

Terrorism and Counterterrorism: An Annotated Bibliography

Volume 2

September 11, 2006

JAMES J.F. FOREST, THOMAS A. BENGTON, JR., HILDA ROSA MARTINEZ,
NATHAN GONZALEZ, AND BRIDGET C. NEE



Published by the
Combating Terrorism Center
at West Point

Terrorism and Counterterrorism: An Annotated Bibliography

VOLUME 2

September 11, 2006

Editor: James J.F. Forest

Research Team: Thomas A. Bengtson, Jr.

Hilda Rosa Martinez

Nathan Gonzalez

Bridget C. Nee

PREFACE

This document was produced during the summer of 2006 through the collaborative efforts of a research team from five academic institutions. The primary objective of this project has been to compile an information resource that will be useful to teachers, scholars, and students of terrorism studies, as well as to policymakers, journalists and the general public. It reflects a collective effort to provide a user-friendly introduction to the growing body of research and literature on terrorism and counterterrorism. Thus, the annotations contained in this bibliography attempt to avoid the use of jargon or overly academic language.

This is the second Annotated Bibliography to be published by the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. The first, released in March 2004, contained 411 annotated entries from nearly two decades of research in the field of terrorism studies. For this second edition, we have sought to include mostly literature that has been published between 2003 and early 2006.

There are three parts to this bibliography:

- Part A contains 412 bibliographic entries organized by author's last name
- Part B provides a detailed index of the entries organized by topic
- Part C provides a detailed index of the entries organized by country

Also, users may search the entries using the electronic version of this bibliography, which is available from the website of the Combating Terrorism Center: <http://www.ctc.usma.edu>. Updated versions of this bibliography will be posted to this website to incorporate newly published materials on the subjects of terrorism and counterterrorism.

For more information about this and other research initiatives, please contact us at:

Combating Terrorism Center
122 Lincoln Hall
United States Military Academy
West Point, NY 10996
(845) 938-8495

Finally, your comments and suggestions for revising this document are welcome, and can be directed either by mail to the address above or by e-mail to james.forest@usma.edu.

James JF Forest, Ph.D.
West Point, NY
September 11, 2006

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

James J.F. Forest, Ph.D., is Director of Terrorism Studies and Associate Professor of Political Science at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, where he teaches undergraduate courses on information warfare and terrorism and directs research initiatives for the Combating Terrorism Center. His recent publications include *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training and Root Causes* (3 volumes, 2005); *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World* (2006); and *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets* (2006). His research has also appeared in the *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, the *Journal of Political Science Education*, and *Democracy and Security*. Dr. Forest received his graduate degrees from Stanford University and Boston College, and undergraduate degrees from Georgetown University and De Anza College.

Thomas A. Bengtson, Jr. is currently in his 3rd and final year at Thomas Cooley Law School focusing his studies on International Law. He received a BA from Michigan State University in Finance. Before law school, he worked in the financial services industry. His main area of research interest is currently terrorism.

Hilda Rosa Martinez is a Graduate Student at Syracuse University's, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. She has earned an undergraduate degree in Psychology from the College of St. Elizabeth located in Convent Station, New Jersey. Her research interests include Puerto Rico, civil rights, terrorism and the military, and she presented a paper entitled "The Puerto Rican Armed Forces: No Say but Standing Proud" at the 2006 Eastern Sociological Society conference in Boston, MA.

Nathan Gonzales is a graduate student of International Security Policy at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. The focus of his studies is Iran and the Middle East. Nathan holds a B.A. in political science from UCLA, with a minor in Arabic and Islamic Studies. As an undergraduate, he worked as research assistant to Dr. David C. Rapoport, editor of the *Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence*. Publications include "Persepolis Revisited: Understanding Iranian Power in the 21st Century," in *Swords and Ploughshares* (American University), Fall 2005; and "Post-Revolutionary Iran and the Gulf Security Dilemma," in *Westwind Undergraduate Journal* (UCLA), Spring 2002. He received the UCLA Dean's Prize for Undergraduate Research for a paper dealing with the imminent U.S. invasion of Iraq, entitled "The Fight for Non-Alignment: Mossadeq, Hussein and the Legacy of U.S. Intervention," Spring, 2002.

Bridget C. Nee is currently a second year graduate student at the University of Pittsburgh's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, where she is working towards her master's degree in International Affairs and concentrates her research on Security and Intelligence Studies. Ms. Nee received her undergraduate degree in 2004 from the University of Notre Dame, double majoring in Political Science and Spanish. In addition to international affairs, she also has begun to study the Russian language.

PART A: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ENTRIES

Organized by Author's Last Name (A thru Z)

- (1.) **Abbas, Hassan. "A Failure to Communicate: American Public Diplomacy in the Islamic World," in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 3: Root Causes, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Abbas argues that the war of ideas and the battle for the "hearts and minds" of Muslims is by no means over. He draws on analyses of U.S. public diplomacy in Pakistan and Iran to illuminate lessons learned for consideration—for example, he notes, "closing the channels of communication and dialogue has never proved to be a productive measure." His recommendations for U.S. policymakers include: acknowledging past mistakes; understanding the limitations of public diplomacy; employing efficient feedback mechanisms to assess the impact of specific policies; establishing and encouraging forums for people-to-people interaction; framing important issues in more constructive ways than "you are either with us or against us;" and supporting reform of the education sector in Muslim countries, especially where madrasa networks are entrenched. [JF]

<u>Topic 1:</u>	<u>Topic 2:</u>	<u>Topic 3:</u>
Strategic Communications/Public Diplomacy	Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective	The Framework

Countries/Regions: U.S., Pakistan, Saudi Arabia

- (2.) **Aboul-Enein, Youssef H. "Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslimeen: The Muslim Brotherhood." *Military Review*, (July-August 2003), 26-31.**

Online at:

<http://usacac.leavenworth.army.mil/CAC/milreview/download/english/JulAug03/abo.pdf>

Aboul-Enein discusses the formation of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in Egypt and its repercussions evident in the terrorist societies of today. MB has influenced Egyptian politics since 1928, and its ideals have been adopted and expanded upon greatly. He begins by outlining the experiences of the founder, Hasan al-Banna, who early on immersed himself in Islamic thought and practice. He founded the Muslim Brotherhood in response to the exploitation of Egyptian workers for the Suez Canal Company. The Brotherhood looked to evict secular values and culture out of Egypt and establish an Islamic state; he encouraged King Farouk, Anwar Sadat, and Gamal Nasser to comply. They did not, and neither has Mubarak's regime. [BN]

<u>Topic 1:</u>	<u>Topic 2:</u>	<u>Topic 3:</u>
Case Studies	Historical Context	Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Countries/Regions: Egypt

- (3.) **Abuza, Zachary, "The State of Jemaah Islamiya." *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Vo. 28:1 (Winter, 2004). Online at: <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/forum/archives28-1.html>**

Several arrests of Jemaah Islamiya (JI) operatives have provided clues to the structure and tactics of this relatively small but active Southeast Asia al Qaida affiliate. But while the arrests of top leadership have been important, attacks continue. The author explores 12 causes for alarm in relation to the terrorist threat in Southeast Asia, which goes beyond JI. The article ends with an overview of perceived of JI vulnerabilities. [NG]

<u>Topic 1:</u>	<u>Topic 2:</u>	<u>Topic 3:</u>
Case Studies	Political Islam	The Framework

Countries/Regions: Indonesia, Southeast Asia

- (4.) **Abuza, Zachary. "Education and Radicalization: Jemaah Islamiyah Recruitment in Southeast Asia," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Abuza explores the role of education-related dimensions of recruitment by Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), a terrorist group in Indonesia affiliated with al Qaida. In the Muslim world of Southeast Asia, network-based recruitment is focused on four central factors: kinship, mosque, madrasa and friendship. Education is the commonality between those, and thus plays an important role in Islamist extremist recruitment throughout Southeast Asia. Abuza's chapter examines how JI has used Islamic educational networks and madrasas—called pesantrens in Indonesia or pondoks in Thailand and Cambodia—as centers of recruitment and the transmission of Wahhabi and Salafi principles. JI established these madrasas to be used as centers of recruitment and indoctrination, and the graduates of this school are a who's who of today's Southeast Asian terrorists. In his concluding remarks, Abuza reflects on the implications of U.S. foreign policy and the global war on terror, suggesting that new approaches are warranted, but unlikely. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia

- (5.) **Abuza, Zachary. "The Moro Islamic Liberation Front at 20: State of the Revolution" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28:453-479, 2005**

The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) is an Islamic organization in the Philippines whose goal is to create an Islamic state in the south of the country. When resources from two outside Islamic sources dried up, they accepted financial support from al Qaida, which continues today. The article gives a history of the MILF, which includes their military structure, peace talks that the group has been engaged with, the organizational structure before and after the death of their founder and leader in 2003, and its links to the Abu Sayyaf Group. [HM]

Topic 1:

Domestic Terrorism

Topic 2:

Historical Context

Topic 3:

Religion and Conflict

Countries/Regions: The Philippines, U.S.

- (6.) **Ackerman, Gary A., Jeffrey M. Bale, and Kevin S. Moran. "Assessing the Threat to Critical Infrastructure," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

This chapter provides a discussion of the threat to critical infrastructure (CI) includes an extensive description of how the concept of CI evolved, with special attention to how various government commissions, presidential directives, and national strategies have defined it. The authors offer a formulation of the concept of critical infrastructure that is somewhat more concise than existing official definitions. From this definition, the authors frame a discussion about what sorts of targets might be of most interest to certain kinds of

terrorist groups, and why. In addition to constituting a target, they note, CI could also be turned into a weapon or otherwise exploited as a means of causing harm—for example, using a mass transit vehicle (like an airplane) to attack a stationary target (like a skyscraper). They conclude that terrorists are blessed with an almost infinite number of CI target possibilities, which warrants greater attention to, and sophistication of, CI vulnerabilities throughout the U.S. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Topic 3:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (7.) **Ackerman, Gary and Sundara Vadlamudi. “The Case of Ramzi Yousef,” in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

This chapter describes the history, exploits, pursuit and capture of Ramzi Yousef, the mastermind of the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center in New York, among several other Islamist extremist terror plots. During his relatively brief career as an international terrorist, crisscrossing the globe from 1993 to 1995, Yousef succeeded in attacking one of the world’s most prominent structures, plotting the assassination of several heads of state, winning over dozens of Muslim radicals, and planning what would have been one of the deadliest and most complex terrorist attacks of all time, all the while being pursued by several nations’ law enforcement and intelligence agencies. Yousef has been variously described as a “mastermind” and—at least while he was active—as “the most dangerous man in the world,” monikers that he himself no doubt appreciated; yet much about this chameleon-like and egoistical villain remains a mystery. In their chapter, Ackerman and Vadlamudi describe what is known about Yousef’s origins and his development as a terrorist, as well as trace his global exploits of mayhem. At the same time it examines the nature and efficacy of the ultimately successful counterterrorist effort directed towards capturing a man who quickly rose to the rank of the world’s most wanted terrorist. Lastly, the chapter draws lessons from the campaign against Yousef, lessons which can be applied to both current and future counterterrorism operations. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., Pakistan, Afghanistan

- (8.) **Ackleson, Jason. “Migration and the “Smart Border” Security Environment,” in Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

Ackleson provides an analysis of the new Smart Border security environment of the post-9/11 era. The term “Smart Border” refers to bilateral accords signed by the Bush administration, Canada and Mexico, which involve limited cooperation on a number of policy issues related to border control, including inspections, pre-clearances of goods and people, database coordination, and biometric identifiers. The Smart Border plan has emerged as the preferred policy solution to the difficult problem of screening for terrorist incursions into the United States while maintaining flows of goods and individuals, key drivers of globalization. After describing the international political context of border security and U.S.-Mexico bilateral relations in the post-9/11 period, Ackleson’s chapter then turns to major policy options that seek to facilitate the movement of goods, services, and people into the United States—including workers—while also providing adequate security for its international borders. Special emphasis is placed on efforts to enact some kind of migration reform in the

United States. The chapter concludes by offering several policy recommendations to help deal with the question of undocumented migration and border security in the post-9/11 era. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Mexico, Canada

- (9.) **Aho, James. “Christian Fundamentalism and Militia Movements in the United States,” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 1: Recruitment, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Aho’s chapter examines the religious ideological components of the Christian Fundamentalist movement in the United States, with particular focus on individuals who are recruited into violent groups and militias within this movement. These religiously-oriented extremists engage in violent activities, from cross-burning to bank robberies and targeted assassinations, while believing that they are “God’s battle axe and weapons of war.” Aho offers a multi-step theory of recruitment to explain the process by which individuals become affiliated with Christian Fundamentalist militia groups. While ideology plays the most critical role in recruitment, he also notes that an individual’s cognitive commitment to the group increases the more that they consider themselves to have voluntarily sacrificed to the group in terms of money, time, labor, personal freedom, and in rare cases, their physical well-being. His analysis sheds light on an important—yet insufficiently studied—dimension of terrorism in the U.S. [JF]

Topic 1:

Religion and Ideology

Topic 2:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (10.) **al Qaida Targeting Guidance—v1.0, Thursday, 1 April 2004. Intel Center (April 2004). Online at: <http://www.asisonline.org/newsroom/aq.pdf>**

This publication provides a translation of a 9-page document prepared for al Qaida operatives. The document lists preferred targets in order of importance, placing bankers and business people higher on the list than politicians and military personnel. It also lists different religious and national groups in order of importance, and stresses the need to target civilians of other religions as a means of emphasizing the religious nature of the struggle. [NG]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:

New Threats: Holy War

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Global

- (11.) **Alexander, John B. “Values, Emotions and the Global War on Terror,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century*, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Alexander addresses the dimension of ideas and ideologies in this chapter, which argues that the current global conflict is much more complex than the uncompromising and invidious duality reflected in the Global

War on Terror (GWOT), and is fraught with paradoxes. Precipitated by emotional issues juxtaposed with competing and incompatible values, the execution of counterterrorism programs become severely hampered by obvious contradictions. Further, these efforts are exacerbated by strenuous efforts by senior leaders to remain politically correct. Four theoretical approaches are most prevalent in the literature on countering terrorism. These are: enhance security (keep us safe); eliminate the terrorists (remove the cancer); attack the support infrastructure (cut their funding); and alter the conditions that breed discontent and terrorists (drain the swamp). However, he argues, efforts to counter the conditions supporting terror must address ideological differences that drive terrorists to commit acts of extreme violence. [JF]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(12.) Al-Zayyat, Montasser. The Road to al Qaida: The Story of Bin Laden's Right Hand Man. Trans. Ahmed Fekry. London: Pluto Press, 2004.

Al-Zayyat's biography of Ayman al-Zawahiri is critical to the overall understanding of the al Qaida organization. Al-Zayyat first met al-Zawahiri in an Egyptian prison in 1981, and while the two have exchanged critiques and criticisms, they remained in contact with each other. This book about the second most wanted man is useful for understanding the global Islamic movement, the aristocratic upbringing of al-Zawahiri, his humbleness, his thirst for knowledge, and his devotion to religion. He was imprisoned for an assassination attempt on Anwar al-Sadat, and after his release decided to lead the Egyptian jihadi movement from camps in Afghanistan. In 1998, al-Zawahiri changed his focus from armed violence against the Egyptian government to violence against Americans. He and bin Laden issued a fatwa encouraging Muslims to target Americans, but this approach caused dissent among some followers. The 9/11 attacks, argues al-Zayyat and many other Islamists, caused the West to equate Islam with al Qaida and gave them a mandate to wipe out all Islamic groups as a security measure. Al-Zayyat recommends that the Islamic factions come together and unite to form one group to protect the factions that do not share the interests of al Qaida, but are seen as suspects nonetheless. [BN]

Topic 1:

Revolutionary Terrorism

Topic 2:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:

The Framework

Countries/Regions: Egypt, U.S., Afghanistan

(13.) Ambassador Black, J. Cofer. "Building an Effective Hemispheric Counterterrorism Strategy," The DISAM Journal (Winter 2003-2004).

This document is an excerpt from a meeting in Uruguay by the Organization of American States Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism (CICTE). Ambassador Black speaks to the audience on how the Western Hemisphere has come together; no longer is terrorism a confined problem, but a Western Hemispheric issue, and as such, the many countries who are part of the CICTE must work together to sign and enforce the various treaties put in front of them. Ambassador Black stresses that with continued support and restructuring of various communication systems (e.g., the Internet), these same countries can defend themselves against terrorism. [HM]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro

Topic 2:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 3:

The Future of Terrorism

Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Latin America, Southeast Asia, Africa

- (14.) **Anderson, Sean and Peter Spagnolo. “The Achille Lauro Hijacking,” in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

In October 1985, Palestinian fighters took control of the Achille Lauro, a cruise ship owned by the Italian government. Although there had been numerous aircraft hijackings during the early 1980's, the taking of a civilian passenger ship was unprecedented. Consequently, the security measures on the ship were lax: only a passport was required to buy a ticket, there were no checks of luggage, and very little observation of persons embarking other than to ensure they were paid passengers. After describing the events that took place during this hijacking, Anderson and Spagnolo provide a brief overview of the pursuit of the culprits and the political fallout in Italy, Israel, Egypt, and the U.S., and note that at the time these actual events were unfolding, disagreements over how to interpret and assess the crisis caused significant rifts and conflicts between allies both in the NATO alliance as well as in the Arab world. They conclude that it is impossible to rule out that events similar to the Achille Lauro hijacking will not be repeated in the 21st century. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Italy, Israel, Egypt, U.S., Middle East

- (15.) **Associated Press. “Spanish Muslims Issue Fatwa Against Osama,” Associated Press (Friday, March 11, 2005)**

This article reports that Muslim clerics in Spain issued what they called the world's first fatwa, or Islamic edict, against Osama bin Laden on Thursday March 11, 2005—the first anniversary of the Madrid train bombings—calling him an apostate and urging others of their faith to denounce the Al Qaida leader. The ruling was issued by the Islamic Commission of Spain, the main body representing the country's 1 million-member Muslim community. The commission represents 200 or so mostly Sunni mosques, or about 70% of all mosques in Spain. The fatwa said that according to the Quran “the terrorist acts of Osama bin Laden and his organization Al Qaida ... are totally banned and must be roundly condemned as part of Islam.” It added: “Inasmuch as Osama bin Laden and his organization defend terrorism as legal and try to base it on the Quran ... they are committing the crime of ‘istihlal’ and thus become apostates that should not be considered Muslims or treated as such.” The Arabic term ‘istihlal’ refers to the act of making up one's own laws. [JF]

Topic 1:
Religion and Ideology

Topic 2:
Political Islam

Topic 3:
The Framework

Countries/Regions: Spain

- (16.) **Atlantic Monthly. “Coming to Grips With Jihad.” The Atlantic Online (September 12, 2001). Online at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/unbound/flashbks/jihad.htm>**

The article discusses the attacks on New York and Washington, and refers to several previous articles that have been written about Islamic fundamentalists. The articles; “Jihad Vs. McWorld,” “The Roots of Muslim

Rage,” “Blowback,” “The Lawless Frontier” and an Atlantic unbound interview all explore the history and reasons for the jihad against the West. [HM]

Topic 1:

Historical Context

Topic 2:

The Framework

Topic 3:

Religion and Violence

Countries/Regions: U.S., Middle East, Europe

- (17.) Atran, Scott, “Mishandling Suicide Terrorism.” *The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 27, Number 3 (Summer 2004).

Poverty and the lack of education per se are not the root causes of suicide terrorism. It is important for the West to avoid being seen as propping up unpopular governments in the face of a growing threat of terrorism. There are limitations to the use of military power, a tool that is tactical and not strategic. Instead, the U.S. must employ soft power to counter the threat of suicide terrorism. Economic aid, along with the promotion of non-radical religious education, can better serve the security interests of the United States. [NG]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategy and Tactics

Topic 2:

Religious Ideology

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Global

- (18.) Azzam, Maha. “al Qaida: the misunderstood Wahhabi connection and the ideology of violence.” *The Royal Institute of International Affairs Middle East Program, Briefing Paper No. 1* (Feb 2003), 1-5.

Azzam explores the problems that arise when trying to define al Qaida’s ideology. According to Azzam, the terms “Wahhabi” and “Salafi” do not properly explain the origins of Bin Laden, Al-Zawahiri, and their ideology. With Osama Bin Laden acting as financier, and with Ayman Al-Zawahiri providing an intellectual foundation, al Qaida was created as a “base” from which independent groups could perform operations. In order to justify the ideology on religious grounds, Al-Zawahiri makes use of concepts that at times diverge from “Wahhabi” and other Orthodox Islamic ideologies. For example, al Qaida’s support for suicide bombing and the targeting of civilians is partly based on an expanded notion of what is considered to be “regime support,” as well as a unique interpretation of actions by Muslim martyrs in early Islam. [NG] Note: An updated version of this was published as Azzam, Maha. “Political Islam: Violence and the Wahhabi Connection,” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 1: Recruitment, edited by James JF Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Topic 1:

Religious Ideology

Topic 2:

Political Islam

Topic 3:

The Framework

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Afghanistan

- (19.) Azzam, Maha. “Political Islam: Violence and the Wahhabi Connection,” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 1: Recruitment, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

In this chapter, Azzam examines the rise of militant political Islam, with particular focus on the relationship between violence and Wahhabism—an interpretation of Islam which places its doctrinal emphasis on the absolute unity of God and a return to the pure and orthodox teachings of Islam according to the Koran. Islamist extremists breed on the politics and policies that are perceived by them as detrimental to Muslim interests, and which have remained unaltered for generations. A growing number among them believe they can influence this situation through a strategy of terror. Adherents of Wahhabism, with its anti-Jewish and anti-Christian overtones, have pressured their government leaders (for example, in Saudi Arabia) to maintain a puritanical and strict attitude towards any form of liberalization in either the social or political arenas, and they have been responsible for numerous acts of terrorism in pursuit of their ideological goals. Further, Wahhabism has played an essential role in the recruitment and training of members of Al Qaida because it frames the beliefs and values of the organization's leaders, including Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri. [JF]

Topic 1:
Religion and Ideology

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
Historical Context

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia

(20.) Baird, Zoe and James Barksdale. "Part One: The Task Force Report." Markle Foundation.

The authors discuss the lack of a sophisticated system for information and intelligence used to protect the United States from attacks at home. There is a need for information analysis to direct the sharing of information and its integration into the intelligence community; the domestic agencies are lacking this severely. According to the report, the Department of Homeland Security has not sufficiently used their funds to turn information into knowledge that can be applied to increase the safety level of the situation. This report was intended as a roadmap to guide domestic security agencies into collaboration and effectiveness; decentralization is the key to defeating a network of enemies, and there should not be only one direction for information flow. Decentralization would allow the organizational mainframe to include the local, state, and federal levels as well as foreign intelligence and information. Baird and Barksdale call for the Department of Homeland Security to take the leading role and coordinate the organization of information task forces at all levels of government and to ensure that new technologies are constantly applied in order to keep the departments on the cutting edge of information collection and analysis. [BN]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(21.) Bandura, Albert. "Training for Terrorism through Selective Moral Disengagement," in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 2: Training, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

In this chapter, Bandura explores the role of moral disengagement in the terrorist world. A social psychologist who has studied terrorism for many years, Bandura notes how humans typically have an internal collection of self-sanctions that play a central role in the regulation of our conduct. However, there are many psychological processes by which these moral self-sanctions can be disengaged from inhumane conduct. Further, the removal of one's inhibitions is accelerated if violent courses of action are presented as serving a moral imperative, and the targeted people are divested of human qualities. In so doing, otherwise considerate

individuals can commit atrocities of appalling proportions. Terrorism can thus be seen as the product of a complex network of influences that enable and motivate people to perpetrate terrorist acts rather than stemming mainly from a pernicious nature. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 2:
Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: Global

- (22.) Baracskey, Daniel. "The April 1995 Bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Baracskey notes that the April 1995 bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City was a significant event for three principle reasons. First, the bombing established that American cities are not just vulnerable to the threats of external terrorist groups, but also to the impulses of internal extremists that are willing to use violence to advance their objectives. Second, the Oklahoma City bombing was the second large-scale assault on a public building in a two-year period. The use of terrorism as an instrument of destruction is becoming more pervasive, if not expected. Finally, trends have shown that terror groups purposefully identify large and densely populated urban centers for targets in the U.S., and intentionally use violence in these cities to gain media coverage. This chapter analyzes the Oklahoma City bombing incident in detail, and examines several implications and lessons that have surfaced in the decade following the event. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Domestic Terrorism

Topic 3:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (23.) Baracskey, Daniel. "The February 1993 Attack on the World Trade Center," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Baracskey notes that the February 1993 attack on the World Trade Center in New York event warrants analysis for several reasons. First, it signaled a turning point in American history; where beforehand, terrorist attacks were waged primarily on foreign soil, the events of February 26, 1993 revealed that Americans no longer enjoyed immunity from this form of violence. Second, the WTC bombing indicated that foreign terrorist organizations can successfully penetrate American borders with a significant attack that embodies a political and religious plot for restitution against American presence overseas, particularly in the Middle East. Third, the attack signified the expanding nature of ad hoc terror groups which come together exclusively for violent purposes, and exist as organizations that are linked together by the like-minded ideologies of their extremist members. Finally, the event in 1993 was a precursor to the September 11th attack on the two World Trade Center towers in New York City eight years later, indicating that al Qaida may seek to revisit targets until it succeeds in destroying them. Overall, the implications and lessons from this incident suggest that time and cooperation, both domestically and internationally, will create a more unified front to combat terrorist behavior. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
Homeland Security

Countries/Regions: U.S., Egypt, Pakistan

- (24.) **Baram, Amatzia. "Who Are the Insurgents? Sunni Arab Rebels in Iraq." USIP Special Report 134. Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, April 2005. Online at: <http://www.usip.org>**

This report offers insight into the breadth of Sunni Arab groups actively participating in the insurrection in Iraq, and specifically examines the three broad categories of insurgents: secular/ideological, tribal, and Islamist. According to Baram, with the exception of the ultraradical Salafi and Wahhabi Islamists, many rebels across these three classifications share common interests and do not sit so comfortably in any one grouping or category. This presents specific problems—and opportunities—for U.S. and coalition forces that, if handled correctly, could eventually lead to a rapprochement with some of the insurgents. Baram argues that while an accord may eventually be reached between a future democratic Iraqi government and moderate and certain radical Islamist groups, the beliefs of the ultraradical Salafis and Wahhabis will never allow for compromise. However, the Iraqi government may be able to substantially reduce the insurgency by appealing to the secular, tribal, and non-Salafi Islamist groups through policies that address their primary concern: the status of Sunni Arabs in the new Iraq. Such policies should include meaningful participation in the formulation of the permanent constitution, even though Sunni Arab representation in the National Assembly is very low, and political guarantees that oil revenues will be shared equitably, that Iranian influence will not be allowed to penetrate into Iraq, that Iraq will not become an Islamic republic, and that Sunni and Shi'i Islam will be equally respected by the state. Further, steps should be taken to ensure that Sunnis (as well as Kurds, Turkomans, and Christians) are not discriminated against in the job market or in the choice of infrastructure upgrades. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorism and State Formation

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Countries/Regions: Iraq, U.S.

- (25.) **Baran, Zeyno. Hizb ut-Tahrir: Islam's Political Insurgency. Washington D.C.: The Nixon Center, 2004.**

Baran's book argues that the war on terror is about confronting and effectively dealing with extreme Islamic ideology, rather than attempting to prevent its terrorist tactics. Her central focus is on the Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islamiyya (HT) (the Party of Islamic Liberation), which has been winning over Muslims by achieving its objectives through violence. The HT has been spreading its anti-American and anti-Semitic message in regions throughout the world for over 50 years, most notably in Central Asia. Although American interest in this region has historically been minimal, the War in Afghanistan and the support of Uzbekistan a highlighted a major challenge—the need to find a balance of Islam and democracy within the Uzbek government. The U.S. must understand that their alternative, democracy and liberation, does not appeal to the citizens of this region quite as much as those of the HT; the U.S. is losing the battle of ideology. Baran outlines the history of this security threat, its new global stance, the significance of Central Asia and how the government should respond and then offers recommendations. [BN]

Topic 1:
Political Islam

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Uzbekistan, U.S.

- (26.) **Barber, Benjamin R. "Terrorism, Interdependence and Democracy," in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 3: Root Causes, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

In this chapter, Barber examines the relationship between terrorism and interdependence. He argues that the contemporary struggle against terrorism can be seen as the collision between two forces: one, an integrative modernization and aggressive economic and cultural globalization, which can be called McWorld; and the other, a fragmentary tribalism and reactionary fundamentalism, which can be called Jihad. As globalization has led to increasing interdependence, he argues, we must learn to contain and regulate the anarchy that foments both the destructiveness of terrorists and the injustices of global capital. Only the globalization of civic and democratic institutions is likely to offer a way out of the ongoing war between Jihad and McWorld, and this requires a new understanding of global democratic interdependence. [JF]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: Global

- (27.) **Barkun, Michael. "Terrorism and Doomsday," in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 3: Root Causes, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Barkun explores the relationship between terrorism and apocalyptic ideologies. For religious believers, particularly many Christians, doomsday has a fairly exact meaning, represented in two complementary scenarios: in one, time will cease with God's Last Judgment, and the world will be destroyed and replaced by "a new heaven and a new earth;" in the other, this event will be preceded by a sequence of stages, during which escalating conflict between good and evil forces will result in the final, titanic battle of Armageddon. In addition to Christianity, apocalyptic strains may also be found in Islam, in association with the appearance of a salvationist Mahdi; in the Buddhist vision of a "Buddha of the future"; and in Native American beliefs about the ancestors' return. Here, as in Christianity, the destruction of the old and corrupt implies the appearance of something new and pure. Given that religious terrorists are widely thought to be the most likely source of a WMD attack in the foreseeable future, this review of apocalyptic ideologies is particularly salient in understanding contemporary terrorism. [JF]

Topic 1:
Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Topic 3:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Countries/Regions: U.S., Japan

- (28.) **Basile, Mark. "Going to the Source: Why Al Qaida's Financial Network Is Likely to Withstand the Current War of Terrorist Financing." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 27 (2004) 169-185.**

Basile contends that the attack upon the financial resources of al Qaida has garnered minimal effects. He gives three reasons for the lack of effectiveness: one, al Qaida has a strong network of business savvy financiers who can disguise money and other assets; two, the terrorist organization has also learned how to operate through the world's financial markets, especially by moving money through underregulated markets; and finally, al Qaida has international Islamic charities run in Saudi Arabia which can thwart the international attempts to eradicate the organization. Basile suggests that the U.S. should focus more on the financial networks that support al Qaida in order to assist the ongoing fight for national security; this means more

international coordination and effective financial and charitable regulation. [BN]

Topic 1:

Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:

The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Middle East

- (29.) Baumann, Kent. "Red Sky In The Morning: The Nexus between International Maritime Piracy and Transnational Terrorism," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Baumann's chapter begins with an illustration of how contemporary piracy is proving more and more dangerous as technology and globalization continue to advance and spread. The motivations influencing various terrorists groups to engage in piracy vary from their geographic proximity to strategic waterways to their particular ideological and political goals. There are also economic reasons: successful acts of piracy can help fund and supply future terrorist operations, and hostage taking for ransom, as well as the theft of ocean going vessels, can prove very lucrative for raising funds. Overall, he suggests, terror-piracy may poses the most catastrophic threat on the contemporary geo-strategic stage. In particular, transnational, ideologically focused groups pose the greatest threat when associated with international maritime pirates. Finally, his chapter concludes by proposing several short- and long-term countermeasures for combating global piracy (whether or not it is related to terrorism), and highlights the importance of consequence management in the case that global terrorism begins to take greater advantage of the maritime vulnerabilities he describes. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:

Global Environment

Topic 3:

New Threats

Countries/Regions: Global

- (30.) Bean, Lauren and Richard Friedman. "School Safety in the 21st Century: Adapting to New Security Challenges Post-9/11," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

In this chapter, Bean and Friedman address the challenges of school safety in the post-9/11 security environment. Their discussion is based on a national conference, sponsored in October 2003 by the Sloan Foundation, at which parent groups, school administrators, teachers, and school security experts met with federal public health officials and representatives of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and U.S. Department of Education (DOE), among others, to discuss school emergency preparedness. This chapter addresses a range of subjects, including threats, infrastructure, resource needs, and the emergency preparedness process, and provides a summary of the conclusions that emerged from the conference discussion sessions. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (31.) **Beitler, Ruth M. and Jebb, Cindy R. “Egypt as a Failing State: Implications for US National Security.”** Institute For National Security Studies, U.S. Air Force Academy. (July 2003). Online at: <http://www.usafa.af.mil/df/inss/OCP/ocp51.pdf>

The study questions the United States policy towards Egypt and its President Hosni Mubarak. After the attacks of 9/11, can U.S. policies remain the same, or is change inevitable for President Mubarak in respect to his style of rule over the country’s policies, citizens and laws? [HM]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Egypt, U.S., Middle East

- (32.) **Beitler, Ruth Margolies. “The Complex Relationship between Global Terrorism and U.S. Support for Israel,”** in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 3: Root Causes*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Beitler notes that American policy towards Israel remains a potent source of discontent and reverberates throughout the Arab and Muslim world. Indeed, it is commonplace in the Middle East to hear comments espousing the view that if only the United States would modify or cease its support for Israel, hatred against the United States would end. Her analysis reveals that while the United States has supported Israel’s existence, it has not always supported its policies, and yet the overwhelming assessment in the Muslim and Arab world is that the United States retains little objectivity when dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian issue. In reality, whether or not the United States is even-handed when it comes to the Arab world and Israel is almost insignificant, she argues—the key factor fostering resentment in the Middle East is the perception that the United States maintains a double standard. Thus, given the prominent role this issue has come to play in public statements of Osama bin Laden and others calling for a global jihad, it is imperative for the United States to lessen Al Qaida’s appeal to discontented populations in the Middle East by ensuring a greater balance—or perception of balance—with regard to its policies toward the Arab World. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:
Strategic Communications/Public Diplomacy

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Israel, Middle East

- (33.) **Beitler, Ruth Margolies. “Yemen and the Attack on the USS Cole,”** in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Beitler provides a case study of the attack on the USS Cole, a U.S. Navy destroyer refueling in Aden’s harbor off the coast of Yemen on October 12, 2000. With 17 sailors dead and more than 38 wounded, the attack shocked the United States and its allies, and brought into sharp relief the relations between Yemen and the U.S. This chapter explores the events leading up to the bombing of the USS Cole, the challenges of executing an investigation on foreign soil and the ramifications of the Cole attack for U.S. counterterrorist policy. Regarding the latter, the investigation into the bombing of the USS Cole indicated clear shortcomings on a variety of levels. First, agencies within the United States must work together to increase the effectiveness of the investigations. Second, the United States must recognize the indigenous capability of a host nation, such as Yemen, and capitalize on those areas where the host nation retains a clear advantage over American

investigators. Third, the U.S. government must grasp the flexible and ever-changing tactics utilized by al Qaida. Overall, by assessing how the Cole investigation was handled, this chapter provides lessons for future investigations and counterterrorism cooperation. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Countries/Regions: Yemen, U.S.

- (34.) **Belton, Patrick. “Lessons to be Learned from the British Experience in Critical Infrastructure Protection,” in *Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets*, Vol. 3: *Critical Infrastructure*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

Belton provides an examination of the British experience in dealing with terrorism in their homeland. While the terror campaign of militant Irish republicans has drawn to a close, the threat from radical Islamists, as demonstrated in the summer of 2005, shows every sign of continuing. The United Kingdom’s experience in protecting its public transport infrastructure is unusual among countries in both intensity and duration, and as such merits unusual scrutiny for lessons to be learned for other countries coming now to confront similar counterterrorist exigencies. His chapter draws attention to the history of attempts against the British transport infrastructure, the differing strategic and doctrinal imperatives of attackers, ways in which these attacks were countered, lessons to be drawn from these experiences to benefit present efforts in counterterrorism and infrastructure protection, and salient characteristics of the current operating environment pitting counterterrorist against terrorist amid the battleground of the Underground and other transport infrastructure. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: U.S., UK

- (35.) **Bernard, Cheryl. *Civil Democratic Islam: Partners, Resources, and Strategies*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND National Security Research Division, 2003. Online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1716**

The author highlights the elements of a current crisis within Islam: a failure to thrive and a loss of connection to the global mainstream. She recommends harnessing forces within Islam that support notions of democracy and progressive social conduct. She also encourages the support of both modernist and traditionalist (non-fundamentalist) forces through the funding of civic organizations and publications. Careful consideration should be given to particular positions, and how these may affect the development of civic democratic Islam. [NG]

Topic 1:
Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
Political Islam

Topic 3:
Religion and Violence

Countries/Regions: Middle East

- (36.) **Betts, Robert Brenton. “Hizbollah: Politics and Religion.” *Middle East Policy*,**

Vol. IX, No. 4 (December 2002) 176-178.

Betts examines Lebanese politics through the movements and practices of the much maligned Hizbollah. He argues that while their message may be radical to Westerners, it only makes sense when one understands the politics and agenda of Lebanon. The main goal of Hizbollah has always been to establish an Islamic state, like Iran, and to eradicate oppressive political regimes. Oppression comes from the Zionist movement and Israel, and by extension the U.S., and weighs heavy on the Palestinians and Lebanese victims of Israel occupation. Hizbollah is not anti-Semitic, but they are anti-Zionist and will not allow the Middle East to be controlled by what it believes is Israel's desire to expand its oppressive Zionist population. [BN]

Topic 1:
Religion and Conflict

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
Religious Ideology

Countries/Regions:

- (37.) **Block, Ludo. "European Counter-Terrorism Culture and Methodology." *Terrorism Monitor*, vol. III, issue 8 (21 April 04), p. 6-8. Online at: <http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369634>**

The author takes a current look at the European Union (EU). The paper describes the current "Plan of Action on Combating Terrorism" completed by the EU, a report that cites eleven specific areas, and then examines how anti-terrorism laws and stricter immigration controls are affecting the EU member states. [HM]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: Spain, U.S., Europe, UK, France, Germany

- (38.) **Bloom, Mia. Chapter 6. *Dying to Kill: the Global Phenomenon of Suicide Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.**

This chapter describes how terrorist organizations are linked to each other; they offer support, funding, training and information. This internationalization of terror has been documented since the 1960s, and suicide bombing is a tactic with high occurrence of multiple groups training and working together. Bloom uses Lebanon, Northern Ireland, Palestinian Authority, Chechnya, and Algeria to explain how this specific type of terrorism has spread and can easily internationalize within a country. Suicide bombing is quickly becoming a very common form of attack, and continues to spread to Central Asia and Latin America. Bloom explains that suicide bombing can only become a useful device if the population of a country accepts it as a means to achieve the goal laid out by the organization that employs it. If the people do not accept terrorist tactics as legitimate, then bombings become a useless way to achieve recognition for a cause. The current tendency now for suicide bombers is to instill fear or punish a perceived enemy; no longer are they purely symbolic of an oppressed people's struggle. Globalization has allowed suicide bombing to become internationalized, and terrorist organizations will continue to share information and coordinate attacks with increasing ease. [BN]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 3:
The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Europe, Middle East, Africa, Latin America, Asia

- (39.) Borer, Douglas A. and Michael Freeman. "Thinking Strategically: Can Democracy Defeat Terrorism?" in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

In this chapter, Borer and Freeman provide a thoughtful discussion of strategy and establish a framework for the analysis of U.S. performance in the GWOT. At its essence, strategy is an iterative or dynamic process, one that is shaped by a given context and defined by the relational environment between various actors. As such, a successful strategy in one situation will most likely be different than a successful strategy in another. They note that while democracy and democratization as the primary strategy by which the United States has chosen to defeat the scourge of terrorism, military force has thus far proven inadequate for democratizing both Afghanistan and Iraq. Further, democracy is an inherently risky method for organizing U.S. grand strategy in the GWOT. It may be legitimate to the average American, but it is not likely to be effective or practical. Democratization has brought into elected governments organizations such as Hizbollah in Lebanon, and Hamas in Palestine, yet neither group has given up terror. Even though many might contest the notion that Iran is democratic, the government there is chosen by the people in hotly contested multi-party elections, yet Iran remains the single most important sponsor of terror in the world. Overall, it seems that democracy—rather than security—has become an end in itself. This unjustified faith in the deterministic power of democracy to produce peace has channeled U.S. strategy away from alternative approaches that might prove more effective. [JF]

Topic 1:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Iraq, U.S., Lebanon, Iran

- (40.) Borum, Randy and Arthur J. Kelly III. "Mass Transit Systems," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Borum and Kelly explore vulnerabilities and strategies for protecting public transit systems from terrorist attacks, and discusses contingency planning and the use of incident command systems to mitigate, contain and respond to attacks that may occur. Recent attacks on mass transit systems in London, Tokyo, Chechnya and Madrid provide examples of why homeland security officials in the U.S. are justifiably concerned. Further, the evolving nature of transnational terrorism makes the targeting of public transportation even more worrisome. Clearly, they argue, safeguarding systems that are designed and required to be open, accessible, and efficient carries a multitude of challenges, but the right combination of personnel, technology and access to information can help to keep these systems safe. Exceptional technologies exist and are emerging to support the surveillance, impedance, detection, and assessment of unauthorized persons and materials within a designated perimeter. From their analysis, Borum and Kelly conclude that the current best practice approach to transit security is to use a layered system of defense, particularly with regard to physical security measures. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (41.) **Borum, Randy. *Psychology of Terrorism*. Tampa: The University of South Florida, 2004. Online at: <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/208552.pdf>**

Borum's goal in this book is to derive a psychological foundation of terrorism and violence. He examines the available scientific and professional literature in order to try and understand the causes, motivations and determinants of terrorist behavior, and after discussing previous theories, he identifies specific questions which are then answered by his research. He concludes his discussion with suggested study areas and questions. Some observations that Borum finds support for include: there is no terrorist personality; terrorists are not mentally ill, psychopathic, nor abnormal; the transformation into a terrorist is gradual, not abrupt; there is immense value of the leader of the group, for various reasons; some common reasons for joining terrorist group are perceived injustice, a need for identity and personal growth; and, finally, terrorist ideologies provide beliefs that justify or mandate certain behaviors. [TB]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Global

- (42.) **Boukhars, Anouar. "Somalia: Africa's Horn of Anarchy." *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume 4, Issue 1 (January 12, 2006). Online at: <http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369864>>**

Since 1991, Somalia has been in chaos, with terrorist networks abounding and intensifying relations with al Qaida. The new jihadist network in Somalia has arranged itself in a decentralized way, and although its goals are not as clear as the Al-Itihaad Al-Islamiya organization of the 1990s, it has been successful in conducting low-intensity urban warfare. The challenge now facing counterterrorist organizations is how to extrapolate the al Qaida members who have sought and found refuge within lawless Somalia. Although the U.S. has brokered deals with some Somalian warlords, there is still a general feeling of mistrust; the warlords are working with the U.S. for lucrative gains and are arbitrary in their arrests and seizures. Not only is there a war being waged by jihadists for control of Somalia, there is also a jihadist vs. anti-jihadist war going on simultaneously to further intensify the situation. [BN]

Topic 1:
Revolutionary Terrorism

Topic 2:
State Sponsored Terrorism

Topic 3:
Domestic Terrorism

Countries/Regions:

- (43.) **Bove-LaMonica, Daniella E. "Visa Security for a Post-9/11 Era," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets*, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

In this chapter, Bove-LaMonica focuses on improving the security of our nation's visa processing system. Despite alleged accusations of harsher policies due to the new security environment, she notes, nearly three-fourths of all applicants for a U.S. visa in 2004 were successful. Her chapter examines the visa application process and demonstrates how, even four years after 9/11, the Consular arena is still extremely vulnerable despite new security policies. New laws, harsher punishments for immigration violators, additional personnel and smarter technology—none of these policies will greatly improve our national defenses if the core of the

visa adjudication process—particularly, the training of the individuals in whose judgment we trust—is not examined more closely. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: U.S., Mexico

- (44.) **Bowdish, Randy. “Cry Terror and Let Slip the Media Dogs,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Bowdish provides a detailed look at the relationship between terrorism and the media in a liberal democracy. He argues that the media must take a more active, formal role in guarding the people against the cognitive harm and unwitting complicity towards terrorists’ ends associated with news of terrorism. Long a watchdog against governmental abuse of power, the media must also stand sentinel against the tyranny of extremists who would manipulate the media and society to their own malevolent ends. Terrorism strikes at the soft underbelly of democracy by bypassing a nation’s means of resistance and attacking its will to resist through the media. While censorship is one option to defend media vulnerability, it is a bad one compared to self-regulation through media codes. He acknowledges that the cry of terror is newsworthy and reason to let slip the media dogs. It does not mean, however, that the news must be reported in a manner conducive to terrorists. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorism and the Media

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions:

- (45.) **Bowman, Robin L. “Moro Insurgents and the Peace Process in the Philippines,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Bowman addresses the “whys”—goals, motivations, and leadership—and “hows” (including organization and tactics) behind the violent Muslim separatist movements in the Philippines, and their well-documented connections with foreign jihadists, as well as Manila’s responses to its home-grown insurgencies and international terrorism. The country is considered highly vulnerable to foreign terrorist penetration and prolific domestic attacks due to its abundant Christian and Western target sets, its fluid borders, weak political institutions and responses, and general lack of governmental reach into the Muslim regions. She begins the chapter with a look at how and why the Moro identity was formed, and how and why this community turned to violence and militancy in order to assert their goals of a distinct and independent Muslim homeland, and then profiles each of the violent separatist movements (particularly the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Abu Sayyaf Group) before describing the government’s response. Overall, this chapter offers an interesting case study of political violence. [JF]

Topic 1:

Case Studies

Topic 2:

Ethnic Separatism

Topic 3:

Countering Insurgency

Countries/Regions: the Philippines

- (46.) **Brachman, Jarret and William McCants. "A New Strategy for Defeating Jihadist Terrorism." Combating Terrorism Center (May 12, 2005). Online at: <http://ctc.usma.edu>**

Although the U.S. and the U.K. have made great strides in dismantling the leadership of al Qaida and bolstering defenses against future terrorist attacks, they still failed to prevent a major operation in London. This trend will continue until the U.S. and its allies vastly increase the financial and human resources they devote to combating the ideological roots of this violence. For the U.S. and the U.K. to foil future attacks, they must develop a metric for measuring the influence of the rising generation of ideologues like Abu Qatada in Europe and the Middle East. Once they identify the major players, they will be able to monitor their associates and the distribution of their message. By mapping these elements, counterterrorist organizations will be more adept at anticipating and subverting clandestine militant activity. This is especially crucial in an era when al Qaida's chain of command has crumbled and ideology now serves as the movement's primary cohesive force. [F]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
Religious Ideology

Countries/Regions: U.S., UK

- (47.) **Brachman, Jarret M. and William F. McCants, "Stealing al Qaida's Playbook." Combating Terrorist Center at West Point, January 2006. Online at: <http://ctc.usma.edu>**

In this internationally acclaimed monograph, Brachman and McCants argue convincingly that the key to defeating the jihadi movement is identifying its strengths and weaknesses, so that the former may be countered or co-opted and the latter exploited. They also explain that the people who know these strengths and weaknesses best are the jihadis themselves; one just needs to know where (and how) to look for their insights. Jihadi leaders are surprisingly frank when discussing the vulnerabilities of their movement and their strategies for toppling local regimes and undermining the United States. Their candor is, in large part, a consequence of struggles for leadership within the movement; thus, a leader of one group will publish his strategic vision in order to gain more recruits and achieve a reputation as a serious scholar worthy of respect. It is also a consequence of the United States' success in destroying jihadi training camps and denying safe havens—jihadi leaders have had to put their writings online so as to provide continuing guidance to a very decentralized following. In a sense, members of the jihadi movement have put their team's playbooks online. By mining these texts for their tactical and strategic insights, the United States will be able to craft effective tactics, techniques, and procedures to defeat followers of the movement. In their monograph, they demonstrate the efficacy of this approach by highlighting the insights they have gleaned from the works of four prominent jihadi ideologues. [F]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Afghanistan, Syria

- (48.) **Brachman, Jarret. "Jihad Doctrine and Radical Islam," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Brachman provides a detailed look at the origins and differing interpretations of the term "jihad." For some, it has come to refer to the struggle to defend religious ideals against destructive forces. For others, jihad refers

to a command by God to all Muslims to fight against the aggressors who seek to corrupt Islam—embodied and globally perpetuated by the West. Jihad has served as a rallying cry for those who see themselves suffering under the draconian policies of governments; for those in a struggle with corrupt imperial overlords for the right to establish a national homeland; and for those who see themselves fighting to stave off advanced stages of cultural corruption. Muslims both volunteered and were recruited from around the world to aid Osama bin Laden and the mujahideen in Afghanistan, and were united under the call of jihad against foreign (Soviet) aggressors. Clearly, while jihad remains a contested term, it does hold deep and powerful religious significance within Islam. Therefore, Brachman argues, whoever is able to wield the reigns of its meaning will have great power in drawing new recruits into that ideological abyss. [JF]

Topic 1:

Religion and Ideology

Topic 2:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:

Historical Context

Countries/Regions: Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Afghanistan

- (49.) Braithwaite, Alex and Quan Li. “Terrorism Hot Spots and Transnational Terrorist Incidents.” Prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (September 2004).

Progress in spatial analysis and statistics have facilitated the identification of hot spots of political behavior. By analyzing geographic data, as well as variables associated with political developments, the authors argue that terrorist hot spots can be identified. For policy-makers, it is essential to have such tools at their disposal. [NG]

Topic 1:

Global Environment

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: Global

- (50.) Brennan, Philip S. “Securing National Monuments and Icons,” in *Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets*, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Brennan examines the terrorist threat to national monuments and icons. In the U.S., these sites cover a range of physical descriptions, from the sprawling park of Mt. Rushmore to the Statue of Liberty’s island preserve, each of which have challenging security vulnerabilities. Further, protecting these types of sites involves maintaining a balance between access and security. Brennan explores three specific dimensions of this important balance: risk assessment, landscape design and technical security, and administrative issues. He then provides a case study—the creation of the Ring of Steel in London’s downtown City district in response to IRA attacks in the 1990s—and concludes that despite the enormous potential costs involved, protecting our national monuments and icons must be part of a long-range planning process, rather than a series of short-term fixes. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (51.) **Brenner, Samuel. "Protecting America's Colleges and Universities," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

Brenner's chapter provides a discussion on protecting America's colleges and universities from the threat of terrorism. He argues that representatives from colleges and universities need to work together with representatives from the local, state, and federal governments to discuss, quantify, and minimize the risks presented to institutions of higher education by terrorism. Some collaboration has been taking place at many institutions since at least the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center Towers and the Pentagon, but because of the careful balance these institutions need to maintain between fostering open societies and clamping down on people, facilities, and resources, and because college and university campuses contain unusual and even unique potential targets, it seems likely that such collaboration will remain part of a critical and ongoing battle. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (52.) **Brown, Christopher L. "Suicide, Homicide or Martyrdom: What's in a Name?" in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Brown argues that because suicide bombings have become an increasingly pervasive tactic, in addition to their popularity among multiple Islamist organizations around the world, there must be an ideological foundation for them. Therefore, the key to a strategic counter-strategy can only come from understanding and exploiting the foundational vulnerability of the ideology of the suicide operation. The war in which the world is currently engaged is an ideological war. Thus, without a comprehensive strategy to engage in and win the war of ideas in ways that have cultural resonance, military operations alone will provide only a limited respite. al Qaida and those that share its ideology must not just be destroyed, but discredited within their own communities. This in turn will undermine their theo-ideology, which is the key to both their global reach as an organization and their ability to recruit for suicide bombings on a level that threatens America and the Western world's vital interests. Without their foundation of theo-ideology, they will fall. [JF]

Topic 1:
Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
Strategic
Diplomacy Communications/Public

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions:

- (53.) **Brownfeld, Allan C. "Zionism and the Pursuit of West Bank Settlements," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

This chapter offers insights into the origins and implications of an extremist ideology known as Zionism. Adherents of this ideology, nurtured within Israel's far-right religious institutions, have been responsible for several prominent acts of violence—including the assassination of Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on November 4, 1995 by Yigal Amir, an ultra-Orthodox religious zealot. Brownfeld notes that religious Zionists have adopted the notion that God demands not so much devotion to the Torah as to the land that Israel's army has conquered, and this emphasis on land—particularly the settlements in the West Bank and Gaza

Strip—has underscored an extremist view toward any attempt at negotiating peace agreements with the Palestinians. Brownfeld concludes by arguing that Zionist terrorism—as with terrorism by other groups, both religious and secular—is a form of traditional asymmetric warfare, an effort by a militant minority to impose itself upon an unwilling majority. Yet, because the majority has been hesitant to identify and isolate such extremists, their influence has been far out of proportion to their numbers. Operating under the cover of religion has been useful in expanding their following and muting criticism. If Israel and its neighbors are to move in the direction of a lasting peace, he argues, the majority of Israelis—particularly Israel’s mainstream religious institutions—must act to neutralize those voices that have distorted Judaism’s moral mandate and replaced it with worship of physical territory. [JF]

Topic 1:
Religion and Ideology

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
Historical Context

Countries/Regions: Israel

- (54.) Bruemmer, Barbara. “Food Biosecurity: Food Supply and Bioterrorism,” in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Bruemmer notes that the nation’s food supply is vulnerable, particularly to a biological or chemical attack. A compromised food supply would have potentially disastrous physical, psychological, political, and economic consequences. Her analysis suggests that public health preparedness plans and responses should incorporate registered dietitians, who are in a unique position to provide assistance because of their special training and expertise. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (55.) Byman, Dan. “Combating State Sponsors of Terrorism,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

In this chapter, Byman notes that state sponsorship of terrorism is a complex problem that cannot easily be solved. Despite diplomatic protests, economic sanctions, and even military pressure, Iran, Pakistan, and Syria have supported numerous terrorist groups for decades. Their persistence in the face of pressure suggests that cutting the deadly connection between states and terrorist groups is difficult at best and impossible at worst. However, careful policymakers can design better solutions and avoid many common mistakes that can make the problem of state sponsorship worse. To begin with, he observes, it is easier to stop state support for terrorism before it starts than to halt backing after it begins. Thus, one of the greatest challenges to the international community is preventing the rise of new Talibans or other regimes that see supporting terrorism as ideologically vital. Creating a strong norm against the sponsorship of terrorism both makes states less likely to engage in it in the first place and enables the victim state to respond more easily. Diplomatically, this requires engaging both allies and other states on these issues before the support for terrorism becomes well-established. In addition, it demands that the United States and other countries offer would-be sponsors alternatives to terrorism, such as giving them options at the negotiating table. Also, creating standards is vital with regard to the problem of passive state sponsorship of terrorist organization. [JF]

Topic 1:

Topic 2:

Topic 3:

State Sponsored Terrorism

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Iran, Pakistan, Syria

- (56.) Byman, Daniel L. “Confronting Passive Sponsors of Terrorism.” Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Analysis Paper No. 4. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, February 2005.

Byman notes that for many terrorist groups, a state’s tolerance of or passivity toward their activities is often as important to their success as any deliberate assistance they receive. Open and active state sponsorship of terrorism is rare, and it has decreased since the end of the Cold War. Yet this lack of open support does not necessarily diminish the important role that states play in fostering or hindering terrorism. At times, the greatest contribution a state can make to a terrorist’s cause is by not policing a border, turning a blind eye to fundraising, or even tolerating terrorist efforts to build their organizations, conduct operations, and survive. Passive support for terrorism can contribute to a terrorist group’s success in several ways. It often allows a group to raise money, acquire arms, plan operations, and enjoy a respite from the counterattacks of the government it opposes. Passive support may also involve spreading an ideology that assists a terrorist group in its efforts to recruit new members. This paper analyzes the issue of passive support for terrorism by looking at four countries that have passively supported, or at least tolerated, terrorism: Saudi Arabia’s backing of radical Islamist causes and organizations, Pakistan’s indirect links to al Qaida, Greece’s tolerance of the 17 November Organization, and the United States’ blind eye for Provisional Irish Republican Army fundraising. In each of these instances, the government allowed terrorists to operate, and at times flourish, despite being aware of their activities. [JF]

Topic 1:

State Sponsored Terrorism

Topic 2:

Global Environment

Topic 3:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S., Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Greece, Ireland

- (57.) Byman, Daniel. “Measuring the Effectiveness of the War on Terrorism: A First Look.” Paper presented at the 2003 meeting of the American Political Science Association. August 6, 2003. Online at: http://archive.allacademic.com/publication/docs/apsa_proceeding/2003-08-07/394/apsa_proceeding_394.PDF

This article deals with measuring the success of counterterrorism or counterinsurgency and its difficulties, which include: (1) The need for a net assessment, (2) second order consequences, (3) strategic choice, (4) overlapping measures, and (5) vague measures. The article also examines four characteristics of the terrorist viewpoint: (1) organizational requirements, (2) operational demands, (3) support and (4) ideological needs followed by the government’s four key viewpoints: (1) organization, (2) intelligence, (3) support, and (4) proper defense. The article concludes with a review of the United States and al Qaida’s current status and responses in the war. [HM]

Topic 1:

The Framework

Topic 2:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Middle East

- (58.) **Byman, Daniel. "Should Hizbollah Be Next?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 6 (November/December 2003) 54-66.**

The question Byman addresses is whether after al Qaida is destroyed, the U.S.'s next target should be Hizbollah. This will prove most difficult, as Syria and Iran are both state sponsors of this organization, plus it is legitimized by political participation, public support, and foreign recognition. Byman suggests that the U.S. should target Hizbollah indirectly through applying diplomatic and economic pressure to Syria and Iran, and not attempt a direct combative approach. He notes that this group has proved the most formidable opponent to Israel, and although no direct attacks have taken place since Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, Hizbollah has begun exporting their model to Palestinians. This allows the party to gradually move away from direct responsibility, thus avoiding a backlash from the U.S. and Israel. By pursuing a carrot and stick policy with Syria and Iran, the U.S. can eventually cause Hizbollah to retreat into just a political party, whose goals move away from violence and towards constituent appeasement. [BN]

Topic 1:
Religion and Conflict

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Lebanon, U.S., Syria, Iran, Palestinian Authority

- (59.) **Byman, Daniel. *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism*. Cambridge University Press, 2005**

Byman describes the nexus between terrorist groups and state sponsors, and defines state sponsorship as "a government's intentional assistance to a terrorist group to help it use violence, bolster its political activities, or sustain [its] organization." He then explains that there are several types of state sponsorship of terrorism, and offers a typology of four categories of state support: "strong supporters" are states with both the desire and the capacity to support terrorist groups; "weak supporters" are those with the desire but not the capacity to offer significant support; "lukewarm supporters" are those that offer rhetorical but little actual tangible support; and "antagonistic supporters" are those that actually seek to control or even weaken the terrorist groups they appear to be supporting. Another category he addresses is passive support, whereby a state "deliberately turn a blind eye to the activities of terrorists in their countries but do not provide direct assistance." He draws from several case studies (Iran, Syria, Pakistan, and the Taliban's Afghanistan) to highlight six areas in which states provide support to terrorists: training and operations; money, arms, and logistics; diplomatic backing; organizational assistance; ideological direction; and (perhaps most importantly) sanctuary. Byman concludes that terrorist groups which receive significant amounts of state support are far more difficult to counter and destroy than those which do not. [JF]

Topic 1:
State Sponsored Terrorism

Topic 2:
Global Environment

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Iran, Syria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan

- (60.) **Carafano, James and Alane Kochems. "Engaging Military Contractors in Counterterrorism Operations," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Carafano and Kochems addresses the role of private contractors in assisting militaries and civilian government agencies throughout the world in such areas as planning, training, logistics, and security. Employing contractors in the war on terror, or for that matter any national security purpose, has both distinct

advantages and disadvantages. Military contractors are seen as having inherent advantages over militaries with regard to cost, flexibility, and responsiveness. Relying on military contractors though, does have its share of risks including safety and liability issues, performance, force management, compliance with international and domestic laws, and lost resources because a capability is outsourced rather than retained. With this increase in contractor use and the advent of privatized military firms (PMFs), the question is now how to determine the right mix of forces to most effectively and efficiently complete a task or mission. In some cases, military contractors may be the best choice; however, they are not the perfect fit for every mission or the right solution for all skill or manpower shortages. Instead, governments should assess the risks of employing various options and then choose the best one. Government agencies should adopt comprehensive guidelines for making these decisions using a risk-based approach. After describing private military firms and their contribution to counterterrorism operations, this chapter examines the risks and activities associated with their use by governments. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (61.) Cardew, Paul and Christopher Boucek. “Terrorism and Mass Transit” in *Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets*, Vol. 3: *Critical Infrastructure*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Cardew and Boucek examine lessons that the U.S. can learn from other countries who have grappled with threats to their mass transit systems—specifically France, Spain and the United Kingdom. They argue that subways are inherently vulnerable to terrorist attack, because of their emphasis on convenience and efficiency. It would be infeasible and greatly impractical to transfer security measures such as those now in place in airports to mass transit systems. However, lessons learned from Europe can help inform American security planners in their decision-making, prioritization, and resource application. Recommended security measures include increasing the police presence (with canine teams); installing more surveillance cameras, explosive detectors, and chemical sniffers; removing all trash and recycling cans; and replacing benches in stations capable of concealing suspect packages with wire mesh seating that will allow security personnel unobstructed views of the stations. Such visible security measures, they argue, do contribute to deterring terrorists. Terrorist instinctively seek out vulnerable targets, particularly as our societies become more resilient. Further, random baggage inspections should also become commonplace, as they have been proven to deter potential bombers—raising the likely failure rate for suicide terrorists intent upon inflicting mass casualties drives them to revise their plans. And finally, they call for federally-mandated security standards and a nationwide effort to educate passengers and administrators about the terrorist threat to mass transit systems and how to counter this threat. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: U.S., France, Spain, UK

- (62.) Carr, Chris. “Combating the International Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century*, Vol. 2: *Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

This chapter addresses the international proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW). Carr begins

by observing that in sufficient numbers and in the context of weak states, SALW can create an architecture of insecurity which fosters the very circumstances which protect and sustain the culture of terrorism. In Yemen, in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, in the slums of urban Jamaica and in the Caucasus mountains, the proliferation of small arms has allowed armed groups to challenge the primacy of the state and to create conditions of instability which provide aid and comfort to criminal and terrorist communities. In such places, the traffickers in drugs, humans and weapons cohabit with the warlords, militia leaders and political opportunists in an environment which precludes good governance and judicial oversight. After addressing the origins of this problem, Carr offers some suggestions for countering the proliferation of SALW, including multilateral agreements, regional and bilateral arrangements, and partnerships with non-governmental organizations for gathering data on the locations and movements of these weapons. [JF]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Yemen, Pakistan, Africa, Asia, Middle East, U.S.

- (63.) **Cavatorta, Francesco. “The Role of Democratization in Reducing the Appeal of Extremist Groups in North Africa and the Middle East,” in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

This chapter provides an analysis of democratization’s impact on countering terrorism, with a particular focus on reducing the appeal of extremist groups in North Africa and the Middle East. Cavatorta begins by noting that “any analysis of this region today concludes that the salient trait is the complete absence of democratic governance in all the Arab countries. While this authoritarianism in the different countries varies in terms of intensity, few doubts exist about its persistence and pervasiveness.” He then examines in some detail the relationship between democratization and political violence in the region and analyzes several different, but interrelated, aspects of such a complex relationship. First, he argues that processes of democratization in the region have largely failed due to the controversial nature of the principal opposition to the authoritarian elites in virtually all of the countries. Second, he challenges the assumption that democratization will inevitably reduce the appeal of extremist groups, if we equate extremism with the use of violence. The re-legitimization of state authority in the Middle East and North Africa through the adoption of democratic procedures is certainly a necessary first step to stem the wave of radicalism that is engulfing the region. However, it would probably only be effective in moderating those groups that have “extremist” ideas, but are already committed to pursuing their goals through non-violent means. Finally, this chapter offers some recommendations on how the international community could help bring about not only a more democratic region, but also a more “just” international system. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: Middle East, North Africa

- (64.) **Chalk, Peter and Rosenau, William. Confronting the “Enemy Within” Security Intelligence, the Police, and Counterterrorism in Four Democracies. (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2003). Online at: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG100>**

Chalk and Rosenau explore the United States’ creation of a domestic intelligence bureau with reference to

four case studies of national security organizations in the United Kingdom, France, Canada and Australia. Each chapter of the book explains in specific detail the countries' security intelligence structures (terrorist threats, security service, relationship between that service and the police and parliamentary oversight, and accountability) and their overall strengths and weaknesses in connection to effective intelligence. [HM]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Domestic Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., UK, Canada, Australia, France

- (65.) **Chalk, Peter. "Christian Converts and Islamic Terrorism in the Philippines." *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume 4 Issue 8 (April 20, 2006). Online at: <http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369967>>**

The Republic of the Philippines has recently drawn increased attention due to its status as the southeast Asian hub for terrorists. For example, Chalk describes a radical Christian convert movement, the Rajah Solaiman Revolutionary Movement (RSRM), which seeks to establish a theocratic Islamic state in the Philippines. Although their size is small, this group has been a part of several bombings and the sinking of SuperFerry 4, which killed 116 people. The skill and organization shown in these acts leads authorities to wonder if there is a possible connection with the Indonesian terrorist organization Jemaah Islamiya (JI). They are worried that JI is supplying the means to allow the RSRM to carry out their radical Islamic goals for them in the Philippines, and in the meantime, spreading the terrorists' reach and power. [BN]

Topic 1:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 2:
Revolutionary Terrorism

Topic 3:
Religion and Conflict

Countries/Regions: Philippines, Indonesia

- (66.) **Chalk, Peter. "The Indigenous Nature of the Thai Insurgency." *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume 4, Issue 1 (January 12, 2006). Online at: <http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369865>>**

The Thai Muslim provinces of Patani, Yala, and Narithiwat are feared as the next terrorist operational base in southeast Asia. The Thai insurgency there has intensified since the 1980s and 1990s, largely due to the increase in the technology available to the terrorist groups, and the increase of their knowledge and expertise in these areas. Insurgents are penetrating into society not only through violence, but also through schools that implement hard-line Islamic methods, such as Wahhabist and Salafist teachings. The government officials also worry about outside penetration by Arab terrorist organizations, which recruit and train local Muslims in these ways. For now, the Thai insurgency has not migrated to the northern provinces, and the groups appear uninterested in linking themselves with other organizations. [BN]

Topic 1:
Changes in Terrorism

Topic 2:
New Threats

Topic 3:
The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Thailand, Southeast Asia

- (67.) **Chalk, Peter. *Hitting America's Soft Underbelly: The Potential Threat of Deliberate Biological Attacks Against the U.S. Agricultural and Food Industry*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND National**

Defense Research Institute, 2004. Online at:
http://rand.org/pubs/monographs/2004/RAND_MG135.pdf

The book explores the vulnerabilities of the U.S. agricultural industry, which include an inefficient disease-detection system, as well as a lack of surveillance systems. The book then examines the impact that an agro-terrorist attack could have on the United States, which could range from economic disruption to diminished trust in the government and overall social disruption. Chalk concludes his analysis with a number of policy recommendations for preventing and dealing with an agro-terrorist attack. [NG]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Topic 3:
WMD/CBRN Counterterrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (68.) **Chang, Nancy. "The USA Patriot Act: What's so Patriotic about Trampling on the Bill of Rights?" in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).**

Chang calls the USA PATRIOT Act an attack on the Bill of Rights. In her view, the Act confers vast and unchecked powers on the executive branch and fails to respect the democratic values that define our nation. It should therefore be repealed, she concludes. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (69.) **Charney, Craig and Nicole Yakatan. "A New Beginning: Strategies for a More Fruitful Dialogue with the Muslim World." New York: Council On Foreign Relations, May 2005. Online at: http://www.cfr.org/publication/8060/new_beginning.html**

Through focus group research in Morocco, Egypt, and Indonesia, Charney and Yakatan find that although hostility towards America is intense in these countries, there is an opportunity to change minds. Indeed, their research suggests that it is possible to improve the image of the United States in the broader Muslim world. Although many Muslims are angry at what they perceive America does, the right efforts to communicate can produce significant shifts in attitudes. Such efforts would involve listening more, speaking in a humbler tone, and focusing on bilateral aid and partnership, while tolerating disagreement on controversial policy issues. Fortunately, they argue, a window of opportunity has opened with the Iraqi elections, renewed hope for Israeli-Palestinian peace, tsunami relief, and developments in Lebanon and Egypt, as well as the start of a new administration in Washington. This moment, marked by an easing of tensions and the arrival of new actors on both sides, offers the possibility of a new beginning in America's dialogue with the Muslim world. As CFR President Richard Haas notes in his Foreword to the report, "It will take listening, a humbler tone, drawing more attention to U.S. aid to development and reform, and agreeing to disagree on select security issues. It will also require significant resources over an extended period of time. America has a historic chance to establish a new dialogue with the peoples of Muslim lands. This report provides useful guidance in how to go about it." [JF]

Topic 1:
Strategic Communications/Public Diplomacy

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Morocco, Egypt, Indonesia, U.S.

- (70.) **Chenoweth, Erica. “Instability and Opportunity: The Origins of Terrorism in Weak and Failed States,” in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 3: Root Causes*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Chenoweth examines the assertion that terrorist groups take haven in weak, failed, and collapsed states—and particularly those without a strong tradition of democracy. She contends that this assumed relationship between non-democracy, state weakness, and terrorism is deficient. Levels of democracy do not necessarily diminish the likelihood of terrorist development. Instead, the political stability of the existing regime is the most significant factor affecting the origins of terrorism. Her analysis indicates that politically unstable regimes—regardless of regime type—are more likely than stable regimes to provide hospitable environments for terrorist organizations to develop. The essential argument here is that the “permissive conditions” of politically unstable regimes inhibit domestic institutional mechanisms that could potentially prevent terrorist organizations from taking root in particular countries. Therefore, the international community should seek to provide multilateral, legitimate support to transitioning states in order to provide the institutional framework by which a transitioning state can develop. [JF]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Policies—A
Perspective

Topic 2:

The Framework

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Global

- (71.) **Chenoweth, Erica. “Italy and the Red Brigades,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Chenoweth examines one of the most durable and evasive terrorist groups of the 1970s and 1980s in Italy—the Red Brigades. An investigation of the history of this group illuminates the successes and failures of the Italian government in confronting the Red Brigades, providing several observations that should inform current U.S. counterterrorism policy in the fighting terrorism. Indeed, there are several failures and successes to learn from this Italian counterterrorism experience. Initially, Italian counterterrorism failed because of shadowy complicity between elements of the state and right-wing terrorism; refusal of the government to acknowledge the destructive potential of the Red Brigades; knee-jerk reactions resulting in undemocratic policies, which raised some ethical considerations; and a failure to appreciate the escalatory effects of inter-group rivalries among terrorist groups. However, the successes of Italian counterterrorism included a unification of intelligence units and a coordination of their activities; creation of special commando forces with training in hostage crises; and, finally, the introduction of policies that exploited internal divisions within the Red Brigades and led to the defection of many members. [JF]

Topic 1:

Case Studies

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Italy

- (72.) **Chenoweth, Erica. “Vulnerabilities and Resilience in America’s Financial Services,” in**

Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Chenoweth notes that the U.S. financial services sector “has been amazingly resilient after the devastation of large-scale terrorist attacks.” Her chapter examines the precautions installed before 9/11 that established this resilience, the short and long-term impacts of 9/11 on the financial services sector, and post-9/11 legislation that has affected financial services. Her analysis suggests that local entities are fairly well-equipped for overcoming security challenges to financial services. However, she concludes, in order to further reduce vulnerabilities in the financial services sector, concerted efforts must be made to coordinate the combined resources, knowledge, and authority of both the public and private sectors in order to adequately devise plans that can respond swiftly and effectively to the remaining challenges. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(73.) Chivers, C.J. and David Rohde. “Turning Out Guerrillas and Terrorists to Wage a Holy War: The Jihad Files—Training the Troops. The New York Times. March 18, 2002. A1.

Chivers and Rohde describe materials (manuals, notebooks, lesson plans and reference books) recovered from guerrilla training schools in Afghanistan, which were subsequently shown to various American military officials for their comments. The findings of this review included that the jihadist recruits were diverse, coming from 15 nations and speaking six languages. There were two-tiers of courses, one for standardized, basic guerilla skills—like cleaning and firing a rifle, using a rocket-propelled grenades, reading maps and dealing with explosives. Recruits deemed to have special skills were given additional training in either advanced infantry techniques or in specific tactics of terrorism. The experts agreed that there was a high level of training on everything except in some of the more advanced terrorism skills. The experts also seemed to agree that much of the instructions provided in these manuals had been borrowed from similar training materials used in the U.S. and the former Soviet Union. [TB]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Global Environment

Topic 3:
The Framework

Countries/Regions:

(74.) Cilluffo, Frank and Paul Byron Pattak. “Cyber Threats: Ten Issues to Consider,” in Homeland Security and Terrorism, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Cilluffo and Pattak explore the overlapping threats of information warfare, cyber crime, and cyber terrorism, arguing that the United States must come to a new understanding of conflict and the rules of engagement in cyberspace. Presciently, the authors point out that since few adversaries would care to confront the United States in a conventional war on a conventional battlefield, they might well turn to terrorism and other asymmetric forms of conflict—including virtual ones—as more effective ways of attacking the U.S. where it is most vulnerable. “Bits and bytes will never completely replace bullets and bombs,” say Cilluffo and Pattak, but they can be synergistically combined. Imagine if 9/11 or the Oklahoma City bombing had been accompanied by electronic disruptions of federal, state, and local emergency and public-safety communications systems. “Ten Items to Consider” helps frame the policy debate in this underappreciated

area. The involvement of non-state actors, public opinion and the media in this new form of conflict underscores the role of individuals in the national security arena, and suggests that the nation's security focus is strategically misplaced. Their analysis concludes that federal, state and local government agencies must establish a genuine partnership with private industry and the general public in order to adequately secure the U.S. from the cyberthreat. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(75.) Cole, Juan R. I. "A Treatment for Radical Ignorance About Radical Islam." The Chronicle of Higher Education, (March 3, 2005), B6-B7.

Cole explains that most policymakers and even advisors in Washington do not know how to distinguish Islam from Arab nationalism, and what these mean to U.S. security policy. He argues that the current administration is dealing with the Muslim World the same way it did with the former Soviet Union, which is not a workable solution. The real cause for the war on terror and the increase in public alarm, 9/11, is in danger of being subsumed by other non-related events, such as basing rights in Uzbekistan. [BN]

Topic 1:
Defining Terrorism

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:
Political Islam

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(76.) Coll, Steve and Susan B. Glasser. "e-Qaida From Afghanistan to the Internet: Terrorists Turn To The Web As Base Of Operations." Washington Post, August 7, 2005.

This article explores the increasing role that the Internet plays in the spread of al Qaida's ideology and the growing number of self-organized terror cells. They write that "al Qaida has become the first guerrilla movement in history to migrate from physical space to cyberspace. With laptops and DVDs, in secret hideouts and at neighborhood Internet cafes, young code-writing jihadists have sought to replicate the training, communication, planning and preaching facilities they lost in Afghanistan with countless new locations on the Internet." Uses of the Internet include training, support, and communications. Thousands of websites in all parts of the world reflect a growing virtual community of individuals linked indirectly through association of belief, and who celebrate al Qaida and its ideas. In this sense of utopian ambition, the Web has become a gathering place for a rainbow coalition of jihadists. [JF]

Topic 1:
Mobilizing Forces

Topic 2:
Global Environment

Topic 3:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: Global

(77.) Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. "Harmony and Disharmony: Exploiting al Qaida's Organizational Vulnerabilities." CTC, U.S. Military Academy, February 14 2006. Online at: <http://ctc.usma.edu>

This study contributes to the depth of knowledge about the al Qaida movement. Evidence supporting the conclusions and recommendations provided in this report are drawn from a collection of newly-released al Qaida documents captured during recent operations in support of the Global War on Terror and maintained in the Department of Defense's Harmony database. In the text of these documents, readers will see how explicit al Qaida has been in its internal discussions covering a range of organizational issues, particularly regarding the internal structure and functioning of the movement as well as with tensions that emerged within the leadership. The first part of the report provides a theoretical framework, drawing on scholarly approaches including organization and agency theory, to predict where we should expect terrorist groups to face their greatest challenges in conducting operations. This analysis stresses that, by their nature, terrorist organizations such as al Qaida face difficulties in almost any operational environment, particularly in terms of maintaining situational awareness, controlling the use of violence to achieve specified political ends, and of course, preventing local authorities from degrading the group's capabilities. But they also face problems common to other types of organizations, including private firms, political parties, and traditional insurgencies. For example, political and ideological leaders—the principals—must delegate certain duties to middlemen or low-level operatives, their agents. However, differences in personal preferences between the leadership and their operatives in areas such as finances and tactics make this difficult and give rise to classic agency problems. Agency problems created by the divergent preferences among terrorist group members present operational challenges for these organizations, challenges which can be exploited as part of a comprehensive counterterrorism strategy. Thus, the theoretical framework described in this report helps us identify where and under what conditions organizations can expect the greatest challenges in pursuing their goals and interests. Understanding a terrorist organization's internal challenges and vulnerabilities is key to developing effective—and efficient—responses to the threats they pose and to degrade these groups' ability to kill. The captured al Qaida documents contribute significantly to this type of understanding. [JF]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Afghanistan, Syria, SE Asia

- (78.) Combs, Cindy C., Elizabeth A. Combs and Lydia Marsh. "Christian Militia Training: Arming the "Troops" with Scripture, the Law and a Good Gun," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

The authors examine three important aspects of the relationship that continue to shape the training of the Christian militia today: the Biblically-based theology that seeks to rationalize the preparation for violence by members of militia groups; a fervent belief in the Bill of Rights, particularly the right to bear arms and the right to generate an "unorganized militia;" and a commitment to a loose, virtually leaderless membership structure, with members trained to act alone or in small groups to "take back" the government, through force if necessary. They note how members of militia groups are often well-trained in the use of arms and explosives. Some militia groups even have skilled bomb-makers and members with outdoor survival skills who are adept at guerrilla-warfare techniques. Among their conclusions, the authors note that militia groups, while not directly responsible for the actions of their members, may offer social and psychological support that will enable individuals to carry out lethal acts on their own. Thus, the danger from these groups may lie in the ability of individuals, motivated by militia propaganda, to launch unilateral attacks on disparate targets, coordinated only by timing—and that danger remains clear and not yet preventable. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (79.) Combs, Cindy R. "The Media as a Showcase for Terrorism," in *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

This chapter explores the important role of the media as a forum for knowledge transfer in the terrorist world. The media has, to varying extents in different cultures, become a tool of modern terrorists, offering a "showcase" through which those carrying out terrorist acts can impress and threaten an audience, recruit and train new members, and support and coordinate an emerging network of followers. In order to better understand the use of the media as a "teaching tool" for terrorism today, Combs examines the symbiotic relationship that exists between terrorists (who seek attention from an audience) and news organizations (which seek dramatic stories to increase their readership and ratings). She concludes that because violent behavior can be "learned," and since "copy-cat" behavior among individuals and groups is common, the media does play a significant role in modern terrorism, suggesting implications for better media self-regulation. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorism and the Media

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (80.) Comfort, Kenneth D. "Preventing Terrorism Through Nation Building: A Viable Way." Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, 2003. Online at: <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/army-usawc/comfort.pdf>

In this paper, Comfort argues that "traditional" nation-building efforts are not well-suited to current U.S. efforts to support nations or states with the objective of winning the war on terror. After defining nation-building, he argues that the scope of nation-building is overwhelming and based on incorrect assumptions—like poverty breeding terrorists, or that only Washington can prevent chaos and extremism. Comfort also argues that a policy of credible deterrence along with improving traditional counterterrorist instruments offers a far more effective way to combat terrorism and prevent its development than open-ended nation-building. Inherent cultural differences, among other factors, do not support nation-building as a stand-alone solution. Comfort's proposed solution includes deterrence with improved intelligence, aggressive conflict resolution and post-conflict "nation-building" in global crisis zones. If one must participate in nation-building, one needs to clearly define the goals and have ample resources. However, resource and time constraints, along with the sheer scope of creating a nation from scratch, are some of the reasons why the U.S. should not advocate nation-building as a useful instrument in current war on terrorism. [TB]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Global Environment

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (81.) Comfort, Louise. "Managing Intergovernmental Response to Terrorism and Other Extreme Events," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Comfort explores the concepts of individual, organizational and collective learning in environments exposed

to recurring risk. It is one of today's great paradoxes that the most powerful nation in the world, having invested more in its military and defense than any nation in history, faces major security challenges today. Clearly, organizing our domestic agencies to prevent and respond to terrorism has not always been a priority of public policy. Comfort proposes a model of "auto-adaptation" to improve intergovernmental performance during extreme events such as natural disasters and terrorist attacks. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (82.) **Conway, Maura. "Terrorism and New Media: The Cyber-Battlespace," in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Conway describes the role of new media—particularly the Internet—in spreading the ideological messages, strategies and tactics of terrorism. Her chapter addresses a variety of ways in which terrorists use the Internet, including psychological warfare, publicity and propaganda, recruitment and mobilization, networking and information gathering, and planning and coordination. She notes that terrorists seek political and social change, and their objective is to influence populations in ways that support that change. To accomplish this, they engage not just in physical, but also information operations, and the integration of these. The case of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi provides a useful example of this. Obviously, the Internet is not the only tool that a terrorist group needs in order to "succeed." However, the Net can add new dimensions to existing assets that groups can utilize to achieve their goals as well as providing new and innovative avenues for expression, fundraising, recruitment, etc. At the same time, there are also tradeoffs to be made. High levels of visibility increase levels of vulnerability, both to scrutiny and security breaches. Nonetheless, the proliferation of official terrorist sites appears to indicate that the payoffs, in terms of publicity and propaganda value, are understood by many groups to be worth the risks. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Strategic Communications/Public Diplomacy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions:

- (83.) **Copeland, Claudia and Betsy Cody. "Terrorism and Security Issues Facing the Water Infrastructure Sector," in Homeland Security and Terrorism, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).**

Copeland and Cody explore the vulnerabilities of the nation's water supply and water quality infrastructure, including contamination (especially of water and wastewater treatment systems), damage to physical assets (pumps and valves, for example), and loss of service to customers. A number of security-related actions have been taken by federal, state and local government agencies—as well as the private sector—since September 11, 2001 to prevent terrorist attacks on this vital resource. However, their analysis suggests additional policy recommendations for both government leaders and local resource managers. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

-
- (84.) Cordesman, Anthony H., "Saudi Security and the War on Terrorism: International Security Operations, Law Enforcement, Internal Threats, and the Need for Change." Center for Strategic and International Studies (March 2002). Online at: <http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/saudiwarterr030302.pdf>

The author explores Saudi Arabia's political structure and how it relates to terrorist activities. The author believes that Saudi Arabia has acted to curb international terror and has taken steps to denounce attacks and freeze terrorist assets. However, Saudi Arabia has also failed to act against extremism when it hasn't been directed at the regime. Social and religious reform must occur in conjunction with economic reform. The author believes there is no dilemma between liberalization and the improvement of intelligence gathering, and that Saudi Arabia could look to the West for guidance as to how to achieve this parallel effort. Saudi security is best protected through reform and not by a security-only approach. [NG]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, Middle East

- (85.) Covello, Vincent T., Richard G. Peters, Joseph G. Wojtecki, and Richard C. Hyde. "Risk Communication, the West Nile Virus Epidemic, and Bioterrorism," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

In this chapter, the authors describe how the introduction of pathogens in an urban setting—intentional or unintentional—will present severe communication problems to first responders and government officials. Using the 1999 and 2000 New York City West Nile Virus epidemics as case studies, they advocate adoption of a "risk communication" model to increase communications effectiveness in times of emergencies. They suggest that this model applies not only to the unintentional introduction of pathogens, as in the West Nile Virus case, but also to a bioterrorism event. Overall, in explaining their science-based approach for communicating effectively in emergency situations, their chapter highlights important issues of roles, responsibilities, and managing the perception of risk among a community's members. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (86.) Cragin, Kim and Bruce Hoffman. *Arms Trafficking and Colombia*. (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2003). Online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1468/index.html

The report centers small arms trafficking in Colombia. Two avenues for examining this issue are: (1) the scope and dimensions of small arms trafficking into and within Colombia, and (2) examining Colombia's political conflict through small arms trafficking. Along with examining these issues, attempts are made to search for solutions. The information included in the report was noted as difficult to collect and measure. Several maps, a list of acronyms and a bibliography are included. [HM]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
State Sponsored Terrorism

Topic 3:
Domestic Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Colombia, U.S., Latin America

- (87.) **Cragin, Kim and Peter Chalk. Terrorism and Development: Using Social and Economic Development to Inhibit a Resurgence of Terrorism. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2003. Online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1630/index.html**

The authors of this book explore ways in which development policies can be used to inhibit the resurgence of terrorist activities and discourage local support for political extremism. Cragin and Chalk use three examples—Northern Ireland/UK, Philippines/Mindanao, and Israel/Gaza/West Bank—to reach six conclusions, including: poor implantation or inadequately funded programs can increase support for terrorism; development can weaken local support but never completely eliminate it; the terrorist recruiting pool can be drained; and development aid can be used to coerce local support. [TB]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: U.S., UK, Ireland, Philippines, Israel

- (88.) **Cragin, Kim and Sara A. Daly. The Dynamic Terrorist Threat: An Assessment of Group Motivations and Capabilities in a Changing World. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2004. Online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1782/**

In this monograph, Cragin and Daly provide an analytical model for assessing terrorists' threats and they look at how terrorists adapt and change, looking to identify vulnerabilities which decision-makers can then exploit. The threat assessment tool proposed is used to examine the capabilities and the intentions of the group. This allows the government to prioritize where the limited resources are deployed and to focus on the most pressing threats. When looking at adaptation and change, the four groups used in this analysis had similarities that the authors suggest can be used in developing counterterrorism policy. For example, when there is change in external support or popular support, the resulting uncertainty means that the groups could make poor choices which can be devastating to the group. If a decision-maker understands these changes, policies can be implemented to increase pressure on the group, which could result in a poor decision by the group. [TB]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (89.) **Cragin, Kim and Scott Gerwehr. Dissuading Terror: Strategic Influence and the Struggle Against Terrorism. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2005. Online at: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG184/index.html>**

The book deals with the concept of strategic influence, or public relations campaigns, and how they can impact counterterrorism policy. The authors borrow from social and cognitive psychology studies, and argue that the environment in which the strategic influence campaign is waged, along with the methods used, are

essential to the success of any effort. At the same time, an ineffective strategic influence campaign can be counterproductive, and may lead a population to distrust (and even grow in animosity) toward the entity conducting the campaign. [NG]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:

Terrorism and the Media

Topic 3:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Global

- (90.) **Cragin, R. Kim. "Learning to Survive: The Case of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)," in Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World, edited by James J.F. Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).**

Cragin explores how the Islamic Resistance Movement (commonly known as Hamas) has learned to adapt to a changing operational environment and Israeli tactics in the Middle East, while maintaining its support networks among Palestinian communities. Her analysis illustrates an often overlooked dimension of knowledge transfer: while terrorism experts often look at organizational learning in the context of technology or tactics, few have explored the role of strategic learning and community involvement in building and sustaining a terrorism group's long-term operational capabilities. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Religion and Conflict

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestinian Territories

- (91.) **Crenshaw, Martha, "Why America? The Globalization of Civil War." Current History (December 2001).**

The Vietnam War brought with it an era of greater anti-Americanism. The targeting of American interests throughout the world became a useful tactic for groups seeking to gain political ground in their home countries. Thus, Crenshaw states, America became a target of civil wars fought on the international stage. This has left the U.S. vulnerable, and America must consider long-term effects of certain engagement with other nations. [NG]

Topic 1:

Historical Context

Topic 2:

Global Environment

Topic 3:

Changes in Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Vietnam, Middle East, Global

- (92.) **Cronin, Audrey Kurth. "Al Qaida after the Iraq Conflict." Congressional Research Service Report for Congress. (May 23, 2003) 1-6.
Online at: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/21191.pdf>**

Cronin analyzes the state of al Qaida and potential threat following the attacks of May 12, 2003 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia; does it represent a greater or lesser threat to the U.S. today? The organization has been responsible for multiple bombings all over the world since 9/11. However, there have been no major events despite the public exhortations of Osama bin Laden. The Riyadh bombings, however, were more sophisticated than previous attacks, and required U.S. intelligence to reassess how al Qaida continues to

change. It has increasingly developed ties with other terrorist organizations from Egypt to the Philippines, and this, Cronin questions, could be a sign of weakness or an indication of international diffusion. U.S. counterterrorism and Iraq policies need to adapt to this increasingly decentralized threat; one that is still active and plays a key interest in the level of security throughout the world. [BN]

Topic 1:
Changes in Terrorism

Topic 2:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., Saudi Arabia

- (93.) Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay, "Nasty, Brutish, and Long: America's War on Terrorism." *Current History* (December 2001). Online at: http://www.cfr.org/publication/6375/nasty_brutish_and_long.html

September 11 marked the end of the post-Cold War era. Like the Cold War, the United States does not know when and how the war on terror will end. The authors caution against repeating the mistakes of the Cold War—overemphasizing the military component, forgetting other important foreign policy goals and cutting deals with nations in a way that will come back to haunt America. The authors see the Afghan theater in 2001 as the beginning of a prolonged conflict, and warn against calls for attacking Iraq. The authors contend that non-military tools, such as diplomacy and economic development, must be employed. Mistakes of the Cold War, such as the support of anti-democratic regimes like that of Chile's Augusto Pinochet, must not be repeated. [NG]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:
Global Environment

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Iraq, Middle East, Global, U.S.

- (94.) Daly, John C. K. "Saudi Oil Facilities: Al Qaida's Next Target?" *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume 4, Issue 4 (March 23, 2006). Online at: <http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369910>

Al Qaida knows how important Saudi Arabian oil is to the rest of the world, and it has alluded to targeting this industry as an attack against America and its allies. Any strike on the oil facilities and its related energy industries would have a crippling effect on the rest of the world. Because of the possibility of a potential attack by al Qaida, Saudi Arabia has increased security for people employed in the oil industry, as a good number of them are foreigner workers and possible targets for terrorists. Osama bin Laden has stated that it is only a matter of time before al Qaida attacks the oil industry, and inevitably cause a worldwide recession. [BN]

Topic 1:
New Threats

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, U.S.

- (95.) Danis, Aaron. "al Qaida's Surveillance Offensive Against America, 1997-2001: Implications for Countersurveillance," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger,

2007)

Danis provides a unique analysis of al Qaida's use of many sources of information (including the Internet) in gathering intelligence throughout the 1990s on potential targets worldwide as part of a long-range plan to attack the U.S., the West, and "apostate" Middle East regimes. He describes how al Qaida surveilled targets in Europe, Africa, Indonesia, the Middle East, and America, and analyzes how successful it was in penetrating American homeland security. He also examines three key questions: "Could al Qaida attempt to do this again? What would such an attempt look like? and How could U.S. intelligence, counterintelligence, and law enforcement organizations defeat domestic terrorist surveillance and prevent an attack?" He concludes that a domestic countersurveillance center would be a good idea, though it would require the integration of domestic and foreign immigration expertise and databases, and information on daily immigration, among other elements. Based on the haphazard (and not always successful) bureaucratic counterterrorism efforts attempted by the U.S. government since 9/11, particularly the Terrorist Threat Integration Center-to-NCTC evolution, it remains to be seen whether the U.S. government can formulate a coherent and effective terrorist countersurveillance strategy and organization in the U.S. homeland. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Case Studies

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (96.) **Davis, Lynn E., et al. Individual Preparedness and Responses to Chemical, Radiological, Nuclear, and Biological Terrorist Attacks. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2003.**
Online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1731/index.html

The authors lay out patterns of response appropriate for terrorist attacks involving chemical, radiological, nuclear, and biological weapons. Although no one can predict whether such an attack would ever occur, they believe it is in anyone's best interest to know the guidelines for such reasons as: this knowledge can prevent the unnecessary death of many people; instinctual responses may be inappropriate; and due to the increased threat of terrorism, preparedness is crucial. The authors, using the guidelines of the Department of Homeland Security's Ready campaign, lay out a response strategy for individuals in each type of attack. They lay out the context, why each response is appropriate or not, the priorities of the individual, and steps the individual needs in order to properly prepare. The authors also describe the steps that government and businesses can implement to facilitate the response; to educate, inform and implement warning alert systems. [BN]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Domestic Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (97.) **Davis, Paul K. and Brian Michael Jenkins. Deterrence and Influence in Counterterrorism. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002. Online at:**
http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1619/index.html

In this report, Davis and Jenkins discuss the difficulty of deterring terrorists and settle on a policy of influencing terrorists instead. They begin with a discussion of terrorists' motivations and commitment to their cause, the cultural traditions of violence, and al Qaida's organizational structure. Because terrorism is a way of life, their motivations are strong, and there is not one type of terrorist, a policy of influence has a better

chance of success. Further, they argue that we must focus on influencing different parts of the terrorism system instead of a single person or group, because the system has more points at which intervention can prevent a terrorism act from occurring. In order to influence the system, the authors say four different attributes are necessary: strength/determination, relentlessness, upholding American morals, and balancing measures and inducements. Finally, they discuss some controversial issues like WMD; threatening things the terrorists hold dear; the role of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan; and balancing of U.S. interests. [TB]

Topic 1:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (98.) de Syon, Guillaume. "Aviation Security," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets*, Vol. 3: *Critical Infrastructure*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Since the attacks of 9/11, aviation security has obviously been an enormously hot topic in the U.S. According to de Syon, within the last four years new aviation security measures, managed through a variety of domestic and international efforts, are largely responsible for the absence of any air-related terrorist attacks in the U.S. since 9/11. However, in pursuing greater security of our nation's airlines, there are lessons to be learned from other parts of the world. Further, since many airlines owned by foreign companies (and often foreign states) transit to and from the U.S., airline security in our country takes on a uniquely international dimension. His discussion is focused primarily on European airlines and how they have dealt with terrorism since the late 1960s, when the first serious wave of aviation-related terrorist incidents began. He notes that ironically, some foreign carriers display stricter security than their American counterparts in order to ensure that they comply with U.S. regulations. (Passengers on Air France and Lufthansa, for example, face as many as seven scheduled and random checks from airline and airport personnel prior to boarding an aircraft.) What is missing, however, remains a clear coordination among airlines and governments worldwide. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Europe

- (99.) Decker, Raymond J. "Combating Terrorism: Comments on Counterterrorism Leadership and National Strategy." Testimony before the Subcommittee on National Security, Veterans Affairs, and International Relations, Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives. March 27, 2001. Online at: <http://www.gao.gov/cgi-bin/getrpt?GAO-01-556T>

Decker provides an evaluation of combating terrorism initiatives over the last five years. He makes two key findings: management and leadership of the programs is fragmented—there is no single entity accountable; and a national strategy is necessary. Decker suggests that a comprehensive plan should include roles and missions for local, state and federal officials along with establishing objectives with outcome-related goals and milestones. [TB]

Topic 1:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 2:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., Global

- (100.) **Deikman, Arthur J. “The Psychological Power of Charismatic Leaders in Cults and Terrorist Organizations,” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 2: Training, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

This chapter explores the psychological dimension of power held by charismatic leaders, and focuses on what this can tell us about the dynamics of terrorist groups. Deikman notes that cult thinking is most prominently evident when members of a group devalue outsiders while ignoring the faults of the leader and fellow believers. Outsiders are declared to be inferior, bad or damned, while those in the cult group view themselves as superior, good or saved. We see this in its most extreme form in the mind of the terrorist. Cult leaders, tyrants, and terrorists invariably defend immoral and violent actions as serving God, truth, or country. This analysis thus suggests that it is often not deprivation or injustice that is the decisive motivation for terror, but the need to see oneself as good and heroic, esteemed by the community and blessed by God. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 2:
Religion and Conflict: Cults

Topic 3:
Mobilizing Forces

Countries/Regions: Global

- (101.) **Demarest, Geoff. “In Colombia—A Terrorist Sanctuary?” *Military Review* (March–April, 2002).**

A post-September-11 mindset toward terrorism is key to understanding events in South America. Latin American leaders have refused to define the Colombia Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) or the National Liberation Army (ELN) as terrorist groups because of the concern that this might close the doors to direct negotiation with those groups. FARC and ELN have kidnapped thousands and killed hundreds of people. The Colombian government’s concessions of large portions of land to the guerrilla organizations as a prelude to so-far fruitless negotiations have provided the groups a safe haven and have resulted in increased coca contraband. To Demarest, applying the correct label of terrorist is an important part of the approach to dealing with such violent groups. [NG]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
Defining Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Colombia, South America

- (102.) **Department of Defense. *USS Cole Commission Report. “Executive Summary.”* January 9, 2001. Online at: <http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/cole20010109.html>**

This report summary discusses national policies, practices and operational lessons learned from the Cole attack in five functional areas: organization; anti-terrorism/force protection; intelligence; logistics; and training. The report also presents a number of unclassified findings and recommendations in the these areas. Some of these include the need for unity of effort and a coordinated approach in various areas, and that the attack on the USS Cole demonstrated a seam in U.S. Navy force protection. [TB]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (103.) **Desker, Barry and Elena Pavlova. "Comparing the European and the Southeast Asian Response to Global Terrorism." *The Journal for Conflict Studies*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (Summer 2005).**

The authors examine the mechanisms for combating global terrorism which emerged in Europe and Southeast Asia in the aftermath of September 11, the Bali bombings, the two Jakarta bombings, and the Madrid bombings. They argue that, despite various attempts at crafting a common security framework in each region, the most successful examples of counterterrorism and anti-terrorism cooperation thus far have been at the bilateral and trilateral levels. [NG]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Spain, Indonesia, Europe, Southeast Asia

- (104.) **Dillon, Dana R., "Southeast Asia and the Brotherhood of Terrorism." *Heritage Lectures*, No. 860.s (December 2004). Online at: <http://www.heritage.org/Research/AsiaandthePacific/hl860.cfm>**

Although all insurgent groups in Southeast Asia's "terrorist brotherhood" do not share the same goals, their cooperation across national boundaries creates an economy of scale for logistics, training and safe havens. Precipitating the problem, regional governments have had a difficult time cooperating, while terrorist groups do work together, thus giving the non-state groups an upper hand. In countries like the Philippines, few mechanisms are in place to fight terrorist groups effectively. [NG]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:
The Framework

Countries/Regions: The Philippines, Southeast Asia

- (105.) **DiRenzo, Joe and Chris Doane. "America's Maritime Homeland Security Challenge: Ports, Waterways and Coastal Borders," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets*, Vol. 1: *Borders and Ports of Entry*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

In this chapter, two retired Coast Guard officers remind us that the United States remains a maritime nation—over 90% of the raw materials, parts and products imported and exported by the U.S. still move by ship. Clearly, the security of our maritime transportation system and maritime borders are critical to this nation's economic health and security. DiRenzo and Doane examine America's Maritime Homeland Security campaign in three phases: (1) historical efforts before 9/11, (2) current efforts following 9/11 and (3) future challenges in view of the asymmetric threat to the maritime domain. The first part of this discussion reviews how the U.S. has sought to secure its maritime domain in the past. This is followed by an exploration of how the United States has responded nationally and as a member of the global maritime community that has come to the realization that terrorism knows no boundary, no respect for human life and poses a threat to all

nations, the world's maritime transportation system and economic health. Finally, the chapter concludes with a look at what more needs to be done in terms of leveraging technology, employing limited assets and adjusting cultural views to address the terrorist threat in the maritime domain. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (106.) DiRenzo, Joe and Chris Doane. "Protecting America's Western Rivers System," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

In this chapter, DiRenzo and Doane provide an analysis of the threat to the Western Rivers system. An often overlooked element of the nation's critical infrastructure, the Western Rivers—a system of 41 rivers, lakes and supporting terminals and facilities spread across 18 states, centered upon the Mississippi River—are used to transport hundreds of tons of coal, petroleum, farm products, chemicals, and crude materials, such as aggregates for construction and other minerals annually. Unfortunately, there are a variety of reasons why terrorists would find this an attractive CI target, given the tremendous flow of commerce along the rivers, as well as the many population centers, locks and dams located along the system. Barges carrying dangerous cargos that might be exploited by terrorist as weapons of mass destruction also populate the rivers. They note that prior to 9/11, there was a paucity of security for the Western Rivers, some of which has been remedied by new security measures initiated in the past few years. However, they conclude, shortfalls remain in the current state of security on the Western Rivers, and there is much that can be done to improve the situation. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (107.) Dixit, Priya. "Maritime Security and the Pacific Coast: Post-9/11 Challenges in Trade and Tourism," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Dixit's chapter examines the maritime security challenges of the Pacific Coast. After reviewing a brief history of maritime security efforts in this region, the chapter provides a brief analysis of trade and tourism-related activities in three major ports of the U.S. Pacific coast: Seattle, Los Angeles and Long Beach. In each of these, case studies of trade and tourism illustrate their importance to socioeconomic health of the United States. The chapter then describes some of the major initiatives that have been operationalized to ensure port security in the post-9/11 era. The final section looks at the unique challenges faced by U.S. Pacific maritime security in terms of new security threats, such as bioterror and geographical challenges, and offers some recommendations for improving maritime security. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., Canada

- (108.) Dobbins, James. "The Effect of Terrorist Attacks in Spain on Transatlantic Cooperation in the War on Terror: Testimony Presented to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Subcommittee on European Affairs." Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, CT-225 (March 31, 2004), p. 1-4.
Online at: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/CT225>

Dobbins argues that the terrorist attacks in Spain have further strained the relations between the U.S. and its European allies over Iraq. He points out that while there are transatlantic agreements over the need for a democratic Iraq, there are still differences over the role of Iraq in the war on terror; the Spanish attacks have not changed this. While the U.S. states that by invading Iraq it has deterred other states such as Syria and Libya from terrorism, some Europeans believe it has increased the chances of such attacks on European soil. Failure to reach a consensus between the U.S. and Europe for future preemptive exercises will only make common action towards this end nearly impossible. [BN]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: Europe, U.S., Iraq

- (109.) Docobo, Jose M. "Protecting America's Communities from Terrorism: A Law Enforcement Perspective," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

In this chapter, Docobo identifies a need to develop specific local law enforcement operations and strategies that refine and strengthen the role of community policing in America's war on terrorism. Traditionally, he notes, local law enforcement has concerned itself primarily with preventing and solving crimes such as burglary, theft, and robbery—crimes that have an immediate and visible impact on the local community and affect citizen quality of life. In the face of unknown future terrorist threats however, local law enforcement organizations will have to adapt existing policing strategies to fulfill the requirement of homeland security. He proposes the development of "homeland policing," a new model of policing in which established community policing practices and strategies are expanded to support the larger national domestic security objective. The partnerships formed in support of community policing provide a ready framework across the country for engaging citizens in helping police identify domestic security-related threats and to implement preparedness plans. Citizen awareness campaigns can inform citizens about what police and the government are doing to prepare for and prevent a future attack. Overall, working in close partnership, communities and their law enforcement professionals can greatly enhance our nation's homeland security. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (110.) Dolnik, Adam. "Learning to Die: Suicide Terrorism in the 21st Century," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Dolnik describes the process of becoming a suicide bomber, noting that this process differs considerably

depending on the given cultural, regional, and ideological context. In the Middle East, Palestinian recruits for suicide bombing are put through a testing period and then asked to prepare a videotape of their last will. In Sri Lanka, most of the perpetrators of suicide bombing attacks are experienced members of the Tamil Tigers who have already established their credibility. Since members of this group are routinely issued potassium cyanide capsules (to be consumed when on the verge of capture), the preparedness to die at any given moment is a baseline attribute for all potential volunteers. He concludes that suicide bombings represent the ultimate terrorist tactic. Besides their tactical advantages, they also have the capability of satisfying many terrorist objectives in a single attack: demonstration of dedication and capability, attracting attention and media coverage, producing a high number of casualties, and instigating general feelings of vulnerability. Finding recruits for suicide missions is never difficult once a precedent has been established. Suicide attacks can be justified on any religious or ideological grounds in the appropriate historical and cultural context. It is therefore very likely that the use of this tactic will become increasingly frequent in areas where it has already been established, and will be introduced to many other struggles around the world. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Sri Lanka, Middle East

- (111.) Dolnik, Adam. "The Siege of Beslan's School No. 1," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Dolnik describes in considerable detail the siege of School No. 1 in the North Ossetian town of Beslan, Russia. On September 1st, 2004, a group of terrorists took more than 1,200 hostages on the first day of school in what became the deadliest hostage crisis, and at the same time the fourth deadliest terrorist attack in history. After a 52-hour standoff, the detonation of explosive devices inside the school triggered a chaotic rescue operation, in which 331 people were killed, 176 of them children. This chapter analyzes the myths and facts of the attack, with the clear purpose of identifying the lessons learned. The central focus is devoted to the Russian response—namely, the crisis negotiation approach and management of the tactical assault. In addition, the chapter examines events that occurred before Beslan that in retrospect could have provided an intelligence picture concrete enough to prevent the attack, as well as the media management and investigation aspects of the incident. The Beslan school hostage crisis was an unprecedented terrorist attack, both in its scale and targeting. It is clear that understanding the lessons of Beslan is one of the key prerequisites of designing counterterrorism strategies for the 21st century. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
Ethnic Separatism

Countries/Regions: Russia, Chechnya

- (112.) Dory, Amanda J. "American Civil Security: The U.S. Public and Homeland Security," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Dory argues that civil defense measures taken during the Cold War should again be implemented. The civil security approach she proposes seeks to empower the average American citizen to engage in activities useful for strengthening homeland security. Efforts are needed—particularly in areas of risk education, preparedness, warning, and protective actions—in order to build the capacity and resolve of individuals,

neighborhoods, and communities to endure and prevail against adversaries who deliberately seek to instill fear and undermine Americans' confidence in themselves and in their government. Public support and participation, notes Dory, is crucial to homeland security. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (113.) Eccarius-Kelly, Vera. "Counterterrorism Policies and the Revolutionary Movement of Tupac Amaru: The Unmasking of Peru's National Security State," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Eccarius-Kelly examines how a nation-state's counterterrorism policies and tactics may have contributed to the strength of a violent insurgency. Her analysis of Peru's response to the *Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru* (Revolutionary Movement of Tupac Amaru, or MRTA) reveals a repressive and corrupt national security state. Although MRTA cadres never managed to present a viable and direct military threat to the Peruvian state, this chapter examines the government's management of the media, its collusion with corrupt military and police, and its embrace of tactics of intimidation, abduction, torture, and a series of other horrific human rights offenses. She describes several of the major confrontations between the Peruvian government and the MRTA, and offers a detailed analysis of the counterterrorism policies employed during the 1996-97 hostage crisis at the Japanese Ambassador's residence in the capital city of Lima. Several significant insights can be gained from investigating the counterterrorism measures utilized to defeat the MRTA during both the García and Fujimori presidencies between 1985 and 2000. Overall, an evaluation of the Peruvian government's handling of the MRTA is an important case study of counterterrorism measures in a society with fledgling democratic institutions. [JF]

Topic 1:

Case Studies

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Peru

- (114.) Ehrlich, Paul R. and Jianguo Liu. "Socioeconomic and Demographic Roots of Terrorism," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 3: Root Causes*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

In this chapter, Ehrlich and Liu address the persistent demographic and socioeconomic factors that can facilitate 9/11-type terrorism and make it easier to recruit terrorists. In particular, their analysis highlights the important and complex relationship between demographic variables and political instability in the developing world. For example, increased birth rates and the age composition of populations in these countries affects resource consumption, prices, government revenues and expenditures, demand for jobs, and labor wages. Differences between developing countries and the developed world are striking—for example, the total fertility rate of Jews born in Israel is under 3, approaching replacement level, while that of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip is over 7, the highest of any national-level entity. The implications for these trends on terrorism and terrorist recruitment suggest that without dramatic action, the demographic and socioeconomic conditions in Islamic nations in the Middle East, South Central, and Southeast Asia could continue to support terrorism and terrorists for many decades to come. [JF]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Asia, Southeast Asia

- (115.) **Elias, Barbara (editor). “Bush Administration’s First Memo on al Qaida Declassified.” National Security Archive. Briefing Book no. 147. February 10, 2005.**

Elias examines a declassified al Qaida memo from the early years of President George Bush’s administration, portions of a December 2000 paper by then Counterterrorism Czar Richard Clarke, and portions of testimony and statements provided to the 9/11 Commission hearings. Her analysis reveals several inconsistencies between Condoleezza Rice and Richard Clarke regarding policymaking and decision timelines, particularly in the formulation of various proposals to respond to the attack against the USS Cole, and more generally, to al Qaida. [TB]

Topic 1:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
Historical Context

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (116.) **Farson, Stuart. “From ‘49th Parallel’ to ‘Security Perimeter:’ Changing Conceptions, Values and Structures Along the U.S.-Canada Border,” in Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

Farson examines the long border between the U.S. and Canada, and notes that the response of the United States government to the attacks of September 11, 2001 has strongly influenced how Canadians and Americans now view their common borders, moving from being an essentially linear concept to one that is now multi-faceted and multi-dimensional. Further, he argues, there are indications that values are diverging between the two nations, reflected in part by the fact that the Canadian Government has responded in significant but different ways to the threat perceived by the U.S. government. And yet, the United States is much more reliant now for its own domestic security on its friends and neighbors than perhaps it ever was. Thus, Farson recommends a greater level of attention to managing the relationship between the two countries. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Canada

- (117.) **Federal Bureau of Investigation. Project Megiddo: an FBI strategic assessment of the potential for domestic terrorism in the United States undertaken in anticipation for or response to the arrival of the new millennium. Department of Justice/Government Printing Office, November 1999. Online at: <http://permanent.access.gpo.gov/lps3578/www.fbi.gov/library/megiddo/megiddo.pdf>**

Project Meggido takes its name from the hill in Northern Israel (Armageddon) that, according to the New Testament, will set the stage for the final biblical battle between good and evil. This study by the FBI deals with domestic terrorist threats, especially those espousing a messianic or millenarian character. According to the report, very few domestic terror threats have been identified. Among the threats that have been identified, they include possible violence by racist Christian militias and white supremacist lone actors and cults. Among key concerns of these groups are new world order (NWO) beliefs and anti-government and extreme biblical interpretations. The study explores ideological and historical framework and characteristics of white, as well as black supremacist groups, along with religious cults. The study is careful not to overplay the threat posed by these groups. [NG]

Topic 1:
Domestic Terrorism

Topic 2:
Religion and Conflict: Cults

Topic 3:
Religion and Conflict: Abortion

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (118.) **Feickert, Andrew. "U.S. Military Operations in the Global War on Terrorism: Afghanistan, Africa, the Philippines, and Colombia." CRS Report to Congress, February 4, 2005. Online at: <http://www.fas.org/man/crs/RL32758.pdf>**

This report offers a brief overview of U.S. military operations in Afghanistan, Africa, the Philippines, and Colombia, as part of the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). These operations cover a wide variety of combat and non-combat missions ranging from fighting insurgents, to civil affairs and reconstruction operations, to training military forces of other nations in counternarcotics, counterterrorism and counterinsurgency tactics. The number of U.S. forces involved in these operations range from 18,000 to just a few hundred. Some have argued that U.S. military operations in these countries are achieving a degree of success, and suggest that they may offer some lessons that might be applied in Iraq as well as for future GWOT operations. Potential issues for Congress include the long-term U.S. military strategy in Southeast Asia and Africa, proposals for NATO to assume command of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) in Afghanistan, and how counternarcotics operations in that country should be conducted. [JF]

Topic 1:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Africa, Philippines, Colombia, U.S.

- (119.) **Felbab-Brown, Vanda. "The Intersection of Terrorism and the Drug Trade," in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 3: Root Causes, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Felbab-Brown explores the intersection of terrorism and the global drug trade. Her analysis of the Taliban, the Peruvian insurgent group *Sendero Luminoso*, and the Colombian insurgent group FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) reveals how drug cartels have used terror to protect their profits, while the demand for (and cultivation of) drugs supports terrorism. Specifically, terrorist groups derive three sets of gains from their involvement with the illicit economy: increased physical capabilities (money and weapons); increased freedom of action (the ability to optimize tactics and strategies); and increased political capital (legitimacy, relationship with the local population, the willingness of the local population to withhold intelligence on the terrorist organization from the government, and the willingness to provide intelligence about government units to the terrorist organization). In essence, as long as a global drug trade exists—in which there is high consumer demand and lucrative rewards for production and trafficking—terrorist groups

will continue to profit from this trade, and can be expected to commit violent acts in order to protect these profits. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:

Global Environment

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Colombia, Afghanistan, Peru

- (120.) **Felter, Joseph. “Recruitment for Rebellion and Terrorism in the Philippines,” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 1: Recruitment, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Felter’s chapter provides a case study of an insurgent movement in the Philippines. His analysis first explores some general theories about why some states and citizens are vulnerable to insurgency movements. He then examines data collected from former members of the Communist Terrorist Movement—an insurgency movement that has plagued the Philippines for over 20 years—and develops a profile of the typical recruit of this movement, covering issues of age, education, former occupation, propaganda, coercion, and grievances generated by abuses of the military, police or local government. His chapter concludes by drawing lessons from this analysis for national security and counterterrorism policies—not just for the Philippines, but for countries around the world. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: the Philippines

- (121.) **Finley, Laura L. “High Schools and Homeland Security,” in *Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets*, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

In this chapter, Finley examines the relationship between high schools and homeland security. After briefly outlining the current state of school safety, the chapter provides a summary of the most prominent terrorism-related safety threats in schools. These include direct attacks, attacks via transportation services, and assaults through the school food supply. The second part of her chapter outlines homeland security efforts being made in schools, sponsored by governmental and private agencies, include service-learning projects and changes in the traditional curriculum. She concludes that as schools consider the physical safety of their campuses, they must involve students, staff, and the community in developing a plan to prevent, prepare, respond, and recover from terrorist attacks. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (122.) **Fishman, Brian. “Fighting Fire with Fire: Destroying the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century*, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Fishman provides a case study of Syria's struggle against the Muslim Brotherhood during the 1970s. This chapter examines Asad's efforts of Syrian President Hafez al-Asad to defeat several armed groups operating in the streets, many of whom were associated with the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood (Brotherhood). Although the focus is on Asad's campaign against the militant Islamic opposition, it is impossible (and would be entirely improper) to separate Syria's counterinsurgency policies from Asad's efforts to build a social and political system that would enable him to dominate the Syrian state. Asad's strategy for defeating the Brotherhood contained four elements employed by all governments fighting counterinsurgencies: (1) strengthen and legitimize the government, in this case Asad himself; (2) target the insurgent's support networks domestically and internationally; (3) de-legitimize the insurgents; and (4) use violence to eliminate the insurgents and deter sympathizers. In order to understand Asad's counterinsurgency, one must understand the social bases of both the Ba'th party in Syria and the Brotherhood. The chapter begins by reviewing the rise of Asad's Alawite-dominated Ba'athist regime in Syria and the Sunni Brotherhood-associated movement that violently challenged his authority. This leads naturally into a discussion of the struggle for legitimacy between Asad and the Brotherhood. Overall, his case study is an excellent example of how counterinsurgency in an autocratic state is the struggle of an individual or party to fend off challenges to its power and legitimacy. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: Syria

- (123.) Foa, Edna B., et al. "Social, Psychological, and Psychiatric Interventions Following Terrorist Attacks: Recommendations for Practice and Research." 1-42. Working Paper. Online at: <http://www.nature.com/npp/journal/v30/n10/abs/1300815a.html>

Because there is such a small amount of information on interventions following bioterrorism and terrorist attacks, this paper seeks to use the events of September 11, research into traumatic events such as war, and practical experience of countries already dealing with terrorism to facilitate more of these interventions in the future. The first type of intervention is that of the general population, specifically how to educate and prepare people while still maintaining a level of normalcy within society. The second type is knowledge about the two forms of intervention for stress that is a result of a traumatic event: psychological debriefing and brief cognitive behavior therapy (CBT). The latter's efficacy is discussed in depth, and clinical trials administered in the U.S. and Israel are reviewed as proof. The final part of this paper looks to assist those suffering from stress and anxiety due to traumatic events, and addresses how to best help these people deal with the ongoing threat of terrorist attacks and how to develop large-scale interventions. The authors recommend that there is a substantial need for people suffering from these types of stress to use mental health advisors; these advisors must be trained accordingly, as this type of counseling calls for a different approach than most are accustomed to. [BN]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Topic 2:
Homeland Security

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., Israel, Middle East

- (124.) Forest, James JF and Matthew V. Sousa. *Oil and Terrorism in the New Gulf: Framing U.S. Energy and Security Policies for the Gulf of Guinea* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2006).

This book argues that lessons learned from our experience in the Middle East should be applied to our

burgeoning energy security interests in western and central sub-Saharan Africa. Particularly, the Gulf of Guinea presents some unique opportunities, quite distinct from those of the Middle East. Oil is plentiful, but there are many challenges to overcome before the people of the region can truly benefit from the revenues this oil will bring. There are numerous security challenges throughout the region that must be addressed before good governance can truly be achieved. Unfortunately, because of the authoritarian regimes, corruption, and other challenges discussed in this volume, there are a range of broad political, social, and economic grievances that create a climate of unrest and dissatisfaction in the region. Overall, the research provided in this book suggests that long-term national security for the U.S. will prove elusive unless our energy security interests are pursued alongside coordinated efforts to increase state legitimacy and good governance in oil-producing countries worldwide. [JF]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, Angola, West Africa

- (125.) **Forest, James JF. "An Introduction to Knowledge Transfer," in Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World, edited by James J.F. Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).**

The chapter provides an introduction to the topic of knowledge transfer, addressing both individual and organizational learning dimensions. Exploring the transfer of knowledge between individuals and organizations adds an important dimension to our study of the terrorist world. International terrorists have developed a global knowledge network through which tactics and strategies are increasingly shared. Within a particular group, new recruits learn from veteran fighters, while on the global level, organizations learn from each other. For example, there is increasing evidence that al Qaida has learned new strategies and tactics from Hizbollah, and vice versa. Recent studies suggest various forms of collaboration between terrorist organizations and criminal organizations. Overall, this chapter previews the entire volume and explains how it furthers our understanding of both individual and organizational learning by exploring how terrorist groups apply the principals of organizational learning to improve their ability to motivate new members, equip them with new skills, and become smarter and more lethal terrorists. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Afghanistan, Lebanon, Global

- (126.) **Forest, James JF. "How to Think Like a Terrorist: West Point Shapes Curriculum to Educate Future Army Officers in an Age of Global Terrorism," The Officer, April 2006, p. 36-37.**

In this brief article, the author describes the terrorism studies curriculum at the U.S. Military Academy. In their courses, students learn the history of terrorism, using case studies to examine a diverse array of groups including anarchists, ethnic separatists, and religious extremists. They explore organizational strategies of terrorist groups and individual motivations of members, along with focusing on such dynamics as recruitment, training, ideology, and communication. Cadets examine various facilitators of terrorism, such as transnational financial and criminal networks, and gain an appreciation for the organizational learning aspects of terrorist groups. They also examine local circumstances that support terrorism, including political, economic, and social conditions that existed before terrorism became a problem. Naturally, recent trends in terrorism are covered in these courses, and cadets conduct their own research about events in Spain,

Indonesia, Britain, Pakistan, Nigeria, Egypt, Israel, and, of course, Iraq. [JF]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (127.) Forest, James JF. “Teaching Terrorism: Dimensions of Information and Technology,” in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

This chapter begins with a description of training manuals that have been authored and made available by several organizations, from the Christian Identity movement to Al Qaida. Advanced multimedia websites and online discussion forums facilitate the sort of teacher-learner interaction that takes place in terrorist training camps. Further, while the Internet plays an important role in developing the new terrorist recruit’s will and ability to kill others, it brings a whole new set of tools for terror, enabling the development of technology-oriented terrorism, or “cyberterrorism.” Overall, this chapter suggests that the globalization of information and technology are helping facilitate the spread of old and new forms of terrorism. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Global

- (128.) Forest, James JF. “Terrorist Training Centers Around the World: A Brief Review,” in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

This chapter provides a summary of terrorist training camps around the world—the most common and important places where indoctrination and operational teaching for terrorism (on strategic and tactical levels) takes place. In addition to strategic and tactical learning, terrorist training camps incorporate a number of psychological development processes which advance the ideological motivations that brought the students to the camps in the first place. The physical isolation of the training camps is an important aspect to this process, in part because members come to rely on each other (and thus build bonds of mutual trust within the organization) for success and survival. In short, training camps for terrorism are obviously places of great concern for the civilized world, because they bring enthusiastic learners (with a willingness to kill) together with experts who teach them how to kill. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Libya, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Indonesia, U.S.

- (129.) Forest, James JF. “The Democratic Disadvantage in the Strategic Communications Battlespace,” *Democracy and Security*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2006).

This article explores the struggle for influence taking place online between liberal democracies and extremists.

It begins by describing the various online forms of strategic communication used by terrorist organizations to achieve their objectives. Particular attention is focused on how members of the global salafi jihadist network use the Internet to provide motivational/ideological and operational information to potential recruits and supporters. The discussion then examines the current public diplomacy effort of the U.S., and identifies an important disadvantage in our approach. In an age of universal access to the means of providing information online, citizens of a liberal democracy like ours have the power to undermine our strategic communications and public diplomacy efforts, largely through ignorance and irresponsibility. This problem is particularly acute when communicating with many corners of the Muslim world, where there is no frame of reference for understanding the implications of a free and open press, or a society that enjoys the legal protection of free speech. Thus, whether the messenger is Condoleezza Rice, Howard Stern, Pat Robertson, or the 14 year-old web blogger down the street, messages put forward online are often given equal credence in terms of representing American policy, culture, and ideas. This analysis concludes that an effective public diplomacy agenda requires a commitment to educating our own citizens for world comprehension and responsible communication, as well as motivating a grassroots campaign to develop and disseminate an effective anti-jihad message. [JF]

Topic 1: Strategic Diplomacy	Communications/Public	Topic 2: Counterterrorism Perspective	Policies—A Macro	Topic 3: National Terrorism Policy
---	------------------------------	--	-------------------------	--

Countries/Regions: U.S., Iraq, Israel, Afghanistan

- (130.) Forest, James JF. "Training Camps and Other Centers of Learning," in *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

This chapter explores the past, present and future centers of learning in the terrorist world—places in the physical and digital world where professional training materials and activities enable an individual to become a bona fide terrorist. Our understanding of the terrorist world must incorporate the means by which individuals learn the terrorist trade, from professional training manuals and other documented sources of knowledge (both in print and on the Internet) to physical locations such as training camps. [JF]

Topic 1: Terrorist Strategies and Tactics	Topic 2: The Future of Terrorism	Topic 3: Global Environment
---	--	---------------------------------------

Countries/Regions: Lebanon, Syria, Libya, Afghanistan, Central Asia

- (131.) Fradkin, Hillel, Husain Haqqani and Eric Brown (eds). *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*. Washington, DC: The Hudson Institute, Center on Islam, Democracy, and The Future of the Muslim World, 2004.

This is the first of a series of reports on the ideological dimension of America's current struggle with its terrorist adversaries and its potential implications for the successful prosecution of that struggle. If the struggle with Islamist terrorism is in part a war of ideas, it follows that a proper understanding of Islamist ideology must play an important role in our prosecution of the war. Thus, these reports will aim to provide an up-to-date accounting of the present state of radical Islamist ideology. This inaugural report has a particular emphasis on the radical movements of South Asia and Southeast Asia. Contributors were asked to describe the state of affairs in their region and its interrelationship with the wider world of radical Islam, as well as pay special attention to the history of current radical ideological trends in their respective geographical regions. In addition to the editors, contributors include Rohan Gunaratna, Angel Rabasa, Reuven Paz, Michael Wine and

Hussain Haqqani. [JF]

Topic 1:

Religious Ideology

Topic 2:

Political Islam

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Southeast Asia

- (132.) Freese, Kevin. "Cross-Border Issues in Protecting Critical Infrastructure from Terrorism," in **Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure**, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

This chapter addresses a number of cross-border issues in protecting critical infrastructure from terrorism. Freese notes that the northern and southwest borders of the U.S. pose a unique problem for homeland defense and homeland security. Communities near these borders, and indeed much of the country, are physically dependent upon infrastructure that is either shared by both countries or else falls outside the legal jurisdiction of the U.S. By targeting infrastructure in either of these categories, a terrorist or other enemy seeking to harm the U.S. directly would not even have to set foot on U.S. soil in order to carry out a devastating attack. Protecting this cross-border critical infrastructure is essential in order to defend and guarantee the security of the homeland, but the U.S. is completely dependent upon the cooperation and assistance of Canada and México—meaning that this link in the security fence must fall under the purview of international diplomacy. He concludes that for the sake of all the citizens of North America, our governments must foster the political will, resources, organizational structure and legal framework for improving multilateral cooperation in CI protection. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Mexico, Canada

- (133.) Frey, Bruno S., Simon Luechinger and Alois Stutzer. "Calculating Tragedy: Assessing the Costs of Terrorism." Cesifo Working Paper No. 1341 (November 2004). Online at: <http://www.cesifo.de>

In recent years, economic scholars have analyzed the effects terrorist acts have on various aspects of the economy and society. The authors briefly discuss how the extent of terrorism is measured and the most important trends in international terrorism (section 2). The following section assesses empirical studies on the impact of terrorism on tourism, foreign direct investment, savings and consumption, investments, stock markets, foreign trade, urbanization and overall economic development, including the costs of the attacks of September 11, 2001. Several estimates of the effects of terrorism will be given, but it is, of course, not possible to come up with one single figure for the economic damages caused by terrorism. Moreover, the overall effects of terrorism may well exceed the economic consequences. Therefore, possible approaches for estimating the utility losses of the population affected, as well as first results, are discussed in section 4, and section 5 of the report offers concluding remarks. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., UK

(134.) Frisch, Hillel. "Explaining Third World Security Structures." Arab Armies: Religious, Economic & Structural Dimensions. 54 (June 2003): 161-190

Hillel examines the motives of Third World countries in regards to their national security undertakings. There are two factors that influence these states: the degree of pluralism in politics and society, and the state's importance to U.S. interests and security. Hillel explains that there is, however, a trade-off between securing the homeland and having sufficient capabilities to ward off intrusions. This is where the importance of a strong ally would be desirable, preferably the U.S., allowing Third World states respite from political and societal fragmentation. [BN]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
The Framework

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Eritrea, Palestinian Authority, Syria, Morocco

(135.) Frisch, Hillel. "Guns and Butter in the Egyptian Army." Arab Armies: Religious, Economic & Structural Dimensions. 54 (June 2003), p. 93-112.

Hillel argues that the large Egyptian army is increasingly required to balance growing civil-military relations while it remains entrenched in twentieth century mode. Its mission is still to defend Egypt and its interests, but remain defensive rather than offensive and to practice deterrence, especially with regard to Israel. It resists the inevitable infiltration of civil society by establishing military cities, while it struggles with budgetary constraints and the need for other sources of income. This has caused the army to establish or seek out other military organizations or military owned companies. The nature of the Egyptian army at present, Hillel concludes, is that it has not crossed over into a globally orientated state, nor will Egypt's poor economy be able to continue support of such an immense army. [BN]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Egypt

(136.) Frisch, Hillel. "The Role of Religion in the Militaries of Egypt, Syria and Jordan." Arab Armies: Religious, Economic & Structural Dimensions 54 (June 2003): 207-224.

Hillel describes how important religion is to civil-military relations within the Arab world, and its role within the political arena. He puts forth three hypotheses: that there is a strong relationship with the religiosity of the state and the role of religion in the military, thus the more theocratic the regime, the more religion is used as an identifying mechanism; second, religion is a private matter and the state instead rallies around nationalism; and three, the state will wax and wane its religiosity to its own benefit. He then applies these theories to the cases of Egypt, Syria and Jordan. [BN]

Topic 1:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Egypt, Syria, Jordan

- (137.) Galanter, Marc and James J.F. Forest. "Cults, Charismatic Groups and Social Systems: Understanding the Behavior of Terrorist Recruits," in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 2: *Training*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

This chapter examines the social systems found within charismatic groups, and how the characteristics of these systems compel their members to behave in certain ways. In essence, the charismatic group can be viewed as a close-knit community defined by the following primary characteristics: it has a strongly-held belief system and a high level of social cohesiveness; its members are deeply influenced by the group's behavioral norms and impute a transcendent (or divine) role to their leader. These groups may differ among themselves in the particulars of their ideology and ritual behavior, but they do have several traits in common, including: 1) an attraction to joining the group; 2) the transformative experience of membership; and 3) the social system forces that surround the group's members, giving meaning and structure. These traits of charismatic groups help explain the behavioral transformations described in many of the chapters of this volume. Through a mix of psychological and social dimensions observed in this discussion, the charismatic group and the individual form a symbiotic relationship, serving each other's needs. When joining a charismatic group, an individual is transformed by powerful forces into a personal extension of the group's identity, which compels them to carry out activities that were unthinkable prior to group membership. Even when a suicide terrorist attack is the goal, this act can be justified as serving the needs of the group, needs which take primacy over the individual's basic desire for a longer life. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 2:

Religion and Conflict: Cults

Topic 3:

Mobilizing Forces

Countries/Regions: Global

- (138.) Gambetta, Diego (editor), *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2005).

Gambetta shuns the label "suicide terrorism" in this edited volume, and instead focuses on 'suicide missions'—a term that allows the contributors to examine suicide attacks used not only by terrorist organizations, but also by insurgent groups (e.g., the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, LTTE) and by conventional armies (Japan's kamikaze). In his introductory chapter on the kamikaze, Peter Hill convincingly argues that rather than the "glory of dying for [the emperor]," it is the protection of family and country that motivated Japan's suicide attack squad. In the following chapter on the Sri Lankan LTTE, Stephen Hopgood argues that the attacks of the organization's elite suicide squad, the Black Tigers, "aim primarily to win the war, not to spread terror." Next, Luca Ricolfi discusses the statistics of suicide attacks against Israel using an integrated database. Stephen Holmes demonstrates that the 9/11 attackers' grievances were not distinctively Islamic but, at the very least, a blurring of personal frustration, political protest, and religious conviction. In the next chapter, Michael Biggs examines self-immolations, a subject usually excluded from research on suicide attacks. Then Stathis Kalyvas and Ignacio Sanchez-Cuenca address the question why so few organizations embark on suicide missions. The remaining two chapters examine the inherent complexity of suicide missions. [JF, with Assaf Moghadam].

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 3:

The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Japan, Israel, Sri Lanka, U.S.

- (139.) **Ganguly, Sumit, "Putting South Asia Back Together Again." Current History (December 2001)**

The article reviews the recent history of Afghanistan and America's complicated role in the events leading up to and following the Soviet invasion. The author describes America's tacit support for the Taliban, partly for the sake of stability, and partly because of intense lobbying by energy companies seeking to build a pipeline. The author also emphasizes the importance of the Kashmiri conflict, and the role the United States should play, not only in Afghanistan, but in regards to India and Pakistan. Finally, he gives a stern warning against abandoning Afghanistan as a cause following the collapse of the Taliban. [NG]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
Global Environment

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir, India, South Asia

- (140.) **Gannon, Kathy. "Jihad Manual a Testament of Death." Associated Press (October 2, 2001).**

The article reviews a manual of sabotage and destruction obtained from a former Afghan guerilla. There are 11 volumes that address different topics from explosives, to weapons making, to security and intelligence. They all provide considerable technical detail and are aimed at aiding the jihadists in the insurgency. [BN]

Topic 1:
Defining Terrorism

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
New Threats

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan

- (141.) **Geertz, Clifford. "Religion As a Cultural System." Journal of The Function of Religion in Human Society. P. 78-89**

In this article, Geertz explores symbolism and its role within religion. He explains that religion involves a system of symbols which establishes powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. [HM]

Topic 1:
Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
Religion and Conflict: Cults

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., Germany

- (142.) **Gerwehr, Scott and Russell W. Glenn. "Unweaving the Web: Deception and Adaptation in Future Urban Operations. RAND Corporation (2003). Online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1495**

Gerwehr and Glenn see deception as the method by which the perceptions of a foe are manipulated, therefore increasing the chance that the foe will commit an error in action. According to the authors, relatively limited scientific literature is available on military deception, and much can be learned, particularly for an urban terrorism conflict, from the more prevalent research surrounding deception in the animal kingdom. To Gerwehr and Glenn, deception should be further emphasized in military training, especially in

regard to urban warfare. While reconnaissance and surveillance tools can be complementary to deception tools, they occupy different areas of expertise. The authors identify key analytical tools for the understanding and development of deception strategy, and advocate further development of deception expertise in the armed forces. The specifically mention that by allowing diversity in training (without sacrificing standardization), deception tactics can be further enhanced. Technology too, is an indispensable aspect of effective military deception. [NG]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions:

- (143.) **Gibbs, Jack P. "Conceptualization of Terrorism." American Sociological Review Vol. 54. (June 1989), p. 329-340.**

Gibbs proposes a definition of terrorism from the sociology perspective. He rejects the need to have a theory in order to have a definition, and dismisses single sentence definitions. From this starting point, he identifies several questions that need to be addressed if any definition is going to comprehensively capture terrorism activity. Gibbs states that terrorism is illegal violence or threatened violence directed against human or non-human objects. He then attaches five additional points: (1) terrorism can be used by groups for or against a norm; (2) terror groups are secret and concealed; (3) defense of an area is not involved; (4) terrorism is not conventional warfare; and (5) terrorism instills fear and gains publicity for the terrorists' objectives. [TB]

Topic 1:
Defining Terrorism

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (144.) **Glass, Thomas A. and Monica Schoch-Spana. "Bioterrorism and the People: How to Vaccinate a City against Panic," in Homeland Security and Terrorism, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).**

The authors of this chapter review lessons learned from previous terrorist attacks and national health emergencies, and offer their insights on how to vaccinate a city against panic. Their analysis concludes with five categories of very practical recommendations for a city of any size or topography. They conclude that the public can prepare for, and help mitigate, a bioterrorist attack. In fact, it is vital that health officials and other leaders view the public as active participants in any bioterror response. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (145.) **Gleis, Joshua L. "Israel's Struggle Against Palestinian Terror Organizations," in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Gleis examines Israeli counterterrorism measures that it has incorporated in its fight against terrorist

organizations. His description of Israeli tactics is particularly interesting. For example, due to these measures taken by terrorists and militants, Israeli forces have been forced to adopt methods to avoid such successful defenses. Narrow alleys require infantry to move house to house, blowing holes through walls in order to limit the danger to them from snipers and explosives planted in the entrances. His chapter also addresses issues of doctrine, education, preemption, targeted assassinations, and technology, including civilian anti-aircraft missile systems, counterterrorism measures implemented on buses, and long-range explosives detectors. He notes that the U.S. armed forces, and particularly the Marine Corps, have joint training exercises with Israeli forces, and are learning from Israel's urban warfare tactics. However, in the intelligence field there is still an extreme lack of trust towards the Israeli intelligence and security agencies. Overall, there is much that can be learned from Israel's long experience in combating terrorism. [JF]

Topic 1:

Case Studies

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: Israel

- (146.) Golden, Roger Dean. "What Price Security? The USA PATRIOT Act and America's Balance Between Freedom and Security," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

In examining the USA PATRIOT Act, Golden takes a nuanced approach toward the issue of establishing a healthy balance between freedom and security. He notes that for now, we have witnessed a shift toward security with the potential loss of a degree of the freedom, but American history suggests that a shift in the other direction is likely once the threat to security is perceived as sufficiently reduced. In examining the tensions that arise in the wake of the Act, between protecting the openness of American society and making it more secure, he notes that the Act represents a shift toward security at the expense of some loss of personal freedom. At present, it appears that the American public supports this trade-off, though how long this support will last is open to debate. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (147.) Gordon, Avishag. "Terrorism and the Scholarly Communication System." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Winter 2001), 116-124.

Gordon describes terrorism as an academic subject that is under-developed and under-researched compared to other fields. Its lack of maturity has in turn garnished a lack of scholarly information about this subject. Like all other fields, the development of the study of terrorism is linked to external factors such as university budgets and the academic staff. Gordon postulates that in order for the terrorism field to become a proper academic discipline, it must demonstrate scientific readiness and have something to offer as an area of research. However, unlike other disciplines, terrorism researchers commonly use secondary, open sources for academic papers; this is due to the classified nature of most terrorist information. In recent years, terrorism research has turned toward the university, and leaves Gordon to assume that the terrorism field will eventually assimilate into a proper discipline. [BN]

Topic 1:

Changes in Terrorism

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., Europe

- (148.) Gorka, Sebestyén. "Al Qaida in Action: The Case Study of the Shoe-Bomber," *Jane's Terrorism and Security Monitor* (June 21, 2005).

This special report on Richard Reid, the so-called "shoe-bomber," is based on materials used to investigate and prosecute him in the United States. After describing his youth and upbringing, the report examines the role of Egyptian Abu Hamza al-Masri and the Finsbury Park mosque in the Islamic radicalization of Reid and others. Gorka notes that the image of Reid purveyed by the international press as one of being an incompetent bungler is incorrect. Rather, it is only by chance that his attack failed and that he was intercepted. The international investigation after the arrest reveals a well-organized series of rehearsal operations and a widespread network of facilitators and accomplices. After a two-year period of establishing al Qaida credentials and receiving training in more than one of the group's camps, Reid began a six-month tour of the Middle East and Europe, during which potential targets and methods of attack were identified. Gorka concludes that more effective intelligence is clearly needed to detect the potential attackers of the future, since fortune may not always be on the side of the authorities, as it was in the case of the Richard Reid. [F]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: France, Afghanistan, U.S., UK

- (149.) Gray, Tracey and Frank Jones. "International Cooperation for Maritime Security," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

In this chapter, Gray and Jones argue that because the maritime domain is an immense and largely unsecured medium for a number of threats, the United States should seek to increase maritime security by strengthening regional cooperative security efforts and enabling other nations by sharing expertise, information, and technology. Finding common ground and mutual strategic interests allows for synergy greater than any one nation can achieve. The transnational terrorist threat in the maritime domain is a global menace, and it demands a global response. [F]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Europe, Asia, Mexico, Canada

- (150.) Gregory, Bruce. "Public Diplomacy as Strategic Communication," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Gregory provides a brief historical overview of public diplomacy and strategic communication in American foreign policy. He then describes how the Bush administration has until most recently failed to demonstrate a sustained commitment to public diplomacy or give it a prominent role in the Global War on Terror. Five

years after 9/11, U.S. political leaders have just begun to recognize the need for change. Experts in the academic and private sectors, meanwhile, have all agreed: public diplomacy is vital to national security; it is broken and strategic level change is needed. A flurry of reports have been commissioned, and the recent appointment of Karen Hughes as the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (a position that was filled by a Senate-confirmed appointee for only 18 months during the Bush Administration's first four and one-half years in office) are promising signs of movement in a new direction. However, he notes, "transformational public diplomacy," requires political will and a presidential directive on strategic communication that is reinforced and made permanent with bipartisan Congressional support and legislation. Finally, Gregory offers a set of recommendations for the future of America's public diplomacy and strategic communications efforts. [F]

Topic 1:Strategic
Diplomacy**Topic 2:**Communications/Public
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism**Topic 3:**

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (151.) **Gross, Max L. "Global War on Terrorism: Analyzing the Strategic Threat." Discussion Paper No. 13. (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic Intelligence Research, November 2004).**

The paper describes the jihad against the United States and how unprepared the U.S. has been for such an attack. In fact, Gross argues, the United States and Europe are still not prepared to confront the threat of jihad. The discussion goes into great detail on the history of Islam, jihads, and what makes a jihad legitimate in the Muslim community. In the end, the author notes, America must take direct actions against jihadists, and the Islamic countries must understand that the United States will stand up against (and will be victorious against) aggression from any source. [HM]

Topic 1:

Defining Terrorism

Topic 2:

Religion and Conflict

Topic 3:

Religious Ideology

Countries/Regions: U.S., Middle East, Southeast Asia

- (152.) **Gruen, Madeleine. "Innovative Recruitment and Indoctrination Tactics by Extremists: Video Games, Hip Hop, and the World Wide Web," in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 1: Recruitment, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Gruen describes the ways in which extremist groups use American popular culture to introduce radical agendas to receptive youthful audiences. Her analysis illustrates how young Muslims are lured into association with radicalizing agents through traps set on the Internet and through seemingly sympathetic peer groups. By presenting their agendas to an American audience using vernacular and images recognizable to them, radical groups are winning acceptance of concepts with which their audience was not previously familiar. Already, groups such as Hizb ut-Tahrir (a political organization with a worldwide presence that seeks to overthrow Western governments through non-violent means in order to install Islamic fundamentalist leadership) and Hizbollah have used music and computer games to introduce their ideology and to engender anger and hatred against old enemies among a new generation. Young people who had never contemplated overthrowing their government are now listening to and singing songs about the establishment of an Islamic state. The examples given in Gruen's chapter demonstrate that Islamist radicalizing entities are intentionally crafting campaigns that do not violate U.S. laws, much less draw notice from authorities. The ultimate penalty for ignoring this burgeoning phenomenon will be an indigenous population sympathetic to the terrorist agenda that can be

called upon to support operations, or worse, attack the U.S. from within. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Religious Ideology

Topic 3:

Mobilizing Forces

Countries/Regions: U.S., Lebanon, Israel, Global

- (153.) **Guilmartin, Eugenia K. “Rejection of Political Institutions by Right Wing Extremists in the United States,” in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 3: Root Causes*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Guilmartin examines how ideology, personality, and rejection of commonly respected government institutions play an important role in the making of a right wing extremist in America. Her discussion examines the ideology of the extreme right wing in America—an ideology of limited government and maximum property rights, the opposition to taxes, the right to bear arms and opposition to world government. This is followed by an analysis of personal characteristics—particularly, a heightened focus on certain grievances and the rejection of political institutions—which seem most common among right wing extremists and domestic terrorists. Her research indicates that while various types of right wing groups—including militias, common law courts, sovereign citizens, tax protesters, and survivalists—differ in which aspect of the government they fail to recognize, they all reject some commonly respected government institution. [JF]

Topic 1:

Mobilizing Forces

Topic 2:

Case Studies

Topic 3:

Domestic Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (154.) **Guiora, Amos N. and Martha Minow. “National Objectives in the Hands of Junior Leaders,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

This chapter focuses on the specific role of junior officers in contemporary military engagements in countering terrorism. Guiora and Minow argue that when considering the training and preparation of junior military leaders, there are three areas in which improvements can be made: the use and gathering of intelligence, clear articulation of the mission, and awareness of legal responsibilities. In today’s conflicts, special focus must be given to the needs of the junior leader—typically, it is the platoon leader and his noncommissioned officers (NCOs) who are charged with translating mission and strategy into tactics. Based on lessons learned from the Israeli experiences with countering terrorism, this chapter reveals that more can be done to prepare junior leaders adequately for their missions. A focus on counterterrorism puts into stark relief the kinds of real-time and accessible intelligence, advanced training in law, and clear articulation of mission that junior leaders demand. [JF]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Israel, U.S.

- (155.) **Gunaratna, Rohan and Arabinda Acharya. “The Al Qaida Training Camps of Afghanistan and**

Beyond,” in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

This chapter explores the role of training—particularly the training camps established by Al Qaida—in facilitating the spread of the global Islamic militant terrorist threat. The training camps set up by Al Qaida and its associates became the life-blood for the groups, providing indoctrination and training for foot soldiers, go-betweens, planners, document forgers, communications specialists, scouts, technicians, bombers and even hijackers. According to some estimates, many militant Muslims from more than 50 countries have passed through the camps, spending from two weeks to more than six months learning the general and specific skills that modern terrorism requires. Many veterans of the camp remain unaccounted for. From their analysis, Gunaratna and Acharya conclude that given the importance of these facilities to terrorist organizations, the necessity of locating and disrupting terrorist camps can hardly be overemphasized. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Indonesia, Global

(156.) Gunaratna, Rohan, “The Post-Madrid Face of Al Qaida.” *The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 27, Number 3 (Summer 2004).

Since September 11, Al Qaida has had to rely on affiliated organizations for survival. In fact, the bulk of terrorist attacks after September 11 have been carried out by affiliates. By transferring its know-how to affiliated groups, al Qaida has been able to stay relevant, while Iraq has provided a new staging ground for the organization. The author contends that the terrorist threat will not diminish with the end of Osama bin Laden and Al-Zawahiri, since it is a growing, headless movement. [NG]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategy and Tactics

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:
New Threats

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Spain, Middle East

(157.) Gunaratna, Rohan. “Al Qaida’s Lose and Learn Doctrine: The Trajectory from Oplan Bojinka to 9/11,” in *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

Gunaratna provides an analysis of al Qaida’s lose and learn doctrine. In this case, we see a terrorist network that clearly demonstrates the attributes of a learning organization: a willingness to experiment with new approaches, analyze the results, and develop new strategy and tactics based on those lessons learned. The implications for countering the threat from al Qaida, as well as for our understanding of other terrorist organizations, are striking. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Historical Context

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia

(158.) Gupta, Dipak K. and Kusum Mundra. “Suicide Bombing As a Strategic Instrument of Protest:

An Empirical Investigation of Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.”
Working paper. San Diego State University, 1-36

Gupta and Mundra attempt to demonstrate that suicide bombings are carefully planned and carried out in a rational manner; they are not random, nor are the participants irrational. They examine Islamic Jihad's and Hamas's attacks on Israel, and postulate that these are the result of Israeli politics, inter-Palestinian rivalry, and external events. Gupta and Mundra do not look at individual bombing cases to test their hypothesis; instead, they examine the act of suicide bombing as a strategic weapon by the leadership of these two organizations. These acts are seen as forms of martyrdom for Palestinians and create the greatest mistrust and hatred between the two groups. This, Gupta and Mundra discover, and not military victory, is the goal of Islamic Jihad and Hamas suicide bombers. [BN]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Case Studies

Topic 3:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Countries/Regions: Israel, Palestinian Authority

- (159.) **Haahr, Kathryn. “Emerging Terrorist Trends in Spain’s Moroccan Communities.”**
Terrorism Monitor, Volume 4, Issue 9 (May 4, 2006). Online at:
<http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?issue_id=3713>

The 2004 terrorist attacks in Madrid have shone light on al Qaida loyalist presence in Spain, specifically in the autonomous communities of Ceuta and Melilla. Because of their closeness to Andalucía, the Spanish government is concerned over the immigration into the Spanish mainland of possible terrorists from these areas. They have moved counterterrorist forces into Ceuta and Melilla in hopes of identifying the radical leaders before they make their way to Spain proper. The Muslim population in these places is expected to increase, and with it the possibility of a heightened number of radical Islamists. [BN]

Topic 1:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
New Threats

Countries/Regions: Spain, Morocco

- (160.) **Hafez, Mohammed M. “Political Repression and Violent Rebellion in the Muslim World,” in**
The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 3: Root Causes, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT:
Praeger Security International, 2005).

Hafez examines how Islamic opposition movements have adopted a variety of strategies to affect social and political change. His discussion addresses two important questions: Why do some Islamic movements turn to rebellion and why do previously non-violent militants turn to violence? Islamic rebellion, he argues, is a product of institutional exclusion and indiscriminate state repression, particularly following an extended period of Islamic mobilization. Drawing on the political histories of Algeria and Egypt, he concludes that the choice between moderation and violence in Islamic movements during a democratization process is shaped by state policies, especially the degree of system accessibility and the nature of state repression. If the democratic process grants Islamists substantive access to state institutions, the opposition will be channeled toward conventional political participation and shun violence. If, on the other hand, the state denies Islamists access and if the state applies repression indiscriminately—punishing both moderate and radical proponents of political opposition—Islamists will tend to resort to militancy. [JF]

Topic 1:

Topic 2:

Topic 3:

Political Islam

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Religion and Conflict

Countries/Regions: U.S., Egypt, Saudi Arabia

- (161.) Hamden, Raymond H. “Unresolved Trauma and the Thirst for Revenge: The Retributional Terrorist,” in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Hamden describes how individuals who reportedly have no emotional or social pathology in their psychological development, and no familial or social conditioning to any political or religious ideology, nonetheless turn to terrorism as a tactic towards extracting retribution or vengeance against their enemies. In essence, he argues, some individuals’ motivation for violent acts can be understood as the result of a major traumatic incident. As a member of a well-organized and capable organization, the retributional terrorist is a daunting enemy. However, he argues, a “lone wolf” retributional terrorist—like Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, for example—may be even more dangerous than some groups. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 2:

Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., Israel, Global

- (162.) Hanley, Brian and Birthe Borup. “Bioterrorism and Biodefense for America’s Public Spaces and Cities,” in *Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Hanley and Borup note that the effects of disease can be highly destructive for societies in various ways, and that methods and techniques for biological warfare have become readily available, well-understood and inexpensive worldwide. Thus, communities must be prepared to grapple with the threat of bioterrorism. After describing seven fundamental principles of biological warfare, they examine what types of groups or individuals might attempt to use these deadly weapons against America’s communities, and then offer some recommendations for countering this threat, emphasizing the importance of monitoring basic public health issues. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (163.) Hanley, Brian. “Understanding and Countering the Motives and Methods of Warlords,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

This chapter addresses the need to understand and counter the motives and methods of a particular type of violent non-state actor: warlords. Hanley provides a categorization of different types of warlords (including resource warlords, proxy warlords and development bandits), and then provides recommendations for countering each type. He suggests that the primary method of dealing with a resource warlord is to take physical control of his resource assets and manage them on a fair and equitable way for the people of the

nation. This type of military-development action could be legitimized on the international scene. He recommends imprisoning or killing proxy warlords (who are supported by external entities), while negotiating with their supporting power(s). And regarding development bandits, he recommends taking steps to allow prosecution for major crimes committed in developing nations in the domicile of the funding organization. Finally, he notes, a key to opposing warlords is not so much how draconian the threat is against them, but their perception, and that of a potential successor, that they will reliably be caught or killed. Because of the prevalence of warlords in failed or failing states—the same “ungoverned spaces” where we find terrorist groups and training camps—Hanley’s analysis of warlords contributes an important dimension to our understanding of countering terrorism in the 21st century. [JF]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Global

- (164.) Herrmann, Jonathan G. and Charlotte S. Bercegeay. “Preserving Water Integrity in Our Communities: Homeland Security Priorities of the Environmental Protection Agency,” in *Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

In this chapter, two senior representatives of the U. S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) provide a brief historical perspective on homeland security priorities and policies, and describes the EPA’s requirement to collaborate with and provide guidance to state and local governments and the private sector to ensure water infrastructure protection. These partnerships are critical to ensuring the safety of the nation’s water infrastructure. Their chapter concludes with a review of EPA’s Action Plan, a comprehensive approach that addresses water infrastructure security issues and needs. Research continues on current and future projects, and the Action Plan will be updated to reflect EPA’s current understanding of threats to, and vulnerabilities of, drinking water systems. Using research results, appropriate methods and technologies can be developed and applied to drinking water systems to protect this vital national infrastructure. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (165.) Hicks, Kelly J. “How Business Can Defeat Terrorism: Global Financial Firms Battle the SARS Outbreak in Hong Kong,” in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

This chapter highlights the important role of the private sector. Hicks begins by describing what appears to be a dastardly terrorist event. In reality, however, it is the SARS outbreak, which brought Hong Kong to its knees. He uses Hong Kong’s response to SARS to explain both how a bioterrorist attack could unfold and, more importantly, how American business, leaders, government, and the international community can respond successfully to potential bioterrorism attacks. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (166.) Hodge, James G. Jr. "Bioterrorism Law and Policy: Critical Choices in Public Health." *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*, Summer 2002. Online at: http://www.findarticles.com/cf_0/m0DPE/mag.jhtml

Hodge argues that the threat of bioterrorism is a catalyst for change in public health practice. Preparing for existing and future bioterrorism events in the United States requires federal, state, and local public health authorities to collaborate in new ways with law enforcement, intelligence, and emergency personnel to strengthen the existing public health infrastructure. Working to improve public health detection, prevention, and response capabilities requires effective training, additional resources, the use of existing and new technologies, and public health law reform. These and other tools for responding to existing and future bioterrorism events call for public health authorities, law- and policymakers, and society to make a series of critical choices. These choices must be guided by a fair set of principles, such as: promoting the public's health to the highest extent possible is more important than outside political or social pressures; resources (e.g., vaccines) should be distributed evenly across at-risk populations, and not favor persons in government or those with sufficient wealth or stature in the community; the distribution of limited vaccines or treatments should be made with consideration of the immediate health consequences to affected populations rather than the potential impact on unaffected groups; and we must protect the health of public health personnel or health-care workers (and their families) working to control the spread of disease or treat infected individuals. These principles will not resolve every difficult question, but they may provide some guidance as public health authorities struggle to decide how to allocate dwindling resources during an emergency. [JF]

Topic 1:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Topic 2:
WMD/CBRN CT Policy

Topic 3:
Homeland Security

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (167.) Hoffman, Bruce. "al Qaida, Trends in Terrorism and Future Potentialities: An Assessment." Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, (2003).
Online at: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/papers/P8078>

Hoffman analyzes the trends in terrorism and the current state of al Qaida. He attempts to understand how al Qaida is changing, especially in reference to the war in Iraq and the developments in the world since then. He analyzes the possibility of future terrorist attacks due to the resiliency of al Qaida leadership, their ability to identify American vulnerabilities, and recruit from many different countries. The challenge that faces this terrorist organization, however, is to keep the message of radical Islam and their ideologies in the limelight and backed with powerful propaganda. Hoffman recommends that governments fighting terrorism must avoid fatigue throughout the sustained length of this warfare, and warns against over-optimism due to the changing nature of the threat. [BN]

Topic 1:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 2:
Defining Terrorism

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S., Middle East

- (168.) Hoffman, Bruce. "Combating Terrorism: In Search of a National Strategy." Testimony to Subcommittee on National Security, Veterans Affairs and International Relations, House Committee on Government Reform, March 27, 2001. Online at:

<http://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/CT175>

Hoffman's testimony discusses his two main concerns: a lack of understanding of the terrorism threat, and the lack of a national strategy to combat terrorism. He argues that such an unfocused effort squanders resources and leads to poor policy choices. Hoffman wants a current assessment of the threat, both foreign and domestic, along with an idea of where the threat is headed in the future. Interestingly, Hoffman rejects the law-enforcement approach. He argues that terrorism is a national security and intelligence issue instead. The solution he proposes is a comprehensive strategy that accounts for both foreign and domestic threats. [TB]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(169.) Hoffman, Bruce. "Defending America Against Suicide Terrorism." In *Three Years After: Next Steps in the War on Terror*, edited by David Aaron (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005).

Hoffman suggests that it is very likely the U.S. will see more suicide attacks in the future. There are at least three reasons why suicide bombing are so attractive to terrorists. First, from a tactical standpoint, suicide attacks are attractive to terrorists because they are inexpensive and effective—with an extremely favorable per-casualty cost benefit for the terrorists. Moreover, they are less complicated and compromising than other lethal operations. No escape plan is needed because, if successful, there will be no assailant to capture and interrogate. Suicide attacks are perhaps the ultimate "smart bombs." They can cleverly employ disguise and deception and effect last-minute changes in timing, access, and choice of target. And suicide attacks guarantee media coverage. They offer the irresistible combination of savagery and bloodshed. Second, social and individual incentives also make suicide attacks attractive. For Muslims, there is a perceived religious justification for the act. This comes from both the organizations responsible for attacks and the communities from which terrorists are recruited. Lastly, in addition to the spiritual considerations, there is material encouragement in the form of financial payments made to bombers' families: The surviving family is provided nicer living accommodations and a wealth of consumer goods. How to defend against this threat? Hoffman suggests that the best defense relies on mobilizing the entire security force against the threat of suicide terrorism. It is not sufficient to rely on highly trained, elite specialized units. A countersuicide mindset must be instilled in each and every policeman. All security forces must be briefed, involved in the mission, and made thoroughly aware of the threat. They must understand the permutations of possible attacks, the various indicators, the most effective responses, and the details of plans to counter such attacks. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(170.) Hoffman, Bruce. "Re-Thinking Terrorism in Light of a War on Terrorism." Testimony before the Subcommittee on Terrorism and Homeland Security, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives (September 26, 2001). Online at: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/2005/CT182.pdf>

Hoffman's testimony to Congress is based on three underlying concepts underlining the war on terror: (1) the need for a comprehensive, fully coordinated strategy; (2) the necessity of understanding the threat in all

dimensions, including the current threat and how it is likely to evolve; and (3) a reconfiguration of the national security architecture, because the current configuration is focused on military threats. Hoffman argues for an overhaul in the thinking on terrorism and national security. This is required because of the increasing attack sophistication and lethality. These points are important because Hoffman feels that they show an ambitious scope and dimension, consummate coordination and synchronization, and professionalism and tradecraft advancement to keep the operations a secret. In conclusion, Hoffman recommends that the national strategy account for attacks across the entire technological spectrum, instead of just worst case scenarios. He also discusses the lack of a magic bullet or quick fix: all suggestions require time and resources. [TB]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (171.) Hoffman, Bruce. "The Logic of Suicide Bombing," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Most Americans find it particularly difficult to understand how any human being could willfully strap explosives to their body in order to murder unarmed civilians. Hoffman provides useful insights into this very dangerous and potentially imminent threat to the United States. In recent years, the world has seen these tactics used in Israel, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, and Colombia to name but a few. The threat of suicide bombers is front and center for individuals at all levels of government—from city police and fire departments to the Department of Homeland Security. Ultimately, "suicide terrorism is embraced as a psychological weapon designed to induce paralysis in one's opponent," explains Hoffman. Through examination of Palestinian suicide bombers, Hoffman offers the reader insight as to what other countries might be able to expect and the challenges faced in defending against such attacks. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Israel, U.S.

- (172.) Hoffman, Frank G. "Border Security: Closing the Ingenuity Gap," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Hoffman's chapter provides an analysis of security at the nation's borders. He explores the impact of globalization—particularly economic interconnectivity and the growing volume of transnational trade in goods and services—on our ability to adequately secure the nation's ports and land borders. His belief that September 11 was a direct attack on global interconnectivity is shared by a significant number of policy analysts. However, he argues, we have yet to develop and implement new, innovative ways to ensure an open and safe border system, and we must engage the private sector in doing so. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., Mexico

(173.) Hoffman, Frank. "Border Security: Closing the Ingenuity Gap." Lexington Institute.

Hoffman's article is concerned with the new challenges that globalization has imparted onto society, including the terrorist attacks of 9/11. He observes that Osama bin-Laden took advantage of the porous borders of the U.S., as he knew that this was our most vulnerable point. Increased interconnectivity due to globalization has led to a rise in problems that can only be addressed through better governance and increased supply of domestic ingenuity. Border security and the transportation networks that serve them need immediate attention and ingenious actions; because the world is more connected, the events that happen in the U.S. have resounding economic and political effects in other countries, and vice versa. Terrorist acts have verified this statement, as this new type of warfare has caused all countries to rethink their own domestic security as well that of the international arena. [BN] NOTE: Please also see Hoffman's updated analysis of border security, published under the same title, in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russ Howard, James Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

**(174.) Hollywood, John et al. Out of the Ordinary: Finding Hidden Threats by Analyzing Unusual Behavior. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2004.
Online at: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG126>**

The authors attempt to connect data that at sometimes would appear inconsequential or irrelevant within the larger context of intelligence gathering. The study is an attempt to bring together data so that events like September 11th can be prevented in the future. Their method of analysis involves creating a schema to follow; the Atypical Signal Analysis and Processing is their means of problem solving. The point of this process is to allow the collaboration of analysts to work together on similar pieces of intelligence; it further enhances the communication channel between them. However, it is only intended to work with data that is already of interest to the intelligence community, data that is out of the ordinary and atypical (in order to prevent an analysis overload), as well as out of the ordinary analysis of data. The authors state that this type of analysis is relevant to counterterrorism investigation and can be implemented within the Department of Homeland Security fairly easily, with standard profiles set up specifically for the analysis of unusual behavior. This would increase the communication of atypical signals between agencies, allow the entire community to monitor and recognize such behavior, and suggest what to watch for in the future. [BN]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Mobilizing Forces

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(175.) Holmes, Jennifer. "Developing and Implementing Counterterrorism Policy in a Liberal Democracy," in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

This chapter explores the unique challenges of developing and implementing counterterrorism policy in a

liberal democracy. Holmes observes the tension between an aggressive, preemptive investigative response to terrorism and a response that restricts government activity to safeguard individual liberties, and argues that the state needs to be strong enough to have a functioning judicial system, discourage the emergence of violence, mount a vigorous defense, and maintain citizen support. However, good intelligence, effective coordination, and a competent police and judiciary cannot alone squash internal terrorism with a significant domestic source of support. In this case, the political realm of the conflict is extremely important. Moreover, being responsive to understandable grievances may increase the government's popular support and decrease overt and tacit support for terrorists. Overall, creating an effective intelligence community, increasing security, and maintaining principles of good governance are essential to democracies confronting terrorism. The greatest threat to progress is impatience, which increases the temptation to emphasize one aspect of a strategy in the short term. Lopsided efforts will not bring long-term success, and may undermine the chances of long-term achievement of a comprehensive peace. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (176.) Holst, Arthur M. "Drinking Water and Homeland Security," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets*, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Holst explores the terrorist threat to local drinking water supplies. He notes that in the post September 11th world, drinking water is not only under threat from traditional problem sources, such as untreated sewage dumping, storm runoff, and aging infrastructure, but also from terrorist activities. A biological attack on the drinking water system and the nation's water infrastructure, as well as water pollution resulting from attacks on chemical facilities could certainly prove disastrous, potentially harming millions of people. After reviewing the history of drinking water quality, relevant legislation, and pre-9/11 water security scares, Holst examines the efforts being made to counter the terrorist threat against the nation's water supply. These efforts include legislation, vulnerability assessments, emergency and incident planning, security enhancements and research and technology. He concludes that regardless of how prepared water systems operators, government officials, and physicians are for potential attacks, truly successful drinking water security may only come from the complete commitment of everyone, not just those involved in the production, distribution, planning, and oversight of water systems. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (177.) Hook, Brian H., Margaret J.A. Peterlin, and Peter L. Welsh. "The USA Patriot Act and Information Sharing Between the Intelligence and Law Enforcement Communities," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

The authors of this chapter contend that intelligence and information sharing among governmental agencies will not occur without many of the provisions in the USA PATRIOT Act. Indeed, they note, the security environment has changed substantially since the Cold War, imposing a greatly increased necessity for intelligence sharing. The PATRIOT Act thus ensures an indispensable measure of cooperation and

information-sharing between the intelligence and law enforcement communities. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (178.) **Horgan, John. "The Search for the Terrorist Personality," in *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences*, Edited by Andrew Silke. London: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2003.**

Horgan notes that in recent years, there has been a torrent of resurgent efforts to profile the terrorist 'mind' by a slew of authors. The question "what motivates the terrorist?" has permeated behavioral research efforts since the early 1970s, mirroring the upsurge in academic interest in contemporary terrorism around that period. Despite the heterogeneity of motivation of people who become terrorists (between and within groups), as well as other general issues relating to terrorism, a persistent theme throughout behavioral studies reflects concerns about how the terrorist might be 'psychologically different' from the non-terrorist, or how his or her involvement in terrorism might be characterized by some special process. This approach, often oversimplified in scope, is clearly found in the contemporary literature, principally in the works of psychologists and psychiatrists who have something to say about terrorism. Assertions about terrorist behavior derive from macro- and micro-studies within terrorism research as a whole. However, the assumptions and assertions of psychological aspects of terrorism stem from (a) examinations of the individual psychology of the terrorist, and (b) evidence of how the individual's behavior is influenced or determined by the group/organization. Horgan concludes that we must recognize certain limitations in the utility of certain types of psychological research on terrorists. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 2:

Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions:

- (179.) **Horgan, John. *The Psychology of Terrorism*. (London: Routledge, 2005).**

Horgan identifies at least four principal areas that researchers can explore terrorism from a psychological perspective. First, there is the individual terrorist, and the processes that allow the emergence of and sustenance of violent behavior (along with associated activities) that are identified as "terrorism." This is the focus of much of the psychological research to date, and in a sense this reflects a focus on the individual issues that maintain terrorist behavior, the reinforcers, the lures and other supportive qualities that create both the impetus for involvement in terrorism as well as engagement in terrorist acts. Second, researchers can explore from a psychological perspective the relationship between an individual and the political, religious or ideological context in which he or she operates. This often addresses the organizational aspects of terrorist movements, and particularly the ways in which the organization impinges upon the behavior of the individual. Third, we can consider the effects of terrorist activity. In a way, this is the task inherent in all analyses of terrorism, because it remains impossible to separate our reactions to terrorism from our attempts to understand and conceptualize it. A fourth and final example of an important issue that we can explore from a psychological point of view is the broader issue of methodology, and the ways of studying terrorism that need to be considered and developed. Within the field of "terrorism studies," it can be dangerous to accept knowledge of terrorism based on authority, dogma or belief. Horgan suggests that only transparency and evidence can settle disputes within this field of study, and if terrorism research activity is to become rigorous,

then we must align our analyses closely with the methodological rigor consistent with established academic disciplines. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 2:

Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions:

- (180.) **Hornbarger, Chris. "National Strategy: Building Capability for the Long-Haul," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).**

Hornbarger argues that the nation's homeland security policies are on track, and that the next administration should stay the course. The first National Strategy for Homeland Security, in concert with other Presidential policies, has provided meaningful direction to the breadth of federal, state, local and private sector homeland security activities. The Strategy does what successful strategies must: articulate ends (the Strategy names three); identify means (the Strategy provides an approach for allocating finite resources against an almost limitless array of vulnerabilities); and, most importantly, connect ends and means with ways (the Strategy provides the first blueprint for the institutional capacity to protect the homeland over the long-term). [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (181.) **Howard, Russell D. "Homeland Security and the New Terrorism," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).**

In this chapter, Howard presents a framework for understanding the new model of terrorism. His discussion highlights key factors which justify the nation's overarching concern for the threat posed by the al Qaida terrorist network. These include the fact that al Qaida has a global reach and strategic objectives, as demonstrated by their ability to successfully attack the United States homeland in 2001; this enemy is a wealthy, multi-national organization with several income streams, whose strict adherence to its networked, cellular structure makes penetrating the al Qaida extremely difficult; and finally, and most worrisome, is al Qaida's determination to acquire nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction. He argues that the nexus of these elements creates an enemy that is difficult to find, difficult to defeat, and very dangerous. In thinking about this more dangerous world, it is important to understand how terrorism has changed so that we can move to a better understanding of how to address the problem in a comprehensive manner. Howard's framework is the starting point for such an analysis. [JF]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Homeland Security

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (182.) **Hughbank, Richard J. "Guerilla Warfare and Law Enforcement: Combating the 21st Century Terrorist Cell Within the United States," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century*, Vol. 1:**

Strategic and Tactical Considerations, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Hughbank's chapter provides an analysis of law enforcement challenges in the context of terrorist cells in the U.S. He begins by describing how both domestic and international terrorist organizations employ guerrilla warfare tactics, techniques, and procedures. Terrorism, by its nature, seeks out and exploits its opponents' weaknesses. Thus, the ability to identify and defeat the members of these organizations, cripple their infrastructure, and disrupt their financial resources lies in an understanding of modern guerrilla warfare as it develops in the 21st century within the United States. Terrorist operations have become more prevalent in the United States and are taking shape in the form of modern guerrilla warfare, thus creating new challenges for federal, state and local law enforcement agencies. After reviewing the origin and nature of these challenges, his chapter offers some suggestions for countering guerilla warfare in 21st century America. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Homeland Security

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(183.) Indonesia Backgrounder: How the Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist Network Operates. International Crisis Group. 11 December 2002.

The report by the International Crisis Group (ICG) is a follow up to a report from August 2002 by the same organization. This report examines the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) network, and looks directly at the Bali bombings and the connections between the JI network and the intelligence agencies of Indonesia.

Topic 1:
Domestic Terrorism

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Indonesia

(184.) International Crisis Group Report. "Jemaah Islamiyah in Southeast Asia: Damaged But Still Dangerous." ICG Asia Report No. 63, (August 26, 2003). Online at: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=1452>

Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) is a Southeast Asian terrorist group based in Indonesia that despite recent organizational setbacks, is far from destroyed. This group is much larger than originally thought, has the ability to replace leaders without much tribulation, and continues to receive funding from al Qaida. JI has also continued to direct terrorist operations locally and has a very militarized structure; this is due in part to the training received in Afghanistan. Besides the militant Islamic ideology behind JI, it is also held together by strategic marriages, where women are used to cement relationships between leaders and subordinates. This terrorist group has exploited the fact that their country is an archipelago and thus difficult for police to hunt them down. JI has also learned the valuable lesson that no one person should be indispensable, and has allied itself with other similar organizations, in order to increase terrorist attacks and training. However, while JI is a threat, it suffers from internal dissent, which could prove to be its downfall. [BN]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 3:
Domestic Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Indonesia, Southeast Asia, Afghanistan

- (185.) **International Crisis Group. “al Qaida in Southeast Asia: The case of the “Ngruki Network” in Indonesia. Asia Briefing. August 8, 2002. Online at: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm/index.cfm?id=1765&l=1>**

This is an executive summary of a report on the Ngruki Network, which touches on the history of the group, common characteristics, and the fear that U.S. pressure is counterproductively turning the targets into heroes. Additionally, the summary describes how the Ngruki network is far wider than people realize, but acknowledges that Indonesia is not a terrorist hotbed. Lastly, there is concern that the group will make common cause with international criminals. [TB]

Topic 1:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 2:
Case Studies

Topic 3:
Religious Ideology

Countries/Regions: Indonesia, Southeast Asia

- (186.) **Jackson, Brian A. “Training for Urban Resistance: The Case of the Provisional Irish Republican Army,” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 2: Training, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Jackson examines the terrorist training regimen of the Irish Republican Army. His discussion provides a unique account of how the IRA inducted new recruits to support its military activities; taught volunteers new skills to support and improve the group’s operational capability; and provided members with the intelligence and counterintelligence skills needed both to collect the information required for operations and to prevent security force penetration or disruption of group activities. Jackson’s assessment of the IRA’s efforts in these areas leads to several lessons that can be drawn relevant to training by terrorist groups, including: a sufficient amount of sanctuary provides better opportunities for realistic and more thorough training, especially for sophisticated weaponry and tactics; terrorist groups need specialists to provide the expertise needed for specific advanced operations and tasks; and connections with outside groups or experts can be useful to a terrorist organization—but only if those links are close enough to provide current and useful knowledge support and if the assistance provided to the group is relevant to its operational context. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Ireland, UK

- (187.) **Jackson, Brian A., et al. *Aptitude for Destruction, Volume 1: Organizational Learning in Terrorist Groups and Its Implications for Combating Terrorism*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2005.**

This study addresses two basic questions: What is known about how terrorist groups learn, and can such knowledge be used by law enforcement and intelligence personnel in their efforts to combat terrorism? Their research findings are grouped into three categories. (1) Detecting terrorist groups’ efforts to change, which requires intelligence professionals to use frameworks describing organizational learning by terrorist organizations in order to focus intelligence collection and ensure that necessary information is collected and terrorists’ efforts to change are not overlooked; and also to use a learning-focused analytical framework for assessing collected intelligence to help capture and understand the learning implications of group activities. (2)

Anticipating the outcomes of terrorist groups' efforts to change, which requires gathering information about the characteristics of terrorist groups' structures and interconnections, membership, environment, and activities that are specifically relevant to assessing the likely outcome of their attempts to adapt and evolve; and examining the varied paths and combinations of knowledge relevant to terrorist groups' learning goals to enable better assessment of the potential success of their efforts to learn. And finally, (3) acting more effectively to thwart terrorist efforts, which involves using an understanding of terrorist groups' learning capabilities to improve planning for combating terrorism; shaping countermeasures to resist efforts to circumvent or defeat them; applying models of terrorist groups' learning behaviors to the design of novel countermeasures that specifically target their ability to adapt and change; and seeking out opportunities to use terrorist groups' learning activities against them by guiding their efforts or shaping the outcomes of those efforts to reduce the groups' capabilities and potential threat levels. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions:

- (188.) **Jackson, Brian A., et al. *Aptitude for Destruction, Volume 2: Case Studies of Organizational Learning in Five Terrorist Groups*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2005.**

This collection of case studies are meant to serve as a companion to an earlier theoretical and policy-based volume, *Organizational Learning in Terrorist Groups and Its Implications for Combating Terrorism*. The five case studies cover Aum Shinrikyo, Hizbollah, Jemaah Islamiyah, the Provisional Irish Republican Army, and the Radical Environmentalist Movement. Within each chapter, the authors cover issues of group history, operations and tactics, training, intelligence and operational security. The case studies are followed by two theoretical analysis chapters which explain organizational learning as a four-component process (acquisition, interpretation, distribution, and storage) and then apply this framework to draw commonalities from the case studies. Jackson then provides a final chapter of observations, in which he describes how the terrorist groups examined in this study clearly illustrate the importance of organizational learning capability as a component in threat assessment. The danger posed by many of these groups was closely linked to their ability to learn, and learning failures in some of them bounded the level of damage and injury they could cause. The experience of the case study groups also demonstrates that organizational learning is not a simple process, for either the groups attempting to carry it out or the analysts seeking to understand their efforts to do so. The specific ways organizational learning is accomplished impose tradeoffs on groups, particularly in terms of distributing information broadly while maintaining tight operational security, and in maintaining tight control to enable strategic learning at the group level while also allowing ample individual initiative and freedom in order to promote tactical learning at the unit level. Because of the violent nature of their activities, understanding the factors that contribute to terrorist organizational learning is critical to efforts to undermine or defeat them. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Case Studies

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Ireland, Lebanon, Japan, Indonesia, U.S., UK

- (189.) **Jamestown Foundation. "From Mujahid to Activist: An Interview with a Libyan Veteran of the Afghan Jihad." *Spotlight on Terror*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (March 25, 2005). Online at: http://www.jamestown.org/news_details.php?news_id=101**

Jamestown Foundation interviews Noman Benotman, former member of the Shura Committee of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) [a.k.a., Al-Jama'a al-Islamiyyah al-Muqatilah fi-Libya]. Benotman discusses all aspects of his involvement with—and history of—the LIFG, including leadership, training, and ideology. [TB]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
Religion and Conflict

Topic 3:
Mobilizing Forces

Countries/Regions: Libya, Afghanistan, Middle East, Africa

- (190.) Jamestown Foundation. "Terrorism Focus." Volume II, Issue 6. March 17, 2005. Online at: http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?issue_id=3267

This issue of the Jamestown Foundation's premier newsletter offers seven interesting stories. "Iraqi Propaganda War Begins in Earnest" discusses sidestepping traditional media channels to get the jihadi message out. "Fatwa and Defiance at the Madrid Conference" reviews a conference on terrorism and related fatwa issued against bin Laden. "Tunisian government threatened by Islamist group" discusses a threat to Tunisia by "The Jihadist Army of Islam Group—Uqba bin Nafi' Brigade," about which little is known. "Clashes in Saudi Arabia" reports on clashes between Saudi forces and suspected Islamist militants. "al Qaida's strategy until 2020" discusses the long-term strategy drawn up by Muhammad Makkawi (a.k.a. Sayf al-Adel), which involves a regional war against the Americans. A feature article by Eric Watkins explores how the conviction of a Yemeni cleric (for terrorist activities) strained important U.S.-Yemeni relations. The primary focus of the newsletter, however, is a story by Stephen Ulph entitled "New Online Book Lays Out al Qaida's Military Strategy." The book he reviews—The Management of Barbarism, by Abu Bakr Naji—provides a strategic guide for jihad and its ultimate goals. The five broad themes in the book, as described by Ulph, are: definition of "Management of Barbarism;" Path of Empowerment; Most Important Principles and Policies; Most Pressing Difficulties and Obstacles; and a Conclusion, demonstrating jihad as the ideal solution. Ulph finds Naji's discussion of media and message particularly interesting, and highlights the importance of this strategy. [TB]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Political Islam

Topic 3:
The Framework

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Iraq, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Yemen

- (191.) Jasparro, Christopher. "Developing Proactive Counterterrorism Strategies through Analyses of Socio-Demographic and Geographic Trends," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Jasparro writes that "the application of geographic perspectives provide a means for visualizing, organizing, and assessing real world data (that can otherwise inundate essential information with a deluge of detail) thereby elucidating important spatial patterns and structures. In other words, by knowing what areas produce the most terrorists and their supporters along with where socio-demographic factors play particularly significant roles in facilitating terrorism (and how terrorist organizations exploit these factors from place to place), we can more precisely and efficiently target/tailor resources and approaches instead rather than being constrained by one-size fits all responses geared to addressing broad issues (poverty for instance) whose effectiveness is difficult, if not impossible, to measure." He also suggests that countering an ideology requires

determining where a message originates from, along what paths it has diffused, and how the conditions by which it resonates vary from place to place. More specifically, precision in reducing the effect of socio-cultural and demographic “root causes” that give extreme ideologies their resonance demands that we distinguish between universal and place specific drivers. [JF]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Global

- (192.) **Jebb, Cindy R. and Madelfia A. Abb. “Human Security and Good Governance: A Living Systems Approach to Understanding and Combating Terrorism,” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 3: Root Causes, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Jebb and Abb explore the intellectual framework of human security, and draws from living systems theory to illuminate definitions and concepts that are then applied to the human, political, and terrorist systems. Their analysis reveals how failed states impact security at the individual level—and particularly, how the process of globalization and failed states create, sever, and influence the interconnectedness of the three living systems. In essence, they argue, framing the challenge of terrorism through the living systems theory may help policymakers better understand the significance of human security in the fight against terrorism. [JF]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Africa

- (193.) **Jenkins, Brian M. “Improving Public Service Transportation Security: What Do We Do Now?” in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).**

Jenkins explores specific vulnerabilities of the nation’s surface transportation system. He begins with a review of the threat and then discusses some of the broader aspects of implementing homeland security. In reviewing the progress made in improving surface transportation security—and problems that persist—he notes that operators and local authorities have done the things they could easily do. However, effective security for surface transportation consists of more than deterrence and prevention—both of which are difficult, in any case, given the volume of passengers and the ease of accessibility of surface transportation facilities. Effective security must also include mitigation through design, construction and rapid response, all of which can save lives as well as minimize disruption. Further, Jenkins argues, the federal government should focus on developing an overall strategic approach to transportation security, guiding and supporting research and development, evaluating new technologies and disseminating information to end users. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (194.) **Jenkins, Brian Michael. “Redefining the Enemy: The World Has Changed, But Our**

Mindset Has Not.” RAND Review, (Spring 2004) 16-23.
Online at: <http://www.rand.org/publications/randreview/issues/spring2004/enemy.html>

Jenkins postulates that the War on Terror is a vague idea, and we wage this war with traditional tactics and conventional strategies. We have underestimated our new enemies; they are less militarily powerful but perhaps more difficult to track and eradicate. The increasingly globalized nature of society and technological advances permits enemies to strike almost anywhere and affect many other nations. It seems the U.S. is mobilizing to fight a war with a more traditional foe, such as a hostile China, but there are many more enemies like al Qaida that will not fight on our terms. Jenkins argues that the power to wage war is increasingly seen among smaller, more violent groups that do not follow rules nor will be easily satisfied. This is the new type of warfare that the U.S. and allies must adapt to (and learn to plan for and fight) in the future. [BN]

Topic 1:
Defining Terrorism

Topic 2:
Terrorism’s New Model

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Iraq, Afghanistan, Russia

(195.) Jenkins, Brian Michael. “The Jihadists Operational Code.” In Three Years After: Next Steps in the War on Terror, edited by David Aaron (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005).

In this chapter, Jenkins describes the motivation behind the global Islamic insurgency. According to the Jihadists (as exemplified by al Qaida), Islam is in mortal danger from the West and the principal source of this threat is the United States. Conflating events hundreds of years apart, they see Americans as the new Mongols. U.S. military bases throughout the Middle East, in the Persian Gulf, and Central Asia provide proof. America supports the Zionists, no different from the invading Crusaders of the 11th century, who occupy Palestine and kill women and children indiscriminately. Apostate regimes in many countries have become American puppets, joining in the oppression of true Muslims. America also is the leading source of Western corruption that threatens Muslim souls. The answer and the antidote to these developments is Jihad, defined as armed struggle. The objectives of Jihadist strategy are broad—to drive out the infidels from Muslim lands, topple “apostate regimes” like the House of Saud and the Egyptian government, foster religious revival, expand the Islamic community, and ultimately reestablish the Caliphate. But the goal is building a following, not taking ground. Jihadist strategy is neither linear nor sequential. There is no “road map” to victory. Strategic objectives do not dictate action; action is the objective. By taking action, Jihad will awaken the Muslim community, demonstrate the power of Jihad, inspire the faithful, and bring about spiritual revival. Jihad offers an opportunity for revenge, a counter to humiliation. Confronting an outside enemy will bring unity and unleash the great strength latent in the Islamic community. [JF]

Topic 1:
Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
Political Islam

Topic 3:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Afghanistan, U.S.

(196.) Jenkins, Brian Michael. Countering Al Qaida: An Appreciation of the Situation and Suggestions for Strategy. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002. Online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1620/index.html

In this brief monograph, Jenkins suggests key elements for a successful strategy in targeting al Qaida. Before providing his suggested elements, Jenkins gives a brief primer on al Qaida. Some elements that Jenkins finds

essential are: destruction of al Qaida must be America's primary aim; fighting in Afghanistan until al Qaida is destroyed there; the importance of Pakistan as a U.S. ally; a change in the intelligence network; the necessity of international cooperation; making clear that the use of weapons of mass destruction will bring an extraordinary response; and deterrent strategies may be appropriate for dealing with terrorist support structures. [TB]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Pakistan, U.S.

- (197.) Jin H. Pak, "Terrorism in Southeast Asia: A Report of the 4th Conference on Asian Security Issues at West Point" (February 26-28, 2004). Co-sponsored by the Combating Terrorism Center, U.S. Military Academy; The Institute for National Security Studies, U.S. Air Force Academy; and the Program in Asian Security Studies, Duke University.

According to this conference's participants, the growing terrorist threat in Southeast Asia demands focused scrutiny to ascertain the nature and complexity of the threat that terrorism poses in the region, and to develop the best strategy for combating it while taking into account the political and security dynamics that are unique to this region. Presentations revealed that there are growing linkages between the many terrorist groups operating in Southeast Asia. At the same time, the nexus of the terrorist threat has shifted from transnational organizations such as al Qaida to regional and local groups such as JI, ASG, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), CPP/NPA, and numerous other local groups. Unfortunately, throughout the region (and notably, Indonesia), rampant corruption, a lack of cooperation, and even hostility, between critical agencies are some of the problems that detract from a country's political will to tackle the terrorist threat. Conference members argued that the United States should not just concentrate on "defeating" terrorists, but focus harder on countering factors that contribute to groups exercising these tactics. These factors include their ideological appeal, fundraising operations, recruiting operations, and the operational space they use to inspire and train future generations of terrorists. Also, the United States needs a greater understanding of the domestic realities in Southeast Asian states, along with a commitment to providing long-term investments toward reforming domestic institutions. Overall, the terrorist threat in Southeast Asia is complex and shifting to local and non-Islamic groups. Fighting such an amorphous enemy requires the cooperation of SE Asian states. To gain their help, the United States should use a multilateral strategy that is careful not to come at the expense of economic development, and promotes institutional capacity building and professionalism. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Global Environment

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Countries/Regions: Indonesia, U.S., Thailand, Southeast Asia

- (198.) Jogerst, John D. "What Kind of War? Strategic Perspectives on the War on Terrorism" *Air and Space Power Journal* (Spring 2005). Online at: <http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj05/spr05/jogerst.html>

The author of this article investigates three theories of the global war on terrorism, including the Clash of Civilizations by Samuel Huntington. His examination of terrorist organizations and their activities in the Middle East, and the ongoing insurgency in the Arab Islamic world, informs our understanding of the current global security environment. [HM]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
Case Studies

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Afghanistan, Pakistan, Middle East

- (199.) Johnson, Thomas H. and Chris Mason. "Terrorism, Insurgency and Afghanistan," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Johnson and Mason observe that today—almost five years into American military engagement in Afghanistan—the United States is mired in an insurgency of escalating violence and lethality which has already claimed thousands of lives. The twin insurgent movements of a resurgent Taliban (backed by al Qaida) and the Hizb-i-Islami party of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (HiG) are growing steadily in strength and influence (particularly in the east and south of the country), while the Afghan government's control over a broad swath of the country is rapidly diminishing. According to their analysis, three fundamental problems in Afghanistan have allowed for the emergence of the insurgencies: (1) the inability of the national government since 2001 to establish a politically significant presence throughout the country; (2) the failure of the international community to create a secure rural environment in the south conducive to development and reconstruction, and (3) the virtually complete lack of meaningful improvement in the lives of the great majority of the people in the southern half of the country. The authors also suggest that a complete change in counterinsurgency strategy is required, involving greater cultural education for all U.S. soldiers and serious changes in the Afghan National Police, which they describe as "an almost unmitigated disaster of corruption, warlord cronyism and incompetence." They conclude that by abandoning Afghanistan once, the United States allowed the country to become a refuge for terrorist groups to recruit, train, and wage war against the West. The effect on Afghanistan, the region, and the rest of the world was dramatic and terrifying. This time, if we leave—or lose—the results will be even worse. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Countering Insurgency

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, U.S.

- (200.) Jones, Seth. "Terrorism and the Battle for Homeland Security," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Jones argues that until the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has authority to "synthesize and analyze homeland security intelligence from multiple sources," it will not be able to fulfill its three primary objectives: (1) prevent terrorist attacks in the U.S., (2) reduce America's vulnerability to terrorism, and (3) respond to any terrorist attacks and natural disasters. He contends that the effectiveness of DHS has been greatly marginalized because of the reluctance of the FBI and CIA to relinquish significant intelligence gathering powers. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (201.) **Jordan, Javier and Robert Wesley. "The Madrid Attacks: The Results of Investigations Two Years Later." Terrorism Monitor, Volume 4, Issue 5, (March 9, 2006). Online at:**
<http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?issue_id=3647>

After the March 11, 2004 Madrid terrorist attacks, the cell responsible has been disbanded, with most of the followers either dead or out of the country. This article seeks to analyze the network that was responsible for these attacks by explaining the terrorists' origins in Europe and their relation with al Qaida, the members of the cell, and how this particular organization operated. The authors conclude that the day of these attacks was chosen for its proximity to the upcoming elections; the terrorists sought to exacerbate the disapproval of most Spaniards of the war in Iraq. [BN]

Topic 1:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Spain, Morocco, Europe

- (202.) **Juergensmeyer, Mark. "Holy Orders: Religious Opposition to Modern States." Harvard International Review Vol. 25 (Winter 2004), p. 34-38.**

Juergensmeyer begins by posing two questions: why is religion the basis for opposition to the state? And, why now? The author's analysis reveals that the object of religious terrorism is the secular state, and that religion gives radicals moral legitimacy to employ violence in the name of cosmic war. Since this is purely a religious war, according to the author, there can be no compromise. Further, since globalization has crippled the state, some feel they are exploited by the global economy, have no military leverage against corrupt leaders and are awash in U.S. pop culture. The result is that globalization has increased the need for an identity just when power of the state is declining. [TB]

Topic 1:
Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
Political Islam

Countries/Regions: Middle East, U.S.

- (203.) **Juergensmeyer, Mark. "Terror in the Name of God." Current History. November 2001, p. 357-361.**

In this short article, Juergensmeyer attempts to answer the questions immediately following the 9/11 attacks as to "why anyone would do this?" and "why would anyone do this in the name of God?" What the author proposes is that religion provides bin Laden's followers with moral standing and cosmic imagery (classic good versus evil) in order to justify the use of violence in the name of religion. Additionally, the author finds that radical religious movements tend to have three elements in common: a rejection of liberal or secular compromises; a rejection of secular imposed boundaries around religion; and lastly, a rejection of what they see as a weak religion. As secular nationalism failed, the certain, absolute belief (as presented by the radicals) offers an attractive alternative to social and political confusion. [TB]

Topic 1:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 2:
Religion and Violence

Topic 3:
Political Islam

Countries/Regions: Middle East, U.S., Israel

- (204.) Kahana, Ephriam. "Mossad." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 2005).

Mossad, Israel's intelligence service, has achieved a near mythical reputation for its effectiveness and precision, particularly in on-the-ground operations. However, Kahana examines scores of analytical failures by the Mossad, providing a historical inventory of Israeli intelligence operations gone awry. By his estimation, the "number of significant and costly failures" by Israel's intelligence service, rooted in both underestimation and overestimation of threats, has cost the country both on the battlefield and at the negotiating table. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Israel

- (205.) Kahhat, Farid. "Securing the Western Hemisphere: Latin America and the Fight against Terrorism of Global Reach," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

According to Kahhat increasing trade cooperation and economic interdependence has significantly enhanced the level of cross-national cooperation throughout North and South America since the 1990s. His chapter explores the theoretical and practical dimensions of Latin America's role in the global fight against terrorism, and suggests some areas in which these efforts can be strengthened. Specifically, his discussion moves beyond border security issues and addresses some of the underlying regional dimensions to collaborating on a comprehensive security strategy. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, Peru, S. America

- (206.) Kaplan, David E. "Dark Side: The Saudi Connection." *U.S. News and World Report*. December 15, 2003.

Kaplan examines the financial connection between Saudi Arabia and al Qaida. He describes the Saudis as the greatest source for spreading Islamic fundamentalism, citing a \$70 billion Wahhabi funding campaign. The author also discusses U.S. policy toward the Saudis and their funding activity, stretching back to at least 1996. Other major topics discussed are the global spread of Wahhabi propaganda (which the author calls the largest ever), donations by princes, funding connections to charities and the spiritual leader in Saudi Arabia, the treatment of jihad as a global industry, and finally, U.S. policies concerning Saudi financial support for the spread of this ideology. [TB]

Topic 1:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Saudi Arabia, United States, Kosovo

- (207.) Kastner, Justin and Jason Ackleson. "Global Trade and Food Security: Perspectives for the 21st Century," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Kastner and Ackleson focus on the intersection of border security and international trade, particularly in agricultural products. Globalization presents many challenges for the U.S. government as it seeks to ensure its national security, they argue. One challenge arises because the pursuit of free trade may compromise America's ability to secure its domestic security; on the other hand, a different challenge arises when demands for security threaten the essential cross-border flows needed for U.S. economic growth. Food security exemplifies these contrasting challenges; cross-border trade flows help ensure food security, but cross-border flows also potentially represent a security threat to America's food supply and agricultural base. These security tensions often manifest themselves at the U.S. border; it is at America's land frontiers and other ports of entry where the U.S. government attempts to screen the vast flows of incoming goods and individuals. The authors conclude that hedging against conventional, non-terrorist threats can have positive consequences for counter-terrorism and food-security policy, and offer several recommendations for security policies along both the U.S.-Mexico and U.S. Canada borders. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Mexico, Canada, Europe

- (208.) Keating, Frank. "Catastrophic Terrorism: Local Response to a National Threat," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Keating reminds us that not all terrorist attacks are conducted by international non-state actors such as al Qaida. Based on his experience as Governor during the April 19, 1995 Oklahoma City bombing and his later participation in the Dark Winter exercise in 2002, he provides useful conclusions and findings, and makes recommendations for first-responders to follow in the event of a terrorist attack. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
Domestic Terrorism

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (209.) Kelly, Terrence K., Peter Chalk, James Bonomo, John Parachini, Brian A. Jackson, and Gary Cecchine. "The Office of Science and Technology Policy Blue Ribbon Panel on the Threat of Biological Terrorism Directed Against Livestock." Conference Report Prepared for the Office of Science and Technology Policy, April 2004. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation. Online at: <http://www.rand.org/scitech/stpi/Bioagpanel>.

These conference proceedings assess the potential use of biological terrorism directed against U.S. agricultural livestock and lay out the parameters of a future federal defense research and development (R&D) agenda that prioritizes the steps needed to safeguard industries associated with this sector. The report is derived from a two-day workshop that was held in Washington, D.C., on December 8-9, 2003 and which was funded by the Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP) in the Executive Office of the President. This report

contains all the papers that were presented at the conference, in addition to the narratives and recommendations of four individual breakout groups: Cross-Jurisdictional Surveillance and Information Technology (IT); Infectious Disease Epidemiology; Vaccination and Protection Technologies; and Detection, Diagnostics, and Forensics Capabilities. The papers do not represent any findings of the respective breakout groups of the panel as a whole; they merely provide a broader conceptual context for the workshop proceedings. The report also includes an introductory discussion of the wider threat environment pertaining to agro-terrorism and summation of the main policy recommendations that were extrapolated from the two-day meeting. [JF]

Topic 1:

WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Topic 2:

Homeland Security

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (210.) Kenney, Matthew T. "International Human Trafficking and Homeland Security," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

According to Kenney, human trafficking poses moral and practical challenges to U.S. security interests at home and abroad. Contemporary human trafficking is slavery, and it exhibits features that are every bit as brutal and terrorizing as the worst forms of slavery from past eras. Meanwhile, vulnerabilities along the U.S.-Mexico borders have created attractive business opportunities for profit-seeking traffickers and coyotes—guides hired by Mexicans seeking to enter the United States illegally. Kenney's analysis reveals the need for greater funding to support programs and activities that address the problem of human trafficking, as well as an extensive effort to educate the public about human trafficking networks and how to combat them. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Mexico, Canada

- (211.) Kenney, Michael. "How Terrorists Learn," in *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

Kenney begins his chapter by illustrating how terrorists acquire their skills through training and experience and adapt their practices in response to counterterrorism, in the process becoming more difficult for governments to destroy. He notes that terrorism is a specialized pursuit, requiring knowledge of light weapons, demolitions, clandestine operations, and a host of related activities. Terrorists learn their violent tradecraft through informal apprenticeships and formal training programs that convey the abstract ideals of extremist ideologies and the concrete techniques of asymmetric warfare, while strengthening their identities as devoted militants and enhancing their capacity to attack enemy soldiers and civilians. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (212.) **Kenney, Michael. *From Pablo to Osama: Trafficking and Terrorist Networks, Government Bureaucracies, and Competitive Adaptation* (chapter 6). Penn State University Press. (February 2, 2006)**

Kenney describes how terrorists must learn their skills from instructors and networks that train recruits, and they would like to maintain a decentralized organization. He states that terrorists usually train in military style programs with the help of state sponsors. However, al Qaida has employed the use of camps to instruct in terrorist technique as well as their version of Islam. In these camps recruits are not only instructed in the basic mechanics of terrorism, but also receive on-the-job experience so that they may blend in with society and not draw unwanted attention to the cell. Terrorists, he writes, have also learned to increase their intelligence-gathering ability and to monitor government counterterrorist activities. They have, like drug traffickers, learned from past mistakes and adjusted to decrease their vulnerabilities. Their decentralized network has allowed them the resiliency to remain operative even after the loss of senior terrorists. [BN]

Topic 1:
Defining Terrorism

Topic 2:
Terrorism's New Model

Topic 3:
Changes in Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Europe, Asia, South America, Middle East, U.S.

- (213.) **Kenney, Michael. *From Pablo to Osama: Trafficking and Terrorist Networks, Government Bureaucracies, and Competitive Adaptation* (chapter 7). Penn State University Press. (February 2, 2006)**

Kenney observes that both terrorists and law enforcement agencies work to gather information about each other in hopes to, in the case of terrorists, modify practices to remain at large, and with law enforcement agencies, dismantle the terror organizations. There is an advantage for counterterrorists agencies, in that they enjoy larger financial support as well as the support of the population; these agencies have the resources and are very technologically adept at focusing on terrorist groups. They have been successful at finding terrorist informants that are willing to give them a better picture as to how the organization operates. There has also been an increase in inter-agency cooperation that has led to more communication sharing and a desire to eliminate the barriers that existed in the past. However, the terrorists are not without their own advantages; they are faster decision makers, can more readily adapt, and have fewer constraints. Counterterrorism agencies have continued with some degree of success against the terrorists; however, he argues, they still remain centrally bureaucratic and unlike terrorists, must operate according to the law. [BN]

Topic 1:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: U.S., Central Asia, Middle East

- (214.) **Khalil, Lydia. "Public Perception and Homeland Security," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

Khalil argues that public perception, more than critical infrastructure, airports, or national historical sites, is the real target of terrorist attacks. Manipulating public perception and exaggerating their capability to do harm are terrorists' primary weapons. In order to be effective, terrorists need to arouse fear of their organizations and leaders. They target that fear by attacking the public's confidence in their national leadership's ability to protect them from the unpredictable and indiscriminate nature of their attacks. Therefore, it is critical that

homeland security officials understand what informs the public's perception of their own security in relation to terrorism. Khalil explores the various factors that influence public perception—particular, threat perception—and then describes how these factors affect the public's behavior and the success of homeland security policies. Finally, her analysis identifies the appropriate government role in addressing perception and offer recommendations on how homeland security agencies can be more responsive to the public's perception of threat, improve the level of confidence, and improve their policies accordingly. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Topic 3:
Strategic Communication/Public
Diplomacy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (215.) **Khalil, Lydia. "Turkey and the PKK," in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Khalil's chapter examines the Partia Karkaren Kurdistan (PKK, or the Kurdistan Workers Party). Founded by a small group of communist Kurdish students of the University of Ankara and led by Abdullah Ocalan, the PKK was originally a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist group attempting to establish socialism and promote Kurdish nationalism in the Kurdish populated areas of the Middle East. In the late 1980s, the PKK came to focus more on promoting Kurdish nationalism and the establishment of a Kurdish nation-state. Turkey's fight against the PKK is a good example of how a military defeat of a terrorist insurgency does not automatically translate into permanent peace. Although PKK/KADEK is currently not operating with the full military and political force it had prior to Ocalan's arrest, the lack of a political settlement on Turkey's Kurdish question allowed the PKK to continue hit and run operations against Turkish forces and civilian targets. Clashes between PKK rebels and Turkish security forces have increased since the PKK called off their unilateral ceasefire in the summer of 2004. After a study of Turkey's different counterterrorism policies towards the PKK, this analysis extrapolates lessons learned from Turkey's successes and failures in dealing with the PKK. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Ethnic Separatism

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: Turkey

- (216.) **Kidrick, Jerry A. "Homeland Security and the Unique Challenges of Alaska," in Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

In this chapter, Kidrick examines the unique challenges of border and port security in Alaska. Securing a part of the United States that is geographically separated from the continental 48 states, and yet encompasses 586,400 square miles and a massive coastline, clearly warrants considerable resources and effort. Further, Alaska offers a number of locations which can be considered potential terrorist targets. To illustrate this, Kidrick provides an analysis of the security challenges around the Port of Valdez and terminus of the Alaska oil pipeline, which is what can be called a "target rich environment." The oil from the Alaska oil pipeline accounts for roughly 20% of U.S. oil production annually, and one-tenth of all oil Americans use daily passes through this pipeline and port. From general aviation airplanes (carrying passengers on sight-seeing flights) to cruise ships and recreational boaters, there are several potential means by which a terrorist could transport explosives or other weapons to the Port and cause considerable damage. Improving security at this critical

component in the nation's critical infrastructure, he argues, will require new federal regulations, enforcement, and funding to pay for security equipment and training. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Canada

- (217.) **Kilcullen, David J. "Strategy and Terrorism: Countering Global Insurgency." *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 28, no. 4 (597-617).**

This article suggests that the War on Terrorism is actually a campaign against a globalized Islamist insurgency. Therefore, counterinsurgency approaches are more relevant to the present conflict than traditional terrorism theory. Indeed, a counterinsurgency approach would generate subtly, but substantially different, policy choices in prosecuting the war against al Qaida. Based on this analysis, the article proposes a strategy of "disaggregation" that seeks to dismantle, or break, the links in the global jihad. Like containment in the Cold War, disaggregation would provide a unifying strategic conception for the war—a conception that has been somewhat lacking to date. [JF]

Topic 1:

Countering Insurgency

Topic 2:

Global Environment

Topic 3:

Historical Context

Countries/Regions: U.S., Egypt, Afghanistan, Middle East, Asia

- (218.) **Klare, Michael T. "Fueling The Fires: The Oil Factor in Middle Eastern Terrorism," in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 3: Root Causes, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Klare examines three key aspects of the relationship between global conflict and energy security: the intersection of European colonialism and the onset of oil production in the Middle East; the nature of U.S. ties with leaders of the oil-producing nations; and the strategic role of oil infrastructure in the war between the terrorists and their opponents. From the extremists' perspective, he notes, the pursuit of Middle Eastern oil is but the latest chapter in a long drive by Western nations to overpower Islamic societies, occupy their lands, and extract their precious resources. Further, these communities are largely devoted to an ancient religious tradition that is thought to be under attack by the West, and it does not help matters that the pursuers of oil are mostly adherents to a different religious tradition that is closely associated with centuries of invasion and conquest. Under these circumstances, he argues, it will probably take the demise of petroleum as the world's leading source of energy to sever the ties between oil and violence altogether. [JF]

Topic 1:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 2:

Global Environment

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Saudi Arabia, Iran, Gulf States

- (219.) **Klare, Michael T. "Waging Postindustrial Warfare on the Global Battlefield." *Current History* (December 2001)**

Following the end of the Cold War, a decline in state-to-state conflict has occurred. With few exceptions, the use of “heavy metal” military war has given way to smaller scale, mobile warfare, using accessible tools and technology. Terrorist groups have become important actors, employing a variety of unconventional approaches, including economic warfare. Nations must understand the character of this postindustrial warfare and keep up with the changing trends of belligerence. [NG]

Topic 1:
Changes in Terrorism

Topic 2:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:
The Framework

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Global

- (220.) **Knapp, Michael G. “The Concept and Practice of Jihad in Islam.” Parameters, US Army War College Quarterly (Spring 2003), 82-94. Online at: <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/USAWC/parameters/03spring/knapp.pdf>**

Knapp explains that comprehending the concept of jihad is essential to understanding how Islamist groups operate. He lays out some of the different applications and interpretations of jihad, as well as the difference between classical and more modern understandings of jihad. Key to Knapp’s argument is the differentiation between the more prevalent interpretation of jihad as inner struggle of faith, and jihad as armed struggle under Islamic law. Knapp describes Mawdudi as a key figure in the development of jihad as a tool for political struggle, in the way that Sayyid Qutb and Hasan al-Banna later applied it. To Knapp, al Qaida uses jihad in more political and specific ways, targeting mostly America as its enemy. While the Qur’an and Hadith employ some belligerent language, Knapp states that it is important to understand the way that war is regulated by Islamic law, and how modern Islamist jihad deviates from those regulations. He contends that 19th century imperialism accelerated public discontentment in ways that made increasingly radical forms of jihad more appealing to the masses. [NG]

Topic 1:
Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
Political Islam

Topic 3:
The Framework

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Afghanistan

- (221.) **Kochems, Alane. “Who’s on First? A Strategy for Protecting Critical Infrastructure,” in Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

In this chapter, Kochems argues that the primary objective of a national critical infrastructure (CI) security effort must be to share information among federal, state, and local governments and the private sector, so that they can better address terrorist threats to critical infrastructure. After examining the principles of risk management, she notes that because over 85% of the critical infrastructure in the United States is controlled by the private sector, Congress and the Administration should encourage the creation of a risk-based system for CI protection that engages the private sector. She also endorses Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff’s plans for reorganizing the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and calls for DHS to create effective means for sharing information among federal and state governments, the private sector, and other entities. She concludes that neither the federal government nor private CI owners and operators can fully protect critical infrastructure against terrorist attacks—they must work together to be successful. Among her specific recommendations, she suggests that the federal government needs to define clearly what it believes are reasonable actions for the private sector, and address liability issues. [JF]

Topic 1:

Topic 2:

Topic 3:

Homeland Security

National Terrorism Policy

Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (222.) Kohlmann, Evan. "The Bosnian Mujahideen: Origins, Training and Implications," in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 2: Training, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Kohlmann observes in this chapter that participation in the Bosnian conflict allowed mujahideen to develop terrorist-related tactical skills as well as common bonds of loyalty and friendship between jihadists of various nationalities. Indeed, he notes, many of Al Qaida's most important military and leadership figures were catapulted forward on the world stage as a result of their early involvement with the mujahideen in Bosnia. He cites several reasons why the Bosnian experience provides a critical chapter in the story of contemporary militant Islam. First, the deployment of Arab fighters to Bosnia, who were generally loyal to the jihadi leadership in Afghanistan, exploded during the mid-1990s into numbers sometimes estimated even to exceed 5,000. Second, this massive and significant migration of Arab-Afghans to Bosnia occurred at an early stage of the Al Qaida movement, meaning that the experience had long-lasting effects—both practically and ideologically—on the terrorist group. Third, Bosnia's unique geographic position directly between Western Europe and the Middle East was the ideal jumping-off point for organizational expansion of the movement into Italy, France, Germany, Austria, Canada, and the United Kingdom. It provided an environment where trained foreign Muslim fighters arriving from Afghanistan could mingle with (and help teach) unsophisticated but eager terrorist recruits from Western Europe, and could form new plans for the future of the jihad. No such contact had ever occurred before in the short history of Al Qaida, and it provided the organization and its radical membership limitless possibilities for development and growth—as well as a geographic step in the ladder towards its enemies in Western Europe and North America. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Bosnia

- (223.) Korb, Lawrence and Robert Boorstin. "Integrated Power: A National Security Strategy for the 21st Century." New York: Center for American Progress (June 2005).

Korb and Boorstin propose a national security strategy called "Integrated Power" (IP). They argue that in order to defend the U.S. from the country's enemies, there needs to be a clear, consistent strategy, which the U.S. currently lacks. IP is based on three principles: (1) to protect the American people; (2) to prevent conflict; and (3) to lead vital alliances and modernize institutions to better advance our national interests. Further, IP means no longer separating hard and soft power; using globalization to defeat the forces of fragmentation (which includes terrorist networks, extreme regimes and weak or failed states); alliances are favored over unilateral action; and that there is no division between defense and diplomacy or between departments. Finally, the authors apply IP to give recommended actions in six areas. [TB]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (224.) **Korb, Lawrence J., Wadhams, Caroline P., and Grotto, Andrew J. Restoring American Military Power: A Progressive Quadrennial Defense Review.** Washington, DC: Center for American Progress (January, 2006). Online at: <http://www.americanprogress.org/qdr>

The Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) is intended to generate a forward-looking strategy for improving U.S. security. This Progressive QDR offers strong criticisms of the Bush Administration's handling of the war on terror, and offers an alternative approach, based on the notion that the U.S. military should be poised to defend the homeland, fight one major regional conflict, and concurrently be engaged in two substantial post-conflict peacekeeping and stabilization campaigns (including counterinsurgency). Emphasizing the role of personnel, the recommendations include increasing the number of active troops while reducing other aspects of the military. It also supports allowing women to serve in combat, and reducing the number of active and reserve nuclear weapons. This report also places emphasis on homeland security, and the nation's ability to deal with the aftermath of a terrorist attack. [NG]

Topic 1:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (225.) **Kraft, Michael B. "The U.S. Government's Counterterrorism Research and Development Programs,"** in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Technology plays an important role in many contemporary aspects of counterterrorism, as Michael Kraft notes in his chapter on the U.S. government's research and development programs. Dozens of federal agencies are working to develop a wide variety of equipment and tools, and millions of dollars go into developing devices and methods to detect conventional explosives (as well as biological, chemical and radiological weapons) before they can cause mass casualties. These initiatives are intended to save lives by either helping prevent terrorist attacks or minimizing the damage if they do take place. Kraft provides an overview of the development of the U.S. federal government's counterterrorism research and development testing and evaluation programs, describes the major coordinating groups—particularly the interagency coordinating body, the Technical Support Working Group (TSWG)—and offers an illustrative sampling of some of the individual agency programs. He observes a need for research in new subject areas, such as detecting improvised explosive devices, as well as improvements in older systems, such as airport X-ray machines and scanners. Further, the organizational framework for these initiatives has changed and continues to evolve, most markedly since the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and there is a significant need for more effective coordination and working relationships between TSWG and DHS. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Homeland Security

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S., UK

- (226.) **Kramer, Martin. "Fundamentalist Islam: The Drive for Power." Middle East Quarterly (June 1996), p. 37-49.**

Kramer addresses three topics in this article: defining fundamentalist Islam; identifying the forerunners and generational intellects who provided the ideas for this ideology; and explaining how fundamentalist Islam reflects current geopolitical circumstances. He argues that fundamentalist Islam reaffirms faith and is a

militant ideology, as well as a coherent ideology that has a broad strategy and set of political preferences. From there, Kramer begins with a discussion of Jamal al-Din and Sayyid Qutb, and then moves to examine current thinkers like Hasan al-Turabi and Rashid al-Ghannushi. The author notes that fundamentalist Islam is not static and can absorb or adapt to trends or changes to maintain relevance for the believers. Thus, because it offers a straightforward solution to the complexities of state and society, the pool of those who would find the message of fundamentalist Islam appealing is constantly growing. [TB]

Topic 1:
Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
Historical Context

Topic 3:
Political Islam

Countries/Regions: Middle East

- (227.) Krawchuk, Fred. T. "Combating Terrorism: A Joint Interagency Approach." An Institute of Land Warfare Publication, no. 5, issue 1 (January 2005). Online at: http://www.ausa.org/pdffdocs/LPE05_1Krawchuk.pdf

The author of this monograph outlines ways to combat terrorism by using an analytical approach to formulate a counterterrorism policy framework. By utilizing this framework, along with the assistance of the Joint Interagency Action Teams (JIAT), the hope is that the United States will be able to provide protection to all its interests. [HM]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S., Afghanistan, Iraq

- (228.) Krepinevich, Andrew. "Combating Terrorism: A Proliferation of Strategies." Statement delivered before the House Committee on Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats and International Relations. March 3, 2003. Online at: <http://www.mipt.org/pdf/House108-20.pdf>

The author appeared before the Subcommittee in which he discussed the strategies for addressing the Global War on Terrorism directed by the Bush Administration. The paper is separated into topical sections: "The Nature of the Terrorist Threat," in which the focus is on the radical Islamic terrorist. "Strategic Shift: From Cold War to Hot Peace," describing how the United States at one time "contained" the Soviet Union to the current "uncontained" terrorist organizations. "A Proliferation of Strategies," listing various strategies for "winning" the war of Global Terrorism. "Much to Applaud, Much to Be Done," offering summaries of what the Bush Administration has accomplished and what must still be accomplished. In "Unanswered Questions," without comprehensive review of any one strategy, the author again lists several issues for the committee to consider, and ends his appearance with 14 conclusions for the Bush Administration's strategies for the Global War on Terrorism. [HM]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
The Framework

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., USSR, N. Korea, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Africa

- (229.) Krishnaswami, Sridhar. "Washington keeping tabs on Islamic group." The

Hindu. (07/16/2003) 1-2.**Online at:** <<http://www.thehindu.com/2003/07/16/stories/2003071600571500.htm>>

Krishnaswami states that the U.S. interests in the Indian Islamic missionary group, Tablighi Jamaat, are high now that they suspect recruitment relations with al Qaida. There is a significant presence of the group in the U.S., and federal investigators see it as an entryway into the larger terrorist organization. However, the leaders of Tablighi Jamaat deny any relation with al Qaida and argue that they do not discuss politics nor are they hiding ties with Osama bin Laden. [BN]

Topic 1:
Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
Religion and Conflict

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., India

(230.) Lakshman, Kanchan. "Islamist Extremist Mobilization in Bangladesh." Terrorism Monitor, Volume III, Issue 12 (June 17, 2005), 6-7.

Online at: <http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369724>

Lakshman outlines the development and rising power of radical Islamist terrorist forces in Bangladesh. These organizations have been successful in mobilizing their adherents to employ violence and intimidation while continuing to garner political support as well. The radical Islamists begin training young; there are youth movements throughout the country, from the north in Natore to the southwest in Chuadanga. The groups claim links with the Taliban and al Qaida, and control a large portion of the country with their ruling coalition partner the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). Organized violence is a key tactic for the terrorist groups which target secular, cultural and even religious events—stepping in stride with international terrorist organizations. The Bangladesh groups, however, have not been linked to any major international events, but it would not be wise to assume so for long. Lakshman points out that there is a threat growing in Bangladesh, and it will have consequences to the stability of not only the region but for the West as well. [BN]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
New Threats

Topic 3:
Political Islam

Countries/Regions: Bangladesh, India, U.S.

(231.) Lambert, Major Stephan P. "Y: The Sources of Islamic Revolutionary Conduct." Washington, DC: Center for Strategic Intelligence Research, 2005.

Lambert explores what he calls the "strategic malaise" of the U.S. in an essay patterned on George Kennan's X cable vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. He first looks at the Western intellectual pedigree and finds that the strategic thinking of policymakers and elites is stifled because of three factors: the Enlightenment and its influence on American policymaking; the hardening anti-Socratic method in American society; and 20th century Wilsonian idealism. The result is a cultural myopia that results in policymakers and elites blinded by bias against qualitative analysis; a refusal to compare core Christian and Islamic doctrines and examine the resulting differences; failure to capture the mindset of the Islamic faithful; difficulty focusing on the enemies; and a lack of strategic insight. Lambert then provides some propositions to regain the necessary strategic insight. A few of them are: Islam's theological foundations yield expansionist imperatives; the U.S. is fighting against a revolutionary Islamic vanguard; the U.S. is engaged in a religious war; and strategic victory involves winning the war of ideas. [TB]

Topic 1:

Topic 2:

Topic 3:

Religious Ideology

Historical Context

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Countries/Regions: U.S., Middle East

- (232.) Larsson, JP. "Organized Criminal Networks," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Larsson examines the conceptual intersections of terrorism and organized criminal networks. Despite the common means and methods shared by terrorists and criminal organizations, the traditional view of law enforcement has been to treat the two as completely distinct and separate, and this has in turn led to two disparate responses by government bodies, law enforcement agencies and academic scholarship. However, the way to combat both terrorism and organized crime may be to treat them as very similar concepts. This chapter begins by offering a brief overview of organized crime, taken quite separate from terrorism, and then explores some of the similarities between them, how the two interact, and what the law enforcement response is and can be. Finally, Larsson provides some thoughts about how both terrorism and organized crime can be countered in the 21st century. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Global

- (233.) Larsson, JP. "The Role of Religious Ideology in Terrorist Recruitment," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Larsson explores the role of ideology in the recruitment of individuals by particularly violent religious groups. His analysis begins by explaining how many young people are "seekers" who are trying to find their own answers of how to make sense of the world around them. Religious ideologies, he argues, are often able to explain the state of the world, and in particular why believers are continuously persecuted, oppressed or discriminated; further, they can also explain how and why violence may be condoned and necessary. Several dimensions of these ideologies are important to consider when examining terrorist recruitment: first, these ideologies are often theologically supremacist—meaning that all believers assume superiority over non-believers, who are not privy to the truth of the religion. Second, most are exclusivist—believers are a chosen people, or their territory is a holy land. Third, many are absolutist—it is not possible to be a half-hearted believer, and you are either totally within the system, or totally without it. Further, only the true believers are guaranteed salvation and victory, whereas the enemies and the unbelievers—as well as those who have taken no stance whatsoever—are condemned to some sort of eternal punishment or damnation, as well as death. Overall, religious ideologies help foster polarizing values in terms of right and wrong, good and evil, light and dark—values which can be co-opted by terrorist organizations to convert a "seeker" into a lethal killer. [JF]

Topic 1:

Religion and Ideology

Topic 2:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:

Religion and Conflict

Countries/Regions: Global

- (234.) Lawrence, Bruce B. "In Bin Laden's Words." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. (November 4, 2005), p. B14-B15. Online at: <http://chronicle.com>

Lawrence describes his editorial research of bin Laden's writings before 9/11 through bin Laden's current work. He explains bin Laden's writing style and what readers can learn from the readings. [HM]

Topic 1:
Religion and Conflict

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S., UK, Saudi Arabia

- (235.) Lee, Gregory D. "Counterterrorism and the Global Drug Trade," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Lee examines the global drug trade and its nexus to international terrorist organizations, as well as the traits these organizations share, noting that numerous terrorist organizations have been funded for years by the profits of drug traffickers, and this is likely to continue in the foreseeable future, especially when state-sponsored support is eroded by political or military action. Terrorists use drug production and trafficking profits to meet their overhead, and to destabilize governments around the world, including the United States. The methods they use to achieve their goals are strikingly similar to those used by drug trafficking organizations. He concludes by observing that the DEA is about to join the "intelligence community" and it is long overdue. DEA has a large reservoir of human intelligence that surely can be beneficial to those charged with conducting terrorism investigations. This is especially true when one considers the frequent interaction between drug and terrorist organizations. Conversely, the intelligence community needs to understand the nexus between drugs and terror, and should readily provide information to DEA to enable them to dismantle these organizations. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Global

- (236.) Lesham, Ron and Amit Cohen. "Islamic Terror: A History of the Muslim Brotherhood." *Yediot Ahronot*, September 28, 2001.

Lesham and Cohen analyze the foundation and ramifications of the Muslim Brotherhood. They explain how Hassan al-Banna began his movement in response to what he felt was the increased secularization of Egyptian society and politics. He wanted to institute an Islamic state, and was not afraid to employ militant tactics to achieve it. Despite President Nasser's attempts at banning the group, it prospered and gained followers underground. The Brotherhood continued to radicalize, culminating in the murder of President Anwar Sadat as well as hundreds of soldiers, government officials and police. Many terrorist leaders of today escaped persecution from these crimes in 1981; they are currently central figures in al Qaida, and they all have their origins in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. [BN]

Topic 1:
Defining Terrorism

Topic 2:
Historical Context

Topic 3:
Revolutionary Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Egypt

- (237.) Lesser, Ian O, Bruce Hoffman, John Arquilla, David Ronfeldt and Michele Zanini. **Countering the New Terrorism**. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Project Air Force, 1999. Online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR989/index.html

Written after the bombing of the Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia, the book looks at a new kind of terrorism—one that differentiates itself from the national liberation movements of the past. While terrorism does not create an existential threat (and cannot be totally stopped), it does affect national interests and may be contained. The authors begin by exploring international terrorist attacks up to 1996, and contend that the U.S. has borne the bulk of the targeting. Their study focuses on the tendencies for terrorist groups to seek simplistic tactical goals, using conventional weapons rather than engaging in apocalyptic attacks using WMD. They also examine different terrorist paradigms and how these affect the type of terrorist campaign a group might wage. Finally, the authors explore a variety of strategic viewpoints and experiences that have led to the formation of counterterrorism strategies. [NG]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, U.S., Middle East

- (238.) Levitt, Matthew A. “**Hamas from Cradle to Grave.**” *Middle East Quarterly* (Winter 2004).

This article gives a detailed history of the organization Hamas. Hamas has links to many organizations that often do not realize their affiliation to the terrorist organization. Hamas links themselves to these organizations, which are often humanitarian or political, by giving monetary donations. Levitt argues that effective counterterrorism requires more than just military actions, and highlights the need for focusing on the financial and social underpinnings of a terrorist group’s support. [HM]

Topic 1:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:
State Sponsored Terrorism

Topic 3:
Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Countries/Regions: Israel, Syria, Iran, U.S.

- (239.) Levitt, Matthew A. “**Hamas Social Welfare: In the Service of Terror,**” in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

In this chapter, Levitt addresses the social aspects of terrorist recruitment in Hamas—a group that is known not only for perpetrating suicide attacks in Israel, but for providing extensive and much-needed social services to Palestinians. Because of the notion that Hamas has independent “wings,” its political and charitable fronts are allowed to operate openly in many European and Middle Eastern capitals. In these cities, Islamic social welfare groups tied to Hamas are given free passes for their support of terror simply because they also provide critical humanitarian support. Hamas logistical and financial support activity is often tolerated when conducted under the rubric of charitable or humanitarian assistance. However, he argues, Hamas grant making is largely determined by a cold cost-benefit analysis that links the amount of aid awarded to the extent of support that aid will buy. Individuals tied to Hamas receive more assistance than those unaffiliated with the organization, while members linked to terrorist activity receive even more. An Israeli government report notes that Hamas charitable organizations accord preference to those close to the

movement and assure that they receive increased financial assistance. The results for Hamas recruitment are striking—according to an April 2001 survey conducted by the Islamic University in Gaza, while 49% of children aged nine to sixteen claimed to have participated in the intifada, 73% claimed they hoped to become martyrs. Levitt argues that cracking down on terrorism is key both to meeting the social welfare needs of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza and for returning to negotiations over a viable political settlement. To do this, donor countries must debunk the myth that Hamas conducts legitimate charity work parallel but unrelated to its terrorist attacks. Further, cutting off the flow of funds to these groups, and replacing their largesse with an organized and regulated international aid effort to address the real and immediate needs of the Palestinian people, is now more urgent than ever. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Israel, Lebanon

- (240.) Levitt, Matthew A. “Hizbollah’s West Bank Terror Network.” *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 8-9 (August–September, 2003).

With the start of the Al-Aqsa Intifada, Hizbollah began shifting resources toward the West Bank to support Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Hamas. Hizbollah also recruited foreigners and Israeli Arabs to join their organizational network. According to this article, Hizbollah became entrenched in the West Bank, with Iranian support, to act as a spoiler to the peace process, while efforts by the United States to diminish its influence have born little fruit. [NG]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

The Framework

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Lebanon, Syria, Palestinian Authority

- (241.) Levitt, Matthew. “Confronting Syrian Support for Terrorist Groups,” *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* (May 2003). Online at the *Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Center for Special Studies*: http://www.intelligence.org.il/eng/ml_gen/ml12_12_03.htm

Levitt notes that the liberation of Iraq, confirmation of Abu Mazen as the Prime Minister of the Palestinian Territories, and development of the Quartet’s Roadmap for Peace have created a rare opportunity to deescalate recent months of Israeli-Palestinian violence and move toward a renewed peace process. However, he argues, it is now critical that Syria heed President George W. Bush’s June 24, 2002 call to “choose the right side in the war on terror.” Syria must close terrorists groups’ offices and training camps, end its support for such groups, deport their leaders, and restrict their activities in Lebanon. But, he notes, Syrian sponsorship of terror is not limited to Palestinian groups targeting Israel; it includes proactive support for Hizbollah and a safe haven for al Qaida. Having altered the regional strategic environment, the United States and its allies must now leverage the liberation of Iraq for further successes in the war on terror, beginning with Syria. [JF]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Syria, Lebanon, U.S.

- (242.) **Levitt, Matthew. "Untangling the Terror Web: The Need for a Strategic Understanding of the Crossover Between International Terrorist Groups to Successfully Prosecute the War on Terror,"** Testimony before the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, United State Senate. Published by The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Online at: http://www.senate.gov/~banking/_files/levitt.pdf

According to Levitt's testimony, media outlets tend to define terror groups as a disparate phenomena. However, there is a matrix of terror financing and groups that support each other. Levitt illustrates examples of terror networks and organizational crossover. He uses case studies to explain how these matrices are interlaced. These networks, states Levitt, make it difficult to prosecute terrorists and go after their sources of funding. [NG]

Topic 1:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Global

- (243.) **Lewis, James A. "Cybersecurity and Critical Infrastructure Protection,"** in **Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure**, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

This chapter examines the relationship between cybersecurity and critical infrastructure protection. He first describes cybersecurity as the safeguarding of computer networks and the information they contain from penetration and from malicious damage or disruption. Since the use of computer networks has become a major element in governmental and business activities, he notes, tampering with these networks can have serious consequences for agencies, firms and individuals. The question is to what degree these individual-level consequences translate into risk for critical infrastructure. While some have overstated the threat, he argues, cybersecurity cannot be entirely ignored in planning for critical infrastructure protection. However, from his analysis of the threat, he concludes that the best path to better cybersecurity may lay outside of critical infrastructure protection. It is hard to motivate people to defend when risks are obscure or appear exaggerated. However, the risks of espionage (including economic espionage) and cybercrime are very real for individuals, firms and agencies. A security agenda that focused on measures to respond to cybercrime and espionage would produce tangible benefits, win greater support, and reduce many vulnerabilities in computer networks used by critical infrastructure. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., UK

- (244.) **Lewis, Jeffrey. "The Role of Technology in Protecting America's Gathering Places,"** in **Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions**, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

In this chapter, Lewis explores the role of technology in protecting America's communities and public spaces. His discussion is organized into three sections, beginning with an overview of the factors that make public gathering sites uniquely challenging to defend. The second section analyzes the relationship between terrorist groups and technology, particularly the ways that technology can empower individuals and small groups.

Finally, the third section examines a number of practical ways in which we can put technology to use to provide a higher level of security in public gathering sites. Lewis' overall conclusion is that both the technologies of destruction and protection—which seem so effective in the abstract—are in practice much more difficult to implement. Any strategy that is designed to protect America's gathering places must recognize this fact and integrate technology with people in a robust, layered system. Such a system will emphasize the detection and prevention of attacks, but must also recognize the impossibility of perfect security and therefore incorporate measures for mitigation and recovery as well. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (245.) Lewis, Orion A. and Erica Chenoweth. "Open Source for Counterterrorism: Facilitating Interagency Communication and Open Source Intelligence," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Lewis and Chenoweth examine the often overlooked value of open source information for informing intelligence analysis. In particular, they note, many Washington insiders, including CIA analysts and 9/11 Commission members, have recently argued for an expansion of open source intelligence (OSINT) capabilities. Indeed, a unit at the CIA is dedicated specifically to open source intelligence collection. While these activities are a step in the right direction, the government should further develop an organizational strategy in which academic and private professionals can supplement intelligence gathering efforts. Their chapter offers new policy ideas to improve both the technical infrastructure of government communications, as well as the organizational infrastructure of U.S. intelligence that allows the U.S. to prevent future terrorist attacks. They suggest applying the methods of open source production to the existing intelligence infrastructure, and nurturing a broad-based "national anti-terrorism intelligence forum" (or "virtual community of experts") who would supplement the process of intelligence gathering by incorporating the collective knowledge of the terrorism research community into the government's OSINT program. This approach would help to overcome budgetary and human resource constraints that plague current OSINT efforts, and presents a mutually beneficial arrangement that would benefit government, first responders, academia and the broader public alike. [JF]

Topic 1:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (246.) Liotta, P.H. and James F. , Miskel. "Redrawing the Map of the Future." *World Policy Journal*. Spring 2004. Vol. 21, pp 15-21.

Liotta and Miskel use a composite satellite image to illustrate the extent of global urbanization, and discuss disturbing trends that need to be addressed now or will cause huge problems in the coming decades. These include the changing demographics of cities, specifically the Lagos-Cairo-Karachi-Jakarta arc; the increased possibility of failing regions within functioning but troubled states; and the rise of the "feral city" in states and regions inextricably linked to globalization. The authors present a future of mega-cities being Petri dishes of instability, terrorism and disease and then provide some recommendations, such as develop a sense of urgency, vast infrastructure improvements and new divisions of labor for the governments. [TB] NOTE: An

updated version of this article was published as Liotta, P.H. and James F. Miskel. “Digging Deep: Environment and Geography as Root Influences for Terrorism,” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 3: Root Causes, edited by James JF Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Topic 1:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 2:
Global Environment

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Africa, Southeast Asia, Middle East

- (247.) **Liotta, P.H. and James F. Miskel. “Digging Deep: Environment and Geography as Root Influences for Terrorism,” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 3: Root Causes, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

This chapter provides a unique discussion on how dimensions of environment and geography—specifically, the physical landscape in which terrorists live—can be seen as root influences for terrorism. Liotta and Miskel argue that environment and geography provide both context and opportunity for the making of a terrorist, particularly in numerous locations across the Lagos-Cairo-Karachi-Jakarta arc of mega-cities where jobs and educational opportunities are increasingly unavailable, resulting in discontent, crime and urban instability. Other locations of concern within this arc include the slums to which tens of millions of refugees have come from other (primarily rural) parts of the developing world. To combat the potential for these locations to serve as breeding grounds for terrorism, they argue, more focus must fall on internal public sector reform and public security improvements in states where governance is currently failing or where urban population growth is likely to induce failure at the municipal level. [JF]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions:

- (248.) **Lyman, Edwin and David Lochbaum. “Protecting Vital Targets: Nuclear Power Plants,” in *Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets*, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

Lyman and Lochbaum argue that ensuring the protection of nuclear power plants against a terrorist attack is one of the most critical homeland security objectives of the United States. Nuclear power plants are uniquely attractive terrorist targets for sabotage, not only because of the massive damage that such an attack can cause, but also because of the widespread fear that can be evoked by the specter of invisible yet deadly radiological contamination. If a number of well-trained and well-equipped terrorists were to succeed in gaining forced entry to the protected area of a nuclear power plant, within a matter of minutes they could do enough damage to vital safety systems and structures to initiate a meltdown of the radioactive fuel in the core, and a massive radiological release to the environment. Alternatively, an attack on the spent fuel storage pools at reactor sites, which are even less well protected and isolated from the environment than the reactor core, could lead to an outcome of similar severity. And the threat is not hypothetical: After 9/11, a Nuclear Regulatory Commission official reported that there were increased intelligence reporting identifying nuclear power plants as potential targets, leading to the conclusion that there was a “general credible threat” of nuclear plant attack. They conclude that although some progress has been made in strengthening security at U.S. nuclear plants after the 9/11 attacks, it is still far from assured that the American public is adequately protected from the sabotage threat to nuclear plants. Thus, they argue, an independent technical assessment of the accomplishments of the NRC and the nuclear industry in this area, free of institutional biases, is badly needed. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (249.) Mailer, Gideon. "Individual Perceptions and Appropriate Reactions to the Terrorist Threat in America's Public Spaces," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Mailer suggests that by drawing lessons from the experiences of counterterrorists in Australia, France, Israel, the Philippines and the United Kingdom, the U.S. can learn a great deal about managing fear and maintaining a sense of normality while facing the threat of terrorism. The best course of action for federal agencies, he argues, would be to harness an innate rationalism in the American people when it comes to their everyday movements in these public areas. His chapter synthesizes existing scholarship that relates to fear and individual rational/irrational behavior in the public environment, and relates it specifically to the practical, technological and emotional means by which individual Americans can maintain "vigilance," while at the same time maintaining as much normality as possible in a public gathering space after the events of September 11. He then focuses on shopping malls as an example of key, prominent public spaces where risk education and new technology can help to improve our perceptions of homeland security, and concludes that the federal government can do more to empower individual Americans to play a more direct role in protecting our communities from terrorism. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Australia, France, Israel, UK, Philippines

- (250.) Makarenko, Tamara. "Terrorism and Transnational Organized Crime: The Emerging Nexus." In *Transnational Violence and Seams of Lawlessness in the Asia-Pacific: Linkages to Global Terrorism*, edited by Paul J. Smith (Honolulu: Asia Pacific Centre for Security Studies, Forthcoming). Online at: http://www.ladlass.com/intel/archives/files/Terrorism_transnational_crime.pdf

Makarenko proposes a model for explaining the contemporary security threat of terrorism and transnational organized crime (TOC), a model she calls the crime-terror continuum. The author suggests that there are seven different relationships between terrorists and TOC, from strategic cooperation to complete convergence of motivations. The continuum establishes that the traditional differences assumed between terrorist and TOC are no longer valid; rather, it has become difficult to distinguish between ideological/terrorist and criminal motivations. Makarenko states that there is a point where a single entity could have both criminal and terrorist characteristics: this is called "convergence." [TB]

Topic 1:

Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:

Global Environment

Topic 3:

The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S., Global

- (251.) Maley, Tom. "The London Terrorist Attacks of July 7, 2005," in **Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism**, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

After describing in detail the events that took place on July 7, 2005 and the subsequent police investigation, Maley examines the motivations of the bombers, concluding that Muslim disadvantage, under-achievement and under-representation at the hands of Western influence and policies seem to have been key motivational themes; thus, they sought martyrdom operations in their quest to right these wrongs. He then describes the government's response to the 7/7 attacks in London, in the context of the UK's long-term counterterrorism strategy, known as CONTEST. Operationally, this strategy is based upon four pillars: prevention, pursuit, protection and preparedness, known colloquially as the "Four Ps." The first two pillars were designed to reduce the threat, whereas the remaining two pillars focused upon the UK's vulnerabilities with respect to international terrorism. The four pillars should not be viewed as separate silos; rather, they should be seen as mutually supporting lines of action, which cut across government. Overall, Maley's analysis provides several important insights into the most likely type of terrorist attack we may see in other large Western cities, as well as how to cope with and counter the threat from local al Qaida-inspired terrorist cells. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: UK

- (252.) Mannes, Aaron. "The Terrorist Threat to the Internet," in **Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure**, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

In this chapter, Mannes examines the threat to the Internet from the perspective of motivations and capabilities of the primary malicious actors using the Internet. His analysis illustrates how malicious activity on the Internet occurs and what counter-measures are available. He also provides an assessment of the potential means of attacking critical infrastructure via the Internet and the consequences of an attack on the Internet itself. In addition to attacking the Internet, malicious actors online can penetrate networks to obtain and manipulate sensitive information. The chapter then explores how terrorists have actually used the Internet for communications. Finally, the chapter ends with a review of the efforts to secure this core component of modern society, with a focus on the Department of Homeland Security's National Cyber Security Division. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (253.) Marks, Steven, Thomas Meer, and Matthew Nilson. "Manhunting: A Process to Find Persons of National Interest," in **Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations**, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

In this chapter, three officers of the U.S. Army describe a manhunting process based on law enforcement investigative methods, which can aid military forces in the hunt for terrorist fugitives in places like Afghanistan and Iraq. Marks, Meer, and Nilson begin by noting that commonalities exist among all types of manhunting, whether the hunter is pursuing a common criminal, international fugitive, or a terrorist. Then

they describe methods that have yielded success for U.S. Marshals in hunting fugitives. Fugitives typically engage in “risk management” strategies, trying to reduce the risk of being captured, based on four criteria: familiarity, survivability, safety, and vulnerability. They will try to minimize his level of risk by relocating to suitable areas with access to food and water, or at least areas that are favorable for his survival. In tracking fugitives, the most important aspect in investigative work is identifying potential source, analyzing the nature and depth of their relationships with the fugitive, and their relationships with other family members and business associates. The authors then describe a five-step manhunting process: 1) conduct an initial background investigation via research; 2) build a social profile; 3) identify the support network; 4) analyze the hunter’s constraints and limitations; 5) and conduct analysis of competing hypotheses. This manhunting process is iterative and structures the problem so as to remove certain biases from the search operation. This analytical process provides better resolution as to the fugitive’s possible locations by limiting pre-established beliefs about the fugitive’s behavior or hiding location. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, U.S.

(254.) **Marks, Thomas A. “Insurgency in Nepal.” Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2003. Online at: <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=49>**

Marks offers a survey and background of the Nepalese insurgency to find useful lessons in strategies, operational arts and tactics for engaging in an internal war. Using the insurgent group in Nepal, the Communist Part (Maoist), or CPN(M), Marks gives a picture of the country, why the CPN(M) fight, their tactics and strategy, and the government’s counterinsurgency strategy. In one example of tactics used by CPN(M), Marks finds that the key was to attack the undermanned and under-trained police in an area, forcing the key government security force to withdraw. When that happened, the CPN(M) could then fill the void created by the withdrawal. Marks concludes by offering recommendations for the Kathmandu government: national mobilization is necessary, as is a strategic plan, socio-economic reform, improved intelligence and informational warfare, improvement in Special Operations, and finally, sharpening of leadership and other skills. [TB]

Topic 1:
Countering Insurgency

Topic 2:
Case Studies

Topic 3:
Historical Context

Countries/Regions: Nepal, Asia

(255.) **Marks, Tom. “Combating Terrorism in Nepal,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

In Nepal, an insurgency has grown in strength and prominence since 1996, led by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), or CPN(M), in which more than 13,000 Nepalis have lost their lives, many to insurgent torture and murder. In this case study, Marks describes the socio-political roots of the insurgency and the influence on the CPN(M) by other communists movements, notably *Sendero Luminoso* in Peru and Maoists in India. In Nepal, the Maoists seized territory over a period of years, enlisting a growing number of recruits until by 2003 the government estimated the movement’s strength to be roughly 5,500 combatants, 8,000 militia, 4,500 cadre, 33,000 hardcore followers, and 200,000 sympathizers. Marks then describes the

government's response to this "people's war" as anything but adequate. Patrols sent to the scenes of incidents were ambushed, while numerous small police stations were overrun, attacked in the dead of night in assaults initiated with homemade explosives, then overwhelmed by human wave assaults. The police then abandoned outlying stations and consolidated their forces in a defensible mass, and by early 2003, half of all police stations nation wide had been abandoned. Once the police presence was eliminated, the insurgents became the state. Marks criticizes the Nepalese government for the lack of a political component to its counterinsurgency strategy. Counterterrorism should be an important element, but only one element of many in a comprehensive approach, a blend of the violent and the nonviolent, that addressed the roots of conflict and created good governance. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Countering Insurgency

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: Nepal

- (256.) Marks, Tom. "State Response to Terrorism in Sri Lanka," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Marks examines the response of Sri Lanka's government to the persistent threat posed by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). He notes that the LTTE is labeled "terrorist" by any number of governments, but in reality, it is an insurgency in intent and methodology. It has, however, gone from using terror as a tool for mass mobilization to using it as a strategy for insurgency. The success of the LTTE reveals the ability of a radical, institutionally totalitarian movement to recruit, socialize, and deploy manpower so rigidly indoctrinated that combatants prefer death by cyanide or self-destruction to capture. Having gained control of certain areas early on, LTTE was able to recruit manpower at young ages and then guide them in ways such that produced entire units comprised of young boys and girls who had never known alternative modes of existence. Meanwhile, this case study reveals several mistakes of strategic approach and operational implementation on the part of the government. These began with a persistent failure to assess the insurgency in terms appropriate to framing a correct response, attacking the symptoms to the near-exclusion of the causes of the violence, and misinterpreting that violence once it appeared. To focus upon the tactical acts of terror, then, was precisely the wrong approach. Certainly repression was a necessary element of state response, but the security forces should only have been the instrument for the accomplishment of the political solution. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Countering Insurgency

Topic 3:
Ethnic Separatism

Countries/Regions: Sri Lanka

- (257.) Marquis, Kate. "Terrorism and Counterterrorism Since 9/11: Understanding Past, Present and Future Trends," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Marquis examines terrorism since the attacks of 9/11, with particular attention to the events surrounding the attacks in Madrid in March, 2004. They argue that al Qaida and their extremist supporters view attacks such as those in Bali, Turkey, Madrid, and Iraq equally important as the 9/11 attacks in their ongoing campaign. However, few national security strategists have recognized the relationships among these attacks, which they believe may demonstrate American inability to fully contain the homeland security threat. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (258.) Marx, Gary T. "The Watchers." "The Chronicle of Higher Education." March 17, 2006. pp A18—A25.

In this article, Marx discusses the advances in technologies and methods of surveillance, including algorithmics, biometrics and data aggregation, and explores the policy and privacy concerns these approaches raise with a number of academic experts in many fields, including the newly created field of surveillance studies. Some of the concerns discussed include trying to find the right privacy balance, determining who will have access to this information, and managing the growing pervasiveness of surveillance. Other interesting thoughts expressed in this discussion concern "geo-slavery," in which GPS tracking technologies would be utilized for various reasons, and the possible need for data proliferation offices. [TB]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (259.) Masse, Todd M. "The National Counterterrorism Center: Implementation Challenges and Issues for Congress." CRS Report for Congress. March 24, 2005

This report was created and disseminated to the U.S. Congress to evaluate the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), which was created after the attacks of 9/11. It reviews the executive order and act that created the NCTC, along with the benefits of the NCTC and various intelligence agencies, and ends with a discussion on the possible problems that may arise for the newly formed agencies in the near future. [HM]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (260.) Masse, Todd M. "The National Counterterrorism Center: Implementation Challenges and Issues for Congress." CRS Report to Congress, March 16, 2005. Online at: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/intel/RL32816.pdf>

The purpose of this report is to examine issue of intelligence reform, and particularly aspects of the law related to the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), including the relationship between the NCTC's Director and the Director of National Intelligence (DNI), which may have implications related to policy and implementation of an effective and efficient, nationally coordinated counterterrorism function. The report also examines issues such as potential civil liberties implications of collocating operational elements of the traditional foreign intelligence and domestic intelligence entities of the U.S. intelligence community. Another issue for Congress to grapple with is whether to let the existing intelligence reform law speak for itself (and let certain ambiguities be resolved during implementation), or to intervene to address apparent ambiguities through amendments to the law now. [JF]

Topic 1:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
Homeland Security

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (261.) May, Randolph J. "Preventing a Communications Blackout: The Need for Telecom Redundancy," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

May's chapter offers important insights on preventing communications blackouts in times of extreme emergency. Drawing on lessons learned from September 11, 2001 and the great Northeast blackout of 2003, May illustrates the need for redundant telecommunications networks, operable during emergencies and with sufficient capacity to handle peak call volumes. His chapter suggests a number of practical approaches and government policies that are needed to increase the reliability and security under stress of America's telecommunication's infrastructure. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (262.) McCants, William. "Problems with the Arabic Name Game." *Combating Terrorism Center* (May 22, 2006). Online at: <http://ctc.usma.edu>

Some analysts have advised U.S. officials not to employ the terms our enemies use to describe themselves ("Jihadis" or "Mujahids,"—i.e., those engaged in jihad) or their actions (e.g., "martyrdom operations"), since these terms legitimate them in the eyes of other Muslims. Instead, they argue, U.S. officials should use Arabic terms that will discredit the Jihadis among mainstream Muslims. This is a reasonable suggestion, but there are two reasons why it should be taken up with caution. First, using alternative words may be counterproductive. Second, while we should not necessarily privilege the labels our enemy chooses, they are sometimes more accurate and more polemically useful than the various alternatives proposed. That said, if U.S. policymakers want a word that will really sting Jihadis, try calling their ideology "Qutbism" (KOO-too-bism), which is a term that their Muslim opponents have used. [JF]

Topic 1:
Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
Political Islam

Topic 3:
Religion and Conflict

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan, U.S.

- (263.) McCauley, Clark. "Terrorism and the State: The Logic of Killing Civilians," in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 3: *Root Causes*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Clark McCauley's chapter argues that the rise of the modern nation-state that began with the French Revolution has been accompanied by a slow but steady erosion of the distinction between soldiers and civilians. This has been exacerbated by countless instances of state-sponsored violence against its own citizens. In war against internal enemies, he notes, the modern state has recognized the threat to its own

power to justify killing disaffected ethnic and political categories among its own civilians. Such attacks have killed 130 million in the 20th century. In comparison, guerillas and terrorists have killed approximately half a million civilians in the 20th century. Thus, he argues, our understanding of terrorism must include a recognition that a state's killing of its own civilians is not irrelevant, and may have some influence on how terrorists view the morality of killing noncombatants in pursuit of their political or religious objectives. [JF]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
State Sponsored Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Global

- (264.) **McCusker, Rob. "Underground Banking: Legitimate Remittance Network or Money Laundering System?" Trends & Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, no. 300 (July 2005).**

This paper examines the ways throughout history that money has been transferred through informal means rather than formal international banking systems. Underground banking has its roots dating back to the Tang Dynasty (618-907AD), and is currently being used by many foreign workers living illegally in other countries around the world to transfer money back to their homelands. The system is highly accessible and resilient in cases of economic, political or social upheaval. Main concerns for governments are that such a system will facilitate a range of disparate crimes, including the smuggling of illegal immigrants. The greatest concern is money laundering activity. Since the attacks of 9/11, more attention has been given to this form of money transfer, and many international organizations have begun to look at ways to regulate the system. The multinational Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF) has taken a greater role to establish regulatory measures. Towards the end, possible economic solutions are mentioned. [HM]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
The Framework

Topic 3:
Historical Context

Countries/Regions: Hong Kong, Asia, U.S., Latin America, Global

- (265.) **McGregor, Andrew. "al Qaida's Egyptian Prophet: Sayyid Qutb and the War on Jahiliya." Terrorism Monitor (October, 2003). Online at: <http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=23409>**

This article explores the underpinnings of Sayyid Qutb's ideological contribution to the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist groups. Drawing heavily from the writings of Ibn Taymiyyah, Qutb is led to the conviction that the overthrow of "un-Islamic" governments is a legitimate form of jihad. Qutb saw military action not as synonymous with jihad, but rather, he saw the intersection of the two as inevitable, given a government's expected response to organized resistance. [NG]

Topic 1:
Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
Historical Context

Countries/Regions: Egypt, Middle East

- (266.) **McGregor, Andrew. "Bin Laden's African Folly: Al Qaida in Darfur." Terrorism Monitor, Volume 4, Issue 10 (May 18, 2006). Online at: http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?issue_id=3732**

McGregor argues that bin-Laden's desire to export militant Islam will not be successful in Sudan because the people will not accept it; Sudan also does not want to be considered amongst the states that openly support al Qaida and terrorism. The government of Sudan is more interested in the profitable oil wells of the south than in becoming involved with bin-Laden's network of terrorists, and his attempt at instigating violence between Muslims would be an offense to the religion. The Sudanese government does not want the support of such extremists, and bin Laden would not find support amongst the people. [BN]

Topic 1:
Religion and Violence

Topic 2:
State Sponsored Terrorism

Topic 3:
Political Islam

Countries/Regions: Sudan

- (267.) **Millar, Fred. "‘Betting the Nation:’ Poison Gas Cargoes through Target Cities," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets*, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

This chapter examines the threat posed by transporting hazardous materials through America's cities. Millar argues that rail security is off track for a number of reasons. No national planning has been conducted to determine how to make rail operations, particularly in major urban centers, more secure. Railroad and chemical industry security adjustments have been voluntary and limited. Only the corporations' high-stakes economic and legal-political interests can explain the astonishing recklessness of continued hazmat shipments, and what looks like another giant "failure of imagination" (similar to the earlier one the 9/11 Commission cited) that leaves the nation still vulnerable to horrendous risks in all our major cities. Both the federal government and rail industry have employed bullying legal and political tactics and excessive secrecy that preclude necessary involvement by local authorities. Thus, he concludes, in the struggle to reduce risks from hazmat transportation, right now each city must fend for itself. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (268.) **Miller, Eric D. "Can Americans Ever Feel Safe In a Post-9/11 and Hurricane Katrina World?" in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets*, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

Miller argues that recent governmental failures have weakened public confidence in the federal government and its leaders. After the government's lackluster response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005, he notes, a national survey by CNN revealed that only about one in five Americans felt a "great deal" of confidence in the government's ability to deal with future natural or terrorist-created disasters. In essence, the first real test of the new Department of Homeland Security revealed that significant work remains in order to secure the American homeland and help it recover quickly when disasters strike. Of course, in a country as geographically vast as the United States, Americans need to appreciate that—regardless of whatever politicians may promise—every square inch of this country cannot be guarded or protected at all times. Thus, we must make every effort to promote resilience in all our communities. Through public education initiatives and greater involvement in the policymaking process, the American government can empower its citizens to exert a greater level of confidence in their own and their respective communities' ability to anticipate and respond to security threats. Ultimately, in doing so, one of the most potent weapons that terrorists possess—

fear—may be quashed. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Topic 3:

Strategic
Diplomacy

Communication/Public

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (269.) **Miller, Eric. “Nurturing Resilient Communities in the 21st Century,” in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Miller observes that community resilience involves fostering a desire to live productive lives that positively contribute to society even during and after times of crises. The more that the message comes across that virtually all humans can show community resilience, the more likely it will be for it to be shown—and the better the world will be for it. Miller draws from the literature of psychology to describe various social, environmental and other factors that have a considerable impact on the degree to which community resilience has been demonstrated in times of crisis. He then describes a variety of initiatives through which several countries have sought to nurture resilience in their nation’s communities. Overall, because a primary goal of most terrorism campaign is to compel changes within a society and/or political system, a community’s resilience may be the most valuable asset in countering terrorism in the 21st century. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (270.) **Milton-Edwards, Beverley. “The Rise of Islamic Insurgency in Iraq.” The Journal for Conflict Studies, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (Summer 2005).**

The insurgency that has grown in Iraq since the downfall of the Saddam Hussein regime has gripped the country in a downward spiral of lawlessness and anarchy. The author contends that the most serious dimension of the insurgency is Islamic in character, which is especially relevant to the United States within the scope of the greater war on terror. Both Shi’a and Sunni elements of the insurgency are studied, along with a wider exploration of Muslim revolts in the face of Western intrusion. [NG]

Topic 1:

Religious Ideology

Topic 2:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Iraq, Middle East

- (271.) **Mousseau, Michael. “Terrorism and Export Economies: The Dark Side of Free Trade,” in The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 3: Root Causes, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

In this chapter, Mousseau draws on research by economic historians to show how two distinct norms of economic integration—contracting and reciprocity—give rise to two distinct political cultures that legitimate, respectively, liberal democracy and collective authoritarianism. In liberal democracies, economic transactions

are based on contracting, which requires a recognition of the equal rights of strangers, as well as religious and cultural tolerance. In contrast, economic environments where reciprocity is the norm—as is the case for many developing nations—trust and cooperation is based more on in-group beliefs and values, loyalty to in-group leaders, and distrust of outsiders. From this perspective, one begins to see how globalization has contributed to exacerbating conflict between the developed and developing worlds—particularly when free trade between the developed and developing world hurts the local economy and worsens the conditions of the urban jobless, increasing the dependency of millions who blame the foreigners for their conditions. [JF]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:
Secular Justification

Countries/Regions: Global

- (272.) **Mukhina, Irina. “Islamic Terrorism and the Question of National Liberation, or Problems of Contemporary Chechen Terrorism.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28 (2005), p. 515-532.**

The author examines the history of the Chechen conflict, including various theories of why fighting exists between Chechnya and Russia. Several charts and graphs lay out the scope of terrorism between Chechnya and Russia as well as the financing of the wars and terrorist acts. [HM]

Topic 1:
Domestic Terrorism

Topic 2:
Historical Context

Topic 3:
Ethnic Separatism

Countries/Regions: Russia, Chechnya

- (273.) **Myers, Lee M. “Agriculture and Food Defense,” in *Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

Myers examines the threat to the nation’s agriculture and food supply, and describes a number of federal and state strategies for countering this threat. The agriculture and food sector provides approximately 15% of all American jobs and accounts for 13% of the nation’s current gross domestic product. On the global scene, the U.S. is the world’s largest exporter of agricultural products, accounting for \$50 billion in exports annually. Thus, the agriculture and food sector can be seen as one of the most important elements of our nation’s critical infrastructure. Her chapter examines the threat of agroterrorism, in which an attack would have serious consequences for the economy, social structure and human health. Specific attention is given to the biological threat—the deliberate introduction of diseased pathogens that are damaging to plants or animals. She concludes that agrosecurity requires a well-informed public as well as conscious planning, organizing, equipping, training, and exercising a multidisciplinary team that can respond to agricultural and food emergencies. Overall, agriculture and food defense relies upon an effective partnership between government, the private sector, academic institutions and non-governmental agencies. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (274.) **Nacos, Brigitte L. “Communication and Recruitment of Terrorists,” in *The Making of a***

Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

In this chapter, Nacos describes how communication is a key factor in the recruitment of terrorists. Print and electronic media in general are important means to spread the terrorist “propaganda by deed” and inform, indoctrinate and prepare some individuals for recruitment. Further, terrorism has often been compared to theater because terrorist attacks are planned like stage productions. In both cases, the people in charge channel all efforts into one overriding objective: to manipulate the emotions of their audiences. While the theater metaphor remains instructive, it has given way to terrorism as television events that are watched by record audiences, transcending the boundaries of typical theatrical productions. And unlike even the most successful producers of theater, motion picture, and television entertainment, the perpetrators of the lethal 9/11 attacks on America affected all of their audiences in unprecedented ways. Among the spectators that the architects of 9/11 wanted to influence were undoubtedly the American public and public officials on all levels of the U.S. government. But equally important targets of their “propaganda by deed” were Muslims and Arabs in the Middle East and elsewhere around the globe, on whose behalf Osama bin Laden and al Qaida claimed to act all along. The purpose of these communications, she argues, was multi-faceted—including the desire to attract new recruits. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Terrorism and the Media

Topic 3:
Mobilizing Forces

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(275.) Nacos, Brigitte L. “Mediated Terrorism: Teaching Terror through Propaganda and Publicity,” in The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

In this chapter, Nacos observes that terrorists learn much about each other through daily news reports, video clips and websites. Further, the media serve a vital role in facilitating the spread of the terrorist’s propaganda, helping individuals and groups gain attention, recognition, legitimacy and respect. When terrorists uses the media effectively—for example, as seen in the cases of Osama bin Laden and Abu Musab al-Zarqawi—other terrorists learn from and follow their example. Recently, a proliferation of videotaped beheadings—which began in Iraq but spread to Saudi Arabia and other parts of the world—is but one of many examples of this phenomenon of mediated terrorism. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorism and the Media

Topic 2:
Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Iraq, Afghanistan

(276.) Naghshpour, Shahdad, Joseph J. St. Marie, and Samuel S. Stanton, Jr. “The Shadow Economy and Terrorist Infrastructure,” in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

The authors of this chapter examine the role of the “shadow economy” (economic activities that are underground, covert, or illegal) in the global spread of terrorism; specifically, the theory behind the shadow economy and the effects it can have on terrorist organizations with regard to financing. Their analysis indicates that the shadow economy can provide an infrastructure for terrorist organizations to operate in,

whereby financing become easier and detecting it become more difficult. The irony for most nations' decision-makers is that public policy decisions intended to create a better quality of life—such as a social security system which collects contributions through taxes and then provides a basic human security “safety net” for all its citizens—may actually create an infrastructure where terror organizations can operate, finance themselves and carry out attacks on the very socio-political system that unwittingly supports them. A comprehensive approach to combating terrorism thus requires significant monitoring of the shadow economy. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:
Global Environment

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Global

- (277.) Nasir, Sohail Abdul. “Al Qaida’s Operational Corridor on the NWFP.” *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume 4, Issue 6 (March 23, 2006). Online at:
<<http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369938>>

Al Qaida’s leaders are believed to be hiding in Pakistan’s Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP). U.S. and Pakistani intelligence have not been able to locate Osama bin Laden or Ayman al-Zawahiri, as this area includes a large population of al Qaida supporters. They have had even less success in Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), due to the socio-economic structure of the tribes and the geographic terrain of the area. These provinces border Afghanistan and are subject to intense insurgency; the local leaders no longer oppose the militants in favor of the government, for fear of their lives. This region will continue to be a safe haven for senior al Qaida leaders due to the increasing lack of security and the failure of the Pakistani government to control its borders. [BN]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
Domestic Terrorism

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Pakistan

- (278.) National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. Public Hearing. 253 Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC, Wednesday, July 9, 2003. Online at: <http://www.9-11commission.gov/archive/index.htm>

This public hearing includes the following three panels: 1) “Terrorism, al Qaida, and the Muslim World,” with Rohan Gunaratna, Mamoun Fandy, and Marc Sageman; 2) “States and Terrorism,” with Laurie Mylroie, Judith Yaphe, Murhaf Jouejati, and Mark Gasiorowski; and 3) “The Challenge within the Muslim World,” with Rachel Bronson, Gilles Kepel, Steven Emerson, and Dennis Ross. The testimony of these experts informed the 9/11 Commission report, as well as our understanding of the terrorist threat. [NG]

Topic 1:
The Framework

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: US, Middle East

- (279.) Nesser, Petter. Jihad in Europe: Post-millennium patterns of jihadist terrorism in Western

Europe. Norwegian Defense Research Establishment (FFI). May 2005. Online at: <http://rapporter.ffi.no/rapporter/2004/01146.pdf>

The paper is an excerpt of a speech by Mr. Nesser of the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment (FFI) which is initially focused on explaining what jihadist terrorism is, emphasizing the implications of this for Western Europe. This is followed by an analysis of the patterns used by jihadist terrorist cells associated with or inspired by al Qaida; their target selection, weapons and modus operandi, cell structure, terrorist profiles, recruitment, training, and motivations for jihadism in Europe, along with six brief case studies of jihad. [HM]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
Case Studies

Topic 3:
Religious Ideology

Countries/Regions: Europe

(280.) Niazi, Tarique. "Afghanistan and Pakistan Face Threat of Talibanization." Terrorism Monitor, Volume 4, Issue 10 (May 18, 2006). Online at: <http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2370000>

The conflict of differences between these two countries has allowed the Taliban to take advantage of the situation and has allowed this militant movement to spread and gain power. There are four problems that Niazi lists as the causes to this increased Talibanization: border infiltration, territorial border disputes, India's growing influence in Afghanistan, and Pakistan's policy towards Afghanistan. He recommends that Pakistan needs to reduce the military presence along the border and settle the dispute through political avenues. Also, doing away with the demeaning Pakistani policy towards Afghanistan will allow for a stronger sense of Afghani nationalism to rise and counter the Taliban's religious movement. [BN]

Topic 1:
Religion and Conflict

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:
Political Islam

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Pakistan, India

(281.) Nomikos, John M. "Integration." International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 2005).

Nomikos offers a design for a single, integrated spy agency. In his essay, he argues for a new European Union agency modeled on what the CIA was originally supposed to be—an organization focused not on covert operations, but analysis. He imagines an independent EU intelligence outfit that would initially focus on providing the European Commission and European Council with strategic insights based on open sources and information voluntarily contributed by member intelligence services. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Spain, France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, UK

(282.) Norell, Magnus. "Intelligence Coordination and Counterterrorism: A European Perspective," in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations,

edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Norell provides a detailed analysis of the benefits and challenges of this from a European perspective. While there has been considerable discussion after 9/11 about what roles various national agencies should have (the police vs. the military, for example), within the EU it is still the police force who is identified as the “lead” agency in regard to counterterrorism operations, largely because both the Union and its members have preferred to see terrorism—conceptually and legally—as a form of serious and organized crime. Norell argues that the underlying premise for this state of affairs is flawed, and does not take into account the fact that other agencies might have knowledge—unbeknownst to the police, due to a lack of coordination and the flow of necessary intelligence—that can be of critical value to any counterterrorism operation. Moreover, the structures of the EU make it inherently difficult to overcome the limitations and bureaucratic obstacles that make intelligence coordination among several actors—i.e., on a Union level—so difficult. The chapter argues that as long as certain structural flaws in the system remain, nothing fundamental will change in the way the EU is trying to deal with the issue of intelligence coordination concerning counterterrorism policy. He calls upon the EU to critically examine the underlying structures in the Union, identify a “lead” agency, and provide new resources, and concludes with some recommendations that can be of value in countering these flaws in the EU’s structure. [JF]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Europe

- (283.) **Ochmanek, David. Military Operations Against Terrorist Groups Abroad. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2003. Online at:**
http://rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1738/index.html

The author begins by noting that the United States military must be poised to take on a larger role in engaging in counterterrorism missions abroad, especially given the presence of friendly, but “weak” allies attempting to fight terrorism. The U.S. military can work in a variety of ways inside a host country, while allowing the host government to play a central role in the activities. The U.S. Air Force is poised to play one of the major roles in surveillance and the analysis of human and communications intelligence (HUMINT and COMINT). [NG]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Mobilizing Forces

Countries/Regions: Global

- (284.) **Olcott, Martha Brill and Bakhtiyar Babajanov. “Teaching New Terrorist Recruits: A Review of Training Manuals from the Uzbekistan Mujahideen,” in The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

This chapter provides an analysis of personal study notebooks of young men who were recruited for jihad and attended terrorist training camps in Uzbekistan during the 1990s. Olcott and Babajanov describe how students learned cartography (map-making), the use of small firearms (mainly Soviet-era rifles and the occasional Egyptian rocket-propelled grenade launcher), tactics for targeting the enemy (both on the ground and in the air), explosive device construction (including antipersonnel mines), and how to make poison using corn, flour, beef, yak dung, alcohol and water. While the motivational/ideological knowledge represented in these students’ notebooks reflects a clear Islamic radicalist influence, it is equally interesting to note that,

according to Olcott and Babajanov, “the teachers who used Russian terminology clearly had experience with the Red Army and Soviet system of military instruction, and those who used Arabic likely passed through terrorist camps in Afghanistan and maybe even those of the Middle East.” Their exploration of these training materials provides a unique window into the world of teaching and learning in the terrorist world. [JF] Note: An earlier, condensed version of this chapter was published as Martha Brill Olcott and Bakhtiyar Babajanov, “The Terrorist Notebooks,” *Foreign Policy*, March-April 2003, p. 30-40.

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:

Religion and Conflict

Countries/Regions: Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan

(285.) Olcott, Martha Brill and Bakhtiyar Babajanov. “The Terrorist Notebooks.” *Foreign Policy*. March/April 2003, p. 30-40

In this article, Olcott and Babajanov describe the contents of ten handwritten notebooks recovered in 2001-2002 in the Fergana Valley, Tashkent region, and an Uzbek village. The students appeared to be taught hatred in the name of religious purification, as well as the use of weapons, cartography, demolition, poisons, and the ideology of jihad. The notebooks suggest the training took place in the Fergana Valley, possibly as part of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) led by Juma Namangani. The training was clearly geared toward guerilla fighting and not suicide missions. The notebooks reflect that the objectives of jihad were framed by a host of economic, religious and political goals. The authors conclude that this was training for a local war with local causes. They feel that there are large numbers of individuals with limited education and no economic prospects in densely populated areas, which makes the pool of potential recruits infinitely renewable. [TB] NOTE: An updated version of this article was published as Olcott, Martha Brill and Bakhtiyar Babajanov. “Teaching New Terrorist Recruits: A Review of Training Manuals from the Uzbekistan Mujahideen,” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 2: Training, edited by James JF Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:

Religion and Violence

Countries/Regions: Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan

(286.) O’Neil, Bard and Donald J. Alberts. “Responding to Psychological, Social, Economic and Political Roots of Terrorism,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century*, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

This chapter offers a thoughtful analysis of the psychological, social, economic and political roots of terrorism, particularly that employed by insurgent organizations, and considers remedies for mitigating them. According to O’Neil and Alberts, effective insurgent organizations proffer a blend of ideological and material incentives that meet an individual’s need for belonging, identity and rectifying perceived injustice. Once individuals have joined or otherwise actively supported terrorist groups for ideological reasons, it is difficult to win them back, because of the psychological and emotional investments they have made. This is especially so when religious ideas are involved. Moreover, their analysis highlights the need for governments to recognize the social, economic and political problems that need to be resolved, at least partially, if the potential for terrorism is to be diminished. Particularly, they must take a close look at the political culture and system as part of their strategic assessment and draw relevant conclusions from it. Understanding the salience

and interconnections of these psychological, social, economic and political causes requires careful and systematic analysis in every situation. This should precede the articulation and implementation of a comprehensive counter-terrorist strategy. [JF]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Countries/Regions: Global

- (287.) Orman, Richard D. “Post Conflict Resolution: Carrying forward U.S. Constabulary Operations Lessons Learned to the Global War on Terror.” Post-Conflict Resolution 2004 JSOU & SO/LIC NDIA Essay Contest, January 15, 2004.

Orman’s paper describes how U.S. military and foreign policy will return stability to nations previously plagued with terrorist activity. He focuses on post-conflict resolution; the stage after combat up to and including when a new or reinstated government takes power. He states that the term “exit-strategy” is superficially used by the media to complete this process on a quick timetable, and this is not always possible or the best alternative. Orman believes that instead of exiting a situation as quickly as possible and as soon as the national government is reinstated, the U.S. should be concerned with effective leadership training of the government and improving state structures and institutions. He uses past examples of U.S. constabulary efforts in the Philippines and Latin America to allow comparison to strategies yet to be employed in Iraq. They also provide guidance to on how to make the environment of terrorists very inhospitable. [BN]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:

Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Philippines, Nicaragua, Cuba

- (288.) Ortiz, Román D. “Renew to Last: Innovation and Strategy of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC),” in *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

Ortiz provides an important study of terrorist learning by exploring the strategic innovations and evolution of FARC (a Colombian guerrilla movement) over the last several decades. His research highlights how clandestine networks for exchanging technology and military information between terrorist groups and criminal organizations have offered FARC critical channels through which they could expand their fighting capability. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Colombia

- (289.) Ortiz, Roman David. “The Human Factor in Insurgency: Recruitment and Training in the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC),” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 2: Training, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Ortiz provides an insightful analysis of terrorist training activities employed by the FARC, Colombia's most lethal band of guerillas. He notes how the content of FARC training courses have changed over time, in order to meet the strategic needs of the organization. For example, in the beginning of the 1990s FARC's leadership established a broad training program to develop skills for major mobile warfare operations such as extensive ambushes or attacks against fortified bases. However, by the end of the decade the group abandoned mobile warfare and gradually returned to guerilla warfare, and thus refocused its training courses on tactics such as mine warfare, sniping, and anti-aircraft defense. This analysis underscores how a terrorist group's training is influenced by its strategic environment in addition to its ideological or political objectives. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Colombia

(290.) Oudraat, Chantal de Jonge. "Combating Terrorism." *The Washington Quarterly* vol. 26, no. 4 (2003), p. 163-176.

In this article, Oudraat draws lessons from the experience of enforcing global economic sanctions against Libya, Sudan and other countries to suggest that the United Nations should play a more prominent role in the global fight against terrorism. She notes that two weeks after the attacks of 9/11, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1373, obligating all 191 UN member states to take far-reaching domestic legislative and executive actions designed to prevent and suppress future terrorist activities. At that time, the U.S. permanent representative to the Security Council, Ambassador John Negroponte, called the UN "a unique partner in troubled times" and described Resolution 1373 as the UN's "single most powerful response" in the war on terrorism. The two UN resolutions took the unprecedented steps of legitimizing military action against terrorism and globalizing the ban on terrorism, and illustrates how the UN can help to isolate state sponsors of terrorism politically and economically. However, she argues, the current U.S. administration has been very reluctant to provide sufficient resources to the UN and its recently established Counter-Terrorism Committee. She calls upon the U.S. to take the lead in forging a consensus on the nature of the terrorist threat. Further, rather than continuing to emphasize its unilateral right to use force against noncompliant states, the U.S. should take the lead in defining criteria for the use of force in self-defense against terrorists and state sponsors of terrorism and engage the members of the Security Council in collectively addressing this issue. Overall, Washington must continue to work with, build on, and enhance the capacities of the UN to enforce counterterrorism strategies effectively. [JF]

Topic 1:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(291.) Palmer, David Scott. "Countering Terrorism in Latin America: The Case of Shining Path in Peru," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Beginning in May 1980, the government of Peru faced the first attacks from a Maoist insurgency originating in the Andean highlands known as Shining Path, attacks that expanded dramatically over the decade. By 1990, more than 20,000 Peruvians had been killed, \$10 billion of infrastructure damaged or destroyed, and some 900,000 internal refugees and emigrants. Palmer's chapter offers an abbreviated account of the rise and fall of Shining Path. It discusses the conditions contributing to the initial formation and growth of the insurgency,

the largely counterproductive responses by the Peruvian government and its security forces, and the key elements of the major strategic and tactical overhaul that turned the tables on the insurgents. The conclusion draws together the lessons to be learned as to how a guerrilla movement could come close to succeeding and how a besieged government could overcome the threat, lessons of possible use to other governments in the formulation of their own counterterrorism policies. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Countering Insurgency

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Peru

- (292.) Pape, Robert. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Bombing," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Pape contributes to our understanding of suicide terrorism by exploring the strategic motivations of terrorists worldwide. He argues that while suicide terrorism is rising around the world, the most common explanations do not help us understand why. Religious fanaticism does not explain why the world leader in suicide terrorism is the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, a group that adheres to a Marxist/Leninist ideology, while existing psychological explanations have been contradicted by the widening range of socio-economic backgrounds of suicide terrorists. To advance our understanding of this growing phenomenon, Pape analyzed 188 suicide terrorist attacks worldwide from 1980 to 2001, and found that suicide terrorism follows a strategic logic, one specifically designed to coerce modern liberal democracies to make significant territorial concessions. Moreover, over the past two decades, suicide terrorism has been rising largely because terrorists have learned that it pays. Suicide terrorists sought to compel American and French military forces to abandon Lebanon in 1983, Israeli forces to leave Lebanon in 1985, Israeli forces to quit the Gaza Strip and the West Bank in 1994 and 1995, the Sri Lankan government to create an independent Tamil state from 1990 on, and the Turkish government to grant autonomy to the Kurds in the late 1990s. In all but the case of Turkey, the terrorists' political cause made more gains after the resort to suicide operations than it had before. Thus, Pape argues, Western democracies should pursue policies that teach terrorists that the lesson of the 1980s and 1990s no longer holds, policies which in practice may have more to do with improving homeland security than with offensive military action. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:
Homeland Security

Countries/Regions: Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Middle East, U.S.

- (293.) Pappas, Aris A. and James M. Simon, Jr. "Daunting Challenges, Hard Decisions The Intelligence Community: 2001-2015. (March 4, 2004). Online at: <http://www.cia.gov/csi/studies/col146no1/article05.html>

The article describes the critical intelligence decisions that need to be made in connection with current and future threats posed by terrorist organizations. The United States can no longer rely on one source of support; however, it must recognize the need to update its current research capabilities and technology that is in use today. [HM]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: U.S., Europe

- (294.) Parachini, John V. "The Making of Aum Shinrikyo's Chemical Weapons Program," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Parachini examines Aum Shinrikyo's development of a chemical weapons program. He describes the evolution of this program, the types of knowledge and materials that were acquired, and the key players involved—such as the group's chief chemist Masami Tsuchiya, who joined Aum after receiving his master's degree in organic chemistry from Tsukuba University, and Tomomasa Nakagawa, who was trained as a medical doctor at Kyoto Prefectural University of Medicine. Overall, Aum's experience with chemical agents illustrates the opportunities and limitations non-state actors encounter when they attempt to develop an unconventional weapons capability on its own from scratch. While Aum killed far fewer people with toxic chemicals than a host of major bombings in the last 20 years, the very fact that they acquired the knowledge and materials to successfully conduct terrorist attacks is alarming. Even a small group of people, if they have sufficient resources and are able to maintain tight security, can pose a catastrophic danger. [JF]

Topic 1:
Religion and Conflict: Cults

Topic 2:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Japan

- (295.) Parachini, John. "Putting WMD Into Perspective," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Parachini provides a balanced discussion on weapons of mass destruction. He notes that when it comes to these kinds of weapons, a nuanced, multidimensional approach is needed to address the complex and varied relationships between states and terrorist groups. Non-state actors have significant difficulties acquiring unconventional weapons with catastrophic potential, but weak or supportive states can help them alleviate these difficulties. The implications for U.S. counterterrorism policy are thus striking. [JF]

Topic 1:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Topic 2:
Homeland Security

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (296.) Pauly, Robert J. and Jeff Stephens. "Iraq in the 21st Century," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Pauly and Stephens begin their discussion by providing an overview of the role of American military forces in nation/state-building operations in Iraq since 2003, followed by an examination of the socio-economic, judicial, political, and security components of those operations. The chapter then reviews insights that U.S. civilian and military leaders and policymakers should draw from America's efforts in Iraq to date, and concludes with an assessment of the prospects for the future of that state under reconstruction. Above all,

they argue, the economic and political reconstruction of Iraq is absolutely indispensable to the broader transformation of the Islamic world. The transformation of Iraq continues to present economic, military and political roadblocks that will take years, if not decades, to overcome. Further, it is essential to see the Iraqi nation/state-building project through to completion. In short, subsequent administrations, whether Republican or Democratic, must maintain America's commitment to economic and political reform across the Greater Middle East over the long term. Failing to do so will only further embolden Islamic extremist groups, including (but by no means limited to) al Qaida. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Terrorism and State Formation

Topic 3:
Countering Insurgency

Countries/Regions: Iraq, U.S.

- (297.) Pauly, Robert J. Jr., and Robert Redding. "Denying Terrorists Sanctuary through Civil Military Operations," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

In this chapter, Pauly and Redding demonstrate how the use of civil military operations and confidence-building measures among villagers at the local level can assist the United States and its domestic allies to minimize support for Al Qaida and its affiliates in a given state under reconstruction. There are many examples across the world that demonstrate the growing role of US military special forces (active duty and reserve units alike) in micro-level civil-military operations designed to achieve progress in the GWOT one village or town at a time in places ranging geographically from Iraq and Yemen to Mongolia and the Philippines. This chapter examines these types of operations and the grand strategy upon which they are based through the presentation of five sections that unfold in the following manner. The first part of this discussion provides a conceptual overview of the use of civil military operations to achieve strategic objectives. This is followed by an analysis of civil military operations in the context of the GWOT in particular. The third section examines case studies of US-led civil military operations in Afghanistan, Iraq and the Philippines, followed by an examination of the insights that U.S. policymakers should draw from these case studies. The concluding section provides some observations on the prospects for the future of the use of civil military operations by the United States and its allies. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Policies—A
Perspective

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S., Afghanistan

- (298.) Pearce, Susanna. "Religious Sources of Violence," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 3: Root Causes*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Pearce examines the relationship between religion and violence. Rather than viewing religion as a sole cause of violence, her analysis illuminates how religion contributes to violence in specific cases. The discussion focuses on three qualities of religion as an explanation of why religion intensifies a conflict. In her model, religious doctrine supplies the motivation, a religious organization grafts in its hierarchal structure, and a religious diaspora provides resources to sustain a movement through a prolonged violent struggle. In each of these unique characteristics, religion has the capacity to escalate and sustain violence in a confrontation between individuals or groups. Overall, her chapter offers a unique analysis through which the relationship between religion and violence can be better understood. [JF]

Topic 1:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:
Religion and Conflict

Countries/Regions:

- (299.) Pedahzur, Ami and Arie Perliger. "The Making of Suicide Bombers: A Comparative Perspective," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Pedahzur and Perliger synthesize information gained from different organizations to illustrate how suicide terrorists are recruited, prepared, and trained for their suicide missions. They argue that this phenomenon is a result of encouraging environmental and personal motivations, both of which are being used by terrorist organizations implementing suicide attacks. The conclusions they draw from their analysis highlight the differences in the recruitment and training process that exist between organizations operating internationally (al Qaida) and organizations operating in a single territory (e.g., the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka or the Irish Republican Army in the UK). Moreover, the operational resources of a particular organization and their level of control over the population also influences their recruitment and training methods. Further, in contrast to preparations for other terrorist attacks, when recruiting a candidate for a suicide mission the recruitment process continues throughout the training stage and until the suicide mission is perpetrated. When recruiting a candidate for a suicide mission, it is necessary to reinforce his/her willingness and acceptance to participate in a suicide attack, and to continue this process up to the final minutes. Finally, while some have argued that the phenomenon of suicide terrorism is linked to one culture or religion, the opposite is true. This can be seen clearly when analyzing the enlistment, training and employment of the terrorists, and particularly their emphasis on psychological preparation. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Lebanon, Israel, Sri Lanka, Global

- (300.) Perl, Raphael. "Terrorism and National Security: Issues and Trends." CRS Issue Brief for Congress. July 6, 2004. Online at: <http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/IB10119.pdf>

Perl discusses the policy responses to the international terrorist threat that are available to the U.S., including diplomacy and military force. He then discusses several important trends in terrorism, such as the movement toward loosely organized, self financed, international network; the increase in ideologically or religiously motivated terrorism; and the apparent growth of cross-national links among different terrorist organizations. The proliferation of WMD is another trend looming over the international terrorism issue, reducing the margin for error among a nation's intelligence services. Additionally, Perl finds that a major challenge for policymakers is how to maximize international cooperation and support without compromising U.S. national security interests. Finally, he introduces a spectrum of state supported terrorism, which helps to divide those countries that are active supporters of terrorism (Iran) to those which are more passive (Cuba or Libya). [TB]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Middle East

- (301.) **Perl, Raphael. "Terrorism, the Future, and U.S. Foreign Policy." Issue Brief for Congress. April 11, 2003. Online at: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/19858.pdf>**

Perl discusses two broad areas: U.S. policy responses to terrorism, and U.S. organizational and program responses. He also examines four trends in terrorism: 1) loosely organized, self-financed, international networks; 2) religiously or ideologically motivated terrorism; 3) cross-national links among different terrorist organizations; and 4) weapons of mass destruction proliferation. Regarding the U.S. policy response, he discusses a range of policy options, from diplomacy to military force, and highlights the costs, benefits and problems with all available policy options. Perl also describes some of the conflicting goals states face: security versus liberty, freedom and human rights, as well as identifying and locating terrorists and their logistical supporters. Finally, he calls attention to two possible counterterrorism tools that are currently unused: an international terrorism court and media self-restraint. Regarding the U.S. organizational and program responses, Perl discusses programs that use financial incentives to either obtain information or compensation, as well as counterterrorism research and various security programs. [TB]

Topic 1:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S., Middle East

- (302.) **Perl, Raphael. "Trends in Terrorism, 2006." CRS Report to Congress. July 21, 2006. Online at: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/69479.pdf>**

This annual report to Congress reviews a number of recent reports and data on global terrorism, including the Department of State's Country Reports on Global Terrorism 2005. Perl identifies a number of trends that are reflected in the Department of State report and are independently confirmed by the work of analysts elsewhere, including at the National Counterterrorism Center. First is the emergence of so called "micro actors," in part spurred by U.S. successes in isolating or killing much of al Qaida's leadership. The result is an al Qaida with a more subdued, although arguably still significant, operational role, but assuming more of an ideological, motivational, and propaganda role. Second is the trend toward "sophistication"—i.e., terrorists exploiting the global flow of information, finance, and ideas to their benefit, often through the internet. Third is an increasing overlap of terrorist activity with international crime, which may expose the terrorists to a broad range of law enforcement countermeasures. Perl also describes emerging trends that may require enhanced policy focus, such as (1) attacks that aim to cause economic damage such as attacks on transportation infrastructure, tourism, and oil installations, (2) the growing number of unattributed terrorist attacks, and (3) the growing power and influence of radical Islamist political parties in foreign nations. Recent suggestions that al Qaida remains operationally active are of growing concern as well. As the global economic, political, and technological landscapes evolve, data being collected to identify and track terrorism may need to change. [JF]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Global

- (303.) **Peters, Ralph, "When Devils Walk the Earth: The Mentality and Roots of Terrorism, and How to Respond." The Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities. December 2001. Online at:**

http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/usmc/ceto/when_devils_walk_the_earth.pdf

The author makes a distinction between two types of terrorist: the practical and the apocalyptic. Thus, the author argues, it is important to understand the different mentalities and motivations surrounding both “traditional” fighters with specific, politically-motivated goals, and religious terrorists with an irreconcilable hostility toward America and the West. The author further distinguishes religious Islamic terrorists and what he sees as practical terrorists within the anti-abortion movement in America. The author argues that the latter is not bent on inflicting mass-casualties. The author concludes with a series of do’s and don’ts for fighting terrorism, which emphasize the projection of power and the use of overwhelming force, along with preventing third parties to broker peace deals with terrorist organizations. [NG]

Topic 1:

Religion and Terrorism

Topic 2:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:

Domestic Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Middle East, US, Global

- (304.) Petter, Nesser. “The Slaying of the Dutch Filmmaker—Religiously motivated violence or Islamist terrorism in the name of global jihad?” FFI Rapport (2005). Online at: <http://rapporter.ffi.no/rapporter/2005/00376.pdf>

This article examines the November 2004 slaying of Theo Van Gogh, a Dutch filmmaker. The attack is analyzed in detail and is found to be a terrorist attack by a self-proclaimed member of the terrorist organization, al Qaida. The article goes on to give a profile of the assassin and his links to the terrorist organization. [HM]

Topic 1:

Terrorism and the Media

Topic 2:

Religious Ideology

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: The Netherlands

- (305.) Pew Charitable Trusts. “Global Opinion: The Spread of Anti-Americanism: A review of Pew Global Attitudes Project findings.” Pew Charitable Trusts (January 24, 2005). Online at: <http://pewglobal.org/commentary/display.php?AnalysisID=104>

The various polls in this report find that the view of America by citizens of other countries is not favorable, especially since the start of the Iraqi war. The report gathered and summarized polls and surveys from several sources. The data was collected between 1999 and 2004. Anti-American sentiments is documented through these polls to be at its highest level in modern times. [HM]

Topic 1:

Global Environment

Topic 2:Strategic Communications/Public
Diplomacy**Topic 3:**

Countries/Regions: U.S., Europe, Middle East

- (306.) Pillar, Paul R. “Superpower Foreign Policies: A Source for Global Resentment,” in *The Making of a Terrorist*, Vol. 3: Root Causes, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

In this chapter, Pillar describes how a superpower's foreign policies can engender resentment on the part of certain aggrieved populations, and explores the ingredients that are most likely to be found among policies resented by members of the Muslim world. U.S. policies that Muslims perceive as being on the wrong side of a conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims are resented both for the policy itself and for the U.S. motives that they are deemed to demonstrate. A second attribute that makes certain U.S. policies more likely than others to evoke resentment is that they play to other negative stereotypes or preconceptions about the United States. A third ingredient of a policy particularly suited for incurring resentment is in its potential for vivid events that by their very nature may carry emotional impact—especially people dying and suffering as a result of military action. From his analysis, it is clear that public diplomacy has an important role to play in shaping perceptions abroad of the United States and its policies. [JF]

<u>Topic 1:</u>		<u>Topic 2:</u>		<u>Topic 3:</u>
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective		Strategic Diplomacy	Communications/Public	Mobilizing Forces

Countries/Regions: U.S., Israel, Saudi Arabia

- (307.) Pillar, Paul, "Counterterrorism after Al Qaida." *The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 27, Number 3 (Summer 2004).

The ideology associated with al Qaida remains an important terrorist threat, because even as al Qaida the organization wanes, the underpinnings of its ideology remain relevant. A lack of economic opportunities or outlets for political expression outside of Islamic extremism make Islamist groups one of the only forms of opposition. On the part of the West, because of the enormous resources needed to track down and undermine a headless movement, controversial techniques such as data mining have been explored. At the same time that terrorism might be gaining in strength, domestic liberty concerns and a false sense of security might be on the rise in the West. [NG]

<u>Topic 1:</u>		<u>Topic 2:</u>		<u>Topic 3:</u>
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective		Counterterrorism Instruments		Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Global

- (308.) Pillar, Paul. "The Democratic Deficit: The Need for Liberal Democratization," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Pillar begins his chapter by describing various arguments in favor of democracy as a superior system of government in general. The most fundamental point in favor of democracy is that when rulers are answerable to the ruled and must compete for the people's favor to gain or retain office, they are more likely than in autocracies to govern in the people's interests and not exclusively in their own. One of the most attractive features of democratization as a counterterrorist tool is that expansion of democracy and associated political rights is a value in its own right. Far from compromising or treading upon other ends, democratization represents the advancement of an important end, in addition to whatever benefit it has in curtailing terrorism. However, this does not imply that democratization should always, or even in any one case, take precedence over other counterterrorist instruments. Like the other tools, it has major limitations—most notably, the long time required for beneficial effects to become apparent and the very long time required to develop political cultures needed for democracy to work well. Overall, there are significant pitfalls associated with the

transition of bringing new democracies into being. Much depends not on democracy itself, but on the widespread establishment of liberal attitudes and norms required to support it. [JF]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (309.) Post, Jerrold M. “‘When Hatred is Bred in the Bone:’ The Socio-Cultural Underpinnings of Terrorist Psychology,” in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

This chapter examines the results of interviews he and his colleagues conducted with Middle Eastern terrorists incarcerated in Israeli and Palestinian prisons. As a whole, these interviews illuminated how the lives of individuals were shaped by powerful social-psychological forces that led them onto the path of terrorism. As highlighted by the direct quotes presented in this chapter, an understanding of these forces reveals how “hatred is bred in the bone.” Post illustrates how the individual comes to subordinate his individuality to the group, which becomes the central pillar of his identity. The need of individuals to belong and to exercise control in their own lives is paramount for every individual, but is intensified in communities where segments of the population are ostracized or persecuted based on ethnic, religious or social background. By belonging to a radical group, otherwise powerless individuals become powerful. Group identity provides a foundation of relative stability upon which disenfranchised or isolated members of a society build a base of commonality and join together. [JF] Note: An earlier version of this chapter was published as: Jerrold M. Post, “When Hatred Is Bred in the Bone: Psycho-cultural Foundations of Contemporary Terrorism,” *Political Psychology* Vol. 26, No. 4 (2005), p. 615-616.

Topic 1:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 2:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: Israel, U.S.

- (310.) Post, Jerrold. “The Key Role of Psychological Operations in Countering Terrorism,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Terrorism, according to Post, is a vicious species of psychological warfare waged through the media, “a war for hearts and minds.” If one accepts this premise, then the war against terrorism will not be won with smart bombs and missiles. One does not counter psychological warfare with high-tech weapons; one counters it with psychological warfare. And in this so-called “war for hearts and minds,” tending to overly rely on our technological superiority, we have fallen far behind our terrorist adversary. In his chapter, four elements of an integrated information operations program designed to counter terrorism are presented. A fifth element of a comprehensive security strategy, promoting societal resilience, is also discussed. In addition to these five general elements, special attention is given to countering suicide terrorism and weapons of mass destruction terrorism. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 2:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (311.) Pratt, Robert J. "Invasive Species: The Biological Threat to America," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Pratt examines the unique and potentially disastrous threat to the homeland from a biological attack. He argues that the United States is not adequately prepared for such an attack, and highlights a number of historical and hypothetical examples of how even the accidental introduction of an invasive biological species can have a devastating impact on life and commerce. Given the goals of terrorist organizations like al Qaida, it is clear to see why they are attracted to the idea of a biological attack, leading Pratt to argue for a set of policy recommendations and actions to better secure the homeland against this unconventional threat. [JF]

Topic 1:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Topic 2:
Homeland Security

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (312.) Quiggin, Thomas. "Cutting the Cord: Economic Jihad, Canadian Oil and U.S. Homeland Security," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Quiggin notes that since Canada's oil supply to the U.S. plays such a critical role to the health of our economy, terrorists can be expected to view it as a strategic target for attack. Indeed, oil and natural gas infrastructure in general can be considered a natural target for "economic jihad" attacks, and this requires special attention by both corporate and public leaders. The main threat to the U.S. oil supply, he suggests, are the critical transportation links which can be attacked by terrorists—physical assets like ships and pipelines that are immensely vulnerable. He then describes some specific vulnerabilities related to these physical assets, and what can be done to help counter the threat to these vital energy supply lines. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Canada

- (313.) Rabasa, Angel and Peter Chalk. "Muslim Separatist Movements in the Philippines and Thailand," in *Indonesia's Transformation and the Stability of Southeast Asia* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2001), p. 85-98 (Chapter 9). Online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1344/

The first section of chapter nine describes the Moros, Muslims on the island of Mindanao and Sulu, and their struggles to remain a Muslim territory and not be forced to assimilation into the Catholic-dominated Philippine Republic. The differences which have reportedly benefited the Catholic regions have led to an insurgency in the Islamic southern, Muslim regions. However, the author suggests that there are prospects for peace in Mindanao. The second part of the chapter examines the Muslim groups of Thailand, who have not seen prospects for peace due to the perceived linguistic and religious discrimination and low participation by the Muslim community with local businesses. [HM]

Topic 1:

Topic 2:

Topic 3:

Religion and Conflict

Historical Context

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: The Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia

- (314.) **Rahmani, Walliulah. "Helmand Province and the Afghan Insurgency." Terrorism Monitor, Volume 4 Issue 6 (March 23, 2006). Online at:**
<<http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369937>>

The southwestern Afghan province of Helmand is quickly becoming the crux of neo-Talibanism and creating new fuel for the broader insurgency. Violent attacks have claimed the lives of several officials in the region, largely due to the government's attempted shutdown of the narcotics trade, unemployment, perceived oppression by security forces, and the central role the province played in the original rise of the Taliban government. The government, however, is quick to blame the influx of Pakistani terrorists; they state that Afghanistan is forced to heavily enforce security because many terrorists there now are trained in Pakistan and return to Afghanistan. The violence has been further exacerbated by the arrival of British-led NATO forces, causing the terrorists to wage their holy war against the foreigners and creating dangerous insecurity in the process. [BN]

Topic 1:

Countering Insurgency

Topic 2:

New Threats: Holy War

Topic 3:

The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Pakistan

- (315.) **Ramakrishna, Kumar. "Indoctrination Processes Within Jemaah Islamiyah," in The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Ramakrishna examines the processes by which JI indoctrinates new militants. In this respect, it can be argued that against the necessary wider historical, socio-cultural and political backdrop of indigenous militant strains of Islam in Indonesia, the key to JI indoctrination involves three intersecting factors: first, the deliberate exposure of recruits to the radical Islamist ideology of Qaidaism; second, intensive psychological programming aimed at engendering hatred for Westerners in particular; and third, the existence of an isolated "ingroup space" within which both ideological and psychological programming can be carried out with maximum efficiency. His analysis suggests a number of problems that are in need of closer analysis and engagement. First and foremost, one cannot ignore the wider communities of religious prejudice from which JI terrorists ultimately emerge. Second, ostensibly non-violent leaders like Bashir—who nonetheless preach polarized, absolutist ideologies that nudge impressionable individuals along the continuum toward hate obsession and potential terrorist recruitment—are clearly a cause for concern. Third, certain educational environments that deliberately limit contact with the outside world and appear to propagate alternate constructions of reality should be spotlighted and their managements urged to expose their student populations to wider informational and intellectual vistas. And of particular salience, the continuing inability of either liberal Muslims or Islamic modernists to devise and propagate modern interpretations of the faith that trump the simplistic, "us-versus-them" radical storylines in the estimation of the Muslim ground is a problem that urgently needs redressing. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Religion and Conflict

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Indonesia, Afghanistan

- (316.) **Ramakrishna, Kumar. "The Making of the Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist," in Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World, edited by James J.F. Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).**

This case study of Jemaah Islamiyah reviews the historical role of Islam in Indonesia; the influence of training and ideas gathered by JI members participating in the jihad in Afghanistan; the ideological influences from Egypt and elsewhere; and the importance of social developments in Indonesia and the region. Ramakrishna reveals an array of socio-cultural and individual psychological dimensions that form the identity of the JI terrorist, and which frame our understanding of how JI rejuvenates its membership. What JI members and leaders "know" (and how this knowledge is produced and transferred among members of the organization) plays a vital role in how JI members see themselves, their groups, the world, and their role in changing the world. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Religion and Conflict

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Indonesia, Afghanistan

- (317.) **Ramakrishna, Kumar. "'The Southeast Asian Approach' to Counterterrorism: Learning from Indonesia and Malaysia." The Journal for Conflict Studies, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (Summer 2005).**

According to Ramakrishna's analysis, U.S. counterterror doctrine appears to assume that undermining Islamist terror networks such as al Qaida and its Southeast Asian affiliate Jemaah Islamiyah requires increasing state capacities and promoting intelligence cooperation to eliminate terror cells and their logistics lines. He argues that while such a short-term counterterrorist strategy is important, it needs to be complemented by a longer-term approach designed to neuter the ability for terror networks to regenerate. He then demonstrates how certain aspects of the Malaysian and Indonesian experiences may offer clues toward how such an approach might be formulated. [NG]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Indonesia, Malaysia, U.S., Southeast Asia

- (318.) **Ranstorp, Magnus. "The Hizbollah Training Camps of Lebanon," in The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 2: Training, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Ranstorp explores the Hizbollah training camps of Lebanon. Since its foundation in 1982, Hizbollah has developed a highly complex and multifaceted terrorist infrastructure under Iranian guidance and support and with Syrian patronage. Hizbollah's training camps have served multiple political and operational purposes over time, extending from solidifying its structure in the early 1980s to providing very advanced guerrilla and terrorist training to its own and other selected fighters from Palestinian factions. Over time, the group acquired an impressive weaponry arsenal and a high degree of interoperability between its military and terrorist wing, especially with the expert assistance of Iranian military advisers and instructors. In his view, there are few organizations as capable, precise and dangerous as Hizbollah. [JF]

Topic 1:

Topic 2:

Topic 3:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Religion and Conflict

Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Lebanon, Syrian, Iran, Middle East

- (319.) **Ranstorp, Magnus. Testimony. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. March, 13, 2003. Online at http://www.9-11commission.gov/hearings/hearing1/witness_ranstorp.htm**

Ranstorp's testimony to the 9-11 Commission focuses on three areas, prefaced by a summary. The summary's main points are that CBRN weapons would most likely be used for mass disruption and not mass destruction and that globalization tools are being turned against the U.S. Then three main areas are discussed by Ranstorp. First, Al Qaida has a much better understanding of the U.S. than vice versa. Second, there are ten problems that need to be confronted in order to have an effective anti-terrorism strategy, including addressing the geopolitical blind spots, reconstruction of war-torn countries, and unilateral versus multilateral concerns. Lastly, he identifies 11 elements of an effective anti-terrorism strategy, which include understanding the threat, countering terrorist financing, and delegitimizing religious hatred and the use of "suicide-bombings." [TB]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S., Afghanistan

- (320.) **Rapoport, David C. "The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11." Anthropoetics 8, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2002). Online at: <http://www.anthropoetics.ucla.edu/ap0801/terror.htm>**

Rapoport explains the development of rebel terrorism over the past 135 years, and its culmination in the September 11th terrorist attacks. He describes the four waves of terrorism over this time period: the Anarchist Wave, the Anti-Colonial Wave, the New Left Wave, and the Religious Wave that continues today. He also discusses the international implications and actors of each wave and groups them into four parts as well: foreign terrorist groups, diaspora populations, liberal sympathizers, and foreign governments. These factors gave each wave international connections, but also created international coalitions to combat the terrorism. He believes the attacks of September 11th will cause these coalitions to end terrorism once and for all, and that the resolve of the terrorists will evaporate and hence be eradicated. [BN]

Topic 1:

Changes in Terrorism

Topic 2:

Revolutionary Terrorism

Topic 3:

The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Middle East, U.S., Europe

- (321.) **Rapoport, David C. "The Fourth Wave: September 11 in the History of Terrorism." Current History (December 2001)**

Rapoport describes three waves of terrorism that started in the late 19th century and have led to the fourth and current wave—that of religious terrorism. The anarchist groups of the 19th and early 20th centuries gave way to the independence and anti-colonial movements of the post-World War I era. The third wave, that of international terror, based its credo on revolutionary ideology. The fourth wave was precipitated by the

Iranian revolution of 1979 and the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan a decade later. This proved to non-state groups what religious motivation could accomplish, and thus religion became a central characteristic of the fourth wave. In dealing with terrorism, it is useful to look back at previous trends and terrorist structures. However, with disagreements among countries as to the best course of action for limiting terrorism, many of yesterday's challenges are likely to resurface. [NG]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
Revolutionary Terrorism

Topic 3:
The Framework

Countries/Regions: Europe, U.S., Middle East, Global

- (322.) **Rasser, Martijn. "The Dutch Response to Moluccan Terrorism, 1970-1978." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28 (2005), p. 481-492.**

The article describes the Dutch government's stance on terrorism, and is organized into five sections: historical, the Moluccan population, reviews of major terrorist attacks in the Netherlands (1970, 1975, 1977 and 1978), analysis of the government's response to each of these attacks, and a close look at the counterterrorism policy during those early years. The article concludes with a review of the government's counterterrorism policy being implemented today. [HM]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Religion and Conflict

Topic 3:
Domestic Terrorism

Countries/Regions: The Netherlands

- (323.) **Raymond, Catherine Zara. "The Threat of Maritime Terrorism in the Malacca Straits." *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume 4, Issue 3 (February 9, 2006). Online at: <http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369896>>**

Raymond reports that the Joint War Committee (JWC) of Lloyd's Market Association has kept the Malacca Straits on their list of terrorist-prone sites. This was met with frustration on behalf of the businesses and organizations that operate in the ports of Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore; they will bear the brunt of the increased costs of shipping and war insurance premiums. The Malacca Straits remain on this list due to its importance in the economy of the region; a terrorist attack here would have severe effects felt throughout the area and the world. The probability of a maritime terrorist attack is real, as is the possibility of combining forces with local pirates to increase their chances of success. The terrorist groups in the area still prefer to attack on land, but the threat of a maritime attack is growing increasingly lucrative in the eyes of terrorist organizations. [BN]

Topic 1:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 2:
New Threats

Topic 3:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore

- (324.) **Rees, William S. Jr. and Kevin Gates. "DHS Science and Technology Initiatives in Critical Infrastructure Protection," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets*, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

In this chapter, Rees and Gates discuss specific science and technology initiatives developed by the DHS. Their chapter provides a brief overview of the historical development of critical infrastructure protection (CIP), with the aim of explaining how the Department of Homeland Security is organized to protect those infrastructures. While their analysis leads to many questions without easy answers, they suggest that meeting the challenges of CI protection demands a dialogue with infrastructure providers, and the first step in that dialogue is to define the scope of the issues so that both sides have a common understanding of perspectives. Their chapter then describes several initiatives of the DHS Infrastructure Protection (IP) Division, which provides direct operational support and interface with the infrastructure sectors through two subsidiary divisions: The Physical Security Division (PSD) of IP conducts assessments of individual infrastructure facilities through direct, on-site visits, while the Infrastructure Coordination Division (ICD) of IP supports a private-public partnership for homeland security. They also describe the efforts of the research and development arm of DHS, the Science and Technology (S&T) Directorate, in supporting the work of the IP and other divisions of DHS. They conclude their discussion by addressing several challenges and opportunities for DHS in the area of critical infrastructure protection, including prioritization of funding, improving coordination at the federal, state and local levels, and sharing (while protecting) important information. [F]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (325.) **Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Strategic Communication, September 2004. Office of the Under Secretary of Defense For Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics, Department of Defense. Online at: http://www.acq.osd.mil/dsb/reports/2004-09-Strategic_Communication.pdf**

This Task Force examined the purposes of strategic communication and considered the following questions: (1) What are the consequences of changes in the strategic communication environment? (2) What Presidential direction and strategic communication means are required? and (3) What should be done about public diplomacy and open military information operations? This report concludes that U.S. strategic communication must be transformed. America's negative image in world opinion and diminished ability to persuade are consequences of factors other than failure to implement communications strategies. After examining the role that strategic communication plays in U.S. national security, the report argues that it must be transformed with a strength of purpose that matches our commitment to diplomacy, defense, intelligence, law enforcement, and homeland security. Presidential leadership and the bipartisan political will of Congress are essential. Collaboration between government and the private sector on an unprecedented scale is imperative. After reviewing ways in which strategic communication can be generated and managed in new and creative ways, the report concludes with a list of recommendations addressing what the U.S. should do to improve its strategic communication effort, particularly changes in the strategic communication functions and structures of the Departments of State and Defense, U.S. embassies and combatant commands. [F]

Topic 1:
Strategic Communications/Public Diplomacy

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (326.) **Riley, Jack, Gregory F. Treverton, Jeremy M. Wilson, and Lois M. Davis. State and Local**

Intelligence in the War on Terrorism. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2005.

This report examines how state and local law enforcement agencies have conducted and supported counterterrorism intelligence activities after 9/11. The authors observe that state and local law enforcement agencies (LEAs) may be uniquely positioned to augment federal intelligence capabilities by virtue of their presence in nearly every American community, their knowledge of local individuals and groups, and their use of intelligence to combat crime. These agencies' involvement in intelligence activities designed to counter terrorist actions and support national security objectives may range from investigation of possible criminal acts that are predicates of terrorist activity, electronic surveillance and other forms of data collection—activities which may occur collaboratively with other agencies. Their research findings suggest that the sustainability of state and local LEA intelligence activity is in question; the funding for these activities is not coming from the federal government but is being borne by already stretched local budgets. Further, the training of LEA personnel involved in intelligence activity appears insufficient. There is obvious need for more training, especially since current efforts are ad hoc and vary widely among the states. Finally, they note that there is a relative absence of doctrine for shaping state and local LEA intelligence activity. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (327.) **Robbins, Elizabeth L. “Leadership through Media,” in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).**

Robbins contends that the media can greatly assist public officials during domestic crises. Her chapter, while acknowledging that the media are driven far more by profit than public service, offers suggestions on how to craft government-media relations that serve the government's need to provide the public with updated, actionable, immediate guidance. She concludes that a symbiotic, even co-dependent, relationship will result in more efficient dispersal of higher quality public information—a critical element in an effective response to national crises. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorism and the Media

Topic 2:
Homeland Security

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (328.) **Robbins, James S. “Soft Targets, Hard Choices,” in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets*, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

Robbins defines soft targets as locations that are either difficult to defend, or usually undefended. “They are typically non-government sites, and more often than not places where people congregate in large numbers. Ideally, from the terrorist's point of view, the target also has some other value, such as the possibility of secondary effects beyond those caused by the attack itself.” From this initial description, his chapter then explores the historical threat to soft targets, noting that these have accounted for about two-thirds of terrorist attacks around the world, and describes the rationale terrorists use to justify such attacks. After examining the challenges of protecting America's public spaces and social institutions, Robbins concludes that the United States will never be in a position to be able to secure every potential target in the country. Thus, the soft

target challenge will always be with us. [JF]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (329.) **Robbins, James S. “Terrorists, the Media and Homeland Security,” in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).**

Robbins provides an overview of contemporary “freedom of the press” issues and challenges, particular with regard to saturation coverage of terrorist attacks on the U.S. homeland. He suggests that terrorism and the media have a symbiotic relationship. One important challenge to homeland security is to prevent terrorists from making use of the media. For a variety of reasons (such as media culture, competition for news, and new information technologies), this is becoming more difficult. This chapter examines how the enemy seeks to exploit the media and the extent to which, when they succeed in doing so, the mass media are a something of a force multiplier for terrorism. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorism and the Media

Topic 2:

Homeland Security

Topic 3:

National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (330.) **Rosenau, William. “Al Qaida Recruitment Trends in Kenya and Tanzania.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 28 (2005), p. 1-10.**

According to Rosenau, at first glance Kenya and Tanzania—the scene of some of Al Qaida’s most impressive attacks—would appear to be fertile ground for recruiting militants into the global Islamist jihad. Substantial Muslim populations, widespread poverty, poor policing, inadequate border control, and systemic political and economic corruption would seem to make these East African countries potentially rich environments in which to attract new Al Qaida members. However, other factors essential to the terrorist recruitment process are largely absent. Despite claims that the traditionally tolerant Muslim populations of Kenya and Tanzania are being radicalized, the evidence suggests that Islamist radicals have in fact made little headway. Although individuals may have forged links with Al Qaida, Osama bin Laden and his network have few followers. Of course, this is subject to change. But in the near term, absent an environment of radicalism, as in a major recruitment ground like Pakistan, it is difficult to see how Al Qaida can expect to attract more than a handful of new members. That said, he concludes, the United States could do far more in the region to prevent the emergence of violent Islamist extremism. [JF]

Topic 1:

Global Environment

Topic 2:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Kenya, Tanzania, U.S.

- (331.) **Rudolph, Christopher. “International Migration and Homeland Security: Coordination and Collaboration in North America,” in *Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets*, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security**

International, 2006).

In this chapter, Rudolph emphasizes multinational cooperation. Prior to 9/11, he notes, scholarly discussions on border security focused on the need for a multilateral regime that would help facilitate the movement of people across borders in order to achieve economic gains. However, since 9/11 three different perspectives have emerged about the appropriate way to manage border security. Americans have put forward the notion of a “security perimeter,” Canadians have referred to the establishment of a “zone of confidence,” and the Mexicans have suggested that only a comprehensive approach is acceptable. His analysis suggests that including Canadian and Mexican officials in U.S. threat assessment discussions and providing access to anti-terrorist intelligence would make an important contribution to achieving the common goal of advancing cross-border flows of people and goods. However, Rudolph notes, while a formal agreement to resolve these differences of opinion would be useful, a formal comprehensive North American regime is unlikely; thus, it is perhaps more reasonable to expect improved “harmonization” among NAFTA countries regarding information infrastructure and sharing. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Mexico, Canada

(332.) Rueda, Edwin O. “New Terrorism? A Case Study of al Qaida and the Lebanese Hizbollah.” Thesis, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School (December 2001, unclassified, public release).

In recent years, scholars have argued that the last decade of the 20th century saw the emergence of a new type of terrorism distinct from that which the world had suffered since 1968. The argument presented in this thesis is that there is no such thing as new terrorism. In spite of a few terrorist “spectaculars” in the last decade, the evidence suggests that in organizational and ideological terms, terrorism has changed little in the last 20 years. The case studies of Al Qaida and the Lebanese Hizbollah are used to support this argument. This thesis looks at key scholarly conceptualizations of new terrorism and applies these to Al Qaida and the Lebanese Hizbollah. This study reveals that rather than conform to new terrorism, Al Qaida can be better described as a traditional terrorist organization. Key similarities between Al Qaida and the Lebanese Hizbollah show the continuity in international terrorism over the period of the last 20 years. This finding is important as the United States government ponders on the best approach in dealing with the current threat from Al Qaida following the 11 September 2001 attacks. [JF]

Topic 1:
The Framework

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Egypt, Lebanon

(333.) Sanderson, Thomas M. “Transnational Terror and Organized Crime: Blurring the Lines.” SAIS Review vol. 26, no. 1 (Winter-Spring 2004), p. 49-61.

Sanderson begins by observing that the global war on terrorism is constricting the flow of financial support to terror groups. To circumvent these measures, transnational terrorist organizations are moving deeper into criminal activity. This transition poses a tremendous challenge to states struggling with a threat that has changed significantly since September 11, 2001. Sanderson describes a “lethal cocktail” that is emerging, “consisting of one part criminal, one part terrorist, and one part weak or corrupt state.” He concludes that as terror groups transform into hybrid criminal/terror entities and partner with criminal syndicates, the threat to

the United States and other nations rises in complexity, demanding a highly flexible, tailored response. Law enforcement and intelligence officials will have to be more agile and adaptable in responding to the amorphous tactics adopted by terrorist groups. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan, Colombia, U.S., Global

- (334.) Sawyer, Reid and Joseph Pfeiffer. “Strategic Planning for First Responders: Lessons Learned from the NY Fire Department,” in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Sawyer and Pfeiffer review the 9/11 lessons learned by the New York City Fire Department, highlighting the need to build capacity within first-responder organizations. Their chapter presents a framework for recognizing and addressing the need for change in an organization prior to a crisis, and examines themes such as crisis management in a first responder context and how organizations should adapt to the changing security environment. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (335.) Schaper, Annette. “The Technical Challenges of Nuclear and Radiological Terrorism,” in *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

Schaper addresses one of the critical challenges presented by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction—the role of knowledge transfer in weaponizing nuclear and radiological technology. The possession, threatened use, or outright use of a nuclear or radiological weapon is desired by some terrorist organizations for two primary purposes: inflicting mass casualties and drawing attention to itself and its goals. This chapter addresses the unique attributes of these weapons and their potential impact, including physical destruction and psychological, social, and economic impact. As the worldwide proliferation of knowledge about these weapons continues to be dynamic and poses increasingly greater risks, this analysis calls for continued and heightened vigilance, particularly regarding the trade in radiological materials on regional and global black markets, and the increasing availability of scientific literature on the Internet. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Russia

- (336.) Scheuer, Michael, Stephen Ulph and John C.K. Daly. “Saudi Arabian Oil Facilities: The Achilles Heel of the Western Economy.” The Jamestown Foundation (May 2006). Online at: [http:// www.jamestown.org](http://www.jamestown.org)

This report analyzes the impact of recent terrorist attacks in Saudi Arabia, including an attempt to attack the world's largest oil refinery, the Abqaiq oil facility in Saudi Arabia. As part of the attack, two or three vehicles were loaded with explosives and attempted to breach the fenced perimeter of the refinery. Saudi security forces were able to prevent the al Qaida operatives from penetrating the perimeter, and the attack was largely a failure. However, the fact that this refinery had been targeted sent oil prices up by \$2 per barrel. The authors note that al Qaida will likely try to strike this target again at some point in the future, and that a successful attack would send shockwaves throughout the world's energy markets, severely impacting Western economies—a primary objective of the terror network. They conclude that the continued threat of instability in Saudi Arabia and other energy producing states is a future for which the United States must carefully prepare. [F]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
Homeland Security

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, U.S.

- (337.) Schweitzer, Joseph P. "Al Qaida: Center of Gravity and Decisive Points." Carlisle, PA: Army War College (April 7, 2003). Online at: <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/army-usawc/schweitzer.pdf>

LTC Schweitzer analyzes the strategic elements of the global terrorism threat from the Clausewitzian perspective of a strategic center of gravity with supporting decisive points. A center of gravity is described as the characteristics, capabilities or sources of power from which military force derives freedom of action, physical strength or will to fight. He argues that despite being an asymmetric threat, Al Qaida has both a center of gravity—their extremist ideology—as well as five decisive points, both of which must be understood and attacked if we are to be successful against this organization. His recommendations include making visible progress on the Israel/Palestine issue, addressing the U.S. presence in the Middle East as well as U.S. policy toward Iraq, and establishing a comprehensive information/education campaign. [TB]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
The Framework

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (338.) Schweitzer, Yoram and Sari Goldstein Ferber. *Al Qaida and the Internationalization of Suicide Terrorism*. Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, Memorandum No. 78 (November 2005). Online at: <http://www.tau.ac.il/jcss/memoranda/memo78.pdf>

The authors explore the role of al Qaida and its affiliates within the wider scope of suicide attacks. The authors contend that although a relative late-comer to the suicide terrorism phenomenon, al Qaida—and now, mostly its affiliates—have expanded the level of destruction wrought by suicide terrorism. The book explores the concept of *istishhad* (self-sacrifice) as an ideology, and how this has been used to mobilize affiliate organizations using the al Qaida model. [NG]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:
Historical Context

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Global

- (339.) Segell, Glen M. "Madrid." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 2005).

This article examines how intelligence agencies from Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Spain coordinated their response after the 2004 bombings in Madrid, following leads that pointed them across Europe and North Africa. Segell credits the effectiveness of this cooperation with ultimately connecting the central suspect to Islamic militants. He also provides a useful critique of how various agencies' failure to integrate different approaches to intelligence analysis left Madrid—and other potential targets, such as London—vulnerable to attack. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Spain, UK, France, Italy, Germany, Morocco

- (340.) Shelley, Louise, John Picarelli and Chris Corpora. "Global Crime Inc." in *Beyond Sovereignty: Issues for a Global Agenda*, 2nd edition, edited by Maryann Cusimano Love (New York: Wadsworth, July 2002), p 143-166.

In this chapter, Shelley, Picarelli and Corpora define transnational organized crime (TOC) and answer related questions such as what makes it transnational, what are its activities, how does it interact with the state, what model is appropriate for analyzing TOC, and finally, what strategy should be adopted to respond to TOC. The authors touch on key TOC markets, like smuggling of various contraband (including people, guns and narcotics) that are profit sources for TOC. They then touch on vital activities to TOC, like money laundering and corruption. Further, the authors explore the interaction of TOC to areas such as globalization, states, and the economy—both domestic and international. The authors conclude that the profits and effects of TOC threaten the nation-state, and call upon nations to deny TOC individual help; harmonize legal measures; assist other countries without sufficient intelligence ability; and address regional conflicts, which provide revenue and territory for TOC. [TB]

Topic 1:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:
Global Environment

Topic 3:
The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Global

- (341.) Shibuya, Eric. "The Struggle with Violent Right-Wing Extremist Groups in the United States," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

After describing several different types of violent right-wing extremist groups, Shibuya identifies three trends as most significant when considering the threat these groups pose to the United States. The first is that the use of a WMD in a terrorist attack is clearly not beyond the scope of possibility for violent right-wing actors, in terms of motivation or in (growing) capability. The second trend is the increasing value of the Internet in putting the leaderless resistance form of operation into practice. The Internet has been a boon to the movement by allowing for the creation of virtual communities of interest which are more anonymous and physically disconnected, making investigation and surveillance much more difficult. The third and perhaps most significant trend is the growing statements of common cause between the violent right-wing movement and other terrorist movements. It may be an exaggeration to consider groups like Al Qaida and the Aryan

Nations to be part of a single “movement,” but it is certainly true that both groups find common cause in their hatred for the U.S. government. While strategic alliances may be less likely, tactical relationships may increase as both groups find areas of mutual benefit to work together. Overall, this chapter demonstrates that the threat from violent right-wing groups must be included in our national strategy for countering terrorism in the 21st century. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Domestic Terrorism

Topic 3:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (342.) **Shirk, David A. “Law Enforcement Challenges and ‘Smart Borders,’” in Homeland Security: Protecting America’s Targets, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

According to Shirk, market-driven criminal activities formed a considerable amount of the security challenges along the U.S.-Mexico border before 9/11. However, unlike the long-standing challenges rooted in basic economic forces of supply-and-demand, the new national security challenges confronted in the post-9/11 context are the result of the deliberate intent to cause harm. His chapter explores how this new context has impacted U.S. and Mexican law enforcement and security relations, and how new policy directions may offer a framework to develop mutually-beneficial practices and approaches to shared challenges. As the U.S. and Mexican federal governments move toward implementing the laws and administrative structures for dealing with law enforcement and security challenges, the 22 Point Smart Border Agreement provides a helpful bilateral framework for addressing these priorities, and for building strong U.S.-Mexican ties in the aftermath of recent tensions over immigration and Iraq. However, the United States needs to take care to ensure that the Department of Homeland Security cooperates effectively with other federal, state, and local agencies sharing jurisdiction in this area. At the same time, in order to ensure that Mexico can operate as an effective partner in this agreement, the United States will need to help its neighbor develop its security capabilities. Over the long term, he argues, the harmonization of North American security standards would be mutually beneficial to all three countries, and would constitute a positive step toward the creation of a stronger economic and security community in North America. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S., Mexico, Canada

- (343.) **Shultz, Richard H., Douglas Farah and Itamara V. Lochard. Armed Groups: A Tier-One Security Priority. Colorado Springs, CO: INSS Occasional Paper no. 57. September 2004.**

In this monograph, Shultz, Farah, and Lochard provide a framework for the analysis of violent non-state actors, which can threaten the U.S. by direct or indirect ways. They describe operational characteristics of such groups as falling into six categories: leadership, membership, infrastructure, ideology, operations and linkages. They also suggest geographic areas where these groups can thrive, including Central Asia, the Tri-border area of Latin America, Southeast Asia, and central Africa. Finally, the authors provide a number of recommendations through which the intelligence and operational communities can change to counter the threat from violent non-state actors, such as understanding both the threats and opportunities that these groups provide; implementing structural changes in the intelligence community; and creating profiles for robust analysis. [TB]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
The Framework

Topic 3:
The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S., Asia, Africa, Latin America

- (344.) Silke, Andrew (ed.), **Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements and Failures**. London, Frank Cass, 2004.

This book offers a number of insights into the research that informs counterterrorism policymaking. It describes current trends in terrorism research, as well as how this research is conducted and how it impacts policy and practice. In addition to the editor, contributors to the volume include Bruce Hoffman, John Horgan, Gavin Cameron, Leonard Weinberg, Avishag Gordon, Walter Enders, Louise Richardson. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Global

- (345.) Simon, Steven, “The New Terrorism.” **Brookings Review**, Vol. 21, Iss. 1 (Winter 2003). Online at: <http://www.brookings.edu/press/review/winter2003/simon.htm>

Simon argues that while practical and political concerns drive al Qaida as an organization, it is religious ideology and devotion through which its members see their roles within the group. Traditional strategies of deterrence are therefore unlikely to work, given the groups’ willingness to die in the process of fighting, and given the messianic beliefs associated with the members of these groups. Instead, the United States must adopt a strategy of containment and address the underlying causes of discontent. [NG]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:
Religious Ideology

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Global

- (346.) Sims, Jennifer. “The Contemporary Challenges of Counterterrorism Intelligence,” in **Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations**, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Sims examines the requirements and future challenges of counterterrorist intelligence. It begins with a discussion of what history can tell us about the core features of past counterintelligence missions that have been successful against transnational groups. It then discusses the new features of the modern conflict that are changing the nature of the tradecraft needed to defeat terrorist organizations such as al Qaida and associated groups. A key premise of her chapter is that one cannot evaluate an intelligence effort without identifying the nature of the competition, including the adversary and his strategy. This is because intelligence, at its core, is less about getting facts right or wrong than providing competitive advantages in foresight and situational awareness to decision-makers. To some extent, the techniques that have worked in the past will remain important: human intelligence from infiltration agents, all-source data fusion (phone intercepts and human agents for example), and collaboration with law enforcement worldwide. The ability of the federal government to conduct double agent and deception operations should be improved and will necessarily have

to be coordinated with overseas partners. Finally, she advocates for greater collaboration between the federal government and local agencies, intelligence liaison with foreign governments, and outreach to universities. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (347.) Sinai, Joshua. "Forecasting Terrorist Groups' Warfare: 'Conventional' to CBRN," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Sinai offers a model that can be used by intelligence agencies to forecast the spectrum of warfare that a terrorist group is likely to conduct against a specific adversary. He suggests that to adequately assess the likelihood and magnitude of the types of threats posed by contemporary terrorism, three issues need to be addressed. First, threat assessments need to focus on three types of warfare that characterize this spectrum of terrorist operations: conventional low impact (CLI), conventional high impact (CHI) or chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear (CBRN) warfare, also known as weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Second, one needs to focus on the characteristics of terrorist groups that shape and define the type of warfare that they are likely to employ to achieve their objectives, starting with the nature of their leadership, motivation, strategy, supporting constituencies and other factors such as capabilities, accelerators, triggers, and hurdles that are likely to propel them to pursue CLI, CHI, or CBRN warfare (or a combination of the three). Third, we must focus our efforts on determining the disincentives and constraints that are likely (or not) to deter terrorist groups away from CBRN warfare, which is the most catastrophic (and difficult) form of potential warfare, particularly when these groups can resort to conventional explosives which have become increasingly more lethal and "catastrophic" in their impact. Analytically, therefore, terrorist groups currently operating on the international scene (or newly emergent ones) need to be viewed as potential CLI, CHI or CBRN warfare actors (or a combination of the three), based on an understanding of the indicator and warning factors likely to propel them to embark on such types of warfare against their adversaries. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (348.) Sinai, Joshua. "Terrorism and Uzbekistan: The Threat and the Response," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Sinai describes the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and its struggle with the secular regime of President Karimov. Uzbekistan is the former Soviet Union's largest Muslim nation, with a population of 25.1 million people. The government believes that its counterterrorism strategy will enable it to avoid the fate of its smaller southern neighbor Tajikistan, which has been engulfed in a civil war since independence. So far, however, such a strategy has not succeeded in rooting out Uzbekistan's extremist Islamic insurgency, because its military campaign has been ineffective and solutions still need to be provided to tackle the country's internal problems, particularly the lack of full political participation in the form of free, fair and competitive elections. Sinai notes that an effective response to the radical Islamic insurgency in Uzbekistan must be found and implemented, because this insurgency is part of a wider series of insurgencies facing the Central Asian

states that pose a major threat to their stability and prospects for increased democratization and economic well-being. However, until Uzbekistan adopts a more democratic course, he argues, there will be few internal or external allies to help it defeat the IMU's insurgency. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Religion and Conflict

Topic 3:
Countering Insurgency

Countries/Regions: Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Russia

- (349.) **Singer, Peter W. "The New Children of Terror," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).**

Singer's chapter addresses how terrorists recruit children. There are some 300,000 children under the age of 18 (both boys and girls) presently serving as combatants, fighting in almost 75% of the world's conflicts, and 80% of the conflicts where children are present include fighters under the age of 15. Thus, he notes, it should be no surprise that children are also increasingly present in terrorist groups. Many of these groups have long had "youth wings" to provide broader support in the populace, but now youths are increasingly being used in actual operations to strike at targets behind the battle lines. This occurs for the same fundamental reasons that children are now on the battlefields: children offer terrorist group leaders cheap and easy recruits, who provide new options to strike at their foes. He concludes that there are multiple reasons for children to become involved in terrorist groups, usually the result of the combination of a harsh environment that leaves children with no good choices and a deliberate mobilization strategy by the group itself to pull children into terrorism. Sometimes this process is enabled by the parents' approval. This may be the saddest aspect of children's involvement in such groups. When a parent wishes that their child grow up to be a suicide bomber instead of becoming a doctor or teacher and live to an old age, something is indeed wrong. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Global Environment

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Africa, Global

- (350.) **Siska, Peter. "Satellite Based Mapping, Navigation and Communication Systems: Global Security Concerns," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 3: Critical Infrastructure*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).**

Siska explores the relationship between homeland security and the global satellite systems upon which we rely for mapping, navigation and communication systems. He notes that terrorist groups are ready to use every available aspect of modern technology to carry out their plans. Modern digital geospatial and communication technology is one such example. His chapter discusses modern advances in geospatial mapping and satellite-based communication systems and their potential misuse by groups such as terrorists, and he argues that key security vulnerabilities exist in our communication technologies, including cell tower systems, signals, and satellite-based mapping. Thus, as part of any strategy for homeland security (or, more importantly, global security), we must constantly seek to better understand the potential misuses of modern technologies. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (351.) Sivan, Emmanuel. "The Clash Within Islam." *Survival* vol. 45. no. 1 (Spring 2003), p. 25-44.

Sivan offers an in-depth analysis on the state of radical Islam within Muslim lands. Finding that the middle class of these societies are caught between the repressive state and radical Islam, Sivan describes the difficulty of reform in the mold of liberal Islam, or an Islam drained of the radical element. He traces the retreating state (failure of authoritarian and Marxist models) which provides dawas (groups) the opportunity to provide services no longer provided by the state. These groups empower the youth and offer the chance to spread their radical message. Sivan finds that while the middle class is fearful of the radical element, there is no coherent, liberal Islam message being offered; thus, the middle class would trade the problematic current state for a radical government. Sivan then provides three necessary preconditions for a successful, liberal alternative: explaining the Islamic heritage in context—the missing time and place element (i.e., Islam evolves); Islam should borrow from the West using a cultural filter; and that Islam has little to offer in the political realm. [TB]

Topic 1:
Religion and Violence

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
Political Islam

Countries/Regions: Middle East

- (352.) Sloan, Stephen. "Educating the Next Generation of Counterterrorism Professionals," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

In this chapter, Sloan—who has studied and written about terrorism for several decades—provides his thoughts on necessary changes in counterterrorism education. He addresses the historical context of terrorism studies and why such studies had such a slow and at times tortuous path in finding their place as a discrete specialization within both the social and hard sciences. Based on that assessment, the chapter then examines the state of the counterterrorism art as stands today and suggest what critical questions and areas of investigation must be addressed to meet both the short and longer-term evolution of the strategies and tactics of terrorism. The discussion then focuses more specifically on the elements necessary to evolve the new educational programs that are required to assist the counterterrorism specialist in the academic, public and corporate sectors to not only achieve the necessary corpus of knowledge, but also disseminate it to those who are on the frontline in combating terrorism. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S., Global

- (353.) Sloan, Stephen. *Beating International Terrorism: An Action Strategy for Preemption and Punishment*. Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air University Press, 2000. Online at: http://aupress.au.af.mil/catalog/books/Sloan_B3.htm

Sloan begins by noting that a variety of definitions of terrorism have hindered efforts to create a fundamental doctrine for counterterrorism. This problem is multiplied by a grey area that exists between the military and

civilian realm, in which terrorists operate. He then explores approaches for formulating a clear counterterrorism doctrine given the limitations present. Finally, Sloan describes the Vice President's Task Force created under the Reagan Administration, and how it began establishing a new terrorist doctrine for American foreign policy. [NG]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Countries/Regions: U.S., Global

- (354.) Smeltz, Dina and Michael Wallach. "Independent Survey of Arab Publics Shows Bad U.S. Image Based Primarily on U.S. Regional Policy." Office of Research, Department of State, Washington, D.C. March 23, 2005. Online at:
<http://www.gao.gov/htext/d06535.html>

This survey was conducted by the University of Jordan's Center for Strategic Studies (CSS). The Center surveyed several individuals in Middle Eastern countries, as well as the United Kingdom, and France, about their attitude towards the United States. [HM]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
Strategic Communications/Public
Diplomacy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S., UK, Middle East

- (355.) Smith, Paul J. "Terrorism and Finance: Reality vs. Mythology," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Smith examines the financial aspects of terrorism and counterterrorism. During the past decade, and particularly since 1999, regulations and laws have been implemented throughout the world, focused primarily at terrorism financing. In fact, some observers might suggest that the "financial oxygen" that sustains terrorist activity is nearly depleted. Unfortunately, however, terrorists are extremely versatile and creative. They are reverting to more fundamental methods of transferring money, such as enlisting informal value transfer systems, engaging in bulk cash smuggling, or simply transferring "value" anonymously via e-cash (or e-gold) on the Internet. Further, as money laundering regimes become more advanced in rich, developed countries (and even moderately-wealthy developing countries), terrorist organizations always have the option of turning to "less governed spaces"—in other words, operating in those areas of the world outside the purview of governments and financial regulators. Smith concludes that since terrorism is a complex, political phenomenon that cannot be simply eliminated by starving terrorists of their money, countering terrorism in the long-term will require that governments honestly and forthrightly take on those sensitive questions or issues that provide the "political oxygen" of international terrorism. Unless that reality is confronted honestly, terrorists will always find a way to fund their operations. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: Global

- (356.) Spagnolo, Peter N. "The Threat of Terrorism to Mid-Size U.S. Cities," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

This chapter expands our standard definition of soft targets to include whole communities and municipalities, particularly those with less than 50,000 people—which, Spagnolo reminds us, are where two-thirds of all Americans live. Since the most famous terrorist attacks to occur in the U.S. have all involved large metropolitan areas, he notes, many Americans feel a sense of security because they live in smaller communities which appear to present little interest to terrorists as possible future targets. In some cases, a mentality of complacency has even found its way up to the leadership of the law enforcement agencies of mid-size communities. However, he argues, terrorism can be seen as a form of communication meant to send a message and create victims well beyond those actually involved in the attack. Thus, a strike where one is least expected—where there is often a limited ability to detect an attack before it takes place, to counter it as it's happening or recover in the aftermath—would clearly send a far more powerful message to more Americans than individual attacks on each of the nine largest U.S. cities. Thus, the threat to America's small and mid-sized cities must not be underestimated. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Topic 3:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (357.) Spagnolo, Peter N. and Chadd Harbaugh, "Combating Terror in U.S. Communities: The SWAT Mission," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

This chapter highlights the role of SWAT (an acronym which originally stood for Special Weapons Assault Team, but over the years has changed to the universally accepted as Special Weapons and Tactics) in countering terrorism in America's communities. The focus for SWAT took a new direction on 11 September 2001; while the SWAT team has been the unit called in when specialized equipment and unconventional tactics are needed in situations such as hostage takings, barricaded armed criminals, and high risk search warrants and arrests, the mission is again evolving into the teams becoming the first line of defense in the face of an armed ground assault on a target within the United States. According to Spagnolo and Harbaugh, one of the reasons for the change in direction is the fact that the terrorist is generally far better armed and trained than other types of criminals, and more likely to fight it out with the authorities. This chapter describes how the Department of Homeland Security has recently made it easier for law enforcement agencies to train their officers in the critical areas of Counterterrorism/Antiterrorism/SWAT tactics and techniques, and is working to bolster this vital counterterrorism organization in communities throughout the U.S. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Homeland Security

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (358.) Stanski, Keith. "Terrorism, Gender and Ideology: A Case Study of Women who Join the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC)," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International,

2005).

Stanski offers a unique case study of women who join the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC). He draws from a combination of media accounts, human rights reports, and interviews with recently demobilized female FARC members to examine the role women play in the movement. Several key lessons emerge from his analysis. For potential recruits, the movement's political objectives may be secondary to the perceived opportunities of joining a terrorist movement. Further, even for young adolescents, joining a violent movement can be a calculated decision. While inflated expectations and recruitment rhetoric influence these decisions, some women may view terrorist movements as offering opportunities that are otherwise unattainable. In some cases, the difficulties and risks women face in civilian society may exceed those inherent in joining a terrorist movement. For others, terrorist organizations might be perceived as a relief from seemingly inescapable boredom. Additionally, the sense of purpose instilled by enlisting in a terrorist group may be heightened for women. As a distinct departure from civilian society, the training women receive—even when comparable to that of men—could elicit a special sense of importance for them. The physical and political training that terrorist movements provide may not only be the most sustained formal training women receive, but it also has immediate application for a cause greater than themselves; upon completing the training, women enter a political and social structure in which they have new, specific responsibilities and functions. In a way, a terrorist group validates the potential of a woman in a manner that civilian societies may not recognize. Overall, Stanski's analysis brings an important dimension to our understanding of terrorist recruitment. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:
Case Studies

Countries/Regions: Colombia

- (359.) Stewart, Patrick A., William P. McLean, and Lucas P. Duffner. "Agricultural BioTerrorism: Dimensions of Fear and Public Perception," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

This chapter explores the fears held by many Americans about the threat of a terrorist attack on our nation's food supply. The authors argue that if an attack on the food supply system were to be carried out by terrorists, it would likely not be as immediately politically advantageous as traditional terrorist attacks. Traditional terrorist attacks obtain attention through a sudden strike followed by a period of calm during which time public fear becomes attenuated as anxious citizens await another attack. In contrast, a biological attack on the food supply would likely exhibit a pattern in which, if the poisoned food reaches the public, there would be a time lapse between the effect of such food poisoning and government and public awareness of such an attack. Further, such an attack would lack fearsome images as seen with September 11, but would provide a series of public interest stories. However, an agricultural bioterrorism attack would likely lead to decreased trust in food processing and governmental institutions unless it is dealt with quickly and with public risk perceptions in mind. Dealing with such attacks and maintaining public trust underscores the need to understand what drives risk perceptions. If an individual perceives they have control over a risk, they are likely to be less concerned about it, just as individuals tend to be less concerned over natural occurrences, as compared to manmade events. Drawing on a survey of residents in five states, which revealed a high level of concern about the likelihood of an attack on the U.S. food supply, the authors conclude that the federal government should do more to educate the public about the threat to agriculture and what they can do to help mitigate this threat. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (360.) Stewart, Patrick A., William P. McLean, and Matthew K. Huckaby. "Knowledge of the Homeland Security Advisory System: Inattention in the Heartland," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

The authors of this chapter argue that events of the past decade in American history make it clear that all citizens are potential terrorist targets whether they reside in large urban population centers or more rural areas of the nation. With the general public's attitude concerning the terrorist threats toward the United States remaining relatively constant and high since the mid-1980s, researchers are concerned with the extent to which the American public is aware of the current threat of terrorism and their subsequent knowledge of the newly developed Homeland Security Advisory System (HSAS). Their chapter explores the issue of perception in the heartland of the United States, where terrorist attacks have been less frequent and have caused less physical destruction. Initial findings from a recent case study regarding knowledge of terrorist threats and the HSAS reveal a general lack of knowledge and concern about the system, which in turn impacts the public perception of threats to the homeland. In essence, they conclude, it appears that the potential for large-scale death and destruction from acts of terrorism has not spurred the rural public to obtain knowledge of the warning system put in place to protect them. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Strategic Communication/Public
Diplomacy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (361.) Stock, Margaret D. "Immigration and National Security: Post-9/11 Challenges for the United States," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

This chapter explores the complicated relationship between immigration and national security. Stock argues that an effective national security-oriented U.S. immigration policy must focus on letting in the right people. Immigrants are a key asset in fighting the global war on terrorism and maintaining U.S. military dominance. They are also key to the U.S. maintaining its economic dominance, which is necessary to support our military power. Yet, the United States has no national security strategy for immigration. Immigration policy must be an explicit part of our homeland security strategies, she argues, not an afterthought. In essence, a key aspect of our nation's future security will be a comprehensive immigration policy that allows us to distinguish between legitimate immigrants and the small number of people who intend to do us harm. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro
Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Mexico, Canada

- (362.) Stossel, Sage and Katie Bacon. "The Triumph of Terrorism." *The Atlantic Online* (September 11, 2001) p. 1-2.

Stossel and Bacon review previous Atlantic Monthly articles in discussing why terrorism is increasing and what can be done. The first article, from 1986, argues that the U.S. fundamentally misunderstands terrorism, while a 1992 article suggests that the U.S. must move from a defensive position to an offensive one. Rejecting excessive caution, the point is made that playing defense requires 100% accuracy, while the terrorists need to be right only occasionally. A 1996 article discusses how the U.S. helped to create the Islamic terrorists during the 1980s, and a final article discusses the lack of any intelligence on bin Laden. [TB]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (363.) Stossel, Sage. "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Islam." *The Atlantic Online* (December 12, 2001). p. 1-4. Online at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/prem/200501u/fb2005-01-14> (subscribers only).

Stossel revisits four previous articles concerning Islam and its suitability for Western democracy to determine whether a post-Taliban government can be successful. The first article from 1920 seems to reject outright the compatibility of Islam with democracy. The next article from 1956 calls on Islam to evolve—Islam must find solutions to its "Dark Age" on its own. A liberal interpretation of Islam is needed. The 1993 article compares the pros and cons of Islam's fitness for democracy. The conclusion of this analysis suggests that modernization is not the problem, but rather, purity is. Thus, the solution to the backlash against Western governments is jihad. The last article examined by Stossel argues in favor of looking at the Koran as an historical document, and not as the unquestioned word of God. If this is done, there is a chance to have a liberalization effort. [TB]

Topic 1:
Historical Context

Topic 2:
Religion and Conflict

Topic 3:
Political Islam

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan

- (364.) Sullivan, John. "Terrorism Early Warning Groups: Regional Intelligence to Combat Terrorism," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Sullivan describes the Los Angeles County Terrorism Early Warning (TEW) Group, which provides public safety agencies with a cooperative vehicle for obtaining and assessing the information needed to manage threats and acts of terrorism. New TEWs are emerging across the nation, a testament to the effectiveness of the model Sullivan describes. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (365.) Szyliowicz, Joseph S. "Aviation Security: Promise or Reality," in *Homeland Security and*

Terrorism, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Szyliowicz analyzes the state of U.S. aviation security, beginning with the characteristics of the air transportation system that complicate the achievement of a high level of security. He examines the situation that existed prior to 9/11 and then evaluates the changes that have occurred since, concluding that no overall systematic program has yet been put in place to deal with the threats that terrorism poses to the various elements of aviation. He also argues that aviation security—and indeed homeland security—requires incorporating antiterrorism into foreign policy and ongoing attempts to deal with the underlying factors that promote terrorism. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S.

(366.) Taarnby, Michael. “Profiling Islamic Suicide Terrorists.” Danish Ministry of Justice (November, 2003). Online at: <http://www.diis.dk/sw23000.asp>

The purpose of this study is to understand the process of why someone becomes a suicide terrorist. Using data collected from a multitude of sources on suicide operations carried out by an Islamic terrorist organization between 1982 and through October 2003, the author identifies several trends. For example, he finds that each terrorist organization follows its own logic in its use of suicide bombers, and the conclusion drawn by the terrorist organizations about the effectiveness of suicide operations differs. The concept of “lessons learned” has been implemented quite differently throughout the community of Islamic terrorist organizations. While some tried this method, later to abandon it, other came to realize that this was the answer to achieve strategic parity. He also identifies five categories of individuals who have been recruited into Islamic suicide terrorism during the past 20 years. Some suicide terrorists were attracted to give up their lives because of a very high level of idealism and religiosity, others were coerced into killing themselves, but the overwhelming majority joined the ranks of the martyrs out of a sense of frustration. He concludes his analysis by describing the globalization of recruitment for suicide terrorism, noting that new generations are being recruited primarily outside the sphere of influence of their families, and often in Europe. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:
The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: UK, Spain, the Netherlands, Denmark, France

(367.) Taarnby, Michael. “Recruitment of Islamist Terrorists in Europe: Trends and Perspectives.” Danish Ministry of Justice (January, 2005). Online at: <http://www.diis.dk/sw23000.asp>

This study focuses on the recruitment practices in the global Jihad as they play out in Europe. While the focal point is terrorism, this study only deals with a single form of contemporary terrorism, usually referred to as the global Jihad in order to differentiate between religiously inspired conflicts of a geographically limited nature and those with a global vision. However interesting other types of terrorism might be, this study does not include secular or nationalist terrorist groups such as the IRA or ETA. Other religiously justified forms of terrorism also present within Europe have also been excluded. Examples of Islamic terrorist entities that have been excluded are the Palestinian organizations as well as Shi’a Islamic groups. They follow different

trajectories and rarely interact with the internationally oriented militant Islamists. Although there are indications of some interaction, these are certainly not on a scale that would tempt anyone to label this phenomenon as a terrorist international. The various terrorist organizations do have very different agendas, and for some of the groups, their mutual hatred surpasses that projected onto their sworn enemies. The terrorists of interest to this study are all linked to the ideology most often associated with Al Qaida. Europe's role in the current global Jihad is a phenomenon that was neglected by government, security services, academia and the media throughout Europe up until the attacks on the US on 11 September 2001. The lack of attention to this phenomenon will take years to remedy, but I believe the indispensability of such endeavors became quite clear with the attacks in Spain in March 2004. Previously seen as a relative backwater in the war on terrorism, Europe is now on the frontline. [JF]

Topic 1:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:

The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: UK, Spain, the Netherlands, Denmark, France

(368.) Taylor, Max and John Horgan, "The Psychological and Behavioral Bases of Islamic Fundamentalism. Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.13, No.4 (Winter 2001), p. 37-71

This article explores psychological and behavioral issues that enhances our understanding of important contemporary developments in Islam. The particular focus is on the behavioral bases of the relationship between Islamic fundamentalism and violence, as well as how to understand the nature of religious and ideological control over behavior. The authors begin with a discussion about the concept of fundamentalism—a very contentious term, which in some circumstances might be thought to refer more to the perspective of the beholder than that of the believer. Subsequently, the concept of fundamentalism within the context of Islam is considered, emphasizing the nature of fundamentalist ideology, while ways of understanding the processes of fundamentalism within a behavioral framework will be described. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the broader implications of this analysis for our understanding of religious control over behavior. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 2:

Religious Ideology

Topic 3:

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Countries/Regions: Global

(369.) Telhami, Shibley, "It's Not About Faith: A Battle for the Soul of the Middle East." Current History (December 2001). Online at: <http://www.brook.edu/views/op-ed/telhami/20011010.htm>

The article explores the fluid interpretations of Islam on the part of Western observers, which have ranged from a view of Islam as a passive religion to one of violent tendencies. The author explains that recent events and the rise of Islamist terrorism do not reflect deeply on the religion, but rather on the political realities of the Middle East and a general sense of disempowerment, along with levels of education and secularism. The author also sees suicide bombing as a tool not strictly used by religious groups, but by groups employing an effective weapon against an enemy. The author also stresses a need to provide an alternative to the pressures of modern life in the Middle East, lest the image of bin Laden find a more receptive audience. [NG]

Topic 1:

Religious Ideology

Topic 2:

The Framework

Topic 3:

Political Islam

Countries/Regions: Middle East

- (370.) **Terrorism Experts. "Altruism and Fatalism: The Characteristics of Palestinian Suicide Terrorists." Terrorism Experts, (6/14/2004) 1-11. Online at:**
http://terrorismexperts.org/terrorism_research_suicide1.htm

This article examines Palestinian suicide bombers who are willing to be martyrs for their cause; they are young, impressionable people with very strong religious convictions. The research is based on earlier work by Durkheim on suicidal behavior, and focuses on two aspects: altruistic suicide, where it is the duty of the person and is done to satisfy a group; and fatalistic suicide, which results from political oppression and feelings of hopelessness. Suicidal terrorism is linked with both, and can in fact be a combination of the two. To test these hypotheses, a study of 819 terrorists was conducted. The results of this test backed up the hypotheses, and most significantly, suicide terrorists' behavior is a mix between altruistic and fatalistic approaches. When Israeli oppression and regulation was at its height, fundamentalist terrorist organizations were on the rise, as was their use of suicide bombings. [BN]

Topic 1:
 Revolutionary Terrorism

Topic 2:
 Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
 New Threats

Countries/Regions: Palestinian Authority

- (371.) **Terrorism Experts. "The Causes of Vigilante Political Violence: The Case of Jewish Settlers." Terrorism Experts, (6/14/2004) 1-16. Online at:**
http://terrorismexperts.org/terrorism_research_causes1.htm

This article looks at the factors causing Jewish settlers to employ violent tactics against Palestinians using a framework of vigilante violence. This type of violence is employed by the settlers for two reasons: they feel Israeli authorities cannot protect them, and they need to maintain their superior status in the occupied territories. It is a double-edged sword for the Israeli government, because if they attempt to contain the vigilante violence, they are seen as aiding and preferring the other side, and thus instigating more violence on behalf of the Jewish settlers. There is a strong optimistic feeling that the violence is on the decline, because the Jewish population in the territories is changing; they are more middle-class and established, and there are fewer new Zionist settlers. The Jewish settlers are also more frequently inclined to negotiate and have even withdrawn on their own. [BN]

Topic 1:
 Religion and Violence

Topic 2:
 Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
 Mobilizing Forces

Countries/Regions: Israel

- (372.) **Testas, Abdelaziz. "The Roots of Algeria's Religious and Ethnic Violence." Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, vol. 25, no. 3 (2002), p. 161-183**

Testas examines several previously overlooked factors behind the ethnic and religious violence that broke out in Algeria in 1992, and rejects three externally-focused theories that attempt to explain the violence. He argues that the factors which are best supported by the evidence are economic collapse, religious spending

and diversionary politics. In Algeria, once the economy collapsed, the government-funded religious spending increased. This funding eventually contributed to the religious violence, and helped to highlight ethnic differences, leading to the ethnic violence. Citing many authors and various political theories, Testas concludes that economic collapse best explains the 1992 Algerian violence. [TB]

Topic 1:
Religion and Conflict

Topic 2:
Case Studies

Topic 3:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Countries/Regions: Algeria, Africa

- (373.) **The Markle Foundation. “Creating a Trusted Network for Homeland Security.” Task Force on National Security in the Information Age. Part I. December 2, 2003. Online at: <http://www.markletaskforce.org>**

This Task Force determined that an information network is essential to preventing the U.S. from terrorist attacks and securing the homeland. This network would consist of the public sector having access to private network databases. The network should be based on seven principles, according to the Task Force, such as: decentralized information sharing; new rules and policies to compensate for blurring of foreign and domestic threats; recognition of the importance of state and local official access; and finally, a guarantee of privacy. The primary concern the Task Force is striking the right balance between providing access to critical information and protecting civil liberties. The Task Force believes that a decentralized information network is vital to U.S. security, but without a discussion and public debate, there can be public resistance based on misinformation or misunderstanding. Overall, the report offers a very in-depth discussion and analysis. [TB]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
CT Policies—Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Middle East

- (374.) **Thomas, Timothy L. “Cyber Mobilization: The Neglected Aspect of Information Operations and Counterinsurgency Doctrine,” in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

This chapter explores the role of the Internet in mobilizing new recruits for terrorist organizations. Thomas observes that the cyber mobilization capabilities (mobilization enabled by computer chip-driven devices such as cell phones, the Internet, CDs, etc.) of these organizations are designed to conduct psychological warfare activities, to propagandize insurgent successes and counter coalition allegations, and to recruit, finance and train more fighters. Thus, he argues, a “counter cyber mobilization” strategy should be developed in order to assist in controlling the environment. His chapter discusses the precedents to the current use of the Internet in Iraq and Afghanistan; the U.S. information operations (IO) paradigm problem and its extension into understanding the virtual aspect of an insurgency; the use of the Internet by insurgents in Iraq and Afghanistan; and coalition countermeasures to insurgent efforts. The chapter then concludes with some relevant recommendations for U.S. IO and counterinsurgency doctrine. [JF]

Topic 1:
Strategic
Diplomacy

Communications/Public

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Mobilizing Forces

Countries/Regions: U.S., Afghanistan, Iraq

- (375.) **Thomas, Troy S. *Beneath the Surface: Intelligence Preparation of the Battlespace for Counterterrorism*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic Intelligence Research, 2004.**

Thomas' book utilizes the theory of Intelligence Preparation of the Battlespace and applies it to the growing war on terror. The author states that intelligence will be the key in our success or failure in the future, and that this war has quickly turned into a battle for intelligence capabilities. Thomas lays out a plan for U.S. intelligence agencies to counter terrorists, deal with the effects of the battlespace, recognize its capabilities, and anticipate the gathering of intelligence and making hypotheses based on this information. He recognizes that the U.S. needs to create a new intelligence strategy to be able to counter the terrorists on the next front. The operational aspects of his plan allow for an effective road map for intelligence agencies, which are the result of following a strategic plan of organized intelligence gathering. [BN]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S., Europe, Middle East, Asia

- (376.) **Trujillo, Horacio R. and Brian A. Jackson. "Organizational Learning and Terrorist Groups," in *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).**

This chapter provides an overall definition of organizational learning for the study of terrorism, as well as a model describing stages of learning within terrorist organizations. This approach enables the authors to develop a typology of terrorist group learning and explore factors that can influence such groups' ability to learn effectively. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how organizational learning can shed light on terrorist groups' strategic and tactical activities. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Ireland, Afghanistan

- (377.) **Tulmelty, Paul. "The Rise and Fall of Foreign Fighters in Chechnya." *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume 4, Issue 2 (January 26, 2006). Online at: <http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369881>>**

The Arab military presence in Chechnya has been on the decline, but despite this, Tumelty seeks to describe how influential this presence has been in the quest to seek an Islamic state and how it has influenced Russo-Chechen relations. Heavy recruitment of Arab fighters took place in the Chechen area to fight in the December 1994 war; this is also when Saudi-Arab-Afghan Emir Khattab got involved and began to finance the idea of establishing an Islamist state in Chechnya. Tulmelty states that Khattab did not have a relationship with al Qaida in Chechnya, as he was more concerned with establishing an Islamic state, not attacking enemies further away. The difficult terrain and customs of Chechnya have caused the Arab military recruits in this region to decline even further, and Chechen rebels seek to limit their number for these reasons. These diminishing numbers can also be attributed to the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and the ongoing war in Iraq. [BN]

Topic 1:
Defining Terrorism

Topic 2:
State Sponsored Terrorism

Topic 3:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: Russia, Chechnya

- (378.) **Ulph, Stephen. "New Online Book Lays Out al Qaida's Military Strategy." The Jamestown Foundation. March 18, 2005. pp. 1-4.**

Ulph reviews *The Management of Barbarism* (also translated as *The Management of Savagery*), a book by Abu Bakr Naji which has been posted to several jihadi websites and discussion forums. In this book, Naji provides a strategic guide for jihad and its ultimate goals, organized around five themes: definition of the phrase "Management of Barbarism;" Path of Empowerment; Most Important Principles and Policies; Most Pressing Difficulties and Obstacles; and a Conclusion, demonstrating jihad as the ideal solution. Within each of these themes, a number of detailed discussions and recommendations are provided. For example, Naji suggests that the Path to Empowerment provides a strategy for mujahideen in three distinct phases: Disruption and Exhaustion phase; Management of Barbarism phase; and Empowerment phase. Interestingly, in the first phase, attacks are encouraged in various industries, with the predicted result of trying to protect that entire industry or area. For example, an attack on a tourist destination results in increased security and corresponding cost, the goal being to drain the resources. Ulph also examines Naji's concern for understanding international politics and the international media, with suggestions on both fronts. Overall, this is an important book because it is one of the few works dealing with jihad on a strategic level. [TB] NOTE: For a complete translation of Abu Bakr Naji's book, *The Management of Savagery*, please see the Combating Terrorism Center's website, at: <http://ctc.usma.edu/naji.asp>

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Political Islam

Topic 3:
The Framework

Countries/Regions: Middle East, U.S., Afghanistan

- (379.) **Vadlamudi, Sundara. "The U.S. Embassy Bombings in Kenya and Tanzania," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

The bombing of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in August 1998 was the first major al Qaida attack against U.S. targets that resulted in a large number of casualties. According to Vadlamudi, the meticulous planning, sophistication of the attack (involving near simultaneous bombings), and the number of casualties served as an extreme wake-up call to the U.S. intelligence and law-enforcement community. The attack brought into sharper focus the danger posed by transnational jihadists, and forced the U.S. government to re-adjust its counterterrorism policies. This study examines the plot to bomb the U.S. Embassies, the responses by the U.S. government, and the lessons learned from those responses. The study is divided into six sections. The first section details the bombing plot and lists the key individuals involved in the plot. The second section lists the immediate U.S. response to the bombing, and the third section provides an overview of U.S. counterterrorism efforts against Osama bin Laden from the early 1990s until the embassy bombings in August 1998. The fourth section describes the cruise missile attacks on al Qaida targets in Afghanistan and Sudan, launched by the U.S. as a response to the embassy bombings. The fifth section examines U.S. counterterrorism policies and efforts after the cruise missile attacks. And finally, the conclusion highlights some of the lessons learned from the U.S. response to the embassy bombings. [JF]

Topic 1:

Topic 2:

Topic 3:

Case Studies

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Kenya, Tanzania, U.S.

- (380.) Valeri, Lorenzo and Michael Knights. "Affecting Trust: Terrorism, Internet and Offensive Information Warfare." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 2000), p. 15-36.

The article explores possible targets of terrorists using offensive information warfare (OIW). The authors suggest that by using OIW, terrorist groups might find it more feasible to attack economic, rather than government targets, thereby disrupting Internet usability and undermining the public trust in communications. Increased awareness of the threat among relevant industries, along with increased regulatory oversight are among steps that might reduce the risk of terrorists employing OIW. [NG]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

New Threats

Topic 3:

Terrorism's New Model

Countries/Regions: U.S., Middle East, Global

- (381.) van de Voort, Maarten, Kevin A. O'Brien, Adnan Rahman, and Lorenzo Valeri. "Seacurity: Improving the Security of the Global Sea-Container Shipping System," in *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

In this chapter, a group of analysts from the RAND Corporation explore the threat of terrorists using commercial shipping containers to transport dangerous materials, weapons, or using containers themselves as weapons of mass destruction. Their stark analysis reveals an urgent need for better methods of inspecting and securing containers throughout the global shipping industry, and they offer eighteen specific policy recommendations for consideration. [F]

Topic 1:

Homeland Security

Topic 2:

National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Europe

- (382.) Vatis, Michael A. "Cyber Attacks During The War On Terrorism: A Predictive Analysis." *Institute for Security Technology Studies*. September 22, 2001.

This paper reviews four case studies of cyber attacks: (1) physical conflict and cyber attacks (Afghanistan's neighbors: The Pakistan/India Conflict); (2) the Israel/Palestinian conflict; (3) the former Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)/NATO conflict in Kosovo; and (4) the U.S.-China plane incident. Each is examined to identify what lessons have been learned and suggest recommendations to prevent further cyber attacks. [HM]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Case Studies

Topic 3:

The Future of Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Pakistan, India, Kosovo, Middle East, China, U.S.

- (383.) Vermaat, Emerson. "Bin Laden's Terror Networks in Europe." The Mackenzie Institute (May 26, 2002), p. 1-38.
Online at: http://www.mackenzieinstitute.com/2002/2002_Bin_Ladens_Networks.html

Vermaat states that with bin Laden, the Western world is dealing with a fundamentally new enemy; not a state, but a porous organization that has no designated boundaries. This has caused the eradication of these terrorists to be most elusive. He describes how the attacks of September 11th affected not only the U.S. but the rest of the world as well, in particular, Europe. As case studies he examines the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, the Balkans and Germany and analyzes the networks of terrorists and their cells that have infiltrated and gained influence in these countries. He concludes that with more alert security services and better intelligence, these terrorist organizations could have been stopped in their tracks before developing. He also states that a lot of the leaders of these terrorist organizations are European, and that they are not all immigrants from Islamic countries; this is why they were able to penetrate these European societies and exploit them with ease. [BN]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Domestic Terrorism

Topic 3:
Revolutionary Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Europe, U.S.

- (384.) von Hippel, Karin. "Dealing with the Roots of Terror," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 3: Root Causes*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

In this chapter, von Hippel examines developments in six main areas that have emerged in the public debate as causal and facilitating factors for international terrorism. These six areas—poverty, weak and collapsed states, wars hijacked by Islamic extremists, fundamentalist charities, radicalization in Europe and North America, and the "democracy deficit"—need deeper analysis to understand how they may facilitate terrorist recruitment and support. Further, she argues, while some energy has been dedicated to understanding and tackling these factors in the three years since the attacks in America, the response has not been adequate. The rhetoric—on both sides of the Atlantic—has not yet been satisfactorily matched by realistic and robust reforms. In essence, the threat posed by transnational terrorism can only be defeated through a dedicated and coordinated transnational response, one that not only focuses on the symptoms, but also on the causes. [JF]

Topic 1:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 2:
The Framework

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions:

- (385.) Vorbach, Joseph E. "Securing the U.S. Border with Mexico," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 1: Borders and Ports of Entry*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

Vorbach explores the challenges of securing the substantial land border between the U.S. and Mexico. He points to the massive flows of goods and people that cross the border, in contrast with finite resources to filter and inspect them. His analysis provides a framework for thinking about our nation's response to the homeland security threat, and offers several recommendations for improving border security on the southern border—such as increased funding and surveillance, new investments in technology innovations, and a great

commitment to facilitating cross-national cooperation. As he acknowledges at the close of his chapter, no border will ever be perfectly secure, but there are a number of ways in which the U.S. border with Mexico can become more secure. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: U.S., Mexico

- (386.) Wahlert, Matthew H. "State Failure and Terrorism," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Wahlert begins his chapter by describing how many political scientists and security analysts have turned to an examination of the failed state phenomenon in their research on counterterrorism. Furthermore, the Bush administration—in recognition of the serious nature of the problem—dealt with the issue in the National Security Strategy of 2002 and the National Security Strategy of 2006, both of which specifically pointed to the importance of addressing both failed and failing states as a part of U.S. national security. A variety of factors contribute to the usefulness of failed states as bases for terror groups. First, failed states lack the infrastructure of any semblance of law enforcement. In addition, a failed state also offers a population of ready-made recruits. Finally, the levels of poverty and corruption typically associated with failed states makes the viability of bribes more compelling—again, allowing terrorist or criminal organizations the freedom to behave in any manner they wish. Overall, this chapter provides a useful introduction to many of the issues concerning state failure as they relate to the broader effort to fight terrorism. [JF]

Topic 1:
Global Environment

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Topic 3:
National Terrorism Policy

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (387.) Wahlert, Matthew H. and Shane Tomashot. "Protecting the Superbowl: The Terrorist Threat to Sporting Events," in *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets, Vol. 2: Public Spaces and Social Institutions*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006).

The U.S. boasts over 400 arenas that accommodate at least 30,000 spectators. After describing the general attractiveness of these venues to terrorists, Wahlert and Tomashot explore both pre- and post-9/11 security measures, drawing on examples and lessons learned from the Salt Lake City Olympics, various Super Bowl events, and the Summer Olympic Games in Athens, Greece, among others. They conclude that while many efforts have been made to secure sports venues, much remains to be done. Protecting these facilities requires an active partnership between security professionals, teams, facilities managers, and patrons. In the case of the latter, they note, fans who attend sporting events should expect to feel protected and safe but they should also expect to assume some responsibilities for contributing to the overall security of the venue. Clearly, as illustrated in many of the chapters throughout this publication, securing our public gathering spaces is a challenge to which we all must contribute. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Questions in Society

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (388.) Walker, James and Jon Byrom. "Afghanistan's Transformation to a Narco-Terrorist State: An Economic Perspective," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 2: Combating the Sources and Facilitators of Terrorism* edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

This chapter, by two U.S. Army officers, offers unique insights into the history of terrorism financing, state sponsorship and charitable organizations as well as licit and illicit activities, and suggests that the global attack against terrorist financing has shifted financial reliance to illicit activities, primarily drugs. Further, Walker and Byrom argue, this shift will cause terror groups to find opportunities to enter the global supply chain of drugs. Unfortunately, no place offers a greater opportunity than Afghanistan where the environment is too tempting for terrorists not to carve out a piece of the action—after all, because of its comparative advantage in the production of opium, this country provides 87% of the world's heroin supply. In fact, Afghanistan's macroeconomic dependence on opium will ensure its continued production for years to come. Overall, Afghanistan is on the brink of becoming a major narco-terrorist state, and the U.S. and its allies must be appropriately concerned about its vast terrorism financing potential. To prevent this from occurring, the world community and the new Afghan government should focus on increasing all costs of the drug business. A direct effort to increase opportunity costs of growing poppies, while decreasing opportunity costs of alternatives, is what is needed. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorism, Money and crime

Topic 2:
Case Studies

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Afghanistan

- (389.) Waller, J. Michael. "Prisons as Terrorist Breeding Grounds," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Waller examines the relationship between prisons and terrorist recruitment in the United States. His analysis of white supremacist movements, religious extremists, and foreign-sponsored penetration of the U.S. prison system illustrates how these institutions have long been breeding grounds for terrorists of many ideologies. This chapter also demonstrates that prison recruitment is an age-old phenomenon in the U.S. and abroad, and that extremist organizations have the demonstrated capability to spot, recruit, indoctrinate, and materially support inmates as foot-soldiers in the terrorists' army. In his conclusion, Waller warns that recruitment of prisoners could become an institutionalized, self-perpetuating process that, in the eyes of the terrorists and their allies, would ensure a steady supply of combatants in their war against civilization. [JF]

Topic 1:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:
Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:
Religious Ideology

Countries/Regions: U.S., U.K.

- (390.) Wechsler, William F. "Strangling the Hydra, Targeting Al Qaida's Finances," in James Hoge Jr. and Gideon Rose (Eds.) *How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001), p. 129-143.

In this article, Wechsler explores Al Qaida's financial networks of making and moving its financial wealth. The article discusses ways that former and current U.S. Presidents have attempted to target financial terrorist networks that support bin Laden and al Qaida since the 1998 bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. Finally, the article researches what the barriers are in succeeding to end these terrorist organizations. Wechsler argues that the United States has an opportunity with many Middle Eastern states and must take advantage of, and offers suggestions on how to do so at this time before the door closes. [HM]

Topic 1:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Europe, Africa, Middle East, Latin America

(391.) Weimann, Gabriel. "Cyberterrorism: The Sum of All Fears?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 28 (2005), p. 129-149.

Weimann notes that the term "cyberterrorism" conjures up images of vicious terrorists unleashing catastrophic attacks against computer networks, wreaking havoc, and paralyzing nations. This is a frightening scenario, but how likely is it to occur? Could terrorists cripple critical military, financial, and service computer systems? His article charts the rise of "cyberangst" and examines the evidence cited by those who predict imminent catastrophe. Psychological, political, and economic forces have combined to promote the fear of cyberterrorism. From a psychological perspective, two of the greatest fears of modern time are combined in the term "cyberterrorism." The fear of random, violent victimization mixes well with the distrust and outright fear some people have of computer technology. Many of these fears, Weimann contends, are exaggerated: not a single case of cyberterrorism has yet been recorded, hackers are regularly mistaken for terrorists, and cyberdefenses are more robust than is commonly supposed. Even so, he argues, the potential threat is undeniable and seems likely to increase, making it all the more important to address the danger without inflating or manipulating it. [JF]

Topic 1:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 2:
Counterterrorism Instruments

Topic 3:
Homeland Security

Countries/Regions:

(392.) Weimann, Gabriel. "How Modern Terrorism Uses the Internet." *United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 116* (June 2004). Online at: <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr116.html>

This report examines how terrorists and various terrorist organizations have been able to use the Internet as a means of communication, fundraising and coordinating their activities throughout the world. Weimann notes that all active terrorist groups have established their presence on the Internet, and typically target three different audiences: current and potential supporters; international public opinion; and enemy publics. He explains that terrorism on the Internet is a very dynamic phenomenon: websites suddenly emerge, frequently modify their formats, and then swiftly disappear—or, in many cases, seem to disappear by changing their online address but retaining much the same content. He also identifies eight different ways in which contemporary terrorists use the Internet, ranging from psychological warfare and propaganda to highly instrumental uses such as fundraising, recruitment, data mining, and coordination of actions. Finally, he argues that while we must better defend our societies against cyberterrorism and Internet-savvy terrorists, we should also consider the costs of applying counterterrorism measures to the Internet. Such measures can

hand authoritarian governments and agencies with little public accountability tools with which to violate privacy, curtail the free flow of information, and restrict freedom of expression, thus adding a heavy price in terms of diminished civil liberties to the high toll exacted by terrorism itself. [HM] Note: An updated version of this report was published as Weimann, Gabriel. "Virtual Training Camps: Terrorists' Use of the Internet." *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World*, edited by James Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

Topic 1:

Terrorism and the Media

Topic 2:

Historical Context

Topic 3:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Countries/Regions: U.S., Lebanon, Israel, Europe, Middle East

- (393.) Weimann, Gabriel. "Terrorist Dot Com: Using the Internet for Terrorist Recruitment and Mobilization," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Weimann explores how terrorist organizations use the Internet to communicate with various audiences, including potential new recruits. Websites are only one of the Internet's services used by modern terrorism: there are other facilities on the Net – including e-mail, discussion forums, and virtual message boards—that are increasingly used by terrorists. He notes how the Internet can be used to recruit and mobilize supporters to play a more active role in support of terrorist activities or causes. In addition to seeking converts by using the full range of website technologies (audio, digital video, etc.) to enhance the presentation of their message, terrorist organizations capture information about the users who browse their websites. He concludes that the Internet has become a more popular apparatus for early stages of recruitment and mobilization, challenging governments, security agencies and counterterrorism services all over the world. Moreover, it also challenges the future of the Internet, since any attempt to limit or minimize the Net's use by terrorists implies imposing restrictions on the Internet's free flow of information, free speech and privacy. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

Mobilizing Forces

Topic 3:

Strategic Communication/Public Diplomacy

Countries/Regions: U.S., Lebanon, Israel, Global

- (394.) Weimann, Gabriel. "Virtual Training Camps: Terrorists' Use of the Internet," in *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

Weimann's chapter examines the terrorists' use of the Internet as virtual training camps, providing an online forum for indoctrination as well as the distribution of terrorist manuals, instructions and data. Drawing from an extensive research project (funded by the U.S. Institute of Peace), Weimann discusses how terrorist organizations and their supporters maintain hundreds of websites, exploiting the unregulated, anonymous, and easily accessible nature of the Internet for various purposes. Clearly, it is important for us to become better informed about how terrorists use the Internet, and from this knowledge find better ways to monitor and counter their activities. [JF]

Topic 1:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 2:

The Future of Terrorism

Topic 3:

Global Environment

Countries/Regions: U.S., Israel, Lebanon

- (395.) Weinberg, Leonard and William L. Eubank. "Twenty-First Century Insurgencies: The Use of Terrorism as a Strategy," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 1: Strategic and Tactical Considerations*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

In this chapter, Weinberg and Eubank explore the impact of terrorism on the success or failure of armed insurgencies the United States is likely to encounter during the 21st century. They begin with a brief review of 50 years' worth of insurgency to conclude that terrorism used in isolation from other types of violence and other forms of political activity rarely succeeds. However, when combined with other forms of armed struggle and an adroit political strategy, terrorist violence may become an important device in convincing foreign forces and foreign audiences that the costs of their continued involvement outweigh the potential benefits. They conclude with a few observations of the future. First, guerrilla warfare, as in Iraq, is likely to be an increasingly city-centered activity. Second, American forces should only be committed to armed conflicts in the Third World when a vital interest is clearly at stake, one that is clear not merely to key decision-makers but also to the general public (whose members, after all, will be asked to absorb the costs involved). And finally, if there is an interest to be defended but not a vital one, and political means do not succeed, the United States and the other advanced democracies would appear to be better off cultivating proxies who, in turn, would be able to act as surrogates. [JF]

Topic 1:
Countering Insurgency

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Peru, Ireland, U.S., Iraq

- (396.) Weinberg, Leonard. "Political and Revolutionary Ideologies," in *The Making of a Terrorist, Vol. 1: Recruitment*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005).

Weinberg offers an historical review of various "call to arms" used by political and revolutionary movements over time. His analysis reveals that throughout history, both left- and right-wing ideologies have furnished small terrorist bands and their members with an exaggerated sense of their own importance, which led them to commit dramatic acts of violence in order to make their objectives known to wide audiences. Further, these ideologies have offered these groups a perceived pathway to power, through which terrorism was meant to raise the level of awareness and trigger a violent uprising, from proletarian insurrection to racial holy war, by a vast pool of supporters previously too victimized and too lacking the required audacity on their own. However, despite the pretensions and the damage—both physical and psychological—caused by the ideologically driven terrorist groups over the decades, none of the groups discussed in his chapter managed to bring their social revolutionary or counter-revolutionary campaigns to a successful conclusion. But, he notes, these failures have hardly been for want of trying. [JF]

Topic 1:
Religion and Ideology

Topic 2:
Historical Context

Topic 3:
Mobilizing Forces

Countries/Regions: Italy, Germany, Libya, U.S., Lebanon, Israel

- (397.) Wesley, Robert. "Capturing Khalid Sheik Mohammed," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Wesley describes the hunt for Khalid Sheik Mohammed, the tactical mastermind behind the 9/11 attacks, who was captured on March 3, 2003 in the Pakistani city of Rawalpindi. This chapter highlights the complex process that led to his detainment and the lessons underlined by this process. His capture serves to emphasize how the United States will be operating in the future to ensure continued progress in disrupting both the traditional leadership and those who replace them. Mohammad's case study allows for reflection on several counterterrorism issues likely to have an impact on the future of this conflict. For example, governments must recognize the importance of: developing strong international partnering relationships; harnessing the core competencies of joint operations involving U.S. and host-country organizations; creating and exploiting actionable intelligence; identifying and provoking security mistakes by al Qaida operatives; and targeting "partner organizations" of al Qaida. [JF]

Topic 1:

Case Studies

Topic 2:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: Pakistan, Afghanistan, U.S.

- (398.) Wiktorowicz, Quintan and John Kaltner. "Killing in the Name of Islam: Al Qaida's Justification for September 11." *Middle East Policy*, vol. X, no. 2 (Summer 2003). Online at: <http://www.mepc.org>

The article examines several reasons why al Qaida, a radical element of the Salafi movement, felt justified in the attacks against the United States on 9/11. The article describes the role of religious Islamic leaders; these scholars play an important role in converting the written text of the Koran into everyday rituals and practices of the Muslim population. The authors then examine two types of external jihads—offensive and defensive—concluding through the interpretation of certain Islamic scholars, and based on understanding of external jihad, al Qaida was able to gain approval of their attack against innocent civilians in the United States. [HM]

Topic 1:

Religious Ideology

Topic 2:

Historical Context

Topic 3:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan, U.S.

- (399.) Wilson, Thomas R. "Global Threats and Challenges." Testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, February 6, 2002. Online at: http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2002_hr/020602wilson.html

In his testimony before Congress, Vice Admiral Wilson (Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency) surveys United States' security concerns in three areas: 1) key trends shaping the emerging global security environment; 2) most worrying near-term (next 12 months) scenarios; and 3) longer-term concerns. Wilson's analysis indicates several key trends, including: globalization, demographic changes, resource shortages and humanitarian emergencies. From the convergence of these trends, he feels that there will be increased uncertainty and unpredictability in the global security environment. Potential near-term scenarios include another terrorist attack, violence in the Middle East, instability in Pakistan's government and its relations with India, and finally, a rise in violence in Colombia. He also notes that longer-term concerns must be viewed not exclusively through a state-to-state lens, but through a globalization and transnational lens. Wilson discusses states of concern—like China and Russia—but most of his focus is on the asymmetric threat (both the goals of such attacks and what those attacks are may target or use). A prerequisite to victory over this threat, he argues, may require success at eliminating, containing, isolating, and managing globalization's downsides. [TB]

Topic 1:
The Future of Terrorism

Topic 2:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 3:
New Threats

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (400.) **Wolf Jr., Charles and Brian Rosen. "Public Diplomacy: How to Think About and Improve It." Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, (2004).
Online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/OP134**

The authors state that the U.S. has a problem with its public image; that it is distorted, which causes foreign countries to get the wrong impression. The cause for this distortion is that government programs meant to inform foreign peoples about the U.S. are widely seen as propaganda. Wolf and Rosen compare and contrast the communication styles of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Nelson Mandela in order to understand the effects of marketing a public good—in this case, civil rights and democratic values. Their goal is to transfer the most effective methods of communication to the countries of the Middle East; how to export these ideas most effectively while at the same time, reaching the most people is the key challenge. They recommend that public diplomacy efforts should expand to include the private sector to help convey the message, that debate and discussion should be used to communicate instead of monologues, and increased efforts through the media are required to bring unbiased information to the populations of the Middle Eastern countries. [BN]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Terrorism and the Media

Topic 3:
Strategic Communication/Public
Diplomacy

Countries/Regions: U.S., Middle East, South Africa

- (401.) **Wortzel, Larry M. "Securing America's Critical Infrastructure: A Top Priority for the Department of Homeland Security," in Homeland Security and Terrorism, edited by Russell D. Howard, James J.F. Forest and Joanne Moore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).**

Wortzel argues that the level of security required in the new environment demands unprecedented levels of cooperation and coordination across government and private-sector boundaries. He notes that private industry owns and operates approximately 85% of the critical infrastructure and key assets in America. The role of the private sector is thus vital—responsibility for securing an element of critical infrastructure ultimately belongs to the operator or owner of the technology. A vibrant and responsible public-private partnership is thus critical to homeland security. [JF]

Topic 1:
Homeland Security

Topic 2:
National Terrorism Policy

Topic 3:

Countries/Regions: U.S.

- (402.) **Wright, Joanne. "Countering West Germany's Red Army Faction: What Can We Learn?" in Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

Wright provides a case study of West Germany's Red Army Faction (RAF, a.k.a. the Baader Meinhof Gang). Examining the RAF, its motivating ideology and particularly the West German government's

counterterrorism policies can provide valuable lessons and insights into twenty-first century terrorism. It can show, for example, how a relatively small and seemingly irrational group can create a physical and psychological impact way out of proportion to size and threat. Perhaps even more usefully it can illustrate that whatever sympathy terrorist groups do manage to generate among national and international audiences is largely derived from government responses to terrorism. Her chapter suggests that the RAF was able to generate some degree of success and attach some degree of credibility to its analysis of a repressive state in three areas: security force behavior, prisoners and prison conditions and legislative changes. Overall, the West German experience suggests that current policies in relation to security force behavior (especially military), prisoners and prison conditions and legislative changes should be reviewed. [JF]

Topic 1:

Case Studies

Topic 2:

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:

Counterterrorism Policies—A Macro Perspective

Countries/Regions: Germany

- (403.) **Wright, Lawrence. “The Terror Web. Were the Madrid bombings part of a new, far-reaching jihad being plotted on the Internet?” *The New Yorker* (August 2, 2004).**

The article describes the terror attacks Spain experienced on March 11th, 2003, when several bombs were detonated within the metropolitan area just days prior to their elections of the Prime Minister and ruling political party. The article explains what the public was being led to believe by the ruling party, what the police and intelligence agencies were working on, and what a Norwegian think tank was uncovering through an analysis of Internet documents from various websites. The forerunner in the elections was pro-Iraqi war/U.S. support and the opposition party was against. It was learned that the bombs were al Qaida-based, and it was declared that if Spain did not pull its troops and support, further attacks would be imminent. As a result, the opposition party won the elections, and Spanish troops were pulled from Iraq. In the days and weeks that followed the attack, several raids were conducted by local police and intelligence agencies which uncovered evidence that further attacks were still a possibility. [HM]

Topic 1:

Domestic Terrorism

Topic 2:

New Threats

Topic 3:

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Countries/Regions: Spain, Iraq, U.S.

- (404.) **Wrona, Richard M. Jr. “Beginning of a War’: The United States and the Hijacking of TWA Flight 847,” in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).**

In this case study, Wrona notes that this event highlighted an atypical aspect of terrorism—instead of sowing fear among their target audience, the terrorists generally succeeded in convincing spectators to sympathize with the hijackers’ cause. After providing a brief historical overview of the Lebanese civil war, the rise of Hizbollah, AMAL, and the PLO, and the actions taken by Israel (particularly, the prisoner exchanges that preceded the attack on Flight 847), Wrona describes the events that transpired in June, 1985 and the role played by different governments, including Algeria, Israel, Iran, and Syria. Two noticeable differences separated the TWA 847 crisis from earlier hijackings, and particularly from the contemporary hijackings by Arab factions in the Middle East. First, TWA 847 received more media attention and direct media involvement than any previous hijacking. Second, the hostages’ role in the media coverage of the hijacking was something not previously seen in similar events. Finally, Wrona highlights a number of lessons that can be drawn from this event that inform counterterrorism strategy, particularly in viewing terrorist acts as

combat, not as crime. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Topic 3:
Terrorism and the Media

Countries/Regions: Lebanon, Israel, Algeria, Syria, U.S.

- (405.) Wrona, Richard M. Jr. "Lebanon, Hizbollah, and the Patrons of Terrorism," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

After describing the origins of the Lebanese terror organization Hizbollah, Wrona examines the group's ideology and its sponsorship by Iran and Syria. Today, he notes, the organization acts as a political, economic, social, and military leader in Lebanese society. Responding to such an organization is a daunting challenge for the U.S. and its allies in the region, most notably Israel. As a case study, Hizbollah demonstrates the lack of American consistency when dealing with organizations that resort to terrorism. American focus on Hizbollah has been sporadic and, in many instances, poorly timed. Further, American support of the Lebanese regime in the early 1980s had the unintended consequence of turning the Shi'a population against the United States, because support of the regime equated to support of the Maronite factions controlling the government. Likewise, American support of Israel, particularly after the 1973 Yom Kippur/Ramadan War, came to be viewed by Hizbollah as both an indirect attack on the Lebanese people and direct support for Israeli regional expansion. Hizbollah's history demonstrates that integration into the political process has simply given the organization more tools by which to achieve its goals. Finally, the example of Hizbollah demonstrates the power of organizations that combine national, religious, and class appeal successfully. While some terrorist organizations (most notably the European groups of the 1970s) have been unable to expand beyond a small core of radicalized supporters, Hizbollah is the textbook case of an organization that has built a constituency that guarantees the group's longevity and importance for the foreseeable future. [JF]

Topic 1:
Case Studies

Topic 2:
Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Countries/Regions: Lebanon, Syria, Israel, Iran

- (406.) Zambelis, Chris. "Al Qaida in the Andes: Spotlight on Colombia." *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume 4 Issue 7 (April 6, 2006). Online at: <http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369952>

A supposed ring of passport forgery that supplied documents to Pakistanis, Egyptians, and Iraqis was broken up by Colombian authorities, who claim there was a connection with al Qaida. U.S. authorities, however, claim that al Qaida was not involved and it was the responsibility of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). The U.S. has an interest in monitoring and regulating Latin America because of the relatively easy infiltration that terrorists can expect from America's southern borders. Therefore, the U.S. believes that Bogota is attempting to draw their attention to Colombia, using the Global War on Terror as a premise. There is however, little evidence of a relationship between FARC and al Qaida, given that the Muslim population in the region is small and not radicalized. [BN]

Topic 1:
New Threats

Topic 2:
Revolutionary Terrorism

Topic 3:
Terrorism, Money and Crime

Countries/Regions: Colombia

- (407.) Zambelis, Chris. "Radical Networks in Middle East Prisons." *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume 4, Issue 9 (May 4, 2006). Online at:
<http://jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369985>>

Radical Islamists serving prison terms in the Middle East band together for protection and power just like ethnic and racial groups do throughout the world in the prison system. They are well organized and are responsible for the prison riots in Jordan and Afghanistan. There is something to be learned from these prisons gangs; perhaps they can possibly help authorities learn how the larger organization functions by observing the operation in prisons. Zambelis questions the decision to keep the known terrorists together, especially when pre-planned riots and hostage taking can be the result. [BN]

Topic 1:
 Terrorist Movements and Psychology

Topic 2:
 New Threats

Topic 3:
 Religion and Violence

Countries/Regions: Jordan, Afghanistan, Yemen

- (408.) Zartman, I. William. "Democracy and Islam: The Cultural Dialectic." *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 524 (November 1992) 181-191.

Zartman states that political Islam and democracy are not necessarily incompatible, but they will always have a distinct effect on each other. He questions how one is to be a democrat in an Islamic state and vice versa; this applies to all countries in the world, and not just those in Middle East. Democracy and Islam are incompatible when a form of Islam, in the name of combating corruption, only allows those who follow one path to compete for power. This causes the decline of multiple parties and free elections. However, some countries have taken steps to help eliminate these undesired results, such as prohibiting Islamic parties, having a national charter of principles, delaying political democracy until certain conditions are met, and finally, allowing the Islamists to learn democracy while they are in office. [BN]

Topic 1:
 Religious Ideology

Topic 2:
 Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
 Religion and Conflict

Countries/Regions: Middle East, Europe, U.S.

- (409.) Ziad, Homyra. "Hizbollah—Terrorist Group or Political Party?" *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (May 2003) 72.

Ziad reports that the Lebanese Ambassador Farid Abboud does not consider Hizbollah to be a terrorist organization, but rather a group that participates in political elections and is legitimate. He goes on to question why Hizbollah is the only group targeted as a terrorist organization when Israel has used similar tactics to remove civilian targets during the 1982 invasion. He argues that Hizbollah's actions against multinational forces were acts of war, thus they could not be terrorism.. He also states that the group strives for a resolution to the Israel-Palestinian problem, but that it is just one part of the conflict. [BN]

Topic 1:
 Religion and Conflict

Topic 2:
 Religion as a Mobilizing Force

Topic 3:
 Religion and Conflict Management

Countries/Regions: Lebanon, Israel, U.S.

(410.) Zilinskas, Raymond A., "Rethinking Bioterrorism." *Current History* (December 2001)

September 11 has given rise to the concern that terrorist groups might attempt to acquire biological weapons. While the effective development of such weapons requires significant levels of expertise, there is a fear among some experts that a dwindling Russian infrastructure might lead to the dissemination of biological weapons know-how. A more realistic contingency, in the eyes of the author, is an "unholy alliance" between terrorist groups and rogue states that either have or are developing biological weapons. Given the former's observed willingness to die while engaging in an attack, the author finds it important to safeguard against the possibility that a terrorist could be purposefully infected with a communicable pathogen in order to spread it among a target population. [NG]

Topic 1:
WMD/CBRN Terrorism

Topic 2:
WMD/CBRN Counterterrorism Policy

Topic 3:
Changes in Terrorism

Countries/Regions: Russia, Middle East, Global

**(411.) Zuhur, Sherifa. "Saudi Arabia: Islamic Threat, Political Reform, and the Global War on Terror." *Strategic Studies Institute* (March 2005), p. 1-65.
Online at: <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/Pubs/display.cfm?pubID=598>**

In her report, Zuhur questions why the U.S. and Saudi Arabia are drawing further apart in light of the growth of reforms in the kingdom and its fight against the terrorists responsible for September 11th. Critics state that the country is moving too slow in social reform, that the state actually sponsors terrorism, and that it is not sufficiently dealing with the radical Islamic threat. This is important to the U.S. because the future security of Saudi Arabia is contingent on its reforms. Zuhur recommends that the U.S. encourage the Saudi government to increase political participation, improve the intelligence services, urge responsiveness to human rights, and increase multilateral discussions relating to anti-terrorism. She concludes that the benefits of enhanced security and democratization in Saudi Arabia will lead to a better relationship with the U.S. and allow the two countries to be more open to each other's viewpoints and insights; it will also help in the fight against global terrorism. [BN]

Topic 1:
Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

Topic 2:
Case Studies

Topic 3:
Political Islam

Countries/Regions: Saudi Arabia, U.S.

(412.) Zuhur, Sherifa. "State Power and the Progress of Militant and Moderate Islamism in Egypt," in *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century, Vol. 3: Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Terrorism*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Zuhur provides a detailed history of Egypt's long (and recently resurgent) conflict with several Islamist groups, some of which have proved more violent than others. For most of this history, Egypt's leaders have sought to contain Islam as a political force, and suppressed an array of Islamist groups. While officials disagree that their stringent counterterrorist actions could encourage further jihad, she argues, torture and imprisonment of Islamists in the 1960s produced several results in the 1970s: uncompromising radicalism and aims to immediately overthrow the state; or accommodation and commitment to a gradual Islamization of the

state, this being the path of the Muslim Brotherhood. Torture and imprisonment in the late 1970s and 1980s led to further organizational development in prisons themselves, including the forming of new radical groups, and the spread of “global jihad” or the quest for sanctuary somewhere outside of Egypt. She notes that in recent years, Egypt has accepted moderate Islamism in other dimensions (intellectual and social), but recent acts of religious violence (including attacks in Cairo, Sharm al-Shaykh, and Dahab) have renewed the state’s efforts to counteract the rise of moderate Islamism in its political form. [JF]

Topic 1:

Case Studies

Topic 2:

Religious Ideology

Topic 3:

Political Islam

Countries/Regions: Egypt

Part B: Index of Entries by Topic

(note: Entry numbers, not page numbers)

Case Studies

2, 3, 7, 9, 14, 22, 23, 33, 34, 45, 61, 64, 71, 78, 87, 90, 95, 103, 111, 113, 120, 122, 131, 134, 135, 135, 142, 145, 148, 153, 157, 158, 184, 185, 186, 188, 198, 199, 215, 222, 230, 239, 240, 241, 242, 251, 254, 255, 256, 264, 270, 277, 279, 288, 289, 291, 293, 294, 296, 304, 315, 316, 318, 322, 332, 334, 341, 348, 358, 372, 379, 382, 383, 388, 397, 400, 402, 404, 405, 411, 412

Changes in Terrorism

66, 91, 92, 147, 212, 219, 320, 410

Countering Insurgency

45, 199, 217, 254, 255, 256, 291, 296, 314, 348, 395

Counterterrorism Instruments

20, 37, 40, 43, 49, 60, 84, 88, 89, 96, 101, 103, 109, 118, 122, 126, 142, 145, 154, 169, 174, 175, 177, 182, 191, 200, 204, 213, 225, 244, 245, 253, 255, 258, 259, 260, 281, 282, 283, 287, 307, 317, 324, 326, 337, 339, 342, 346, 347, 352, 357, 364, 375, 391

Counterterrorism Policies - A Macro Perspective

1, 11, 13, 17, 26, 28, 31, 32, 33, 37, 39, 41, 44, 47, 49, 55, 57, 60, 62, 63, 64, 69, 70, 74, 77, 81, 82, 93, 97, 101, 104, 105, 108, 113, 114, 115, 116, 119, 124, 126, 129, 132, 147, 149, 170, 171, 173, 181, 187, 188, 192, 194, 196, 197, 199, 204, 218, 224, 228, 232, 235, 237, 241, 247, 249, 257, 263, 269, 276, 278, 281, 286, 287, 290, 292, 295, 297, 300, 302, 306, 307, 308, 312, 325, 330, 333, 336, 339, 344, 345, 349, 352, 353, 355, 361, 362, 365, 366, 367, 373, 379, 384, 385, 386, 388, 395, 402

Counterterrorism Questions in Society

6, 20, 30, 50, 51, 72, 108, 121, 123, 133, 162, 173, 179, 214, 221, 249, 258, 267, 268, 307, 344, 346, 356, 359, 387

Defining Terrorism

75, 101, 140, 143, 151, 167, 194, 212, 236, 377

Domestic Terrorism

5, 22, 42, 64, 86, 96, 117, 153, 183, 184, 208, 272, 277, 303, 322, 341, 383, 403

Ethnic Separatism

45, 111, 215, 256, 272

Global Environment

8, 26, 29, 32, 49, 56, 59, 62, 70, 73, 76, 80, 91, 93, 94, 97, 98, 114, 119, 124, 125, 127, 128, 130, 139, 155, 163, 191, 192, 197, 198, 204, 205, 207, 210, 211, 216, 217, 218, 223, 232, 235, 243, 246, 247, 250, 271, 275, 276, 277, 281, 282, 287, 290, 300, 302, 305, 317, 330, 331, 335, 339, 340, 343, 349, 350, 354, 355, 376, 381, 384, 386, 390, 394

Historical Context

2, 5, 16, 19, 31, 48, 53, 86, 91, 115, 139, 157, 189, 198, 217, 226, 231, 236, 254, 263, 264, 265, 272, 279, 293, 313, 321, 338, 353, 362, 363, 392, 396, 398

Homeland Security

6, 8, 23, 30, 34, 40, 43, 50, 51, 54, 61, 67, 68, 72, 74, 81, 83, 85, 98, 105, 106, 107, 109, 112, 116, 121, 123, 132, 133, 144, 146, 149, 162, 164, 165, 166, 169, 172, 173, 176, 177, 180, 181, 182, 193, 200, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 214, 216, 221, 225, 243, 244, 248, 249, 252, 257, 260, 261, 267, 268, 269, 273, 292, 295, 311, 312, 324, 326, 327, 328, 329, 331, 334, 336, 342, 350, 356, 357, 359, 360, 361, 364, 365, 373, 381, 385, 387, 391, 401

Mobilizing Forces

21, 76, 100, 114, 120, 127, 128, 137, 152, 153, 155, 161, 174, 178, 179, 186, 189, 247, 271, 274, 275, 283, 284, 289, 306, 358, 371, 374, 389, 393, 396

National Terrorism Policy

8, 11, 26, 30, 31, 34, 39, 40, 43, 44, 50, 51, 54, 60, 61, 63, 68, 69, 71, 72, 74, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85, 87, 88, 98, 99, 102, 105, 106, 107, 109, 112, 113, 115, 116, 118, 121, 122, 126, 129, 132, 144, 145, 146, 149, 150, 154, 164, 165, 168, 170, 171, 172, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 193, 196, 200, 201, 205, 207, 208, 210, 215, 216, 221, 223, 224, 225, 227, 237, 241, 243, 244, 245, 248, 252, 253, 257, 259, 260, 261, 267, 269, 273, 278, 290, 297, 300, 301, 302, 308, 310, 311, 312, 313, 319, 324, 325, 327, 328, 329, 331, 334, 342, 350, 357, 360, 361, 362, 364, 365, 373, 375, 381, 385, 386, 387, 391, 401

New Threats

29, 66, 94, 140, 156, 159, 230, 323, 370, 380, 399, 403, 406, 407

New Threats: Holy War

314, 10

Political Islam

3, 15, 18, 25, 35, 75, 131, 160, 190, 195, 202, 203, 220, 226, 230, 262, 266, 280, 351, 363, 369, 378, 411, 412

Religion and Conflict

5, 36, 58, 65, 90, 151, 160, 189, 229, 233, 234, 262, 280, 284, 298, 313, 315, 316, 318, 322, 348, 363, 372, 408, 409

Religion and Conflict: Cults

100, 117, 137, 141, 294,

Religion and Conflict Management

409

Religion and Conflict: Abortion

117

Religion and Ideology

9, 15, 19, 48, 53, 233, 396

Religion and Violence

16, 35, 203, 266, 285, 303, 351, 371, 407

Religion as a Mobilizing Force

2, 4, 9, 10, 12, 19, 24, 27, 36, 48, 53, 58, 78, 108, 110, 136, 158, 159, 160, 185, 195, 202, 203, 218, 222, 233, 239, 265, 285, 298, 299, 309, 330, 351, 368, 370, 371, 372, 405, 408, 409

Religious Ideology

18, 27, 35, 52, 131, 141, 195, 202, 220, 226, 229, 231, 262, 265, 270, 369, 398, 408, 36, 46, 151, 185, 279, 389, 17, 47, 75, 84, 136, 148, 152, 156, 234, 280, 298, 304, 332, 338, 345, 368, 412

Revolutionary Terrorism

12, 42, 65, 236, 320, 321, 370, 383, 406

Secular Justification

271

State Sponsored Terrorism

42, 55, 56, 59, 86, 238, 263, 266, 377

Strategic Communication/Public Diplomacy

1, 32, 52, 69, 82, 129, 150, 214, 268, 305, 306, 325, 354, 360, 374, 393, 400

Strategies to Defeat Terrorism

11, 20, 24, 25, 37, 39, 46, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 63, 77, 80, 84, 87, 88, 89, 95, 96, 97, 99, 103, 104, 142, 150, 154, 159, 163, 167, 168, 170, 174, 175, 182, 183, 191, 196, 201, 206, 213, 223, 227, 228, 234, 242, 245, 246, 251, 253, 258, 259, 282, 283, 286, 297, 301, 303, 308, 310, 317, 319, 337, 345, 346, 347, 352, 353, 374, 375, 390, 395, 399, 411

Terrorism and State Formation

24, 296

Terrorism and the Media

44, 79, 89, 274, 275, 304, 327, 329, 392,
400, 404

Terrorism, Money and Crime

28, 29, 62, 119, 163, 206, 232, 235, 238,
242, 250, 276, 288, 333, 340, 355, 388, 390,
406

Terrorism's New Model

194, 212, 380

Terrorist Movements and Psychology

13, 21, 38, 41, 100, 137, 138, 143, 161, 178,
179, 184, 231, 238, 270, 286, 299, 309, 310,
368, 392, 398, 403, 407

Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

4, 6, 7, 10, 14, 17, 21, 22, 23, 33, 38, 46, 47,
73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 90, 94, 95, 102, 110,
111, 120, 125, 127, 128, 130, 138, 140, 143,
148, 152, 155, 156, 157, 158, 169, 171, 186,
187, 188, 190, 197, 211, 222, 237, 239, 240,
251, 252, 274, 284, 285, 288, 289, 292, 299,
309, 315, 316, 318, 319, 323, 328, 335, 336,
338, 341, 349, 356, 358, 366, 367, 376, 377,
378, 379, 380, 382, 389, 393, 394, 397, 402,
404, 405

The Framework

1, 3, 12, 15, 16, 18, 57, 70, 73, 104, 134,
190, 219, 220, 228, 240, 264, 278, 321, 332,
337, 343, 369, 378, 384

The Future of Terrorism

13, 25, 28, 38, 65, 66, 92, 110, 124, 125,
130, 138, 146, 167, 168, 193, 211, 213, 219,
227, 246, 250, 293, 301, 314, 320, 323, 333,
335, 340, 343, 366, 367, 376, 382, 394, 399

WMD/CBRN Counterterrorism Policy

67, 166, 410

WMD/CBRN Terrorism

27, 54, 67, 83, 85, 144, 162, 165, 166, 176,
209, 248, 273, 294, 295, 311, 347, 359, 410

Part C: Index of Entries by Country/Region

(note: Entry numbers, not page numbers)

Afghanistan

7, 12, 18, 39, 47, 47, 48, 77, 93, 118, 119,
125, 125, 128, 129, 130, 139, 140, , 148,
155, 156, 157, 184, 189, 194, 195, 196, 198,
198, 199, 217, 220, 227, 227, 253, 275, 277,
280, 284, 285, 297, 297, 299, 314, 315, 316,
319, 319, 332, 333, 363, 374, 374, 376, 378,
388, 397, 407

Africa

13, 38, 62, 118, 189, 192, 228, 246, 343,
349, 372, 390,

Algeria

372, 404

Angola

124

Asia (see also, *Central Asia, Southeast Asia*)

38, 62, 114, 139, 149, 212, 217, 254, 264,
343, 375,

Australia

64, 249

Bangladesh

230

Bosnia

222

Brazil

205

Cambodia

4

Cameroon

124

Canada

8, 64, 107, 116, 132, 149, 207, 210, 216,
312, 331, 342, 361

Central Asia (see also *Afghanistan, Asia, Uzbekistan*)

130, 213

Chad

124

Chechnya

111, 272, 377

China

382

Colombia

86, 101, 118, 119, 205, 288, 289, 333, 358,
406

Cuba

287

Denmark

366, 367

Egypt

2, 12, 14, 23, 31, 48, 69, 77, 135, 136, 160,
195, 217, 236, 262, 265, 332, 398, 412

Eritrea

134

Europe

16, 37, 38, 98, 103, 108, 147, 149, 201, 207,
212, 279, 282, 293, 305, 320, 321, 375, 381,
383, 390, 392, 408

France

37, 61, 64, 148, 249, 281, 339, 366, 367,

Germany

37, 141, 281, 339, 396, 402,

Global

10, 17, 21, 26, 29, 41, 49, 70, 76, 89, 91, 93, 99, 100, 125, 127, 137, 152, 155, 161, 163, 191, 219, 232, 233, 235, 242, 250, 263, 264, 271, 276, 283, 286, 299, 302, 303, 307, 321, 333, 338, 340, 344, 345, 349, 352, 353, 355, 368, 380, 393, 410

Greece

56

Hong Kong

264

India

139, 229, 230, 280, 382

Indonesia

3, 4, 65, 69, 103, 128, 155, 157, 183, 184, 185, 188, 197, 313, 315, 316, 317, 323

Iran

39, 55, 58, 59, 218, 238, 318, 405,

Iraq

24, 39, 93, 108, 129, 190, 194, 227, 270, 275, 296, 374, 395, 403

Ireland

56, 87, 186, 188, 376, 395,

Israel (see also, *Middle East*)

14, 32, 53, 87, 90, 123, 129, 138, 145, 152, 154, 158, 161, 171, 203, 204, 238, 239, 249, 299, 306, 309, 371, 392, 393, 394, 396, 404, 405, 409

Italy

14, 71, 281, 339, 396

Japan

27, 138, 188, 294

Jordan

90, 136, 407

Kashmir (see also, *India, Pakistan*)

139

Kenya

330, 379

Kosovo

206, 382

Lebanon

39, 58, 90, 125, 128, 130, 152, 188, 239, 240, 241, 292, 299, 318, 332, 392, 393, 394, 396, 404, 405, 409

Libya

128, 130, 189, 396

Malaysia

313, 317, 323

Mexico

8, 43, 132, 149, 172, 205, 207, 210, 331, 342, 361, 385

Middle East

10, 14, 16, 17, 28, 31, 32, 35, 38, 57, 62, 63, 84, 91, 93, 110, 114, 123, 151, 156, 167, 189, 190, 192, 198, 202, 203, 206, 212, 213, 217, 219, 226, 231, 237, 242, 246, 246, 265, 270, 278, 292, 300, 301, 303, 305, 307, 318, 320, 321, 338, 345, 351, 354, 369, 373, 375, 378, 380, 382, 390, 392, 400, 408, 410

Morocco

69, 134, 159, 201, 339

Nepal

254, 255

Netherlands, the

281, 304, 322, 366, 367

Nicaragua

287

Nigeria

124

North Africa

63

North Korea

228

Pakistan

1, 7, 18, 23, 48, 55, 56, 59, 59, 62, 139, 196, 198, 220, 262, 277, 280, 314, 382, 397, 398

Palestinian Authority (see also, *Middle East*)

58, 90, 134, 158, 240, 370

Peru

113, 119, 205, 291, 395

Philippines, the

5, 45, 65, 87, 104, 118, 120, 157, 249, 287, 313

Russia

111, 194, 272, 335, 348, 377, 410

Saudi Arabia

1, 18, 19, 48, 56, 59, 77, 84, 92, 94, 160, 190, 195, 206, 218, 220, 228, 234, 237, 262, 306, 332, 336, 398, 411

Singapore

157, 323

South Africa

400

South America

13, 38, 86, 101, 205, 212, 264, 343, 390

Southeast Asia (see also, *Asia*)

3, 13, 66, 77, 103, 104, 114, 131, 151, 184, 185, 197, 246, 246, 317

Spain

15, 37, 61, 103, 156, 159, 201, 281, 339, 366, 367, 403

Sri Lanka

110, 138, 256, 292, 299

Sudan

266

Syria

47, 55, 58, 59, 77, 122, 130, 134, 136, 228, 238, 240, 241, 318, 404, 405

Tajikistan (see also *Central Asia*)

284, 285, 348

Tanzania

330, 379

Thailand

4, 66, 197, 313

Tunisia

190

Turkey

215

United States

1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 39, 40, 43, 46, 47, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69, 72, 74, 75, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 112, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 133, 138, 141, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 182, 188, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 218, 221, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 234, 237, 238, 241, 243, 244, 245, 248, 249, 250, 252, 253, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 264, 267, 268, 269, 273, 274, 275, 278, 287, 290, 292, 293, 295, 296, 297, 300, 301, 302, 303, 305, 306, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 317, 319, 320, 321, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 341, 342, 343, 346, 347, 350, 352, 353, 354, 356, 357, 359, 360, 361, 362, 364, 365, 373, 374, 375, 376, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 385, 386, 387, 389, 390, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 403, 404, 408, 409, 411,

United Kingdom

34, 37, 46, 61, 64, 87, 133, 148, 186, 188,
225, 234, 243, 249, 251, 281, 339, 354, 366,
367, 389

U.S.S.R.

228

Uzbekistan

25, 284, 285, 348

Vietnam

91

West Africa

124

Yemen

33, 62, 190, 407

The views expressed in this document are those of the authors and not of the U.S. Military Academy, the Department of the Army, or any other agency of the U.S. Government.

Published in 2006 by the
Combating Terrorism Center at West Point
607 Cullum Road
United States Military Academy
West Point, NY 10996
<http://www.ctc.usma.edu>
To obtain additional information, contact the CTC at
845.938.8495 or email: ctc@usma.edu