—the tragic human face of indiscriminate terrorist murder. We cannot allow such cowardly and destructive acts to go unpunished. . . . [I]naction would be an invitation to further horror."[41]

President Clinton had previously been given wide latitude by Congress to deal with terrorism. Following the Oklahoma City bombings, Congress empowered him to "use all necessary means, including covert action and military force, to disrupt, dismantle, and destroy international infrastructure used by international terrorists including overseas terrorist training facilities and safe havens."[42] Armed with the ability to act, the president needed proof to act militarily against the perpetrator. He told his key advisors on 12 August that he didn't need proof that would hold up in a court of law; however, the proof still had to be conclusive.

Evidence that bin Laden was involved in the embassy bombings quickly surfaced. The same day of the bombing, Pakistani security officials stopped a Palestinian as he tried to enter the country with a fake passport.[43] The man, Muhammad Sadiq Howaida, later claimed that he worked for bin

Laden and that "I did it [played a role in the Kenyan attack] all for the cause of Islam. He [bin Laden] is my leader and I obey his orders."[44] Roughly five days later an intercepted cell-phone call linked two of bin Laden's associates to the attacks.[45] Intelligence indicated that further attacks were pending. National Security Advisor Sandy Berger said, "We began to receive quite a substantial volume of credible and reliable information that there were other attacks planned against U.S. targets around the world."[46] The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen Hugh Shelton, indicated that "we had very reliable and convincing information that [the embassy attacks] might be only the first of two or three or even possible [*sic*], four attacks."[47]

Another concern for the administration was the potential for al-Qaeda to acquire and use weapons of mass destruction. General Shelton indicated that they were "actively seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons for use against U.S. citizens and our interests around the world."[48] The attacks on the embassies made this a sobering possibility.

President Clinton had the evidence he required and the knowledge of possible future attacks. With this information he decided to strike back on 14 August.[49] Clinton said, "From the moment we learned of the bombings, our mission was clear: Identify those responsible; bring them to justice; protect our citizens from future attacks."[50] Immediately following the attacks, the president explained his rationale behind the approval to strike back: "I ordered this action for four reasons: First, because we had convincing evidence these groups played the key role in the embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. Second, because these groups have executed terrorist attacks against Americans in the past. Third, because we have compelling information that they were planning additional terrorist attacks against our citizens and others with the inevitable collateral casualties we saw so tragically in Africa. And, fourth, because they are seeking to acquire chemical weapons and other dangerous weapons."[51]

The Selection of Airpower

Following the 7 August bombings, President Clinton ordered preliminary planning for a military response.[52] At the next meeting with his planners on 12 August, General Shelton ran through the list of options. He told the president that he had considered attacks by ground forces and conventional aircraft but had ruled both out due to the risk they placed upon the American combatants. For the same reasons, the president agreed. Both agreed that cruise missiles could strike the enemy while minimizing US risk.[53]

The Objectives

Minutes after the completion of the attacks, the president told the nation, "Our objective was to damage their capacity to strike at Americans and other innocent people."[54] During his address to the nation that night, Presi-

dent Clinton again spoke about the strike's objectives: "I want to speak to you about the objective of this action and why it was necessary. Our target was terror; our mission was clear: to strike at the network of radical groups affiliated with and funded by Usama bin Ladin, perhaps the preeminent organizer and financier of international terrorism in the world today. . . . With compelling evidence that the bin Ladin network of terrorist groups was planning to mount further attacks against Americans and other freedom-loving people, I decided America must act."[55] Secretary of Defense William Cohen said the raids were intended to "reduce the ability of these terrorist organizations to train and equip their misguided followers or to acquire weapons of mass destruction for their use in campaigns of terror."[56]

How Airpower Was Employed

Planning for the strikes, later known as Operation Infinite Reach, was conducted by a small group of top officials who operated under the code name "Small Group."[57] Members included President Clinton, Secretary of Defense Cohen, Secretary of State Albright, National Security Advisor Berger, and General Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Gen Anthony Zinni, the commander of US forces in the region, drew up the plans. Secrecy was the key factor in keeping the number of persons involved small.[58]

Two target areas were selected.[59] First, in Afghanistan, was the Khost terrorist training camp located roughly 100 miles south of Kabul.[60] Secretary Cohen described the site:

> The bin Laden network of terror is intimately connected with the Khost training facility in Afghanistan against which we conducted operations. Sometimes referred to as 'Terrorist University,' this is the largest Sunni terrorist training facility in the world. At these facilities, terrorists from around the world receive paramilitary training that ranges from target practice to improvising explosive devices to training on tanks and other armored vehicles. In recent months, there has been an expansion of these facilities, including construction of new buildings, which indicates that an increase in training activity was planned. These facts helped shape our decision to strike at these facilities.[61]

According to General Shelton, about 600 personnel normally inhabited the camp.[62] Secretary Cohen and General Shelton believed that "convincing evidence" existed to indicate that the embassy bombers trained at this facility.[63] Another reason provided justification to strike the Khost camp: intelligence indicated that, according to the president, "A gathering of key terrorist leaders" or "terrorist convention" was to have occurred on the day of the attack.[64] The attempted mechanism for change employed against the Khost camps appeared to be a limited combination of a denial and decapitation strategy. The attempt to level the camp's facilities, assets, and personnel was a form of denial strategy. Trying to kill top al-Qaeda operatives was the decapitation portion of the attack.

The other target selected was the El Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Sudan that President Clinton announced was "involved in the production of mate-

rials for chemical weapons."[65] According to the *New York Times*, administration and intelligence officials "believed that senior Iraqi scientists were helping to produce elements of the nerve agent VX" at the factory. Support for this claim was obtained by a single soil sample secretly taken next to the El Shifa plant that supposedly revealed a rare chemical necessary for the construction of VX.[66] This was also a denial strategy in that it attempted to prevent VX from being manufactured and employed by al-Qaeda.

President Clinton gave the approval for the US Navy mission planners to begin preparing for the attacks. Part of the preparation involved the complex process of mapping out the route of each missile to ensure that it would not conflict with another missile while in-flight.[67] Operation Infinite Reach called for approximately 70 Tomahawk missiles to strike the Khost terrorist camp, while approximately six missiles were to strike the El Shifa plant.[68] According to Secretary Cohen, "Our plan was to attack these sites with sufficient power to certainly disrupt them and hopefully destroy them. . . . Some of these are solid structures; other is [*sic*] less so, but we believe that given the targeting that was done with the capability that was unleashed, it would cause sufficient damage to disrupt them for some time."[69] Richard Newman, of *U.S. News and World Report,* claims that "several of the Tomahawks targeted at the camps carried cluster munitions, designed to disperse shrapnel-like bomblets over a large area." Cluster munitions are especially effective against personnel. Newman also quotes a government official as saying that in Afghanistan, "Collateral damage was just not an issue." The attack on the El Shifa plant required special attention since it was thought to contain highly dangerous materials. According to Newman, "One final step was to run computer models of the risk that explosions at the chemical factory would unleash a plume of poison gas across Sudan. After assessing data on the suspected chemicals, climate, and prevailing winds, analysts decided the harmful effects would be minimal."[70] Secretary Cohen indicated that the attacks were conducted at night to minimize civilian casualties.[71]

President Clinton gave the execute order at 0300 on 14 August.[72] Later, four surface vessels and one submarine located in the Arabian Sea launched their missiles through Pakistani airspace into the Khost facility in Afghanistan. Two surface vessels fired their missiles from the Red Sea into Sudan.[73] The Tomahawk missiles struck at exactly 1300 eastern time.[74]

Were the Objectives Achieved?

The president and his administration put forth three primary objectives for Infinite Reach. The first was to damage al-Qaeda's ability to execute terrorist attacks by hitting the infrastructure at the Khost facility and, presumably, kill as many terrorists as possible. The *New York Times* quoted a "senior Pentagon official" as saying that the "cruise missiles that landed in Afghanistan heavily damaged or destroyed virtually every 'soft' target at the sprawling mountain training camp, including barracks, communica-

tions equipment and arms stockpiles."[75] Sandy Berger was quoted as saying that Infinite Reach caused "moderate to heavy damage at each of the targets," and *Newsweek* said that according to Berger, "the terror network's operations had been significantly impaired."[76] The ruling Taliban government in Afghanistan claimed that 21 people had been killed at the Khost facility, but these numbers were unsubstantiated.[77] Unfortunately, no top terrorist leaders were killed, and there is no corroborating evidence of a terrorist summit at the camp.[78]

Infinite Reach's second objective was to deny al-Qaeda chemical weapons from the El Shifa plant. Karl Vick of the *Washington Post* reported that the plant was hit with "remarkable precision." He says, "The factory's walls fell inward while, not 10 feet outside them, 55-gallon drums remained standing. The roof came down, the assembly line was blown apart, and the candy factory that shares a wall with the plant was left intact."[79] Steven Lee Myers of the *New York Times* confirms this by saying, "The factory was obliterated by the strike, which one U.S. official said was designed to make the building fall in on itself, limiting the chance of toxins escaping into the air."[80] Civilian casualties were reported to be 10 wounded with one possible fatality.[81] Quite a bit of controversy has occurred regarding whether this facility was producing key elements for chemical weapons. The dispute continues. However, once identified as a target, regardless of its purpose, it was summarily destroyed.[82]

The final objective was to deter further planned attacks. According to Secretary Albright, "It is very likely something would have happened had we not done this."[83] According to American officials, "Before the raids, attacks were imminent on U.S. embassies in Albania and Pakistan. . . . Threats were reported to other embassies in Malaysia, Yemen, Egypt and Uganda, among others."[84] These embassies were not hit, and from a *limited* perspective, this final objective appears to have been met. However, this warrants continued discussion and will be addressed in more detail later.

Lessons Learned

One lesson that is highlighted by Operation Infinite Reach is the versatility that cruise missiles give political leaders and military planners when high-threat targets are attacked. Cruise missiles were first introduced to combat during the initial phase of Operation Desert Storm. Since then, cruise missiles have been used two more times in Iraq and once against the Serbs in Bosnia.[85]

From the senior leaders' perspective, cruise missiles are enticing because they offer a response without risking American lives.[86] From a planner's perspective, cruise missiles offer several benefits to manned aircraft. Fired from the ocean surface or stateside-based aircraft, cruise missiles do not require staging rights from foreign governments. William Matthews of the *Air Force Times* claims that in the winter of 1997 the US Air Force was denied permission to launch strikes against Iraq by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and other coun-

tries in the region.[87] According to Lauren Thompson of the Lexington Institute, "It [obtaining permission from foreign governments to allow air strikes from their bases] is the Achilles' heel of the Air Force's global-reach concept. . . ."[88] "I think any time we can carry out an objective with cruise missiles, that's the thing to do," said Maj Gen Charles Link, retired, a former assistant deputy Air Force chief of staff for plans and operations.[89]

The raid in Sudan showed that cruise missiles could be used to strike difficult targets while minimizing civilian casualties. Two prerequisites make this possible. First, cruise missiles are highly accurate. Michael D. Towle of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that the missiles used in Infinite Reach were Block III Tomahawks that have an accuracy of 30 feet due to global positioning system guidance.[90] The second requirement limiting civilian casualties is solid intelligence. Knowing the area civilian patterns is crucial.

One of the negative aspects of using cruise missiles is their cost. Harry Levins of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* notes that essentially every time the United States fires a cruise missile, it is firing a $750,000 asset on a one-way trip. He further stated that "Thursday's raid ate up more than $500 million in ordnance, most of it fired at a batch of backwoods barracks."[91]

The high cost of Infinite Reach shows the need for a fielded, unmanned combat aerial vehicle (UCAV) with more punch than an RQ-1 Predator with Hellfire missiles.[92] In an article published in *Aerospace Power Journal,* Col Robert Chapman writes, "Without the risk of aircrew loss, vehicle attrition becomes less onerous from both a moral and political standpoint. One could task the UCAVs for high-risk, high payoff missions without attendant risk to human life. As a result, the UCAVs could expand the range of coercive options available to both civilian and military leaders."[93] From a simplistic standpoint, using the UCAVs would be much more economical. A single Tomahawk missile (with a 1,000-pound warhead), such as the one launched during Infinite Reach, costs $600,000. A bomber-launched conventional air-launched cruise missile (CALCM) (with a 2,000-pound warhead) costs $1,160,000. A UCAV delivering a single GPS-guided Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) (with up to 2,000-pound bombs) costs a fraction of the Tomahawk. The most expensive part of the JDAM is the guidance kit, which costs $21,000. The bomb itself is already in weapons inventories.[94] A comparable raid to Infinite Reach (which has been shown to cost in the neighborhood of $500 million), using the UCAVs and JDAMs, would have cost roughly $1.6 million. The UCAV has associated costs, but it is *reusable.* The UCAVs also can offer real-time acquisition of mobile or difficult-to-find targets via onboard sensors. This would allow for tremendous target-area flexibility and persistence. As Colonel Chapman says, "UCAVs might also play an important role in low intensity conflict or contingency operations. Low observability, long endurance, and absence of pilot support are ideal attributes for long-duration missions in hostile or contested airspace. Proponents envision UCAVs conducting armed reconnaissance missions, patrolling the skies over hostile territory, and holding enemy targets at risk."[95]

Much like El Dorado Canyon, Infinite Reach enjoyed strong domestic support. A Gallup poll taken a day after the cruise missile strikes (21 August 1998) showed that 66 percent of those polled approved of Infinite Reach. When asked about civilian casualties, 65 percent believed "civilian casualties are regrettable, but the U.S. was right to attack" (only 27 percent felt that a guarantee of no civilian casualties was a requirement before attacking). These numbers challenge the popular conception that the American public is casualty averse. Like the Libyan raid, Americans supported the attacks but maintained a sober outlook. When asked what they felt the impact of the attacks would be, 47 percent responded that they believed the attacks would "increase terrorist actions in the USA and abroad" (versus 38 percent who assumed the attacks would decrease terrorist activities).[96] It appears that the strikes gathered more support over time. Gallup released another poll three days later (24 August 1998) showing that approval for the air strikes had grown to 75 percent (versus 18 percent who disapproved). This same poll showed that 76 percent of Americans would support "future U.S. attacks using cruise missiles" (versus 19 percent who indicated they would disapprove). This poll also showed that while they would have supported a response using ground forces, cruise missile attacks were preferred (65 percent said they would have approved ground attack, while 30 percent said they would not have approved).[97]

As noted by Frank McCoy in *U.S. News and World Report*, the reaction to the strikes overseas was mixed. In Europe, Germany blandly supported Infinite Reach. Helmut Kohl said "resolute actions by all countries" are necessary to fight terrorism. In Moscow, Boris Yeltsin also blandly spoke against the strike by saying, "[My] reaction to this is negative, as it would be to any act of terrorism, military intervention, or the ineffective approach to resolving disputes without trying all forms of negotiation and diplomacy." However, the Russian government quickly noted that the upcoming summit with President Clinton would not be affected. In China, the foreign minister "condemned all terrorism but criticized the United States obliquely, saying that the embassy bombings should have been dealt with through international law." In predominantly Islamic areas, the response was primarily negative. Muslims felt this showed America's willingness to violate sovereign airspace and kill civilians.[98]

The strike on the El Shifa plant generated considerable controversy and highlighted the need for the US government to be prepared to receive criticism if it appeared not to have the facts straight or was unwilling to reveal sensitive source information that was used in the target-selection process. Soon after the attacks, the Clinton administration found itself defending the attack on the El Shifa. Tim Weiner and Steven Lee Myers of the *New York Times* reported that "some of the key statements made by Administration officials to justify the attack [had] proven to be inaccurate, misleading or open to question."[99] Further, "Administration officials' efforts to strengthen their case have been complicated by the extreme secrecy they imposed in launching the attack, which they now say prevents them from

showing their evidence to the world. That secrecy and the inconsistencies in their public statements have given the Sudanese Government . . . a chance to challenge the justification for the attack and call for an international inquiry."[100] Inconsistencies include telling reporters soon after the attack that "we have no evidence—or have seen no products, commercial products that are sold out of this facility."[101] Another intelligence official stated that "this is not a normal pharmaceutical facility."[102]

Reports by *Time* challenged these statements and the overall case brought forward to strike the plant: "The White House had to dial back earlier claims that the plant produced only chemical-weapons precursors and that bin Laden had financed its operation. It turns out that the el-Shifa manufactured much of the antibiotics and malaria and tuberculosis drugs sold in Sudan. And the CIA had evidence only that bin Laden had put money into Sudan's military industry, not the plant specifically."[103] While not endearing himself to the intelligence community, President Reagan, after El Dorado Canyon, shared with the world that the United States had been reading Libyan diplomatic message traffic (which clearly implicated them with the Berlin disco bombing). Reagan wanted to justify his actions—and it does appear that he was moderately effective.

The Clinton administration chose not to follow Reagan's course of action. This lesson appears not to have been lost upon the next secretary of state, Colin Powell. During his 5 February 2003 address to the United Nations Security Council, Powell used intercepted voice communications and satellite imagery to garner support for the administration's hard-line policy on Saddam Hussein. While this paper does not advocate regularly compromising intelligence, if one does not sometimes release intelligence data, and especially if the facts are inaccurately or inconsistently presented, there are likely to be negative effects for US policy. In any case, US credibility and competence are brought into question. Within hours of the embassy bombings, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said, "What we have to guard against here is to take action without having all the facts. While there might be instant gratification to do something about an attack on us, we have to be absolutely sure we have the facts straight."[104]

It was noted earlier that Infinite Reach did achieve its limited objectives. This is based upon personal testimony from administration officials at the time. However, as world events unfolded, it became apparent that the minimalist military objectives sought yielded minimal real-world effects. The significance of this cannot be overlooked. In reality, it was easy to launch cruise missiles into Afghanistan and Sudan, destroy a couple of fixed targets, and announce success. Perhaps Infinite Reach did prevent a string of already planned terrorism attacks. What is apparent, however, is that the al-Qaeda agenda of attacking US interests before the embassy bombings continued with the attack on the USS *Cole* in 2000 and the millennium plan to detonate a bomb in Los Angeles International Airport.[105] Al-Qaeda shook the world once again on 9/11.

Infinite Reach showed that the military did level the targets it intended to hit—but this strategy left far too much unfinished. The war on terrorism did not end with Infinite Reach, and Infinite Reach failed to deliver a decisive blow to al-Qaeda. At the time of the retaliatory strikes, a former CIA counterterrorism expert stated that Infinite Reach "did very little to hurt bin Laden and probably initiated a new round of violence."[106] The message that President Clinton sought to send was "Let our actions today send this message loud and clear. There are no expendable American targets. There will be no sanctuary for terrorist."[107] However, the message bin Laden received was "The American bombardment had only shown that the world is governed by the law of the jungle. That brutal, treacherous attack killed a number of civilian Muslims. As for material damage, it was minimal. By the grace of God, the missiles were ineffective. The raid proved that the American army is going downhill in its morale. Its members are too cowardly and too fearful to meet the young people of Islam face to face."[108] Following the 9/11 attacks, Michael O'Hanlon of the Brookings Institution noted that "throughout the 1990s, the United States has responded to acts of terrorism using only very limited means." Responding to the 9/11 attacks, O'Hanlon looked back at the cruise missile responses of Infinite Reach as well as against Saddam Hussein and said, "The key point is that we cannot use a limited dose of force just to send a message. That approach has been tried and failed. Generally, the only message sent is one of irresoluteness. And it leaves the bin Ladens of the world free to strike again."[109] Bob Woodward shows that George W. Bush had feelings much akin to O'Hanlon. Woodward writes,

> President Bush, like many members of his national security team, believed the Clinton administration's response to Osama bin Laden and international terrorism, especially since the embassy bombings in 1998, had been so weak as to be provocative, a virtual invitation to hit the United States again: "The antiseptic notion of launching a cruise missile into some guy's . . . tent, really is a joke," Bush said later in an interview. "I mean, people viewed that as the impotent America . . . a flaccid . . . kind of technology competent but not [a] very tough country that was willing to launch a cruise missile out of a submarine and that'd be it. I do believe there is the image of America out there that we are so materialistic, that we're almost hedonistic, that we don't have values, and that when struck, we wouldn't fight back. It was clear that bin Laden felt emboldened and didn't feel threatened by the United States."[110]

Operation Infinite Reach destroyed very little of value—bin Laden and his chief lieutenants survived, and al-Qaeda was able to continue their terrorists' training in Afghanistan. Bin Laden was able to attack America in September 2001 in a manner that is still difficult to believe. While the US response was weak and ineffective, bin Laden's response was just the opposite. While Infinite Reach spoke of denial and decapitation, the actual response fell short of the intentions behind these strategies.

The death and damage inflicted by al-Qaeda's embassy bombings in Africa warranted a much more robust and persistent American response. Our response was tempered by the fear of international reaction to a more

robust response. We now know that the policy of "kicking the can down the road" via a show of force delayed the inevitable—a direct and continued war against al-Qaeda. Unfortunately, thousands more had to be murdered to bring this reality to light.

The significance of the al-Qaeda embassy bombings cannot be overlooked. Two of our embassies—facilities that represent diplomacy and international goodwill—had been attacked. Hundreds of Africans, many of them employees of our government—as well as a score of Americans—had been murdered in a premeditated, well-coordinated, and sophisticated attack. This was a case that required a much more significant response. These attacks were a clear foreshadowing of what lay ahead. Cruise missiles appeared to be selected because they put no American lives at risk. If there ever were a case where it was worth putting lives at risk, this was the case. Either persistent and more encompassing air attacks were needed or a combined air and commando-type operation would have sent the message that America will not tolerate this. The willingness to take casualties sent a loud statement, and at times, a necessary statement. Our response appeared to have been more for the American audience than al-Qaeda. To Americans the message was that this will not stand—America will retaliate. But this sold the American public short in terms of the willingness to accept casualties. This was not Vietnam. Further, our special operations forces have made quantum improvements since the botched Iranian hostage-rescue attempt. This author feels that stronger action, and, if necessary, the resultant casualties would have been understood by the American public. Al-Qaeda saw through this and read it for what it was—a one-time, limited strike that smacked of casualty and direct-engagement aversion. Our message, centered on domestic opinion, convinced al-Qaeda that America was a "toothless tiger."

El Dorado Canyon was successful in deterring Gadhafi because he had valuable assets that could be and were targeted—a previously mentioned weakness of state-sponsored terrorism. In bin Laden's case, his shadowy network offered no high-value targets that could hold him in check. This brings out a major difference between state-sponsored terrorism and terrorism that is formed by a loose alliance that receives its funding and support from a myriad of sources. In such a case as the latter, persistent strikes appear to be necessary, not only to deter, but to deny terrorists the freedom to operate leisurely and, if possible, to induce Clausewitz's fog and friction upon the terrorists' senior leadership.

Notes

1. "Our Target Was Terror," 29.
2. Bennet, "U.S. Cruise Missiles," 1.
3. "Bin Laden, Millionaire with a Dangerous Grudge."
4. Auster, "Recruiter for Hate," 49.
5. Smyth, "Culture Clash," 24.
6. Ibid.

7. Auster, "Recruiter for Hate," 49.
8. Weiner, "U.S. Sees bin Laden as Ringleader," 1.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Smyth, "Culture Clash," 24.
12. Auster, "Recruiter for Hate," 48.
13. "Bin Laden Network," 51.
14. Department of State, *Fact Sheet: Usama bin Ladin.*
15. Weiner, "U.S. Sees bin Laden as Ringleader," 1.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid. See also Hendrickson, *Clinton Wars,* 102.
18. "Bin Laden, Millionaire with a Dangerous Grudge."
19. Hendrickson, *Clinton Wars,* 102. See also Pamela Constable, "Bin Laden 'Is Our Guest,' " 1.
20. "Our Target Was Terror," 28. See also Newman, "America Fights Back," 42.
21. Price, "Albright, Cohen Promise Retaliation," 1. See also "Massive Bomb Rocks U.S. Military Complex."
22. Newman, "America Fights Back," 42.
23. Ibid. For the planned assassination of Pope John Paul, see also Hendrickson, *Clinton Wars,* 102. For American airliner plans, see Newman, "America Fights Back," 42; and *Public Papers of the Presidents,* 1460.
24. Bodansky, *Bin Laden*, 232.
25. Smyth, "Culture Clash," 22.
26. Ibid., 23.
27. Ibid., 23–24.
28. Ibid., 23.
29. Department of State, *Fact Sheet: Usama bin Ladin.*
30. Bodansky, *Bin Laden,* 248.
31. Weiner, "U.S. Sees Bin Laden as Ringleader," 1.
32. Bodansky, *Bin Laden,* 258.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., 260.
35. Vick, "Base! Base! Terrorism! Terrorism!" 1.
36. Khan and Constable, "Bomb Suspect Details," 1.
37. Clinton, Address to the Nation.
38. Bodansky, *Bin Laden,* 264.
39. Department of State, *Fact Sheet: Usama bin Ladin.*
40. Hendrickson, *Clinton Wars,* 101.
41. Albright, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 707.
42. Stone, "War in the Shadows: How U.S. Will Fight Terrorism," 1.
43. "Our Target Was Terror," 26.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., 27.
46. Berger, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 708.
47. Myers, "U.S. Offers More Details," 1.
48. Bennet, "U.S. Cruise Missiles," 1.
49. "Our Target Was Terror," 28.
50. *Public Papers of the Presidents,* 1464.
51. Clinton, Address to the Nation.
52. "Our Target Was Terror," 28.
53. Ibid. Yossef Bodansky claims that Pakistani authorities warned bin Laden before the attacks that "the United States is not willing to risk sending commandos to the region and because Pakistan would not allow the United States to use its territory as a springboard." See Bodansky, *Bin Laden,* 288.

54. Clinton, Address to the Nation.
55. *Public Papers of the Presidents,* 1460–61.
56. Myers, "Attacks Aimed 70 Missiles," 1.
57. "Our Target Was Terror," 24.
58. Weiner and Myers, "Flaws in U.S. Account Raise Questions," 1.
59. Richard J. Newman claims that the two targets selected "had been in the Pentagon's inventory of targets for several years. That made it relatively easy for military planners to organize their strikes." See Newman, "America Fights Back," 42.
60. Bennet, "U.S. Cruise Missiles," 1.
61. Cohen, "About Last Week," C1.
62. Myers, "Attacks Aimed 70 Missiles," 1.
63. Scarborough, "Military's Use of Guided Missiles," 13.
64. *Public Papers of the Presidents,* 1461. For additional information on the "terrorist convention," see Newman, "America Fights Back," 42.
65. *Public Papers of the Presidents,* 1461; and Newman, "America Fights Back," 40.
66. "U.S. Says Iraq Aided Production," *New York Times,* 25 August 1998.
67. Newman, "America Fights Back," 42.
68. Ibid., 38.
69. Myers, "Attacks Aimed 70 Missiles," 1.
70. Newman, "America Fights Back," 42.
71. Myers, "Attacks Aimed 70 Missiles," 1.
72. "Our Target Was Terror," 24.
73. Newman, "America Fights Back," 40.
74. Myers, "Attacks Aimed 70 Missiles," 1.
75. "U.S. Says Iraq Aided Production of Chemical Weapons in Sudan."
76. "Our Target Was Terror," 24.
77. Ibid., 28.
78. Bodansky claims that "U.S. intelligence had learned that a major terrorist conference was to take place in the area, and the strike was timed to hit the participants, including Osama bin Laden and his close lieutenants. They all survived; they and many other terrorists being trained in these facilities were simply not there when the cruise missiles hit. There is good reason to believe that high officials in Pakistan warned the terrorist elite about the impending U.S. Strike." He claims 26 were killed and 35 were wounded. See Bodansky, *Bin Laden,* 283–85.
79. Vick, "U.S., Sudan Trade Claims on Factory," 1.
80. Myers, "Attacks Aimed 70 Missiles," 1.
81. "Our Target Was Terror," 28.
82. Fleming, "Sudan Plant Owner Sues U.S."
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ricks, "Reliance on Cruise Missiles," 4.
86. Towle, "Washington is Turning to Tomahawk Missile," 1.
87. Matthews, "Why Strike," 6. This is also supported by Levins, "In the Beginning," B4.
88. Matthews, "Why Strike," 6.
89. Ibid.
90. Towle, "Washington is Turning to Tomahawk Missile," 1.
91. Levins, "In the Beginning," B4.
92. Cassidy Jr., Statement to the House Armed Services Subcommittee.
93. Chapman, "Unmanned Combat Aerial Vehicles," 61.
94. For weapons cost, see Chapman, "Unmanned Combat Aerial Vehicles," 61.
95. Ibid., 62.
96. Puente, "Poll," 6.
97. "3 Out of 4 Back Future Airstrikes," 4.

98. McCoy, "A World of Opinions," 52.
99. Weiner and Myers, "Flaws in U.S. Account Raise Questions," 1.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Wallen, "A Pair of Quick Arrests," 45.
104. Price, "Albright, Cohen Promise Retaliation," 1.
105. "Bin Laden, Millionaire with a Dangerous Grudge."
106. "Our Target Was Terror," 29.
107. Bennet, "U.S. Cruise Missiles," 1.
108. "Exclusive Interview."
109. O'Hanlon, "Symbolic Missile Strikes Won't Work," 26.
110. Woodward, *Bush at War,* 38–39.

Chapter 4

The Second Palestinian Intifada

You can't beat terrorism at the symposium at the university. The most effective way to deal with terror is the elimination or incarceration of the people who lead these organizations.

—Israeli deputy defense minister Ephraim Sneh

By September 2000, Israelis and Palestinians were waiting for a spark to blast the region into hatred, violence, and death. This spark came in the form of Ariel Sharon, a right-wing Israeli leader, and his visit to the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Temple Mount on 28 September 2000.[1] This current round of violence is known as the second intifada—Arabic for "a shaking off."[2] To look at how the Israelis have used airpower as part of a combined arms operation to fight this current war against terrorism, a study of recent clashes between the Israelis and Palestinians needs to be examined.

Background

While this chapter centers on the second intifada (from September 2000 to the present), note that since the inception of the 1918 British Mandate, the Jews and the Palestinians have been at war with each other over the issues of statehood and borders. To combat Israel, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was created in 1964 from multiple groups of Palestinians who received financial support from the Arab world.[3] The Palestinians organized themselves as a government in exile and stated in their charter that their purpose was the "destruction of the Israeli state and the establishment of a Palestinian state."[4] Following the Six-Day War in 1967 between Israel and its Arab neighbors, the animosity between the PLO and Israel was compounded by the Israeli conquest and occupation of the Gaza Strip, the entire city of Jerusalem, and the West Bank of the Jordan River.[5] These areas contained hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. Seeking a safe haven from which to operate, the PLO staged out of Jordan until the mid-1970s when King Hussein saw their considerable military forces as a threat to Jordan's stability and drove them out of his kingdom into neighboring Lebanon during a series of bloody military operations. Due to the political instabilities in Lebanon, the PLO found a safe haven there and effectively became a state within a state. By the early 1980s, they amassed a conventional military force of 15,000 regular troops. From their bases in southern Lebanon (fig. 4), the PLO waged war against Israel utilizing terrorist attacks by small, well-trained teams. The PLO used artillery and rocket attacks against targets inside Israel. From May to July 1981, the PLO made 1,230 artillery and rocket attacks that hit 26 northern Israeli towns, killing six and wounding 26 civilians.[6] The last straw for Israel was the assassination of the Israeli ambassador to London, Shlomo Argov. The new Israeli defense minister, Ariel Sharon,

blasted the government for being soft on the PLO and decided to invade Lebanon and engage the PLO directly.[7]

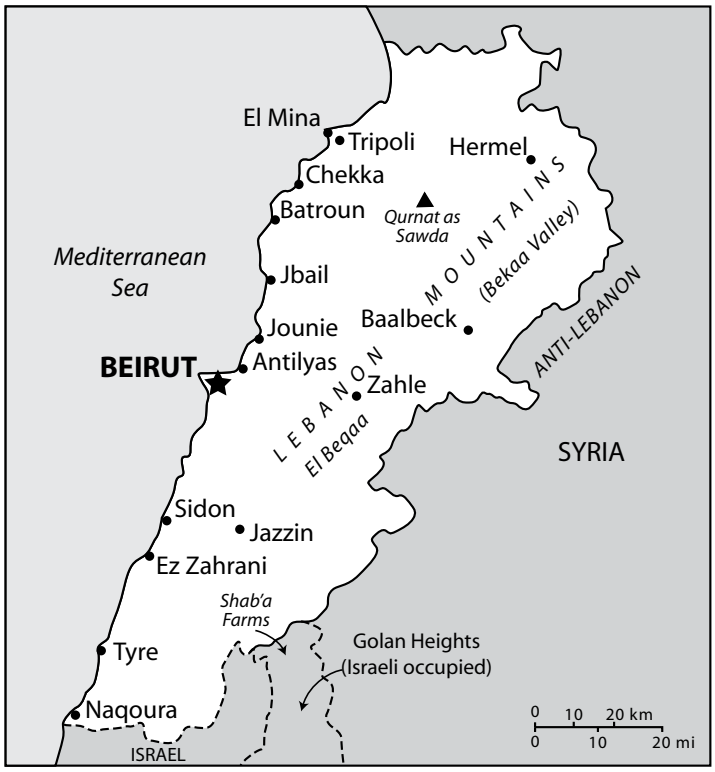

Figure 4. Map of Lebanon. (Reprinted from General Libraries, University of Texas, 18 March 2002, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia02/lebanon_sm02.gif.)

The Israeli Defense Force (IDF) invasion of Lebanon, Operation Peace for Galilee, commenced on 6 June 1982.[8] The stated objective for the invasion was to crush the PLO infrastructure and drive the remainder of its forces at least 25 miles north of Israel—thereby putting them beyond rocket range of Israel.[9] The invasion force consisted of six Israeli divisions—70,000 men and 1,000 tanks along with the Israeli air force (IAF).[10]

Used in a combined arms manner, the IAF played a major role in Peace for Galilee. On the left flank, IAF helicopter gunships and fighter-bombers neutralized the only major PLO point of resistance—a strongpoint at Beaufort Castle, a clearly visible and beautiful remnant of the crusades of the Middle Ages.[11] It took the left flank only four days to reach Beirut.[12] On the right flank, the Israelis took on Syrian forces located in eastern Lebanon (see fig. 4). Unlike the PLO, the Syrians maintained a robust integrated air defense (IAD) system that the IAF had to defeat to gain air superiority.[13] On 9 June, the IAF launched a coordinated attack that initially used remotely piloted vehicles (RPV) to lure the Syrian surface-to-air missile (SAM) operators to turn on their radars and expose their location.[14] With their radars on, F-4s and F-16s launched HARMs

that homed in on the activated SAM radars and followed through with cluster bomb attacks.[15] In sum the IAF eliminated 17 of 19 SAM sites.[16] During the attack, the Syrians launched fighters to engage the IAF. The first day, with the help of the IAF Hawkeye airborne surveillance radar aircraft, the IAF shot down 29 Syrian fighters. On the next day, 35 additional Syrian fighters were bested. In the two days of aerial combat, the IAF lost no aircraft.[17]

Five days after initiating Peace for Galilee, the Israelis had the PLO trapped within the confines of Beirut.[18] At this point, the Israelis faced three options: withdraw, engage with ground forces, or lay siege to Beirut with artillery and airpower. Faced with the opportunity to totally defeat the PLO, Israel took it. Thus, the first option was ruled out. The second option of going in on the ground would have cost many Israeli casualties as well as heavy losses to civilians. The Israelis took the option of putting Beirut under siege, which they successfully accomplished.[19] After several weeks of siege, the PLO agreed to a cease-fire and was allowed to seek exile in other Arab states.[20]

During this initial campaign, the IAF performed brilliantly. Says James Corum,

> The IAF flew thousands of sorties and brought accurate fire upon the PLO and Syrians. The attack helicopters proved their worth as highly lethal and precise weapons systems. The AH-1 Cobras and MD 500 Defenders fired 137 TOW missiles with 99 reported hits—killing 29 tanks, 56 vehicles, 4 radar sites and other targets. In addition to employing attack helicopters and precision munitions the IAF used a variety of RPVs as intelligence platforms. The RPVs performed very effectively to provide real-time intelligence on Syrian and PLO defenses to the IAF commanders. The RPVs were also used as laser designators so that fighter-bombers could drop precision munitions. IAF losses in the campaign were low. In addition to four helicopters lost in the battle at Beaufort Castle, an A-4 Skyhawk and an AH-1 Cobra were lost to ground fire in the first two days of the campaign. In July, an RF-4 was lost.[21]

These lessons would not be lost to the IDF, as will be shown later in this chapter.

The victory was bittersweet. Much of the Western press portrayed the IAF attacks as "terror bombing" that brings forth such images as the Dresden and Tokyo firebombings.[22] Israel strove to strike only military targets and attempted to minimize collateral damage. Had this not been the case, civilian casualties would have been much higher than they were. The PLO ignored these same conventions and was not held accountable for their actions.[23] When faced by the world's press and its impact on public opinion, the PLO found it much better to be David than Goliath.[24]

It is useful to examine the effect of the Lebanese invasion on Israeli politics. As the PLO became weaker in Lebanon, portions of the Israeli government began to denounce Peace for Galilee as unnecessary. By August Prime Minister Menachem Begin began publicly defending Peace for Galilee against its opponents.[25] Members of the IDF in Lebanon also disagreed with national policy. One field commander refused to open fire on a section of Beirut that contained civilians. The commander even refused to fire after being ordered to do so by Sharon. Eventually, the colonel was discharged. When called to active duty, a few reservists questioned the legitimacy of the war and refused to serve, indicating that they preferred to go to jail. Popular Israeli support for

the offensive initially stood at 93.3 percent.[26] However, one month into the war, popular support fell to 66 percent. After news reached home that Lebanese Christians (allied to the IDF) massacred several hundred Palestinian women and children in the village of Sabra-Shatilla on 16 September, support for Peace for Galilee plummeted.[27] On 25 September over 400,000 Israelis (11 percent of Israel's population) took part in a protest demonstration in Tel Aviv.[28] By December popular support plummeted to 34 percent.[29]

In 1985 Shimon Peres, the new prime minister, withdrew the IDF almost completely from Lebanon. To try and negate rocket attacks, Israel maintained a narrow security zone along southern Lebanon.[30]

The PLO threat was gone, but the invasion of Lebanon provided the impetus for groups of like-minded Shiite Muslims to form into an organization known as Hezbollah (party of God).[31] Hezbollah declared their objective of forcing the IDF out of Lebanon.[32] Learning from the PLO that it was impossible to defeat the IDF conventionally, Hezbollah turned to terror tactics. Based on their extremist religious interpretations, Hezbollah commanders easily recruited members to attack the IDF and Israelis at large using suicide bombing attacks. The classic example of this was the 1983 Hezbollah suicide truck bombing that killed 300 American Marines in Beirut.[33]

Israel relied on arms of the IDF to defend itself against Hezbollah attacks. As with Peace for Galilee, airpower played a significant role in this also. Helicopter gunships were found to be more nimble than fast-moving fighter aircraft, and they played an increasingly important role. Combined with sound intelligence, helicopters, along with commandos, were used to kill or seize Hezbollah leaders.[34] However, try as it might, Israel never was able to stop Hezbollah terrorism. Much like the American experience in Vietnam and the Soviets in Afghanistan, the war of attrition began to work against Israel. Used as an indicator of success, the kill ratio is telling. Beginning in 1990, the IDF killed 5.2 enemies for every IDF soldier killed. However, by 1993, that number had fallen to 1.71 for every IDF soldier killed.[35] Hezbollah's deputy secretary general accurately said, "When an Israeli soldier is killed, senior Israeli officials begin crying over his death. . . . Their point of departure is preservation of life, while our point of departure is preservation of principle and sacrifice."[36] The war of attrition took its toll and Israel completely withdrew from Lebanon in 2000.[37]

From the operations in Lebanon, three lessons emerged. First, while assassinating terrorist leaders impacted enemy operations for a time, others quickly replaced them.[38] Second, Israel had a much more difficult time infiltrating the smaller, closer-knit Hezbollah organization than they did the PLO. Third, the asymmetric manner in which Hezbollah operated prevented them from concentrating and rarely offered the IAF the lucrative targets they had with the PLO.[39] These lessons will replay themselves during the second intifada, and they can be seen in America's ongoing war on terrorism. This lack of high-value targets that al-Qaeda offered President Clinton was also seen during Operation Infinite Reach.

As previously noted, following the Six-Day War in 1967, Israel seized and occupied the Gaza Strip and the West Bank to include Jerusalem (fig. 5). The

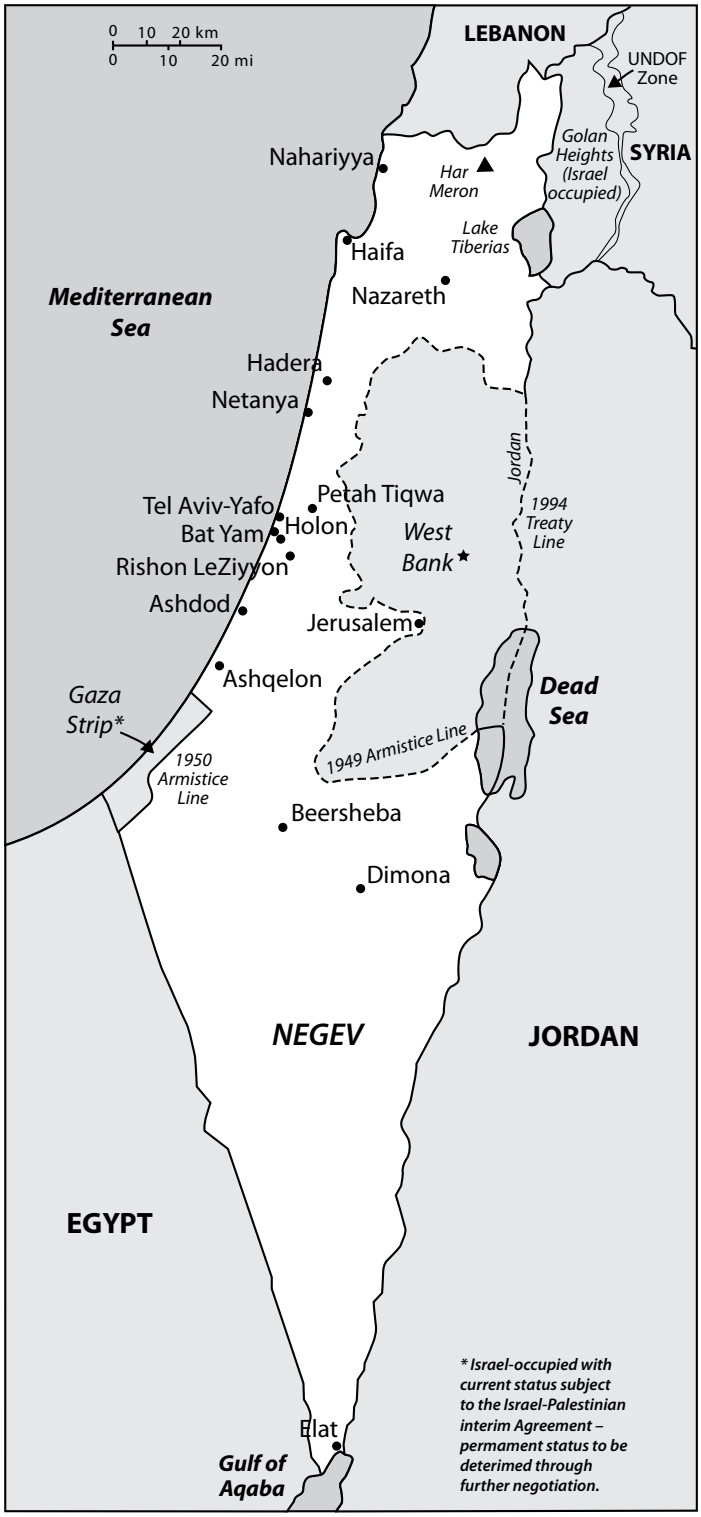

Figure 5. Map of Israel. (Reprinted from General Libraries, University of Texas, 18 March 2002, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia02/israel_sm02.gif.)

Gaza Strip is an area roughly two times larger than the District of Columbia or 360 square kilometers.[40] At the end of 1999, over 1.1 million Palestinians were jammed into this relatively small area.[41] In contrast, the West Bank is nearly the size of Delaware or 5,860 square kilometers.[42] In 2000 more than 2 million Palestinians occupied this area. In contrast, to the relatively small number of Jewish settlers in the Gaza Strip (6,500 in 1999), 171,000 Jewish settlers in 231 settlements were scattered throughout the West Bank.[43] Israeli occupation methods of the two areas helped to bring about the first intifada. According to Martin van Creveld, since the 1967 occupation of the Palestinian territories, the occupying Israeli forces became masters at repression. Beginning in 1967, Israel forced as many Palestinians as possible to leave the Occupied Territories. Adding to the friction for the remaining Palestinians, the Israelis established an elaborate licensing system, requiring Israeli approval for such mundane things as getting a telephone or more serious needs as opening a business. Israeli chief of staff Rafael Eytan claimed this "chicanery 'was to' make the Arabs run about like drugged beetles in a bottle." Over time, searches, seizures, and harassment became the norm.[44]

The incident cited as starting the first intifada was an accident on 8 December 1987 that involved an Israeli truck and four Palestinians who were subsequently killed. The funeral the next day quickly flared out of control, and the rioting spread from Gaza to the West Bank.[45] The Israelis were caught off guard by the escalating emotions, as was also the case of the PLO in Tunis. Over the next few months, the Occupied Territories degenerated into spasms of spontaneous or PLO-directed violence. Well equipped for conventional war, the IDF was sorely challenged in trying to react to stone-throwing Palestinian youths or inflamed mobs of protestors.[46] Between 1987 and 1993, over 1,200 Palestinians were killed in efforts to control the uprising.

To deal with the first intifada, the IDF instituted detailed ROE.[47] The war in Lebanon showed how quickly public opinion turned against Peace for Galilee when it was perceived that the IDF had overstepped its bounds. Having forces trained for conventional conflict engaged in riot control was a source of concern—especially with the increased presence of the press doggedly looking for cases of IDF excesses.[48] The IDF was forced to accept a difficult mission, which impacted morale and performance at all levels.[49] An ancient Chinese proverb aptly describes this by saying, "A sword, plunged into salt water, will rust."[50]

The first intifada spent itself out sometime around 1997. But the issues, passions, and hatreds that initiated it were only suppressed and were waiting to reemerge.[51] It was hoped that the 1993 Oslo Peace Accords would end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, as history shows, this was not to be. Appendix 1 chronicles the rise and fall of the Oslo Accords and also shows the complexity of the issues involved, the violence, and the beginning of the second intifada

What caused peace to fail? Anthony Cordesman claims that the root cause might have occurred as early as 1995 with the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by an Israeli extremist.[52] However, the pro-

cess went on for another five years. By the time Sharon made his famous visit to the Temple Mount, the Israelis and the Palestinians were "so close, but yet so far." On the Israeli side, they were not prepared to go back to the 1967 borders of the West Bank.[53]

Note that the second intifada (beginning in September 2000) differs from the first intifada (1987–97). The first intifada took its impetus from the spontaneous release of years of pent-up emotions driven by repression. It was not a battle for statehood; rather, it was one in which a body of people demanded recognition.[54] During this period the Palestinians lacked a central organizing body—the PLO was still in exile in Tunis. During the first intifada, the Palestinians were armed mostly with rocks and homemade weapons. Oslo changed all of this. Arafat and the PLO were allowed to return to the Occupied Territories and permitted to create an organizing body, the Palestinian Authority (PA), following the Oslo Accords in 1993.

When the second intifada began, the PA provided a unified (although at times fractured and contested) direction to the rebellion. The Palestinians were now *armed* with modern, albeit mostly light, weapons. They also had trained soldiers under their authority with which to oppose the IDF.[55] Table 2 shows the forces opposed to Israel at the beginning of the second intifada. Adding an element of complexity that Israel must face is the rise of non-PA forces such as Hamas, the Palestine Islamic Jihad, and Hezbollah. This shows that Israel and the IDF faced a war against a nonaligned multigroup opponent.

Table 2. Status of Palestinian forces prior to the second intifada

Military and Paramilitary Strength of Key Palestinian Factions and the Hizbullah before the Second Intifada Began

Palestinian Authority
• 35,000 security and paramilitary pro-PLO forces enforcing security in Gaza and Jericho, including:
• Public security (14,000)–6,000 in Gaza and 8,000 in West Bank
• Civil police (10,000)–4,000 in Gaza and 6,000 in West Bank
• Preventive security (3,000)–1,200 in Gaza and 1,800 in West Bank
• General intelligence (3,000),
• Presidential security (3,000),
• Military intelligence (500), and
• Additional forces in coastal police, air force, customs and excise police force, university security service, and civil defense.
• Equipment includes 45 armoured personnel carriers (APC) one Lockheed Jetstar, two Mi-8s, two Mi-17s, and roughly 40,000 small arms. These include automatic weapons and light machine guns. Israel claims they include heavy automatic weapons, rocket launchers, antitank rocket launchers, and guided weapons and man portable antiair missiles.
• The PA wants 12,000 more security forces after further withdrawals. Israel has proposed some 2,000.

Table 2 (*continued*)

Pro-PLO

- Palestinian National Liberation Army (PNLA)/Al Fatah—5,000–8,000 active and semiactive reserves that make up main pro-Arafat force, based in Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Jordan, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen under the tight control of the host government.
- Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)—Abu Abbas Faction—300–400 men led by Al-Abbas, based in Syria.
- Arab Liberation Front (ALF)—300–400 men based in Lebanon and Iraq.
- Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)—400–600 men led by Naif Hawatmeh, which claims eight battalions, and is based in Syria, Lebanon, and elsewhere.
- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)—800 men led by George Habash, based in Syria, Lebanon, West Bank, and Gaza.
- Palestine Popular Struggle Front (PSF)—600–700 men led by Samir Ghawsha and Bahjat Abu Gharbiyah, based in Syria.

Anti-PLO

- Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PlJ)—350 men in various factions, led by Assad Bayud al-Tamimi, Fathi Shakaki, Ibrahim Odeh, Ahmad Muhana, and others, based in the West Bank and Gaza.
- Hamas—military wing of about 300 men, based in the West Bank and Gaza.
- As-Saiqa—600–1,000 men in pro-Syrian force under Issam al-Qadi, based in Syria.
- Fatah Revolutionary Council (FRC)/Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)—300 men led by Abu Nidal (Sabri al-Bana), based in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq.
- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command (PFLP-GC)—600 men led by Ahmad Jibril, based in Syria, Lebanon, and elsewhere.
- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—Special Command (PFLP-SC)—50–100 men led by Abu Muhammad (Salim Abu Salem).
- Palestine Liberation Army (PLA)—4,500 men, based in Syria.
- Fatah Intifada—400–1,000 men led by Said Musa Muragha (Abu Musa), based in Syria and Lebanon.

Hizbullah (party of God)

- Several hundred actives with several thousand men in support, Shi'ite fundamentalist, APCs, artillery, **multiple rocket launchers** (MRL), antitank guided missiles (ATGM), rocket launchers, antiaircraft guns, SA-7s, AT-3 Saggers.

Reprinted from Anthony H. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians: The Second Intifada and Asymmetric Warfare," 1 February 2003, http://www.csis.org/burke/sa/israelvspale_intafada.pdf.Cordesman, 138**.**

Third, through the Oslo Accord, many Palestinians had experienced autonomy under the PA rule, and the dream of a Palestinian state was enticingly close. Cordesman says,

> In contrast [from the first intifada], [the evidence] shows all too clearly that the second intifada quickly became a real war in which Israel increasingly used advanced weapons and technology, and reoccupation of Palestinian areas try to attack and intimidate the Palestinians while minimizing its casualties. The Palestinians, in turn, increasingly turned to the use of small arms, mortars, suicide attacks, and bombings. Israel made extensive use of economic warfare, and its alliance when the US put pressure on the Palestinians, while the Palestinian side has attempted to mobilize the Arab and Islamic world, and the support of Europe and most developing countries to take political and economic action against Israel.[56]

During the second intifada, Israel has applied three strategies or phases to deal with the Palestinians. The first phase (beginning in September 2000) emphasized containment rather than a direct engagement via occupation. This first phase attempted to keep the Palestinians inside the occupied territories and away from the Jewish areas, thereby minimizing risk.[57] The second phase (beginning in August 2001) shifted from containment to engagement to stop the suicide bombings in Jewish areas. This change resulted in the IDF incursions into the Occupied Territories that directly engaged the Palestinians with the IDF ground forces.[58] The third and current phase (beginning in March 2002) started with Israel's position that Yasser Arafat is to blame for the second intifada and the need to separate him from a position of relevance.[59] Understanding these phases helps to show how the IDF has used airpower to fight this current intifada.

The Selection of Airpower

The IDF's operation against the intifada shows how airpower can be employed in a combined arms approach to combat terrorism. As shown in Lebanon, airpower is central to Israeli antiterrorism operations. A look at the previously mentioned phases of operations illustrates airpower's role in each of these different periods.

In the first phase, containment and isolation, the IAF helicopters and jets employed precision weapons to target terrorists and their facilities, while the IDF ground forces attempted to stop the flow of terrorism into Jewish territories.[60] Airpower allowed the IDF to engage some selected targets with minimal risk to the IDF forces. Helicopters, assisted by the UAVs for target acquisition, gave the IDF a day and night precision-attack capability.[61] This is significant due to the IDF's experiences in Lebanon and the mounting losses with the deleterious impact on troop and public morale. In the eyes of the PLO, Hezbollah drove the IDF out of southern Lebanon through its war of attrition.[62] Minimizing the IDF losses would limit the effectiveness of this PLO strategy.

During the second phase of operations, involving more aggressive ground tactics, airpower provided the IDF ground forces with mobile covering fire and aerial intelligence. As the Palestinians have refined their ability to engage and destroy the IDF Merkava-3 tank (Palestinians destroyed the first of these on 14 February 2002 by luring it into a trap, destroying it, and killing its crew with an 80-kilogram [kg] bomb), they have learned that firepower provided by helicopter gunships can operate in areas deemed hazardous for the IDF tanks. Regarding intelligence, airborne platforms (such as the UAVs and helicopters) enabled the IDF to identify hard-to-find ambushes located on rooftops and elsewhere before they posed a threat to ground forces.[63] The UAVs or observers in helicopters often direct the movement of the IDF ground forces during their tactical operations.[64]

As the IDF began operations to discredit Arafat, airpower pounded the PA infrastructure and isolated Arafat—leaving him defenseless against the IDF.[65] Apache gunships and F-16s employing laser-guided bombs were used to accurately demolish the PA targets.

Common to the three phases is the recognition that airpower provides the IDF with an asymmetric weapon that the Palestinians are nearly incapable of defending against.[66] Also, Israel sees airpower as a way to signal its intentions. According to Deputy Defense Minister Ephraim Sneh, gunship attacks on the PA infrastructure showed that the IDF was no longer being used as a retaliatory response to terrorists' attacks. Again, according to Sneh, the use of airpower signaled Israel's willingness to use "more sophisticated measures" that the Palestinians would be unable to defend against. This message showed that Israel was willing to go on the offensive.[67]

The Objectives

Israel's objectives against the current intifada revolve around using force to stop terrorism. In fact, Sharon did not negotiate further with the PA until the terrorist attacks ceased.[68] According to Martin Asser of the BBC News, "Mr. Sharon laid down stringent conditions on return to talks—to restore security rather than revive the peace process—demanding a cessation of Palestinian violence first."[69] For ease of discussion, however, the objectives can be lumped into three categories. The first is deterrence to stop future attacks. The second is punishment and retaliation for those attacks that have occurred. The third is that Israelis have attempted to coerce Arafat into stopping Palestinian terrorism.

As indicated, a primary objective is to deter future attacks. One of the primary tools employed by the IDF in deterrence is selective assassinations. Dr. Joshua Sinai, a senior policy analyst at the Regional Conflict division, Advancing National Strategies and Enabling Results (ANSER), describes Israel's "extra-judicial killings" as "actions intended to thwart acts of terror in the future."[70] Charles Krauthammer wrote in *Time,*

> Israel has responded the only way it can, and precisely as any other country would. When, in 1986, the U.S. found Libya responsible for a terrorist bombing that killed American soldiers in a Berlin discotheque, it did not send Muammar Gaddafi a subpoena. It bombed his barracks. The object of such attacks is twofold. If you're lucky, you get the chief perpetrator. And if you're not, you have sent a message that the enemy cannot operate with impunity, bringing a measure of deterrence to his calculation. . . . It cannot stop them all. But even one mass murder pre-empted [*sic*] is justification enough.[71]

Targeted assassinations attempt to deter leaders involved in planning suicide attacks by threatening the most important thing to them—their lives. For them the message is quite simple: "You may be next."[72]

Another objective falls under the category of "an eye for an eye." Airpower has been used extensively for retaliation and punishment under the hopes that the enemy can be attrited in battle. Following extensive air strikes on

the PA facilities on 28 March 2001, the Israelis acknowledged that they were retaliating for a spate of terror attacks against Israeli civilians.[73] Hirsch Goodman, analyst for the Jaffa Center for Strategic Studies, said, "The message is that we are at war, we are going to hurt targets that are painful to the president [Arafat], but will not cause international empathy and sympathy. We are going to avoid hitting civilians. We are going to concentrate on you and your forces."[74] In December 2001, Ariel Sharon said, "We will pursue those responsible, the perpetrators of terrorism, its supporters and those who send them. We will pursue them until we catch them, and they will pay the price."[75] If selective assassinations do not deter terrorists, they do constitute, in the opinion of the IDF, an effective form of punishment.

The Israelis have applied force with the objective of coercing Arafat to denounce the terrorist attacks and take concrete steps to stop them. In December 2001, Israel tried to coerce Arafat through air strikes into cracking down on the planners and perpetrators of the suicide bombings.[76] Of this same episode, Brig Gen Ron Kitrey, an Israeli army spokesman, said, "Friends, we've had enough, take responsibility that you have and stop the terrorism."[77] Shimon Peres, the Israeli foreign minister in 2001, said, "Arafat must . . . arrest the troublemakers of the Palestinians, and . . . arrest them seriously and try to prevent further acts of violence and terror."[78] While not speaking for the IDF, Ehud Sprinzak, professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, outlines the Israeli coercive attempts by saying,

> The actual weakness of the suicide bombers is that they are nothing more than the instruments of terrorist leaders who expect their organisations to gain tangible benefits from this shocking tactic. The key to countering suicide bombers, therefore, is to make the terrorist organisations aware that their decisions will incur painful costs. . . . The Achilles heel of suicide terrorists is that they are part of a large operational infrastructure. It may not be possible to profile and apprehend would-be suicide bombers, but once it has been established that an organisation has resolved to use this kind of terrorism, security forces can strike against commanders who recruit and train the assailants and then plan the attacks.[79]

How Airpower Is Employed

As was the case in Lebanon, the IDF has employed airpower during the current intifada in multiple ways. The analysis centers on the phase of operation employed by the IDF since September 2000 and examines airpower's role as a significant force multiplier.

During the first phase of operations, containment, and isolation (beginning in September 2000), airpower was used in a denial campaign to attrit the PA and the different terrorist organizations' ability to wage war against Israel while seeking to minimize the IDF's risks and losses.[80] The Israeli response to the December 2001 terror bombings provides another example of this airpower tactic. Following a killing spree that left 26 Israelis dead and 200 injured over an early December weekend, the IDF responded with a punishing assault on the infrastructure and assets that enabled the Palestinians to launch attacks.[81] The IDF used a combination of helicopters, F-16s, and F-15Is (the Israeli export version of the F-15E) to attack multiple

PA security targets in the West Bank—killing two PA members and injuring over 100 Palestinians.[82]

The IDF's use of targeted assassinations (Israel calls them "targeted self-defense") can be used either to attrit fielded forces or to kill senior leaders. In the former case, this is a denial strategy, and in the latter, it is decapitation. Assassinations also served as a statement to the PA: "If you won't arrest those that wage war against us, we will eliminate them." This method of engaging the enemy was quite successful during the long occupation of Lebanon. For example, the IDF used a gunship in 1992 to assassinate Hezbollah's secretary-general, Sheikh Abbas Musawi, as he drove his vehicle in Lebanon. The Apache, firing Hellfire missiles, has been the weapon of choice for assassinators during the current intifada.[83] From October 2000 to December 2001, the IDF used Apaches to assassinate over 60 Palestinian militants.[84] Many more assassinations have occurred since December 2001. One noteworthy example is the assassination of Sheik Salah Shahada on 22 July 2002.[85] Through intelligence, the Israelis knew that Shahada was a key leader in Hamas. According to the IDF spokesperson's unit, "Shehade's high-level involvement with Hamas included: controlling some of the most wanted Hamas terrorists, instigating the strategy of terrorism as directed against Israel, and significantly improving Hamas' military capabilities."[86] One accurately placed Mk-84 2,000-pound bomb delivered by an IDF F-16 put an end to Sheikh Shehade's terrorist involvement.[87]

Acting alone, airpower has been remarkably flexible and, in some ways, quite efficient at denying terrorist sanctuary following attacks. This is due to the integration of the UAVs as target sensors and attack helicopters for target destruction. Their achievements have been significant, especially in light of the difficult urban environments in which they work.[88]

During the engagement phase (beginning in August 2001), Israeli airpower supported aggressive ground operations into the Occupied Territories. These operations are also part of a denial strategy to engage and attrit Palestinian forces. One example of this, Operation Defensive Shield, was launched into the West Bank by the IDF on 29 March 2002. Defensive Shield was designed to engage and destroy terrorists, their support network, and equipment. In the refugee camp of Jenin, inhabited by over 13,000 Palestinians, fighting was intense. During one phase of the battle, hundreds of Palestinian gunmen were herded into buildings through the combined use of the IDF ground forces and helicopters.[89] During this operation, 1,600 Palestinians were detained, of which 84 were known terrorists, and significant amounts of arms were seized.[90] During the infamous standoff at the Church of Nativity in April, an IDF small surveillance balloon orbited overhead, providing live aerial reconnaissance for the surrounding IDF ground forces.[91] The price Israel paid during Defensive Shield was 29 killed and 127 wounded.[92]

In June 2002, the IDF launched Operation Determined Path to destroy the terrorists' support structure in the West Bank. Determined Path was a ground operation that consisted of massive house-by-house sweeps with

airpower playing a major supporting role.[93] The UAVs were used extensively in support of ground forces.[94]

During the entirety of the second intifada, the IDF has applied pressure on Arafat. This was exemplified in early December 2001 when the IAF used air-delivered ordnance placed exceedingly close to Arafat to try and force him to crack down on the militants. These same attacks targeted four of Arafat's security-apparatus buildings (the Tanzim militia and Force 17).[95] Also, an F-16 smashed Arafat's headquarters building in Jenin.[96] At the same time, two of Arafat's helicopters in Gaza were destroyed because, as Gen Ron Kitrey, the Israeli military spokesman, said, "They were symbols of his mobility and freedom."[97] Cordesman summarized these attacks by saying, "During the first two weeks of December 2001, Israeli forces fired missiles on the headquarters of the Palestinian Military Intelligence in the West Bank town of Safit and attacked police stations in Jenin, as part of the trend to attack the Palestinian Authority, its governing body, and its infrastructure. Israel linked its attacks on the infrastructure of the Palestinian Authority to Arafat's lack of force in regulating terrorism."[98] Airpower clearly delivered a message. These actions showed that Israeli airpower had the capability of making life exceedingly difficult for Arafat.[99]

Were the Objectives Achieved?

In December 2001, Ariel Sharon said, "This will not be a short problem and will not be easy, but we will win."[100] This statement is significant because it suggests that Israel's fight against the second intifada is still ongoing. Thus, any conclusions are tentative. However, I will provide a current analysis to note that airpower has been a tool normally used in a combined arms approach. As such, the issue of objective attainment will be considered from the combined operations perspective.

Looking at the objective of deterrence and preventing future attacks, it is apparent the Israelis have been able to curb, but not stop, incidents of terrorism. In an interview released in August 2002, Maj Gen Amos Gilad, Israel's coordinator of government activities in the Palestinian territories, said the IDF operations had prevented terrorist attacks. He argued, "The plain fact is that since the Israel Defense Force reentered [PA territories] the level of terror has dropped significantly. As regrettable as the situation is, there is a big difference between one terrorist activity every few days, which is of course unacceptable, and three terror attacks per day."[101] A look at Defensive Shield seems to support his assessment. Israeli intelligence officials admitted that they felt Defensive Shield had either killed or captured 98 percent (70 men) of the known Hamas military activists in the West Bank.[102] Further, the IDF operations have created significant friction for the different terrorist groups in the occupied areas. The inability to move freely and the attrition on manpower have made an impact.[103]

Selective assassinations also show that, given good intelligence, potential terrorist events can be stopped. The assassination of one Hamas commander

is a case in point. On 17 July 2001, the IDF dispatched two gunships that assassinated this commander, using missiles, as he sat in the backyard of his family's home in Bethlehem. According to the IDF, "Omar Saada, aged 45, was assassinated to thwart a major bomb attack inside the Jewish state."[104]

Both sides in this struggle are able to achieve a degree of punishment and retaliation. At times it seems as though this is what this conflict is all about. The Palestinians retaliate to some Israeli actions, among many options, by sending a terror bomber on a suicide mission. In response, the IDF retaliates against the Palestinians. In the cases where the IDF is not able to selectively assassinate terrorists or their leaders before their attacks, airpower tied with intelligence appears to be an excellent method of punishing those involved afterwards. Numerous examples of this exist. Cordesman brings to light one of these. He says, "On 13 February 2001, two Israeli helicopter gunships dropped four missiles on the car of Massoud Ayyad, whom Israel held responsible for a failed mortar-bomb attack on a Jewish settlement in Gaza." Then-caretaker-prime minister Ehud Barak declared that "the killing sent the message to those who would attack Israel that 'the long arm of the Israeli Defense Force will reach them.' "[105]

It appears that the Israelis have had little success in coercing Yassar Arafat to honestly denounce terrorism and to crack down on the terrorists. Following the much-discussed December 2001 attacks on Arafat's PA infrastructure, Arafat declared a state of emergency in the Palestinian areas and made overtures at confiscating illegal weapons, but these moves seemed to be designed to placate the Israelis. His lack of seriousness, according to an Israeli military official, is evidenced by Arafat's arrest of "very few, if any" of the 108 Palestinian names that the IDF forwarded to the PA.[106] President Bush acknowledged this lack of seriousness as well. Ari Fleischer, the president's press secretary, said, "President Bush thinks it very important that the Palestinian jails not only have bars on front, but no longer have revolving doors at the back."[107]

From the larger perspective, Israel has been able to limit but not stop Palestinian terrorism. Stopping terrorism, one would hope, would be the ultimate objective. In a sobering prediction, as paraphrased by Daniel Sobelman, General Gilad said that "the current state of affairs regarding the Palestinians could last for another decade."[108] If this prediction is true, it appears that the bloodletting will continue for quite some time.

Lessons Learned

According to the Alan J. Vick and others in the RAND study, *Aerospace Operations in Urban Environments*, American air planners should take note of the Israeli experiences in the occupied territories. Airmen have the penchant for thinking of "going higher, faster, [and] farther." Vick and others suggest that Airmen may also need to think more about going "lower, slower and closer" to meet the needs of future combat operations in urban areas.[109] According to RAND, conflict in urban areas will increase, not decrease. RAND predicts that the growth of urbanization will make urban areas more

often part of the battlefield. While they admit that not all urban operations will involve combat, they believe the possibility exists.[110] However, "Where urban operations cannot be avoided, aerospace forces can make important contributions to the joint team, detecting adversary forces in the open; attacking those forces in a variety of settings; and providing close support, navigation and communications infrastructure, and resupply for friendly ground forces."[111] As this chapter has shown, during the second intifada, the IDF airpower has performed most, if not all, of these functions remarkably well. However, their performance has not been flawless.

Regarding coercion, however, one question must be asked: Why, as a quasi-state sponsor of terrorism, does coercion appear not to work on Yassar Arafat as it did against Gadhafi? The IDF has systematically targeted and destroyed items held dear to Arafat and the PA. The biggest reason for this is that Arafat, while the popular leader of the Palestinians, recognizes his own tenuous position. First, Arafat is not the leader of a recognized state—though through the Oslo Accords the Palestinians came close to achieving this. With this, Arafat's hold on power is not yet complete. Second, Arafat is a secular leader. Throughout the Middle East, Muslim extremists are exerting pressure on these secular leaders. The Occupied Territories are no exception. Table 2 of this chapter shows the extremist groups not aligned with Arafat. Even those groups aligned with Arafat could easily break away. Thus, Arafat's walk to power in a future Palestine is like that of a tightrope walker in the circus. If Arafat gets tough on terrorism, he faces the risk of internal revolt. If he appears soft on terrorism, he faces punishing Israeli coercion attacks.[112] Cordesman also notes, "As in the past, Arafat seemed to pursue a tactic of launching as little of a 'crackdown' on terrorism as politically necessary to help restore his international credibility, while maintaining his popular support among the Palestinian people."[113] For example, riots ensued when Arafat tried to place Sheik Ahmed Yassin, a Hamas cleric leader, under house arrest.[114]

Military power alone is incapable of solving this Palestinian uprising. There is a tremendous need for statecraft here. Joshua Sinai wrote in May 2002,

> [Israel's] . . . combating-terrorism campaign is at its weakest point [in the occupied territories] because of the reliance on primarily military means to contain the al Aqsa [second] intifada in the absence of a consensus-based political/military mission area analysis (MAA) that links tactical actions on the ground to the attainment of the overall strategic objectives of using the most appropriate mix of coercive and conciliatory measures to resolving the Palestinian uprising once and for all. Such a consensus–based MAA would have the capability of determining the country's future boundaries, the status of East Jerusalem and its outlying Jewish suburbs, and the fate of the Jewish settlers in the territories [where Israelis] have become increasingly threatened by [escalating] Palestinian violence.[115]

No matter how hard the IDF deters, threatens, punishes, or coerces the Palestinians, events show that the terror attacks *cannot be stopped altogether.* Even with the success of Defensive Shield (since its completion on 17 April 2002), as of July 2002 there were over 60 major terrorism attacks, resulting in 64 deaths in Israel.[116] After Defensive Shield, an Israeli military commander was quoted as saying, "In the long term, the Palestinian

terror organizations will succeed in rebuilding their capabilities and resume attacks against Israeli targets."[117]

Another lesson, also seen in Operation El Dorado Canyon, is that when employing offensive airpower, collateral damage is often unavoidable. The previously discussed assassination of Salah Shehade serves as an example of this. What was not discussed was that 14 others were killed during the assassination and among them nine children.[118] In July 2002, James Reynolds reported, "First off, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon called it a great success. At last Israel's most wanted man could be crossed off the list for good. But now, the mood has changed. Triumphalism has gone, replaced by a series of simple questions. Did Israeli leaders know they were going to bomb a crowded civilian area? If yes, then why did they go ahead with the attack? If no, then why did intelligence fail them?"[119] Yossi Sarid, leader of the liberal opposition party, said, "If you send an F-16 to a very heavily crowded city with a one-ton bomb you have to estimate from the very beginning that innocent people will be killed. So it was a very, very grave mistake of the Israeli Government." Other examples of collateral damage exist. In December 2001, a missile fired at a PA security installation killed a 15-year-old boy while reportedly injuring hundreds, many of them school children running for cover.[120] As Cordesman notes, "UAV sensors, radars and other devices can help [with intelligence]. . . . [These sensors alone] cannot eliminate the risk of civilian casualties and collateral damage. Targets do not remain fixed in war. Threats change location, and so do innocent civilians."[121]

American policy makers, as was seen in the previous two chapters, also have an aversion to collateral damage.[122] This observation brings to light the need for an air-delivered, low-yield weapon. RAND points out that "the vast majority of USAF weapons are unsuitable when the situation requires that lethal effects be limited to a room or other small area."[123] RAND indicated that in 2000 only three weapons in the USAF inventory "fit into the room-sized category," but each has limitations.[124] In the meantime, the USAF used RQ-1 Predator UAVs combined with Hellfire missiles that have a 20-pound warhead.[125] While this combination is lethal, Cable News Network (CNN) reports that "nearly 30 Predators of 60 to 70 in the fleet have been lost since the plane entered service in 1994, according to an Air Force official."[126] Thus, the number of available Predators as well as their survivability appears to be an issue.

As expected, the public relations battle has been an issue for both the Israelis and the Palestinians. Ariel Sharon quickly likened the war against Palestinian terrorism to America's post-9/11 war on terrorism. Sharon said, "President George Bush is acting against terrorism. We will act the same way."[127] Sensing his ability to play the underdog, Arafat claimed early on that Sharon was trying to undermine his capability to control terrorism: "They (the Israelis) don't want me to succeed and for this he (Sharon) is escalating his military activities against our people, against our towns, against our cities, against our establishments. He doesn't want a peace process to start."[128] Cordesman feels that, as far as world opinion goes, Arafat is playing the winning hand.[129] This comes as no surprise. Looking back to Leba-

non, elements of the press, human rights watchers and, in some cases, the United Nations (UN) overlooked clear violations of crimes by the Palestinians. Examples include placing antiaircraft gunnery emplacements on top of apartment buildings and launching artillery strikes near populated areas anticipating an IDF counterbattery response with subsequent civilian casualties.[130] The Palestinians use many of these tactics today. The world demands the IDF conduct itself under the recognized conventions of international law while at the same time turning a blind eye to the actions of the Palestinians. In short, this is a recognized double standard.[131]

This uphill public relations battle faced by Israel can be seen at the UN. Just as it did during Peace for Galilee, the UN has staunchly criticized Israeli operations despite the Israeli UN ambassador's legitimate request to address the Palestinian terrorism tactics.[132]

During the early phase of the second intifada, a high number of Israelis still supported the peace process. In January 2001, over 60 percent of Israelis still supported reconciliation with the Palestinians. This came due to the realization that there was no alternative to a peaceful coexistence between the two peoples and that a return to the peace process with Arafat remained the only reasonable option.[133] However, since this poll, growing numbers of Israelis are developing anti-Palestinian feelings.[134]

The impact on IDF morale does not appear to have taken the negative course that it did in Lebanon. However, some manifestations of negative morale have occurred. In May 2002, over 350 IDF reservists refused to serve in the occupied territories.[135] However, morale problems are limited, primarily due to the recognition of the seriousness of the situation and that these sacrifices are not being made for naught.[189] Cordesman says, "The second intifada . . . is far more clearly a 'war' than the first Intifada. . . . While duty may not be popular, it seems to be perceived as necessary and justified. If anything, the second intifada seems to be a struggle where many in the IDF favor escalation and the use of decisive force, not one where there is much sympathy for the Palestinians."[137]

When struck, Israel feels compelled to respond with force for at least two reasons. First, from a geopolitical perspective, Israel feels that its Arab neighbors would see a lack of response to a provocation as a sign of weakness. Israel feels that, in the Middle East, a show of weakness or resolve is tantamount to committing suicide. Second, the most important function of any government is to provide for the security of its people. With this, for domestic purposes, Israel also must retaliate in kind. For these reasons, as long as the Palestinians resort to violence to further their agenda, the United States can expect Israel to reply to the challenges by way of the IDF.

In conclusion, the sense of helplessness, escalation, and deepening hatred between the Palestinians and Israelis is not comforting. This development is far from a localized affair. It serves as fodder for the likes of bin Laden who use this dichotomy as a tool to fan hatred, garner support, and spread fear, death, and destruction around the world. Saddam Hussein tried to drive a wedge between the coalition aligned against him during the

Gulf War by launching scud missiles into Israel. The 11 February 2003 bin Laden message aired around the world again played on Arab sensitivities to this issue by claiming that an American-sponsored government in Iraq would bow down to Israel. Bin Laden used this, among other points, to encourage Muslims around the world to launch suicide attacks against anything associated with America. As long as this wound festers, true peace is unlikely to be seen in the region or the world.

Notes

1. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 10.
2. Van Creveld, *Sword and the Olive*, 341.
3. Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 398.
4. Ibid., 537.
5. Nordeen, *Air Warfare in the Missile Age,* 99; and Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 400.
6. Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 401.
7. Ibid., 404; and van Creveld, *Sword and the Olive*, 289.
8. Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 404.
9. Van Creveld, *Sword and the Olive,* 291.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 404.
14. Van Creveld, *Sword and the Olive*, 295.
15. Ibid.; and Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 404.
16. Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 404.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 407.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., 405.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., 408.
24. Corum and Johnson detail PLO activities and how Western observers overlooked them. For example, they say, "In numerous cases clear violations of international law on the part of the PLO were ignored or explained away by [an] international commission. For example, the commission criticized Israel for bombing an antiaircraft gun mounted on the roof of an apartment building. When the IAF bombed the gun, as many as 20 civilians were killed. Although international law allows for the bombing of clearly military equipment such as antiaircraft guns, the commission nevertheless condemned the Israelis because antiaircraft guns were 'completely ineffective against the Israeli Air Force.' The last statement is especially absurd as the IAF lost several aircraft to ground fire during the campaign." See Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 409.
25. Van Creveld, *Sword and the Olive*, 298.
26. Ibid., 299.
27. Ibid., 298.
28. Ibid., 299.
29. Ibid. Note that support for Peace for Galilee began to dwindle before the revelation of the Sabra-Shatilla massacre.
30. Ibid., 303.
31. Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 410. For an Arabic interpretation of Hezbollah, see van Creveld, *Sword and the Olive*, 303.

32. Van Creveld, *Sword and the Olive*, 304.
33. Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 412.
34. Van Creveld, *Sword and the Olive*, 305.
35. Ibid., 306.
36. Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 413.
37. Ibid., 415.
38. Ibid., 414.
39. Ibid., 411–12.
40. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 162.
41. Ibid., 63.
42. Ibid., 173.
43. Ibid., 162, 176.
44. Van Creveld, *Sword and the Olive*, 340.
45. Ibid., 342.
46. Ibid., 343.
47. Ibid., 346.
48. Ibid.
49. IDF commanders, responsible for the conduct of their men, found themselves increasingly on the defensive. Of those serving in the Occupied Territories between 1987 and 1994, as many as three IDF members were investigated or sent to trial for their actions. At one point, 70 percent of the officers serving in the Palestinian areas faced judicial proceeding in which they had to defend themselves. A 1995 survey shows the impact on the IDF troops serving in the Occupied Territories. An alarming 72 percent indicated that serving in the Occupied Territories was highly demoralizing. Further, nearly half (46 percent) observed "inappropriate behavior" towards Palestinian civilians. Remembering that Israel has a mandatory conscription policy, the impact that these sentiments had was significant. Stated the report, "According to the chief of [IDF] manpower, 40 percent of those whose age and military background qualify them for reserve service do not even appear on the lists. Another 30 percent have succeeded in evading service by various means, so that only 30 percent actually serve. Finally, among those who were called up, only about 50 percent bother to report. As of late 1996, [IDF] Chief of Staff Shachak described their morale as 'critical.'" See van Creveld, *Sword and the Olive*, 349–51.
50. Ibid., 348.
51. Ibid.
52. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 4.
53. Cordesman discusses the dramatic increase in Israeli settlement growth in the West Bank from 1967 to the late 1990s. Between 1993 and 2000 alone, a "72 percent growth in the settler population" occurred in the West Bank. On top of the settlements, Jerusalem naturally expanded its borders. Questions such as What portion of the growth was Jewish or Palestinian proved vexing. See ibid., 178.
54. Ibid., 1.
55. Ibid., 65.
56. Ibid., 66.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., 68.
59. Ibid., 81.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid., 187
62. Eshel, "Shaping Palestinian Security," 25.
63. Blanche, "Israel Faces War of Attrition," 45.
64. Ibid., 24.
65. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 81.
66. Ibid., 66.
67. Ibid., 15.

68. Asser, "Israel's Struggle for Security."
69. Ibid.
70. Sinai, "Intifada Drives Both Sides," 34.
71. Krauthammer, "In Defense of 'Assassination,'" 32.
72. Sinai, "Aggressive Measures," 84.
73. "Beyond the Brink."
74. Ibid.
75. "Israeli Strikes West Bank, Gaza."
76. Hazboun, "Israel Unleashes Airstrikes."
77. Ibid.
78. Ibrahim Barzak and Mark Lavie, "Israel's Sharon Declares 'War on Terror.'"
79. Eshel, "Israel Reviews Profile," 21.
80. According to Cordesman, "During October 2000, Israel made its first extensive use of attack helicopters to strike targets in the Gaza strip—and the West Bank. AH-64A Apaches were used to hit targets in Nablus and in Gaza, including Chairman Arafat's compound. The AH-64 was used instead of the AH-1G/S Cobra because of its superior range, sensors, and weapons, and ability to better distinguish between civilians and 'combatants.'" See Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 67.
81. Philps, "Israeli Air Strikes."
82. "IAF Launches Massive Airstrikes."
83. Blanche, "Israel Uses Intifada Informers," 23.
84. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 67.
85. Eshel, "Israel Refines," 22.
86. "Shalah Shehade—Portrait of a Hamas Leader."
87. Reynolds, "Israel Reassesses Gaza Attack."
88. David Eshel reported, "Recent Israeli television footage showed film from a UAV cruising over a Gaza suburb at night. The footage revealed a heat source, indicating the launch of a rocket from a grove of trees. Moments later, a motorcycle was seen leaving the grove and joining the local highway to make a getaway. The rider then entered a house that exploded seconds later, hit by an air-launched missile guided to its target by the UAV controller. Such use of the UAVs has become central to IDF operations in the West Bank and Gaza strip, and they are mainly used to track suspected gunmen and terrorist leaders." See Eshel, "Israel Hones Intelligence Operations," 25.
89. "Israel Makes Partial Withdrawal."
90. The raid netted over "1,300 assault rifles, 387 sniper rifles, 49 antitank grenades, 256 machine guns, 58 bombs and 65 pounds of explosives. The IDF also found 11 explosive labs." Ibid.
91. Eshel, "Israel Refines its Pre-Emptive Approach," 25.
92. "Statistics on Operation Defensive Shield."
93. Eshel, "Israel Refines its Pre-Emptive Approach," 20.
94. Eshel says, "In these operations, the IDF used new tactics, including newly introduced close-range Unmanned Air Vehicles (UAV) used at brigade and even battalion level for target acquisition missions. Direct links between troops and UAV-mounted TV and video systems were used to pin-point individual suspects, thus completing and updating the ISA [Internal Security Agency who was conducting the searches] information given at pre-mission briefings with real-time intelligence." Ibid., 21.
95. Hazboun, "Israel Unleashes Airstrikes."
96. O'Sullivan, "IAF Hits Arafat's Helicopters."
97. Barzak and Lavie, "Israel's Sharon Declares 'War on Terror.'"
98. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 77.
99. Philps, "Israeli Air Strikes."
100. Deans, "U.S. Careful in Distinctions."
101. Daniel Sobelman, "Interview: Major General Amos Gilad," 56.
102. Rees et al., "Hard Times for Hamas," 16.

103. According to *Time,*

> With the Israeli army still in or around every West Bank town, it's no longer possible for cells to organize across different areas. They have to form and operate locally, which strains human resources. And with the crackdowns having removed so many leaders of the Izzedine al-Qassam military wing, political leaders who were not previously involved in terror attacks have been forced to fill the gap. . . . The blows against Hamas have prompted a debate in its ranks. Many of its activists are urging a temporary halt to terror attacks, fearing the group could be wiped out as a political as well as a military force.

Ibid. Also, in total, Defensive Shield raids into the West Bank netted 1,800 wanted criminals as compared to a total of only 900 arrested in all of 2001. See Mohammed Najib, "Israel Takes Over West Bank Security," 3. In July 2002, Defense Minister Binyamin Ben-Elievzer claimed that the intelligence gathered during Defensive Shield "helped thwart 86% of attempted bombings." See Rees, "Terror That Will Not Quit," 22.

104. Goldberg, "Classwar."

105. Ibid., 68.

106. Barzak and Lavie, "Israel's Sharon Declares 'War on Terror.'"

107. Philps, "Israeli Air Strikes." Also, Maj Gen Amos Gilad, Israel's coordinator of government activities in the Palestinian territories, also acknowledges the limited effect coercion has had on Arafat. He said, "Arafat has generated the preconditions for the outbreak of the current terror, supplying the background and circumstances for the suicide campaign . . . beginning with his release of jailed murderers, never having prosecuted a single terrorist, and those murderers who were brought to court were only charged with acts committed against Palestinian security. Suicide bombers received outright encouragement, financial backing, including cash support to their families to set up mourning tents to receive well-wishers and the distribution of printed posters honouring their 'martyred' relative. All this is part of the assembly line in industry of murder and its glorification." See Sobelman, "Interview: Major General Amos Gilad," 56.

108. Sobelman, "Interview: Major General Amos Gilad," 56.

109. Vick et al., *Aerospace Operations in Urban Environments*, xx.

110. Ibid., 199.

111. Ibid., 200.

112. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 78.

113. Ibid.

114. Cordesman says "1,000 Palestinians responded by marching to Yassin's home 'denouncing the Palestinian Authority as collaborators' and supporting Yassin with pro-Hamas statements. One of Yassin's personal guards was killed in a gun battle between Hamas gunmen and security officers, and Yassin, in the midst of the fighting, was able to escape with the assistance of Hamas members. After spending the night in hiding, Yassin was able to return home the next morning and Palestinian security forces were nowhere to be found. As groups like Hamas gained clout amongst the Palestinian people, the positions of Palestinian security forces have weakened in terms of their ability to arrest Palestinian terrorists when Arafat issues 'crackdowns.'" Ibid.

115. Sinai, "Aggressive Measures," 85.

116. Rees, "Terror That Will Not Quit," 22; for ending date of Operation Defensive Shield, see "Statistics on Operation 'Defensive Shield.'"

117. Najib, "Israel Takes Over West Bank Security," 3.

118. Asser, "Israel's Struggle for Security."

119. Reynolds, "Israel Reassesses Gaza Attack."

120. Wahdan, "Israel Strikes Hit Arafat Compound."

121. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 170.

122. Vick et al., *Aerospace Operations in Urban Environments,* 55–56.

123. Ibid., 111.

124. Ibid., 111–13, 187. Vick noted that "one of them, the Low-Cost Autonomous Attack System (LOCAAS) [that employs a 10-pound warhead], is not yet in production. Another, 40mm gun rounds from AC-130s, may not be available for many scenarios because of survivability concerns. The third, 30mm gun rounds from an A-10, may be difficult to deliver at steep angles and in small enough numbers to limit damage to a single room. In addition, the A-10 shares many of the survivability problems of the AC-130 when operating at optimal altitudes and airspeeds over urban terrain." To fill the void, Vick and others suggest using training weapons that do not contain explosive warheads; however, they do advocate developing "highly discriminating weapons whose effects can be tailored to meet the unique needs of each situation." See ibid.

125. For size of the Hellfire missile warhead, see Vick et al., *Aerospace Operations in Urban Environments*, 112. For status of the RQ-1 Predator Drone, see Thomas J. Cassidy's statement.

126. Mount, "U.S. Loses Many Military Drones."

127. Deans, "U.S. Careful in Distinctions."

128. Wahdan, "Israel Strikes Hit Arafat Compound."

129. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 87. Cordesman says,

> In general, however, one irony of asymmetric warfare is that the side that suffers most, or appears weakest, that tends to have the "edge" in the battle of perceptions and the struggle for outside political support. Furthermore, the Palestinians have the advantage that far more of the world opposes Israeli settlements, and the Israeli presence in the West Bank and Gaza, than supports it.
>
> Television imagery tends to favor the Palestinians. Occasional coverage of suicide bombings favors Israel but the fighting between well-equipped Israeli soldiers and Palestinian civilians using sniping, rock throwing, and small arms, is a political and media battle in which the IDF can only use decisive force at the cost of media images of Palestinian suffering. . . . As a result, Palestinian "martyrs" become political weapons that can be as effective in their own way as Israeli heavy weapons.

130. Corum and Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars*, 408.

131. Ibid., 406.

132. Barzak and Lavie, "Israel's Sharon Declares 'War on Terror.'"

133. Eshel, "Barak Stares," 5.

134. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 161. Cordesman writes,

> Israeli public opinion polls issued in June 2001, found that only 30% of Israelis still believed in the peace process, and 70% believed another war was likely. Some 72% of Israelis said they had more negative views of Palestinians as a result of the Second Intifada versus 53% who said the same thing about the First Intifada in 1988. For some Israelis, these feelings are an incentive to commit acts of violence. There is a small growing minority that feels that all Palestinians should be expelled from Israel, that far more violent action should be taken to deter Palestinian violence, and that private acts of violence against the Palestinians are justified.
>
> On the far right, Israel's tourism minister, Rehavam Zeevi—who was assassinated by the PFLP on October 17, 2001—referred to the estimated 180,000 Palestinians working and living illegally in Israel as "lice," and stated that, "They arrived here and are trying to become citizens because they want social security and welfare payments. We should get rid of the ones who are not Israeli citizens the same way you get rid of lice. We have to stop this cancer from spreading within us." While Ze'evi was on the margin of Sharon's center-left coalition, he is scarcely alone.

135. Sinai, "Aggressive Measures," 85.

136. Cordesman, "Israel versus the Palestinians," 144.

137. Ibid.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

We will meet that threat now with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard, and Marines, so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities.

—Pres. George W. Bush

American airpower has come a long way since the 1st Aero Squadron's foray into the badlands of Mexico in search of Pancho Villa. Consider for a moment the first sortie into enemy territory flown by Lt Edgar S. Gorrell. Forced to take off from New Mexico late in the day, Gorrell and the rest of the American formation saw nightfall descend on their JN-3 Jennys. In the darkness, Gorrell lost sight of the formation and was soon flying alone. To make matters worse, Gorrell had never flown at night (thus, had never landed at night, either), and his engine began to overheat. As Gary Glynn describes it, "Finally, hopelessly lost, . . . the young pilot brought the crippled plane in for a rough but successful landing by moonlight. Gorrell knew that he was deep within enemy territory—territory occupied by the mounted and heavily armed followers of . . . 'Pancho' Villa. He drew his .45-caliber pistol, abandoned his plane and fled into the darkness."[1]

In contrast, airpower today is an invaluable tool in the fight of our time—the war on terrorism. The RAND Corporation says, "The speed and agility of aerospace power, combined with its ability to deliver firepower precisely and with minimized risk to U.S. personnel across the spectrum of the conflict, often make it the military instrument of choice for decision makers."[2] Furthermore, it appears that the war on terrorism will go on for quite some time; some say the fight will go on for decades, if not indefinitely. These two facts wed airpower and terrorism for the foreseeable future.

The Cases in Review

As the case studies in this work demonstrate, airpower has been used at different times and in different ways by many nations to combat terrorism. Though this work addressed three specific cases, many more exist. The first case addressed was President Reagan's decision to launch airpower as a retaliatory and, hopefully, deterrent strike against past and future Libyan-sponsored terrorism. Operation El Dorado Canyon showed what American airpower was capable of doing—flying from aircraft carriers and distant airfields and precisely engaging enemy targets with minimal loss of friendly forces.

As a state sponsorer of terrorism, Libya offered American planners multiple lucrative targets. This is a significant lesson learned. State-sponsors of terrorism are vulnerable to coercive attacks designed to change their

behavior. In Gadhafi's case, he was quite active in his support and participation in international terrorism. Terrorism offered him a way to strike at his enemies while maintaining a thin veil of innocence to keep him one step ahead of retribution. Once President Reagan had irrefutable proof that Gadhafi was responsible for the Berlin disco bombing, the veil of innocence was removed. Libya, as a state, offered multiple targets that were valuable to Gadhafi. Command and control facilities, terrorist training facilities, and Gadhafi's newest fighter aircraft were struck. Having been struck once—and struck hard—Gadhafi came to realize that his prize assets, his reputation, and perhaps his position of power were in jeopardy.

Also, the international or third-party impact that El Dorado Canyon had was significant. First, it forced our allies to assess their position on terrorism. Margaret Thatcher had the courage to stand by America's side—reinforcing a strong bond of support between our two nations that can be seen today. Libyan diplomats in Europe with ties to terrorism were expelled. Significantly, the air strikes forced the USSR, Libya's supporter, to distance herself from Gadhafi. One of the main reasons that other European nations such as France and Germany did not stand with America was a fear of retribution attacks. These attacks never materialized. Also, the fear that Gadhafi would be made a hero in the Arab world was unfounded. Most Arab nations felt that Gadhafi had brought the retribution upon himself and that he deserved it. Rather than side with Gadhafi, leaders quietly expressed their support for America through back channels. Further, Arab masses did not take to the streets in significant numbers.

Thus, it appears that America reacted for the right reasons with an appropriate response. American airpower delivered a well-orchestrated, punishing blow to Gadhafi. President Reagan showed Gadhafi that under his watch he would not tolerate Gadhafi's actions. President Reagan's response reassured America that a rogue tyrant would not bully our nation. Two Airmen lost their lives, but America recognized that stopping Gadhafi was worth the loss of life.

The second case study, Operation Infinite Reach, was the American response under Pres. Bill Clinton to the continued al-Qaeda attacks culminating with the 1998 embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. As with the case of Libya, America had been subjected to a series of damaging terrorist attacks, this time under the direction of Osama bin Laden. Again, America had a smoking gun directly linking the crime to the perpetrators. However, this is where the similarities between the two cases end.

While effective at hitting their targets, the hundreds of millions of dollars of cruise missiles fired into Afghanistan and Sudan had little impact. In Afghanistan, one primitive terrorist training facility was struck. This attack destroyed several mud huts and killed a handful of low-level terrorists. In Sudan, a pharmaceutical plant alleged to have been making chemical weapons was leveled, but the debate as to its legitimacy as a target continues today. This was a pinprick to al-Qaeda and was received by them as a most welcomed response. They had directly engaged America by simultaneously

bombing two of our embassies and killing hundreds of innocent civilians, many of whom were American citizens or employees. This was bin Laden's public announcement to the world, to use fighter pilot vernacular, "Fight's on." In response to this naked aggression, Infinite Reach responded with a single volley of unmanned cruise missiles at inconsequential targets. Our actions made us look weak.

Key differences emerge between Gadhafi and bin Laden. Gadhafi was a leader of a recognized state. Second, as was previously noted, Gadhafi could be coerced—his assets, his reputation, and perhaps his life could and would be targeted. Maintaining his position as the leader of Libya was more important than his open support for terrorism. In contrast, the weak US response did not threaten bin Laden. It is implausible to think that one air strike against inconsequential targets could coerce bin Laden to suddenly stop his publicly stated war on America. Terrorism is bin Laden's most effective tool in his war against America. Bin Laden openly embraces terrorism, calling it a religious duty. Terrorism allows him to asymmetrically engage the world's only superpower, thereby making it look weak. Also, the few mud huts destroyed were unimportant to bin Laden. Trading a few such targets for the ability to make America look impotent was a resounding public relations victory.

Two different courses of action (COA) would have provided a more appropriate response to al-Qaeda. First, persistent and comprehensive air operations directed at all known al-Qaeda facilities in Afghanistan, to include assassination attempts on bin Laden and his deputies, could have killed more al-Qaeda members. This would have reduced their training output, introduced friction into their daily operations, and may have coerced the Taliban into reigning in or expelling bin Laden. Regardless, persistent air attacks would have denied al-Qaeda the free operating environment they enjoyed from 1998 until October 2001. This first COA would have needed to be executed by manned aircraft as well as cruise missiles.

The second COA we could have pursued was a joint airpower and special operations ground attack aimed to capture and kill al-Qaeda members. Prisoners could have provided a trove of intelligence used to thwart future operations. These COAs clearly would have put more American lives at risk as well as presenting other problems (i.e., crossing Pakistani airspace to get to Afghanistan, etc.). These counterarguments won out, and the cruise missile response was selected. If the United States had done more, 9/11 may not have occurred.

Thus, a significant lesson learned from Infinite Reach is that traditional terrorists offer little with which to coerce them. Military power is a necessary tool, but rather than being used to threaten and intimidate, the best response is to hunt them down, dismantle their support structures, and introduce friction into their daily operations. In most cases, this will require the combined use of air and land power (as seen in the Israeli discussion and our current operations in Afghanistan and Iraq). Further, diplomatic efforts need to be

used to isolate the terrorists and their cause while police and intelligence assets interact with the military to find, arrest, or eliminate the terrorists.

The final case study looked at the Israeli use of airpower against the Palestinians in the current intifada. Unlike the prior cases studied, the IDF's use of airpower is part of a combined arms offensive. In many ways, airpower has done exactly what Israel has asked of it. Initially, it allowed the IDF to engage the terrorists from a medium that the Palestinians could not challenge—the air. This was done to minimize the use of ground forces and subsequent IDF casualties. As the Israelis became more aggressive with their ground incursions into the Occupied Territories, airpower provided superior covering fire and intelligence. Further, the Israelis have provided a model of how to combine air and ground power in urban environments. Their use of the UAVs for intelligence and tactical guidance, as well as gunship support, is quite effective.

Chapter 4 also brought to light the "David and Goliath syndrome." Beginning in Lebanon, the PLO regularly broke international law by placing military targets near noncombatants to lure the IDF into a public affairs trap. Arafat was a master at taking advantage of the sympathetic press and the United Nations. He learned these skills in Lebanon and used them until he died. The images of Arafat pleading for international support and understanding on CNN are quite common—he always portrayed the Palestinians as the weak and downtrodden underdog. Thus, the image of the powerful IDF being used against poorly armed Palestinians is a powerful asymmetrical tool. The use of IDF airpower against the Palestinians is portrayed and often seen as the most excessive use of sophisticated military might. This resonates with the American position today and in the future. As the Bush doctrine allows us to preemptively engage our enemies around the globe, we too will face this challenge. Saddam Hussein used this in the first Gulf War. Military planners will be compelled to try to limit noncombatant casualties, while enemies of the United States try to increase them. In short, we should anticipate being held to a double standard.

Airpower as well as ground power has to date failed to provide a coercive lever with which to make Yassar Arafat crack down on terrorism. Analysis showed that this is unlikely to occur with a leader who has, at best, a tenuous grasp on power. In Arafat's case, the growing movement of Palestinian Islamic militants, such as the Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and the external influence of Hezbollah, forced him to maintain a balancing act between the Israelis on one side and the extremists on the other. Concessions too far in either direction threatened his position of power. In this case, military power curbed terrorism, but it has not secured peace.

These case studies provide a spectrum of response options that can be employed against terrorism. On the ineffectual side of the spectrum is Infinite Reach. In this case, cruise missiles were used more for domestic consumption than against the enemy. Next, El Dorado Canyon, also an airpower-only response, was an effective response because it directly threatened a targetable center of gravity. It was a significant military re-

sponse that plausibly signaled our resolve to escalate, if necessary. Representing the most aggressive side of the spectrum was the Israeli use of airpower combined with ground forces (that include the army, police, secret police, etc.) against the Palestinians in their second intifada. Without question, leaders must respond to terrorism. However, how they respond must follow a strategic calculus based upon the nature of the threat and the context surrounding the events. This work has shown that leaders have a variety of responses available.

Final Conclusions and Expected Trends

Our military needs to be prepared to conduct both regular and irregular warfare. Current events in Operation Iraqi Freedom show that both spectrums of conflict can exist in the same war. Ignoring one of these forms of warfare over the other will prove costly. Furthermore, as our resolve remains strong relative to our enemies, the enemy will seek asymmetric methods with which to engage us. Terrorism is one such method, and these attacks will also have increased significance when terrorists obtain and employ weapons of mass destruction. The psychological value of employing WMD makes it too attractive an alternative to pass up.

America has set a course that directly engages terrorism. The Bush doctrine lays out a policy of attacking terrorists with the desire, means, and capability of harming American citizens and our interests. Furthermore, America will no longer wait for an attack before acting against an identified threat. Under the Bush administration, preemptive action is now authorized. Military operations in these actions can take many forms. In some cases, such as with the Hellfire missile targeting of the al-Qaeda terrorists in the Yemeni desert, airpower will operate alone. From the broader perspective, airpower will be used in joint operations against terrorists. However, in these joint operations, airpower will often be a first responder.

This work has identified several key points drawn from the three case studies analyzed. While these points cannot be applied to all scenarios due to potential contextual differences, they are worthy of consideration. These will be addressed in the order in which they appear in this work.

First, coercion through decapitation and denial attacks against state-sponsored terrorism may be effective if military force is decisively applied against the enemy leadership and the assets they deem valuable. Further, strikes against leaders of state-sponsored terrorism do not necessarily raise enemy leaders to “hero status” or spawn large-spread popular revolts.

Second, such shadowy networks as al-Qaeda cannot be coerced with limited air strikes. Rather, persistent air strikes as part of a combined operations approach are required. The focus in this effort is not coercion; it is a case of direct engagement by way of a denial and decapitation strategy. When used in conjunction with international law enforcement efforts and diplomacy, this approach can inject friction into the terrorists’ lives and operations to reduce their effectiveness.

Third, nations must respond to terrorist attacks. Not to do so invites more such attacks. In a democracy, leaders cannot ignore the domestic reaction of their military response. All three case studies show that the citizenry of democratic nations supports strikes against terrorists. However, strikes designed for little more than signaling resolve to the domestic audience while ignoring the message sent to the enemy can be quite dangerous and embolden the enemy to further, more damaging attacks.

Fourth, the David-and-Goliath effect is still alive and well. Powerful nations, such as America, can anticipate being ruthlessly and critically scrutinized by the press, the United Nations, and the world's population at large when engaging smaller enemies. Furthermore, the United States can anticipate a double standard. Breeches in international law by our opponents will be overlooked while our conduct will be examined under a microscope. However, this should not dissuade us from engaging our enemies as they would hope. Instead, the United States needs to be trained, equipped, and prepared to execute these missions. In fighting terrorist groups, increased urban operations are likely. In this environment, the United States will have to be more surgical—blunt tactics employed for the traditional battlefield will have a significant public-opinion backlash due to the "CNN effect." However, no matter how precise we become, we will never be able to completely eliminate collateral damage.

Airpower offers civil and military leaders a powerful tool with which to fight terrorism. Often, due to its speed, range, and flexibility, airpower will be the first military tool utilized. However, this work and world events show that the application of military force alone cannot *win* this war against terrorism. This final lesson cannot be overemphasized. Military force cannot "drain the swamp" that breeds hatred, violence, and death. The military can strike at the dangerous creatures that live in and slither out of the swamp, but it cannot eliminate the "ecosystem" of hate and misery that breeds all of this. While airpower and the other military forms of power provide a way to check terrorism, diplomacy and statecraft will have to address the many difficult issues that foster terrorism.

Notes

1. Gary Glynn, "1st Aero Squadron in Pursuit of Pancho Villa."
2. Alan Vicketaly, "Aerospace Operations in Urban Environments," xx.

Appendix

The Oslo Negotiations

Event	Date	Description
Background		The peace process began with the Oslo Accord of 1993. It ended with the last negotiating sessions at Taba, Egypt, in 2001. Over seven years, Palestinian and Israeli negotiators struggled to reach an agreement that could end the 100-year Middle East conflict. In the many carefully negotiated agreements, there were positive developments, but also severe setbacks. Deeper and deeper mistrust grew on both sides. Palestinians accused Israel of failing to stop expanding Jewish settlements and stalling on agreed withdrawals from West Bank territory. Israel accused Arafat and the Palestinian security forces—which were established by Oslo—of not cracking down on militant groups that were trying to sabotage the peace process.
Oslo Accord	13 Sep 1993	This was an historic turning point in Arab-Israeli relations. Hammered out in complete secrecy in Oslo, Norway, by Israeli and Palestinian negotiators acting without intermediaries, the Oslo Accord forced both sides to come to terms with each other's existence. Israel agreed to recognize Yasser Arafat as its partner in peace talks and agreed to recognize Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip by beginning to withdraw from the cities of Gaza and Jericho—essentially exchanging land for peace. The Palestinians, in turn, recognized Israel's right to exist while also renouncing the use of terrorism and its long-held call for Israel's destruction. (A year later, Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, and Yasser Arafat were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their roles in the Oslo Accord.) Oslo sketched out a peace process with a two-phase timetable. During a five-year interim period, Oslo envisioned a series of step-by-step measures to build trust and partnership. Palestinians would police the territories they controlled, cooperate with Israel in the fight against terrorism, and amend those sections of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) charter that called for Israel's destruction. Israel would withdraw almost entirely from Gaza, and in stages from parts of the West Bank. An elected Palestinian Authority would take over governance of the territories from which Israel withdrew. After this five-year interim period, negotiators then would determine a final peace agreement to resolve the thorniest issues: final borders, security arrangements, Jerusalem, whether the Palestinians would have an independent state, Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, and Palestinian refugees' claims to land and property left behind when they fled Israel.
The Gaza-Jericho Agreement	4 May 1994	Israeli forces withdraw from Gaza and Jericho, the first step in the peace process. Israel remains responsible for Israelis and settlements in these areas; Palestinians are now responsible for public order and internal security for Palestinians and will act to prevent terror against Israelis in the areas under their control. Some 5,000 Palestinian prisoners who have not participated in attacks against Israelis will be released.

Event	Date	Description
Nobel Peace Prize	14 Oct 1994	Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres, and Yasser Arafat for their roles in the Oslo Accord.
Rabin Assassinated	4 Nov 1995	Following a peace rally in Tel Aviv, Yitzhak Rabin is assassinated by a Jewish extremist. He is succeeded by Peres.
Israel to Withdraw from Major Palestinian Cities	8 Dec 1995	Arafat and Peres meet to reaffirm their commitment to the Oslo Accords. Israel would release 1,000 Palestinian prisoners. By the end of the month, Israel has also withdrawn its troops from an additional five major Palestinian cities. Within the Israeli opposition, these concessions are seen as a dangerous strategic mistake. And while many Palestinians rejoice, some—including those in the Islamic fundamentalist group Hamas, which gained power among Palestinians by controlling the mosques and providing food and education to the poor—oppose any compromise with Israel.
Palestinian Authority Holds First Elections	20 Jan 1996	Palestinian elections are held as required by the Oslo Accord. Hamas, protesting peace negotiations with Israel, calls for a boycott of the elections. But Palestinians endorse the peace process by giving Arafat an overwhelming victory.
Suicide Attacks Kill Dozens; Palestinian Security Forces Arrest Thousands	25 Feb–4 Mar 1996	Several weeks after Israel assassinates Hamas' chief bomb maker, Hamas retaliates. Three suicide attacks in eight days leave 46 dead and hundreds wounded. Then, on March 4, 1996, a fourth suicide bomber explodes himself, this time in a Tel Aviv mall. Thirteen people are killed and 157 more wounded; the dead are all under 17-year-old. Arafat orders his security forces to move against the Islamic militants, and some 2,000 people are arrested. The peace process—and its principle advocate, Shimon Peres—comes under increasing attack.
Summit of Peace-makers Convenes at Sharm el-Sheik	13 Mar 1996	Israeli opposition to the peace process coalesces around Benjamin Netanyahu, the new leader of the Likud Party, who is poised to challenge Peres and his Labor Party in the upcoming election. Fearing Peres's defeat and the demise of the peace process, Egypt and the United States convene world leaders in the Sinai resort of Sharm el-Sheik. They call it the Summit of Peacemakers and hope to influence the Israeli electorate to support Peres.
Hezbollah-Israel Clash; Israel Accidentally Bombs U.N. Compound	11–18 Apr 1996	Violence erupts along Israel's northern border. Hezbollah, the radical Shiite movement based in Lebanon that shares Hamas' disdain for the peace process, fires missiles into Israeli villages and towns, prompting Israel to launch a massive bombardment of Hezbollah bases in southern Lebanon. A week later, in a case of mistaken targeting, Israeli artillery hits a UN compound near the village of Kana, where civilians have sought shelter from the attacks. More than 100 are killed. Israeli Arabs, fervent supporters of Peres and his Labor Party, are now outraged and turn against him calling for a boycott of the upcoming election
Israeli Election	29 May 1996	Netanyahu narrowly defeats Peres.

Event	Date	Description
		Since Israeli Arabs constitute 20 percent of Israel's population, their boycott of the election helps elect Netanyahu: He defeats Peres by a mere one-half of 1 percent. At 47, he becomes Israel's youngest prime minister.
Tense First Meeting between Arafat and Netanyahu	4 Sep 1996	Arafat and Netanyahu meet at the Erez border crossing between Gaza and Israel. The meeting between the two men is fraught with tension, but their handshake, though largely ceremonial, is still a symbol of hope.
Netanyahu Opens Tunnel Along Western Wall in Jerusalem; Violent Protests Erupt	24 Sep 1996	In an area extremely sensitive to both Muslims and Jews—where the Al Aqsa mosque on the Temple Mount sits above the Western Wall—Netanyahu changes the status quo and opens an ancient tunnel that runs along the wall. Netanyahu's security advisers had warned him against opening the tunnel, fearing that the move was too provocative. Palestinian radicals are quick to exploit the situation and organize demonstrations. The Israeli army fires upon the demonstrators, and for the first time since the Oslo Accord was signed, the Palestinian police use their guns against the Israeli army. Netanyahu gives the order to move Israel's tank forces into striking positions. The violence leaves 59 Palestinians and 16 Israelis dead. Hundreds more are wounded on both sides before Palestinian and Israeli security forces cooperate to bring an end to the fighting.
Arafat and Netanyahu Attend Summit in Washington, DC	1–2 Oct 1996	In an attempt to prevent further violence and restart negotiations, Arafat and Netanyahu are summoned to Washington, DC, by US president Bill Clinton. Clinton also asks King Hussein of Jordan to join the talks. By the end of the summit, Netanyahu and Arafat agree to resume talks on further implementation of the Oslo Accords.
Hebron Accord	15 Jan 1997	After four months of difficult negotiations, Israel agreed to transfer control of the West Bank city of Hebron to the Palestinian Authority. Unlike earlier withdrawals from the West Bank, 20 percent of the city—the central area where more than 400 Jewish settlers lived among 130,000 Palestinians—would remain under Israeli control. Palestinians cheered the withdrawal, but Jewish settlers felt betrayed by Prime Minister Netanyahu.
Construction begins on Jewish Settlement Near Jerusalem	18 Mar 1997	Three weeks after Netanyahu gives the green light, construction begins on a settlement on a contested hill near Jerusalem. Although Jewish settlements were not mentioned specifically in the Oslo Accords, Rabin had promised that no additional ones would be built. Tensions are high.
Suicide Bomber Strikes Tel Aviv	21 Mar 1997	In Tel Aviv, a suicide bomber explodes himself in a packed café.
Two Suicide Attacks Kill 16 in Jerusalem	30 Jul 1997	Two suicide attacks rip through Jerusalem's main market within 10 minutes of each other. Sixteen are killed and hundreds are wounded. In response, Israel limits access in and out of Palestinian territories and enforces a strict curfew.

Event	Date	Description
Three Suicide Attacks in Jerusalem; Netanyahu Blocks Land Transfers to Palestinians	4 Sep 1997	Three more suicide bombers strike at the heart of Jerusalem. Five Israelis are killed and more than 200 are wounded. Netanyahu declares that no more land will be handed over to the Palestinians as long as terror continues.
Jewish Settlers Occupy Houses in Arab Sections of Jerusalem	14 Sep 1997	Netanyahu allows Jewish settlers to occupy houses within Arab sections of Jerusalem, once again changing the status quo. Palestinians demonstrating against Jewish settlers are joined by groups of Israelis who oppose Netanyahu's policies.
Wye River Memorandum	15–23 Oct 1998	After 18 months of stalemate in the peace process and increasing violence, President Clinton pushed to get Israeli and Palestinian leaders to make good on the promises made five years earlier in Oslo. The United States convened a summit at Maryland's Wye River Plantation. After a rocky start, Clinton's marathon 21-hour session with Yasser Arafat, Benjamin Netanyahu, and senior negotiators produced the Wye River Memorandum. The agreement allowed for the building of an international airport in the Gaza Strip. Israel agreed to pull back from an additional 13 percent of the West Bank and to release 750 Palestinian security prisoners. (Ultimately, only half of the pull back is done and only 250 prisoners are released.) The Palestinian Authority agreed to combat terrorist organizations, arrest those involved in terrorism, and to collect all illegal weapons and explosives. (Little or none of this is ever done.)
Clinton Visits Gaza; Palestinian National Council Rescinds Anti-Israel Clause	12–14 Dec 1998	In an extraordinary gesture, Clinton comes to Gaza to lend his prestige to the implementation of portions of the Wye agreements. In Clinton's presence, the Palestinian National Council takes a historic step: Its members vote to rescind the clause in the PLO Charter that calls for the destruction of the State of Israel. The extremists Arafat is supposed to control stage violent protests against the recognition of Israel.
Knesset Rebukes Netanyahu	4 Jan 1999	In Israel, the people who had brought Netanyahu into power see the hand over of more territory—as called for by Wye—as an act of betrayal. The Knesset convenes in an extraordinary session. Over two-thirds of its members—from all across the political spectrum—rebuke Netanyahu and call for new elections. Opposing Netanyahu is Labor Party head Ehud Barak, a former chief of staff, Israel's most decorated military hero, and a disciple of the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. He runs on a platform of peace and reconciliation with the Palestinians.
Barak Defeats Netanyahu in landslide	17 May 1999	Barak wins in a landslide victory, becoming Israel's 14th prime minister. While his mandate is strong, Barak wants to push quickly for a permanent agreement, skipping the interim Israeli redeployments called for in the Wye accords. He envisions a two-state solution that will finally put an end to the conflict.
Barak, Arafat Meet; No Agreement on Redeployment	11 Jul 1999	Barak flies to the Erez crossing on the Israel-Gaza border for his first official meeting with the Palestinian leadership. The Palestinians expect to obtain a commitment from Barak to immediately implement the long-delayed Israeli redeployment. Barak dismisses the idea and the talks disintegrate.

Event	Date	Description
Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum	3–5 Sep 1999	After five weeks of talks between the two principal negotiators—Saeb Erekat for the Palestinians, Gilead Sher for Israel—the two sides agree on a bold framework and timetable for the final peace agreement. It is signed by Arafat and Barak. The Palestinian and Israeli delegations assemble in Egypt at Sharm el-Sheikh to celebrate the fruits of the negotiators' efforts. As a confidence-building measure, Israel agrees to release 350 security prisoners in two phases. The Palestinians agree to enforce the existing security understandings.
Negotiations Resume; Palestinians Chafe at Israelis' West Bank Proposal	Nov 1999	Land and the settlements—still expanding under Barak—become the main issues when negotiations resume. Questions remain over the 180,000 Israeli settlers in the West Bank and Gaza and how much land Israel will cede to the Palestinians. The Palestinians are outraged by the Israeli proposal, saying that it would cut the West Bank in three parts and allow Israel to continue the settlements. Not long after, secret negotiations in Stockholm deal with another contentious issue—the Palestinian refugees. Three million displaced people demand the right to return, a number roughly equal to half of the population of Israel. Their return would alter the nature of the Jewish state.
Israel Withdraws from Southern Lebanon After 22 Years	24 May 2000	Barak fulfills a campaign promise and ends Israel's 22-year occupation of southern Lebanon. Hezbollah, the Shiite Muslim fundamentalist militia that had been fighting the Israeli army in Lebanon for years, sees Israel's flight as a massive victory. Many Palestinians now believe they, too, can achieve their aims by fighting rather than negotiating. In Israel, Barak is under fire for his withdrawal from Lebanon and for being ineffectual with the Palestinians. He urges Clinton to hold a summit to resolve everything once and for all.
Camp David Summit	11–25 July 2000	The leaders head off to a hastily prepared summit at Camp David. Issues never before discussed at senior levels between Israelis and Palestinians—Jerusalem, statehood, boundaries, refugees—are put on the table. To break the impasse over the West Bank, Clinton proposes a compromise: Israel would return almost all of the West Bank and Gaza to the Palestinians, the two sides would swap small parcels of land important to each other, and they would agree to share control of Jerusalem. Barak uses Clinton's proposal as a starting point and suggests several changes. Arafat never replies and Barak then refuses to negotiate with Arafat directly. When Clinton returns to Camp David from a trip to Okinawa, Jerusalem is again put on the table. Arafat argues that the Jews have no claim at all to the area of the Temple Mount. On the last night of the talks, Clinton offers a new bridging proposal that covers all the issues, including the main stumbling block of East Jerusalem. But Arafat refuses any compromise over the Temple Mount and is concerned with limits on the sovereignty for the new Palestinian entity (the Clinton/Barak plan would have left the new Palestinian state with significant loss of water and good land, almost split by Israeli annexation running east from Jerusalem, and with Israel getting roughly 9 percent of the West Bank). Arafat rejects the proposal.

Event	Date	Description
		Arafat returns home to a hero's welcome. Calls for an uprising—a new intifada—are heavy in the air. Despite the official demise of the talks, Arafat and Barak approve a new series of secret meetings between the negotiators.
Arafat Visits Barak's Private Residence	25 Sep 2000	Arafat visits Barak at his private residence. According to many of those present, the meeting goes well. At the end of the evening, Arafat makes a request of Barak: that Ariel Sharon, the head of Israel's right-wing party, be denied permission to visit the Temple Mount. Barak, however, cannot prevent Sharon's visit. Instead, he coordinates with the Palestinian Authority, which agrees to try to keep peace in the area.
Sharon Visits the Temple Mount; Al Aqsa Intifada Is Born	28 Sep 2000	The Al Aqsa intifada, or uprising, is born as a result of Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount. By day's end, seven protestors are dead and 160 injured. The riots spread quickly throughout the West Bank and Gaza and engulf the Israeli Arab community as well. After a week of fighting, 50 Palestinians and five Israelis are dead.
Israeli Reservists Killed; Israel Launches Massive Assault	12 Oct 2000	Two Israeli reservists accidentally stray into Palestinian territory and are lynched by a Palestinian mob. Israel blames the Palestinian Authority for the murders, and within hours attack helicopters destroy the police station and the site of the lynching. Israel also launches massive attacks on other targets in Gaza and the West Bank. In Israel, Barak's policies are blamed for the rapidly deteriorating situation. Even among his staunchest supporters, many now distrust the Palestinians' intentions.
Barak Announces Resignation	9 Dec 2000	By resigning, Barak obtains a window of 60 days to regain support before standing for reelection. But the violence has made his pronegotiation stance difficult to defend. Likud leader Sharon—the hard-line former general whose visit to the Temple Mount sparked the intifada—runs on a platform of security and is far ahead in the polls. Barak's only hope is to conclude a deal with the Palestinians quickly.
The Taba Talks	21–27 Jan 2001	In a desperate attempt to salvage the peace effort before Israel's election (hard-liner Ariel Sharon was forecast to defeat Barak) negotiators met in the Egyptian resort of Taba, focusing on new parameters for an agreement which had been developed by Clinton the previous month. The new terms went further than what Israel and the United States had offered at Camp David. In contrast to Camp David, the Palestinians this time made counteroffers. After a week of off-and-on negotiations, senior Palestinian and Israeli negotiators announced they had never been more close to reaching agreement on final-status issues. But they had run out of political time. They couldn't conclude an agreement with Clinton now out of office and Barak standing for reelection in two weeks. "We made progress, substantial progress. We are closer than ever to the possibility of striking a final deal," said Shlomo Ben-Ami, Israel's negotiator. Saeb Erekat, Palestinian chief negotiator, said, "My heart aches because I know we were so close. We need six more weeks to conclude the drafting of the agreement."

Event	Date	Description
After Taba	Feb 2001	Two weeks after the negotiations at Taba, hard-liner Ariel Sharon was elected prime minister, defeating Barak in a landslide. Sharon had consistently rejected the Oslo peace process and criticized Israel's positions at Camp David and Taba. The Palestinian intifada's cycle of violence continued and escalated. On 29 March 2002, after a suicide bomber killed 30 people, Israel launched Operation Defensive Shield. Israel's troops reentered Palestinian cities and refugee camps, hunting down terrorists and often leaving massive destruction in their wake. Three months later, in mid-June 2002, two more suicide bombings struck Israel. Sharon announced Israel would immediately begin a policy of taking back land in the West Bank, and holding it, until the terror attacks stopped.
Israel Launches Operation Defensive Shield	29 Mar 2002	Two days after a suicide bomber explodes himself in a Netanya hotel on Passover and kills 30 people, Israel launches Operation Defensive Shield. With overwhelming force, Israeli troops reenter Palestinian cities and refugee camps, hunting down terrorists and often leaving massive destruction in their wake. In Ramallah, Israeli forces enter Arafat's compound and hold him captive and isolated for 31 days.
Two Suicide Bombings in Jerusalem; Israel Begins Retaking West Bank Land	Jun 19–20 2002	Two bombings kill more than two dozen Israelis in Jerusalem. Arafat denounces the attacks saying, "they have nothing to do with our national rights in legitimate resistance to Israeli occupation." Sharon announces Israel will immediately begin a policy of retaking land in the West Bank and holding it until the terror attacks stop.

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