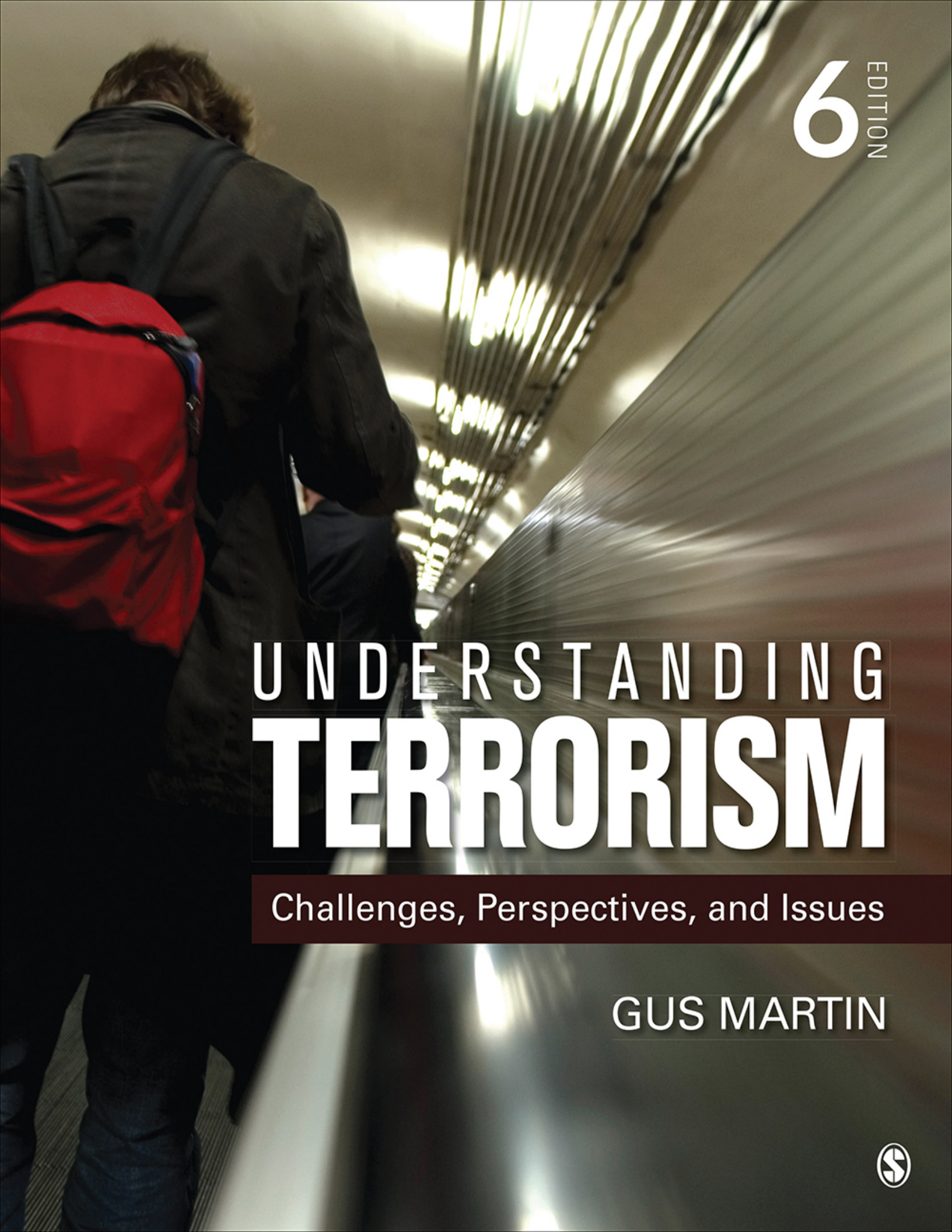




6^{EDITION}

UNDERSTANDING TERRORISM

Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues

GUS MARTIN



- September 5, 1977** ◆ The German Red Army Faction kidnapped industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer, whose body was later found in the trunk of a car.
- October 1977** ◆ West German commandos attacked an airport in Mogadishu, Somalia, to rescue hostages taken when a Lufthansa Boeing 737 was hijacked by Palestinian supporters of Red Army Faction prisoners held in West German prisons.
- 1978–1995** ◆ During a 17-year FBI manhunt, Theodore Kaczynski, also known as the Unabomber, killed three people and injured 22 in a series of bombings.
- March 16, 1978** ◆ Former Italian prime minister Aldo Moro was kidnapped in Rome and murdered by the Red Brigade.
- December 1979** ◆ The Soviet army invaded Afghanistan. Fighting alongside the Afghan resistance were thousands of “Afghan Arabs,” including Osama bin Laden.
- 1980s** ◆ Colombian drug cartels killed hundreds of public officials, including police officers, judges, presidential candidates, and criminal justice employees.
- May 1981** ◆ A Brinks armored car was robbed in Nyack, New York, by former members of the Weather Underground Organization, Students for a Democratic Society, Black Panther Party, the Republic of New Afrika, and the Black Liberation Army.
- April 1983** ◆ A neo-Nazi group calling itself the Order initiated a campaign of violence, hoping to foment a race war in the United States.
- December 16, 1983** ◆ The Provisional Irish Republican Army bombed Harrods department store in London.
- June 1985** ◆ Hijackers belonging to Lebanon’s Hezbollah hijacked TWA Flight 847, taking it on a high-profile and media-intensive odyssey around the Mediterranean.
- December 27, 1985** ◆ The Abu Nidal Organization carried out simultaneous attacks at the Rome and Vienna airports.
- November 1987** ◆ Operatives from North Korea bombed a Korean Air Lines flight, killing more than 100 people.
- 1994** ◆ Marauding Hutu and Tutsi militias in Rwanda committed genocide against civilians of these ethnic groups, leaving more than 500,000 dead.
- March 1995** ◆ The Japanese religious cult Aum Shinrikyō released sarin nerve gas into the Tokyo subway system. Twelve people died, and thousands were injured.
- April 19, 1995** ◆ The Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building was bombed in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, by rightist extremists.
- January 1996** ◆ Yehiya Ayyash, Hamas’s expert bomb maker, known as the Engineer, was assassinated when his cell phone exploded next to his car as he was using it.
- January 1997** ◆ Two bombs were detonated in Atlanta, Georgia, at a family health clinic that provided abortion services.
- January 16, 1997** ◆ Two bombs exploded at an abortion clinic in Sandy Springs, Georgia. The Army of God was suspected.
- August 7, 1998** ◆ Two car bombs exploded at the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing more than 250 and wounding about 5,000.
- September 8 and 13, 1999** ◆ Bombs destroyed two Moscow apartment complexes, killing hundreds. Chechen terrorists carried out the attacks.
- September 11, 2001** ◆ Terrorists hijacked four airliners. Two of the planes were crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, causing them to collapse. One plane was crashed into the Army section of the Pentagon building. The final plane crashed into rural Pennsylvania.
- Late 2001** ◆ Letters containing anthrax were sent through the U.S. postal system in the New York and Washington, D.C., areas.
- June 18, 2002** ◆ A 22-year-old Hamas terrorist detonated the 69th suicide bomb in 21 months. During that period, 547 Israelis and 1,712 Palestinians were killed. The terrorist’s family proudly referred to him as a “martyr.”
- October 12, 2002** ◆ A large bomb exploded in a pub in Kuta, on the Indonesian island of Bali. As patrons and others rushed into the street, a more powerful second bomb hidden inside a van was detonated; 202 people were killed and 209 injured.
- May 12, 2003** ◆ Three housing compounds for expatriate workers in Saudi Arabia were bombed. Dozens were killed and about 140 injured.
- October 23–26, 2003** ◆ Chechen terrorists took more than 700 people hostage in a Moscow theater. After special forces troops pumped anesthetic gas into the theater and attacked, all of the hostage takers were killed, as were 129 of the hostages.
- March 11, 2004** ◆ Ten bombs were detonated on several commuter trains in Madrid, Spain, killing 191 people and wounding more than 1,500.
- September 1–3, 2004** ◆ Heavily armed Chechen terrorists seized a school in Beslan, North Ossetia, taking 1,200 hostages. As explosives were detonated and special forces retook the school, more than 350 people were killed, most of them schoolchildren.
- November 2, 2004** ◆ A Dutch citizen of Moroccan descent murdered filmmaker Theo van Gogh. The assailant shot his victim repeatedly on a busy Amsterdam street and then slit his throat. Van Gogh had been a critic of Islam.
- February 14, 2005** ◆ Rafiq Hariri, former prime minister of Lebanon, was assassinated by a car bomb; 20 other people were killed. Syrian agents were suspected.
- July 2005** ◆ On July 7, 2005, four bombs exploded in London. The attacks killed more than 50 people and injured more than 700. Two weeks later, on July 21, an identical attack was attempted but failed when the explosives misfired. British-based cells—sympathizers of Al-Qa’ida—were responsible.
- November 9, 2005** ◆ Three hotels were bombed in Amman, Jordan, killing 59 people, including more than 20 at a wedding reception. Al-Qa’ida in Iraq claimed credit for the attacks via an Internet posting. The group stated that all were carried out by suicide bombers—including a husband-and-wife team.
- April 11, 2006** ◆ More than 50 Sunni worshippers were killed by a suicide bomber in Karachi, Pakistan.
- June 15, 2006** ◆ In Sri Lanka, the Tamil Tigers bombed a bus, killing nearly 70 people.
- July 31, 2006** ◆ Two unexploded suitcase bombs were deactivated on trains near Dortmund and Koblenz, Germany.
- August 10, 2006** ◆ British police broke up an apparent plot to bomb several airliners traveling to the United States via Heathrow Airport.
- November 21, 2006** ◆ In Beirut, Lebanon, anti-Syrian politician Pierre Gemayel was assassinated.

Understanding Terrorism

6th Edition

This book is dedicated to Rosalyn, Charissa, Annalise, Evangeline, Ava Catherine, Ava Tracy, Jack, and Naomi.

Do not go where the path may lead, go instead where there is no path and leave a trail.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

Understanding Terrorism

Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues

6th Edition

Gus Martin

California State University, Dominguez Hills



Los Angeles | London | New Delhi
Singapore | Washington DC | Melbourne



FOR INFORMATION:

SAGE Publications, Inc.

2455 Teller Road

Thousand Oaks, California 91320

E-mail: order@sagepub.com

SAGE Publications Ltd.

1 Oliver's Yard

55 City Road

London EC1Y 1SP

United Kingdom

SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd.

B 1/I 1 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area

Mathura Road, New Delhi 110 044

India

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte. Ltd.

3 Church Street

#10-04 Samsung Hub

Singapore 049483

Copyright © 2018 by SAGE Publications, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Martin, Gus, author.

Title: Understanding terrorism : challenges, perspectives, and issues / Gus Martin, California State University, Dominguez Hills.

Description: Sixth Edition. | Thousand Oaks : SAGE Publications, [2017] | Revised edition of the author's Understanding terrorism, [2016] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017018294 | ISBN 9781506385815 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Terrorism.

Classification: LCC HV6431 .M367 2017 | DDC 363.325—dc23 LC record
available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017018294>

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

17 18 19 20 21 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Acquisitions Editor: Jessica Miller

Editorial Assistant: Jennifer Rubio

Content Development Editor: Laura Kirkhuff

Production Editor: Tracy Buyan

Copy Editor: Sarah J. Duffy

Typesetter: C&M Digital (P) Ltd.

Proofreader: Talia Greenberg

Indexer: Teddy Diggs

Cover Designer: Michael Dubowe

Marketing Manager: Jillian Olsen

Brief Contents

[About the Author](#)

[Acknowledgments](#)

[Introduction and Rationale](#)

[Part I Terrorism: A Conceptual Review](#)

[1. Terrorism: First Impressions](#)

[2. The Nature of the Beast: Defining Terrorism](#)

[3. Beginnings: The Causes of Terrorism](#)

[Part II The Terrorists](#)

[4. Terror From Above: Terrorism by the State](#)

[5. Terror From Below: Terrorism by Dissidents](#)

[6. Violence in the Name of the Faith: Religious Terrorism](#)

[7. Violent Ideologies: Terrorism From the Left and Right](#)

[8. Terrorist Spillovers: International Terrorism](#)

[9. Emerging Terrorist Environments: Gender-Selective Political Violence and Criminal Dissident Terrorism](#)

[Part III The Terrorist Trade and Counterterrorism](#)

[10. Tools of the Trade: Tactics and Targets of Terrorists](#)

[11. The Information Battleground: Terrorist Violence and the Role of the Media](#)

[12. The American Case: Terrorism in the United States](#)

[Part IV Securing the Homeland](#)

[13. Counterterrorism: The Options](#)

[14. A New Era: Homeland Security](#)

[15. What Next? The Future of Terrorism](#)

[Appendix A: Map References](#)

[Appendix B: Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Glossary of Terms](#)

[Notes](#)

[Index](#)

Detailed Contents

[About the Author](#)

[Acknowledgments](#)

[Introduction and Rationale](#)

[Part I. Terrorism: A Conceptual Review](#)

[1. Terrorism: First Impressions](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: The Ideology of Al-Qa'ida](#)

[First Considerations](#)

[An Overview of Extremism and Terrorism](#)

[Terrorism at First Glance](#)

[Sources of Extremism and Terrorism](#)

[Conceptual Considerations: Understanding Political Violence](#)

[The Significance of Symbolism](#)

[Political Violence: Mala Prohibita or Mala in Se?](#)

[The Just War Doctrine](#)

[The Past as Prologue: Historical Perspectives on Terrorism](#)

[Antiquity](#)

[The Roman Age](#)

[The Ancient and Medieval Middle East](#)

[The Dark Ages: Prelude to Modern Terrorism](#)

[The French Revolution](#)

[Chapter Perspective 1.1: The Gunpowder Plot of Guy Fawkes](#)

[Nineteenth-Century Europe: Two Examples From the Left](#)

[The Modern Era and the War on Terrorism](#)

[Terrorism and Criminal Skill: Three Cases From the Modern Era](#)

[Case 1: Anders Breivik](#)

[Case 2: Theodore "Ted" Kaczynski](#)

[Case 3: Ramzi Yousef](#)

[Chapter Summary](#)

[Key Terms and Concepts](#)

[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Discussion Box: Total War](#)

[On Your Own](#)

[Recommended Websites](#)

[Web Exercise](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[2. The Nature of the Beast: Defining Terrorism](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: Are Hate Crimes Acts of Terrorism?](#)

[Understanding Extremism: The Foundation of Terrorism](#)

[Defining Extremism](#)

[Common Characteristics of Violent Extremists](#)

[The World of the Extremist](#)

[Defining Terrorism: An Ongoing Debate](#)

[Guerrilla Warfare](#)

[A Sampling of Formal Definitions](#)

[The American Context: Defining Terrorism in the United States](#)

[Chapter Perspective 2.1: The Problem of Labeling the Enemy in the New Era of Terrorism](#)

[Types of Terrorism](#)

[A Definitional Problem: Perspectives on Terrorism](#)

[Perspective 1: Four Quotations](#)

[Perspective 2: Participants in a Terrorist Environment](#)

[Perspective 3: Terrorism or Freedom Fighting?](#)

[Perspective 4: Extremism or “Mainstreamism”?](#)

[The Political Violence Matrix](#)

[Combatants, Noncombatants, and the Use of Force](#)

[Case in Point: The Orlando Mass Shooting—An Act of Terrorism and a Hate Crime](#)

[Chapter Summary](#)

[Key Terms and Concepts](#)

[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Discussion Box: Cold War Revolutionaries](#)

[On Your Own](#)

[Recommended Websites](#)

[Web Exercise](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[3. Beginnings: The Causes of Terrorism](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: The Case of Carlos](#)

[Political Violence as Strategic Choice](#)

[Making Revolution: Acts of Political Will](#)
[Perception and Cultural Disconnect: Adversaries in the War on Terrorism](#)

[Political Violence as the Fruit of Injustice](#)

[Sociological Explanations of Terrorism: Intergroup Conflict and Collective Violence](#)

[Criminological Explanations of Terrorism: The Path to Political Criminality](#)

[Chapter Perspective 3.1: Women as Terrorists](#)

[Psychological Explanations of Terrorism: Rationality and Terrorist Violence](#)

[Chapter Perspective 3.2: Profiles of Violent Extremists: Leila Khaled and Abu Nidal](#)

[Moral Justifications for Political Violence](#)

[Moral Convictions of Terrorists](#)

[Delineating Morality: Simplified Definitions of Good and Evil](#)

[Seeking Utopia: Moral Ends Through Violent Means](#)

[Moral Purity: Codes of Self-Sacrifice](#)

[Understanding Codes of Self-Sacrifice](#)

[Chapter Summary](#)

[Key Terms and Concepts](#)

[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Discussion Box: Bloody Sunday and Black September](#)

[On Your Own](#)

[Recommended Websites](#)

[Web Exercise](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[Part II. The Terrorists](#)

[4. Terror From Above: Terrorism by the State](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: State Terrorism as Domestic and Foreign Policy](#)

[The State as Terrorist: A State Terrorism Paradigm](#)

[Understanding State-Sponsored Terrorism: State Patronage and Assistance](#)

[State Sponsorship: The Patronage Model](#)

[State Sponsorship: The Assistance Model](#)

[Case in Point: Failed States](#)
[Violence Abroad: Terrorism as Foreign Policy](#)
[Moral Support: Politically Sympathetic Sponsorship](#)
[Technical Support: Logistically Supportive Sponsorship](#)
[Selective Participation: Episode-Specific Sponsorship](#)
[Active Participation: Joint Operations](#)
[Chapter Perspective 4.1: Calculation or Miscalculation? The Threat From Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Iraq Case](#)
[Violence at Home: Terrorism as Domestic Policy](#)
[Legitimizing State Authority](#)
[State Domestic Authority](#)
[Unofficial Repression: Vigilante Domestic State Terrorism](#)
[Repression as Policy: Official Domestic State Terrorism](#)
[Chapter Perspective 4.2: Cleansing Society](#)
[Mass Repression: Genocidal Domestic State Terrorism](#)
[Case in Point: Death Squads in Latin America](#)
[The Problem of Accountability: Monitoring State Terrorism](#)
[Chapter Summary](#)
[Key Terms and Concepts](#)
[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)
[Discussion Box: Authoritarianism and Democracy](#)
[On Your Own](#)
[Recommended Websites](#)
[Web Exercise](#)
[Recommended Readings](#)
[5. Terror From Below: Terrorism by Dissidents](#)
[Opening Viewpoint: The Tupamaros](#)
[The Rebel as Terrorist: A Dissident Terrorism Paradigm](#)
[Revolutionary Dissident Terrorism: A Clear World Vision](#)
[Nihilist Dissident Terrorism: Revolution for the Sake of Revolution](#)
[Nationalist Dissident Terrorism: The Aspirations of a People](#)
[Chapter Perspective 5.1: Chechen Terrorism in Russia](#)

[Revolutionaries, Nihilists, and Nationalists: Freedom Fighters?](#)

[Case in Point: The U.S. Perspective on Foreign Terrorist Organizations](#)

[Warring Against the State: Antistate Dissident Terrorism](#)

[Intensities of Conflict: Antistate Terrorist Environments](#)

[Chapter Perspective 5.2: The Palestinian Movement](#)

[Defeat Is Unthinkable: The Terrorists' Faith in Victory](#)

[Warring Against a People: Communal Terrorism](#)

[Ethnonationalist Communal Terrorism](#)

[Religious Communal Terrorism](#)

[Ideological Communal Terrorism](#)

[Operational Shifts: Dissidents and the New Terrorism](#)

[The New Dissident Terrorist Morality](#)

[Chapter Perspective 5.3: Child Soldiers](#)

[Terrorist Cells and Lone Wolves: New Models for a New War](#)

[Chapter Summary](#)

[Key Terms and Concepts](#)

[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Discussion Box: The Tamil Tigers](#)

[On Your Own](#)

[Recommended Websites](#)

[Web Exercise](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[6. Violence in the Name of the Faith: Religious Terrorism](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: The Journey of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi](#)

[Primary and Secondary Motives: The Idiosyncratic Quality of Religious Terrorism](#)

[Understanding Jihad as a Primary Religious Motive: An Observation and Caveat](#)

[Chapter Perspective 6.1: Jihad: Struggling in the Way of God](#)

[A Case of Secondary Religious Motive: The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion](#)

[Historical Cases in Point: Fighting, Dying, and Killing in the Name of the Faith](#)

[Judeo-Christian Antiquity](#)

[Christian Crusades](#)
[The Assassins](#)
[A Secret Cult of Murder](#)
[Modern Arab Nationalism and the Rise of Islamist Extremism](#)
[Cult Case: Mysticism and Rebellion in Uganda](#)
[State-Sponsored Religious Terrorism in the Modern Era](#)
[National Case: Iran](#)
[Regional Case: Pakistan and India](#)
[Chapter Perspective 6.2: Assault on Mumbai](#)
[Dissident Religious Terrorism in the Modern Era](#)
[Regional Case: Religious Zealotry in the Middle East](#)
[Movement Case: The International Mujahideen \(Holy Warriors for the Faith\)](#)
[Organization Case: The Al-Qa'ida Network](#)
[Nation-Building Case: The Rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant](#)
[National Case: Boko Haram in Nigeria](#)
[Transnational Case: The Algerian Jihadis](#)
[Internecine Case: Sectarian Civil War in Iraq](#)
[Cult Case: Aum Shinrikyō \(Supreme Truth\)](#)
[The Future of Religious Terrorism](#)
[Chapter Summary](#)
[Key Terms and Concepts](#)
[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)
[Discussion Box: The One True Faith](#)
[On Your Own](#)
[Recommended Websites](#)
[Web Exercise](#)
[Recommended Readings](#)
[7. Violent Ideologies: Terrorism From the Left and Right](#)
[Opening Viewpoint: Racist Skinheads as a Supportive Environment](#)
[Reactionaries and Radicals: The Classical Ideological Continuum](#)
[An Ideological Analysis: From the Left Fringe to the Right Fringe](#)

[Ideologies and Ideals](#)
[Left-Wing Ideologies and Activism](#)
[Chapter Perspective 7.1: Required Reading on the “New Left”](#)
[For the Exploited: Class Struggle](#)
[For the People: Leftist Nationalism](#)
[Special-Interest Extremism](#)
[Problems on the Radical Left](#)
[Class Struggle and National Liberation: The Terrorist Left](#)
[Chapter Perspective 7.2: Vanguard Theory](#)
[Regional Case: Latin America](#)
[Regional Case: Europe](#)
[Right-Wing Activism and Extremism](#)
[Political Parties and Dissident Movements](#)
[Tradition and Order](#)
[Right-Wing Nationalism](#)
[Religion and Mysticism](#)
[Race and Order: The Terrorist Right](#)
[Chapter Perspective 7.3: Violent Reactionaries:](#)
[Characteristics of the Extreme Right](#)
[Regional Case: Europe](#)
[Violent Ideologies in the New Era of Terrorism](#)
[The “New Terrorism”](#)
[The Terrorist Left in the New Era](#)
[The Terrorist Right in the New Era](#)
[Chapter Summary](#)
[Key Terms and Concepts](#)
[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)
[Discussion Box 7.1: Young Nationalist Idealists](#)
[Discussion Box 7.2: Order From Chaos](#)
[On Your Own](#)
[Recommended Websites](#)
[Web Exercise](#)
[Recommended Readings](#)
[8. Terrorist Spillovers: International Terrorism](#)
[Opening Viewpoint: Terrorism in the Age of Globalization](#)

Chapter Perspective 8.1: The Changing Environment of International Terrorism

Defining International Terrorism

Expanding the Struggle: The Spillover Effect

Unambiguous International Implications

Chapter Perspective 8.2: The Benghazi Attack

Terrorist Environments and International Terrorism

Globalized Revolution: Reasons for International Terrorism

Ideological Reasons: Modern “isms” and International Revolutionary Solidarity

Practical Reasons: Perceived Efficiency

Tactical Reasons: Adaptations of Revolutionary Theory to International Operations

Historical Reasons: Perceptions of International Terrorism

Globalized Solidarity: International Terrorist Networks

Chapter Perspective 8.3: A Remarkable Example of International Terrorism: The Japanese Red Army and the Lod (Lydda) Airport Massacre

Cold War Terrorist-Networking Theory

International Terrorist Environments

The International Dimension of the New Terrorism

Movement Case: Afghan Arabs at War

Organization Case: Al-Qa’ida and International Terrorism

Chapter Perspective 8.4: Beyond Al-Qa’ida

Wartime Case: Terrorist Violence in Iraq

Postscript: The “Stateless Revolutionaries”

The Japanese Red Army

Al-Qa’ida

Palestinian Nationalism

Chapter Summary

Key Terms and Concepts

Prominent Persons and Organizations

Discussion Box: Understanding Terrorist “Spillovers”:

Middle Eastern and North African Spillovers in Europe

On Your Own

[Recommended Websites](#)

[Web Exercise](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[9. Emerging Terrorist Environments: Gender-Selective Political Violence and Criminal Dissident Terrorism](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: ISIS Gender-Selective Terrorism](#)

[Culture and Conflict: Gender-Selected Victims of Terrorist Violence](#)

[Gender-Selective Terrorism Against Men](#)

[Background to Terrorism Against Women: Cultural Repression and Violence](#)

[An Emerging Recognition: Terrorism Against Women](#)

[Responding to Gender-Selective Political Violence](#)

[Protecting the Enterprise: Criminal Dissident Terrorism](#)

[The Criminal and Political Terrorism Nexus](#)

[Chapter Perspective 9.1: Lebanon's Beka'a Valley](#)

[Traditional Criminal Enterprises](#)

[Criminal-Political Enterprises](#)

[Case in Point: The Logic of Narco-terrorism](#)

[Chapter Perspective 9.2: The Tri-Border Area of South America](#)

[A Global Problem: Regional Cases of Criminal Dissident Terrorism](#)

[Regional Case: Latin America](#)

[Regional Case: Asia](#)

[Regional Case: Europe](#)

[Chapter Summary](#)

[Key Terms and Concepts](#)

[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Discussion Box: Political Violence Against Women: Gender Communal Terrorism?](#)

[On Your Own](#)

[Recommended Websites](#)

[Web Exercise](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[Part III. The Terrorist Trade and Counterterrorism](#)

[10. Tools of the Trade: Tactics and Targets of Terrorists](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: Actionable Intelligence—Israel and the Hunt for the Engineer](#)

[The Purpose: Terrorist Objectives](#)

[Typical Objectives](#)

[Playing to the Audience: Objectives, Victims, and Constituencies](#)

[The New Terrorism and New Objectives](#)

[The Means: Terrorist Methods](#)

[Concept: Asymmetrical Warfare](#)

[An Introduction to Common Methods of Terrorists](#)

[Weapons Old and New](#)

[Chapter Perspective 10.1: The Al-Qa'ida "Terrorist Manual"](#)

[The Focus: Terrorist Targets](#)

[The Symbolism of Targets](#)

[Chapter Perspective 10.2: The Symbolism of Targets:](#)

[Terrorist Attacks Against the United States](#)

[The Threat From Cyberterrorism](#)

[The Outcome: Is Terrorism Effective?](#)

[Media and Political Attention](#)

[Having an Impact on an Audience](#)

[Chapter Perspective 10.3: Tactical Horror: Digital, Video, and Audio Terrorism](#)

[Forcing Concessions From an Enemy Interest](#)

[Disruption of Normal Routines](#)

[Provoking the State to Overreact](#)

[Effective Terrorism: The King David Hotel Bombing](#)

[Chapter Summary](#)

[Key Terms and Concepts](#)

[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Discussion Box: Attacks Against the U.S. Marine and French Paratrooper Headquarters in Beirut](#)

[On Your Own](#)

[Recommended Websites](#)

[Web Exercise](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[11. The Information Battleground: Terrorist Violence and the Role of the Media](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: Media-Oriented Terror and Lebanon's Hezbollah](#)

[Two Perspectives: The Media and Governments](#)

[The Perspective of the Media](#)

[The Perspective of Governments](#)

[Understanding the Role of the Media](#)

[Publicizing the Cause](#)

[Spreading the Word: Mass Communications and the Terrorists' Message](#)

[Chapter Perspective 11.1: Delivering the Message](#)

[No More Printing Presses: Mass Communications and the "New Media"](#)

[Truth and Consequences: Reporting Terrorism](#)

[Chapter Perspective 11.2: Al Jazeera](#)

[A New Battleground: The War for the Information High Ground](#)

[Practical Considerations: Using the Media](#)

[Chapter Perspective 11.3: WikiLeaks](#)

[Information Is Power: The Media as a Weapon](#)

[Problems on the New Battleground: The Risk of Backlash](#)

[The Public's Right to Know: Regulating the Media](#)

[The Free Press](#)

[Chapter Perspective 11.4: Self-Regulation and the American Media](#)

[The State-Regulated Press](#)

[Chapter Summary](#)

[Key Terms and Concepts](#)

[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Discussion Box: Freedom of Reporting and Security Issues](#)

[On Your Own](#)

[Recommended Websites](#)

[Web Exercise](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[12. The American Case: Terrorism in the United States](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: Lynching—Vigilante Communal Terrorism in the United States](#)

[An Introduction to the American Case](#)

[Weighing the Origins of Terrorism in the United States](#)

[Background to Terrorism: Left-Wing Activism and Ideological Extremism in America](#)

[Origins of the Modern Civil Rights Movement](#)

[The Rise of Black Power](#)

[Growth of the New Left](#)

[Left-Wing Terrorism in the United States](#)

[Chapter Perspective 12.1: Seeds of Terrorism: Radicals on the American Left](#)

[Generational Rebellion: New Left Terrorism](#)

[Civil Strife: Ethnonationalist Terrorism on the Left](#)

[The Revolution Continues: Leftist “Hard Cores”](#)

[Case in Point: The United Freedom Front](#)

[Single-Issue Violence on the Left](#)

[Background to Terrorism: Right-Wing Activism and Ideological Extremism in America](#)

[Religious Politics and the “Christian Right”](#)

[Rise of the Antigovernment Patriots](#)

[Chapter Perspective 12.2: Conspiracy Theories on the American Right](#)

[Racial Supremacy: An Old Problem With New Beginnings](#)

[Racial Mysticism](#)

[Race and the Bible: The Christian Identity Creation Myth](#)

[Right-Wing Terrorism in the United States](#)

[Chapter Perspective 12.3: Seeds of Terrorism: Reactionaries on the American Right](#)

[Homegrown Racism: The Legacy of the Ku Klux Klan](#)

[Racial Mysticism: Neo-Nazi Terrorism](#)

[Patriot Threats](#)

[Case in Point: Moralistic Terrorism](#)

[International Terrorism in the United States](#)

[The Spillover Effect in the United States](#)

[The New Terrorism in the United States](#)

[Chapter Perspective 12.4: The Anthrax Crisis: A Post-9/11 Anomaly](#)

[Chapter Summary](#)

[Key Terms and Concepts](#)

[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Discussion Box: Domestic Terrorism in the American Context](#)

[On Your Own](#)

[Recommended Websites](#)

[Web Exercise](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[Part IV. Securing the Homeland](#)

[13. Counterterrorism: The Options](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: The Death of Osama bin Laden](#)

[Responding to Terror: The Scope of Options](#)

[Use of Force](#)

[Operations Other Than War](#)

[Legalistic Options](#)

[Warlike Operations: Counterterrorism and the Use of Force](#)

[Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns](#)

[Chapter Perspective 13.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon](#)

[War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert](#)

[Operations](#)

[Surgical Use of Force: Special Operations Forces](#)

[Chapter Perspective 13.2: Hostage Rescues](#)

[Operations Other Than War: Repressive Options](#)

[War in the Shadows, Part 2: Nonviolent Covert](#)

[Operations](#)

[Chapter Perspective 13.3: The Utility of Monitoring Social Networking Media](#)

[Knowing the Enemy: Intelligence](#)

[Hardening the Target: Enhanced Security](#)

[Long-Term Coercion: Economic Sanctions](#)

[Operations Other Than War: Conciliatory Options](#)

[Reasoned Dialogue: Diplomatic Options](#)

[Responding to Grievances: Social Reform](#)

[Giving Them What They Want: Concessionary Options](#)

[Applying the Rule of Law: Legalistic Options](#)
[Law Enforcement and Counterterrorism: The Global Perspective](#)

[Chapter Perspective 13.4: The Role of the “International Police”](#)

[Domestic Laws and Counterterrorism](#)
[International Law: Legalistic Responses by the World Community](#)

[Chapter Summary](#)

[Key Terms and Concepts](#)

[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Discussion Box: The Utility of Elite Counterterrorist Units](#)

[On Your Own](#)

[Recommended Websites](#)

[Web Exercise](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[14. A New Era: Homeland Security](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: Data Mining by the U.S. National Security Agency](#)

[Homeland Security in Perspective](#)

[The Threat From Homegrown Jihadis](#)

[The Threat From Asymmetrical Warfare: The Paris and Brussels Incidents](#)

[Crisis and Homeland Security: The European and American Contexts](#)

[The American Case: Homeland Security in the United States](#)

[Counterterrorism Laws in the United States](#)

[Renewed Security in the United States: The Homeland Security Enterprise](#)

[The U.S. Intelligence Community: Mission and Challenges](#)

[Chapter Perspective 14.1: Waging War in the Era of the New Terrorism](#)

[Civil Liberties and Securing the Homeland](#)

[Security and Liberty: Historical Perspectives](#)

[Balancing Civil Liberties and Homeland Security](#)

[Achieving Security](#)

[Chapter Summary](#)

[Key Terms and Concepts](#)

[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Discussion Box: After the Next 9/11](#)

[On Your Own](#)

[Recommended Websites](#)

[Web Exercise](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[15. What Next? The Future of Terrorism](#)

[Opening Viewpoint: Carnivore and the Dawn of Internet Surveillance](#)

[An Overview of Near-Term Projections](#)

[The Theory of Terrorist “Waves”](#)

[Fourth-Generation War](#)

[Whither the “Old Terrorism”?](#)

[The Future of Terrorism: Terrorist Environments in the 21st Century](#)

[Terrorist Typologies in the New Era](#)

[The World in Conflict: Persisting Sources of Terrorism](#)

[The Future of Terrorism: New Threats](#)

[High-Tech Terrorism](#)

[Soft Targets and Terrorist Symbolism](#)

[Controlling Terrorism: Ending Terrorist Campaigns and New Challenges](#)

[A Theoretical Model for Ending Terrorist Campaigns](#)

[Responding to Terrorism: Conventional Adaptations](#)

[Combating Terrorism in the New Era](#)

[The Continued Utility of Force](#)

[Countering Terrorist Financial Operations](#)

[The Case for International Cooperation](#)

[Final Considerations: Terrorism in the United States](#)

[The Future of International Terrorism](#)

[The Future of the Violent Left](#)

[The Future of the Violent Right](#)

[Chapter Summary](#)

[A Final Thought](#)

[Key Terms and Concepts](#)

[Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Discussion Box: Toward Big Brother?](#)

[On Your Own](#)

[Recommended Readings](#)

[Appendix A: Map References](#)

[Appendix B: Prominent Persons and Organizations](#)

[Glossary of Terms](#)

[Notes](#)

[Index](#)

About the Author

C. Augustus “Gus” Martin

is a Professor of Criminal Justice Administration at California State University, Dominguez Hills, where he regularly teaches a course on the subject of terrorism and extremism. He has also served as Associate Vice President for Human Resources Management, acting Associate Dean of the College of Business Administration and Public Policy, Associate Vice President for Faculty Affairs, and Chair of the Department of Public Administration and Public Policy. He began his academic career as a member of the faculty of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, where he was an Administration of Justice professor. His current research and professional interests are terrorism and extremism, homeland security, administration of justice, and juvenile justice.

Dr. Martin is the author of several books on the subjects of terrorism and homeland security, including *Understanding Homeland Security* (SAGE, 2017); *Essentials of Terrorism: Concepts and Controversies* (SAGE, 2017); *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, second edition (SAGE, 2011); *Terrorism and Homeland Security* (SAGE, 2011); and *The New Era of Terrorism: Selected Readings* (SAGE, 2004). He is also the author of *Juvenile Justice: Process and Systems* (SAGE, 2005).

Prior to joining academia, Dr. Martin served as Managing Attorney for the Fair Housing Partnership of Greater Pittsburgh, where he was also director of a program created under a federal court–mandated consent decree to desegregate public and assisted housing. He was also Special Counsel to the Attorney General of the U.S. Virgin Islands on the island of St. Thomas. As Special Counsel he occupied a personal and confidential position in the central office of the Department of Justice, sat as hearing officer for disciplinary hearings and departmental grievances, served as chair of the drug policy committee, served as liaison to the intergovernmental Law Enforcement Coordinating Committee as well as to the Narcotics Strike Force, and provided daily legal and policy advice to the Attorney General. Prior to serving as special counsel, he was a “floor” Legislative Assistant to Congressman Charles B. Rangel of New York. As Legislative Assistant, he

researched, evaluated, and drafted legislation in areas of foreign policy, foreign aid, human rights, housing, education, social services, and poverty. He also drafted House floor statements, *Congressional Record* inserts, press releases, and news articles, and composed speeches, briefing materials, and legislative correspondence.

Acknowledgments

I am indebted for the support and encouragement of many people in bringing this venture to completion, with special appreciation for the very professional and expert attention given to this project by the editorial group at SAGE. Without their patient professionalism and constructive criticism, this project would not have attained the comprehensiveness and completeness that was its underlying objective from the beginning.

Thanks are extended to colleagues who shared their expert advice and suggestions for crafting this volume. Deep appreciation is also given to the panel of peer reviewers assembled by the very able SAGE editors and staff during several rounds of review. The insightful, constructive comments and critical analysis of the following reviewers for the fifth and sixth editions were truly invaluable:

Reviewers for the fifth edition:

Gregory Allen Sr.

Bellevue University

Ronda Blevins

Roane State Community College

Matthew Costello

Arkansas State University

David DiBari

Adams State University

Marcie Goodman

University of Utah

Shannon Hankouse

Tarleton State University

Anthony Offret

Pima College

Filiz Otucu

Plymouth State University

Shawn Schwaner

Miami-Dade College

Reviewers for the sixth edition:

Paul Byrd

DMACC

Dr. John Comiskey

Monmouth University

Daniel Cutrer

Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University

Dr. Samuel B. Hoff

Delaware State University

Michael Loadenthal

Miami University of Oxford

Andy F. Nazario

Eastern New Mexico University

Neil Shortland

University of Massachusetts Lowell

Ryan Vogel

Utah Valley University

Ibrahim Zabad

St. Bonaventure University

I especially thank my wife and children for their constant support, encouragement, and humor during the course of this project.

Introduction and Rationale

Welcome to the sixth edition of *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. This edition has been revised in several respects to enhance the educational quality of the study of terrorism. In the same spirit as the first five editions, *Understanding Terrorism*, sixth edition, is a comprehensive textbook for students and professionals who wish to explore the phenomenon of modern terrorist violence. Readers who fully engage themselves in the recommended course of instruction offered in the pages that follow will acquire a solid foundation for understanding the nature of terrorism. Readers will also discover that their facility for critically assessing terrorism in general—and terrorist incidents in particular—will be greatly improved.

At the outset, it is important to understand that the study of terrorism is, first and foremost, a study in human behavior. It is an investigation of highly volatile human interaction. Courses that investigate terrorism must therefore review the events, ideas, motivations, theories, and histories that result in terrorist violence. None of these factors can be discussed in isolation from one another if the reader wishes to develop a facility for critically evaluating the nature of terrorism. Thus, the study of terrorism is one of the most multidisciplinary subjects in the social sciences. It is also one of the most dynamic subjects.

This book is designed to be a primary resource for university students and professionals who require fundamental expertise in understanding terrorist violence. The content of *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues* is directed to academic and professional courses of instruction whose subject areas include terrorism, homeland security, international security, criminal justice administration, political conflict, armed conflict, and social environments. It can be incorporated into classes and seminars covering security studies, the administration of justice, the sociology of terrorism, conflict resolution, political theory, and other instruction in the social sciences. The intended level of instruction is undergraduate- and master's-level university students, as well as professionals who require instruction in understanding terrorism.

No prerequisites are specifically recommended, but grounding in one of the following disciplines would be helpful: political science, government, administration of justice, sociology, history, or philosophy.

Course Overview and Pedagogy

Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues introduces readers to terrorism in the contemporary era, focusing on the post–World War II period as its primary emphasis. It is a review of nations, movements, and individuals who have engaged in what many people would define as terrorist violence. It is also a review of the many kinds of terrorism that have existed in the postwar era. Of most importance, a serious exploration will be made of the underlying causes of terrorism—for example, extremist ideologies, religious intolerance, and traumatic episodes in the lives of nations and people.

The pedagogical approach of *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*, sixth edition, is designed to stimulate critical thinking by readers. Students, professionals, and instructors will find that each chapter follows a sequence of instruction that builds on previous chapters and thus incrementally enhances the reader’s knowledge of each topic. Chapters incorporate the following features:

- **Opening Viewpoints.** At the beginning of each chapter, the Opening Viewpoint presents relevant examples of theories and themes discussed in the chapter and serves as a “reality check” for readers.
- **Chapter Introduction.** Each chapter is introduced by an overview of the subject under investigation. The introduction provides perspective for the incorporation of each chapter’s topic into the broader themes of the textbook.
- **Chapter Perspectives.** Chapters incorporate focused presentations of perspectives that explore people, events, organizations, and movements that are relevant to the subject matter of each chapter.
- **Chapter Summary.** A concluding discussion recapitulates the main themes of each chapter and introduces the subject matter of the following chapter.
- **Discussion Boxes.** These boxes present provocative information and pose challenging questions to stimulate critical thinking and further debate.
- **Key Terms and Concepts.** Important terms and ideas introduced in each chapter are listed for review and discussion. These Key Terms and Concepts are further explored and defined in the book’s glossary.
- **Recommended Websites and Web Exercises.** Web exercises at the end of chapters have been designed for students, professionals, and

instructors to explore and discuss information found on the Internet.

- **Recommended Readings.** Suggested readings are listed at the end of each chapter for further information or research on each topic.

Digital Resources

SAGE has dedicated a companion study site for *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*, sixth edition, at

edge.sagepub.com/martin6e. This companion website enables readers to better master the course and book material, and it provides instructors with additional resources for enriching the quality of their course of instruction. SAGE edge for Instructors supports teaching by making it easy to integrate quality content and create a rich learning environment for students.

- A Microsoft® Word® test bank is available containing multiple choice, true/false, short answer, and essay questions for each chapter. The test bank provides you with a diverse range of prewritten options as well as the opportunity for editing any question and/or inserting your own personalized questions to effectively assess students' progress and understanding.
- Editable, chapter-specific Microsoft® PowerPoint® slides offer you complete flexibility in easily creating a multimedia presentation for your course. Highlight essential content, features, and artwork from the book.
- Lecture notes summarize key concepts on a chapter-by-chapter basis to help with preparation for lectures and class discussions.
- **EXCLUSIVE!** Access to certain full-text SAGE journal articles that have been carefully selected for each chapter. Each article supports and expands on the concepts presented in the chapter. This feature also provides questions to focus and guide student interpretation. Combine cutting-edge academic journal scholarship with the topics in your course for a robust classroom experience.
- Sample course syllabi provide suggested models for use when creating the syllabi for your courses.
- Carefully selected, web-based video resources feature relevant interviews, lectures, personal stories, inquiries, and other content for use in independent or classroom-based explorations of key topics.
- Original videos feature interviews with the author to provide students with contemporary examples that relate back to the chapter content.

SAGE edge for Students provides a personalized approach to help students accomplish their coursework goals in an easy-to-use learning environment.

- Mobile-friendly eFlashcards reinforce understanding of key terms and concepts that have been outlined in the chapters.
- Mobile-friendly web quizzes allow for independent assessment of progress made in learning course material.
- EXCLUSIVE! Access to selected full-text SAGE journal articles that have been carefully selected for each chapter. Each article supports and expands on the concepts presented in the chapter. This feature also provides questions to focus and guide student interpretation. Combine cutting-edge academic journal scholarship with the topics in your course for a robust classroom experience.
- Carefully selected, web-based video resources feature relevant interviews, lectures, personal stories, inquiries, and other content for use in independent or classroom-based explorations of key topics.
- Web exercises and meaningful web links facilitate student use of internet resources, further exploration of topics, and responses to critical thinking questions.

Chapter Guide

This volume is organized into four thematic units, each consisting of several chapters. Two appendixes and a glossary are included after the substantive chapters.

Part I. Terrorism: A Conceptual Review

The first section of the book is a comprehensive discussion of definitions of terrorism and the root causes of violent political extremism. Readers develop comprehensive, contextual, and critical skills for defining terrorism and for understanding the many causes of terrorist behavior.

Chapter 1. Terrorism: First Impressions

The introductory chapter presents an introduction to modern terrorism and extremism. This chapter begins with an overview of basic concepts that are developed in later chapters. It continues with a discussion of conceptual considerations of terrorist violence such as the significance of symbolism and the just war doctrine. The discussion also explores historical perspectives and criminal skill.

Chapter 2. The Nature of the Beast: Defining Terrorism

The definitional discussion in this chapter investigates the reasons underlying why certain groups, movements, and individuals are labeled as terrorists or freedom fighters. The characteristics of extremism are defined and investigated in this chapter. Terrorism is discussed at length by sampling official definitions, reviewing the American context, and summarizing several types of terrorism. Readers are introduced to several perspectives of terrorism that are relevant for definitional discussions.

Chapter 3. Beginnings: The Causes of Terrorism

This chapter helps readers become familiar with central factors in the personal and group histories of individuals and groups who become associated with terrorism. The motives of extremists and several explanations of terrorism are explored, including sociological, psychological, and criminological explanations and acts of political will. The morality of political violence is also discussed. An important discussion probes the degree to which a fresh generation of new terrorists is being forged in reaction to how the post–September 11, 2001, war on terrorism has been conducted by the West and its allies.

Part II. The Terrorists

[Part II](#) educates readers about the many manifestations of terrorism by developing skills to critically assess and understand historical and modern examples of political violence. In particular, state- and dissident-initiated terrorism are discussed, compared, and contrasted. Readers also develop the facility to distinguish religious, ideological, and international terrorism, and the emerging environments of gender-selective and criminal dissident terrorism.

Chapter 4. Terror From Above: Terrorism by the State

This chapter investigates state-initiated repression and terror. A state terrorism paradigm is offered to explain state sponsorship of terrorism. A detailed discussion explores terrorism as foreign policy and terrorism as domestic policy. Important examples of state terrorism include the deployment of death squads in Latin America and “cleansing” campaigns ordered by repressive regimes.

Chapter 5. Terror From Below: Terrorism by Dissidents

This chapter critically evaluates terrorism emanating from dissident movements. A dissident terrorism paradigm is offered to explore the different typologies of dissident terrorism, and dissident terror in the era of the New Terrorism is investigated. The discussion includes the problems of antistate dissident terrorism and communal terrorism. Important examples of dissident terrorism include the modern use of child soldiers by extremists and Chechen terrorism against Russia.

Chapter 6. Violence in the Name of the Faith: Religious Terrorism

In this chapter, the historical and modern origins and quality of religious terrorism are evaluated. The purpose of this presentation is to engender critical discussion on the subject of religious terrorism and to develop a contextual perspective on the modern era of religious terrorism. Because religious terrorism has become so prominent in the modern era, it is instructive for readers to investigate the different manifestations of religious violence and to understand the contexts of regional case studies.

Chapter 7. Violent Ideologies: Terrorism From the Left and Right

The nature of ideological political violence is investigated in this chapter, which compares and contrasts radical and reactionary ideological tendencies, identifies the causes of left-wing and right-wing terrorism, and explores the qualities of ideological violence. Because both ideological poles were inextricably intertwined during the 20th century, and adherents continue to be active in the 21st century, it is essential for readers to grasp the importance of the ideologies of class struggle, national liberation, order, and race. This chapter also discusses regional examples of ideological terrorism. Unlike the other chapters, this chapter presents two Discussion Boxes, one each for the left and the right.

Chapter 8. Terrorist Spillovers: International Terrorism

This chapter logically concludes the presentation of common terrorist environments prior to the discussion of emerging environments. In this chapter, recent and historical examples of international terrorism are discussed. Our analysis of this subject defines what is meant by *international terrorism* and explores the reasons for terrorist spillovers. The phenomenon of international terrorist networks is discussed, as is the concept of stateless revolutionaries. In this regard, readers evaluate newly emerging threats from movements and networks that have adapted and advanced the Al-Qa'ida example as a prototypical model.

Chapter 9. Emerging Terrorist Environments: Gender-Selective Political Violence and Criminal Dissident Terrorism

This chapter incorporates two examples of emerging terrorist environments. The purpose of this chapter is to stimulate critical thinking among readers on the questions of gender-selective political violence and the nexus between criminal enterprises and terrorist violence. The discussion of gender-selective terrorist violence begins with an overview of political violence specifically targeted against women and men. This introduction orients readers to an emerging recognition that many terrorist environments direct their violence specifically against enemy women or men. The

discussion investigates gender-selective state-sponsored and dissident-sponsored terrorism. The section on criminal dissident terrorism distinguishes political violence conducted by traditional criminal enterprises from that of violent criminal-political enterprises and discusses regional case studies of criminal dissident terrorism.

Part III. The Terrorist Trade and Counterterrorism

[Part III](#) discusses the “nuts and bolts” of the terrorist trade, including the informational war that is waged between adversaries and the role of the mass media. Readers explore how the applications of the concepts of propaganda by deed and armed propaganda have historically been common features of extremist violence. With the availability of high-yield weaponry in the arsenals of terrorists and the globalization of information, it is important for readers to grasp the significance of the terrorist trade in the modern world. Readers also investigate the case of terrorism in the United States.

Chapter 10. Tools of the Trade: Tactics and Targets of Terrorists

This chapter investigates the methodology of terrorism. Terrorist objectives, methods, and targets are analyzed at length, as is the question of whether terrorism is “effective.” Recent data and examples identify new challenges in the new era of terrorism, including examples of the use of the Internet and social networking media to post incidents and communiqués, and the plausible threat from cyberterrorism.

Chapter 11. The Information Battleground: Terrorist Violence and the Role of the Media

The centrality of the media and mass communications in the modern era of political violence is investigated and evaluated. The chapter first discusses the nature of mass communications and reporting in the context of terrorist environments. An investigation is made of the war of manipulation for favorable media coverage. In particular, readers assess the manipulation of information technologies and the media by modern terrorists, including the utility of extremist manipulation of social networking media. The chapter also presents a discussion of the efficacy of regulating the media.

Chapter 12. The American Case: Terrorism in the United States

This chapter presents an overview of terrorism in postwar America. It probes the background of political violence from the left and right and

presents a detailed discussion of leftist and rightist terrorism in the United States. The chapter also evaluates international terrorism and prospects for violence emanating from modern extremists on the left and right and from religious extremism.

Part IV. Securing the Homeland

[Part IV](#) presents studies of counterterrorism and the concept of homeland security. Readers investigate counterterrorist options and the homeland security environment from both theoretical and organizational perspectives. Projections for political violence in the future are also explored.

Chapter 13. Counterterrorism: The Options

This chapter explores counterterrorist options and security measures. Several categories of responses are assessed: the use of force, repressive operations other than war, conciliatory operations other than war, and legalistic responses. Contemporary controversies are explored, such as the status and treatment of captured suspects.

Chapter 14. A New Era: Homeland Security

This chapter explores the concept of homeland security in Europe and the United States. Readers are challenged to critically assess options, trends, and other factors that shape the homeland security bureaucracy. The missions of agencies are explained and assessed. The role of intelligence agencies is assessed in the context of homeland security. The case of the United States is explored in the contexts of the reorganization of homeland security bureaucracies and the legal foundations for counterterrorist policies. Civil liberties controversies stemming from the application of homeland security laws and policies are presented and discussed. The final discussion examines achieving security when liberal democracies are beset by threats to national security.

Chapter 15. What Next? The Future of Terrorism

Readers are challenged to critically assess trends and other factors that can be used to project the near future of terrorism. In particular, this chapter presents theoretical models for evaluating terrorist environments and applying these models to project and evaluate emerging trends. Fresh discussions and data are offered for assessing the near future of ideological terrorism, religious terrorism, international terrorism, gender-selective political violence, and criminal dissident terrorism. A theoretical model is offered for assessing the decline and ending of terrorist campaigns.

Part 1 Terrorism A Conceptual Review



The Pentagon on the morning of September 11, 2001.

Tech. Sgt. Cedric H. Rudisill/Department of Defense/MCT via Getty Images

Chapter 1 TerrorismFirst Impressions

Opening Viewpoint: The Ideology of Al-Qa'ida

Prior to his death in May 2011, **Osama bin Laden** established Al-Qa'ida as an international network that came to symbolize the globalization of terrorism in the 21st century. The network is perceived by many to represent a quintessential model for small groups of like-minded revolutionaries who wish to wage transnational insurgencies against strong adversaries. Although Al-Qa'ida certainly exists as a loose network of relatively independent cells, it has also evolved into an idea—an ideology and a fighting strategy—that has been embraced by sympathetic revolutionaries throughout the world. What is the ideology of Al-Qa'ida? Why did a network of religious revolutionaries evolve into a potent symbol of global resistance against its enemies? Which underlying commonalities appeal to motivated Islamist activists?

Al-Qa'ida leaders such as the late bin Laden and his successor as leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, consistently released public pronouncements of their goals, often by delivering audio and video communiqués to international news agencies such as Al Jazeera in Qatar. They also became quite adept at using Internet outlets and social networking technologies as communications resources. Based on these communiqués, the following principles frame the ideology of Al-Qa'ida:

- The struggle is a clash of civilizations. Holy war is a religious duty and necessary for the salvation of one's soul and the defense of the Muslim nation.
- Only two sides exist, and there is no middle ground in this apocalyptic conflict between Islam and the forces of evil. Western and Muslim nations that do not share Al-Qa'ida's vision of true Islam are enemies.
- Violence in a defensive war on behalf of Islam is the only course of action. There cannot be peace with the West.
- Because this is a just war, many of the theological and legal restrictions on the use of force by Muslims do not apply.

- Because U.S. and Western power is based on their economies, mounting large-scale mass casualty attacks that focus on economic targets is a primary goal.
- Islamic governments that cooperate with the West and do not adopt strict Islamic law are apostasies and must be violently overthrown.
- Israel is an illegitimate nation and must be destroyed.

These principles have become a rallying ideology for Islamist extremists who have few, if any, ties to Al-Qa'ida. Thus, the war on terrorism is not solely a conflict against established organizations but is also a conflict against an entrenched belief system.

Note

a. Adapted from U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Counterterrorism and Countering Violent Extremism. *Country Reports on Terrorism 2016*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 2017.

Terrorism has been a dark feature of human behavior since the dawn of recorded history. Great leaders have been assassinated, groups and individuals have committed acts of incredible violence, and entire cities and nations have been put to the sword—all in the name of defending a greater good. Terrorism, however defined, has always challenged the stability of societies and the peace of mind of everyday people. In the modern era, the impact of terrorism—that is, its ability to terrorize—is not limited to the specific locales or regions where the terrorists strike. In the age of television, the Internet, satellite communications, and global news coverage, graphic images of terrorist incidents are broadcast instantaneously into the homes of hundreds of millions of people. Terrorist groups understand the power of these images, and they manipulate them to their advantage as much as they can. Terrorist states also fully appreciate the power of instantaneous information, so they try to control the “spin” on reports of their behavior. In many respects, the 21st century is an era of globalized terrorism.

Some acts of political violence are clearly acts of terrorism. Most people would agree that politically motivated planting of bombs in marketplaces, massacres of enemy civilians, and the routine use of torture by governments are terrorist acts. As we begin our study of terrorism, we will encounter

many definitional gray areas. Depending on which side of the ideological, racial, religious, or national fence one sits on, political violence can be interpreted either as an act of unmitigated terrorist barbarity or as freedom fighting and national liberation. These gray areas will be explored in the chapters that follow.

September 11, 2001: The Dawn of a New Era.

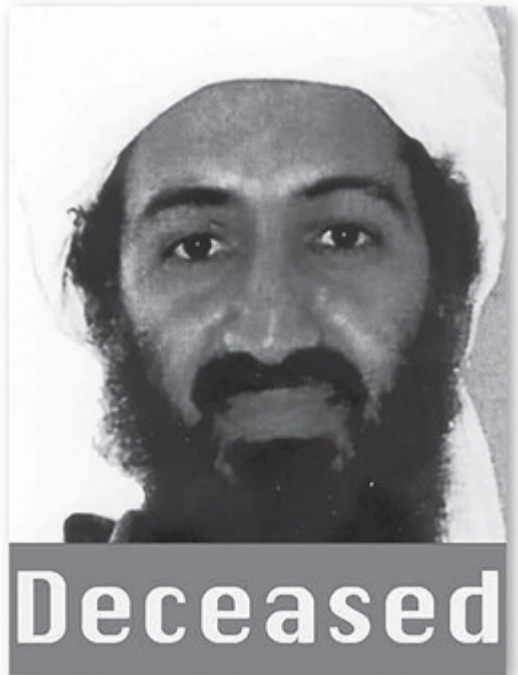
The death of Al-Qa'ida leader Osama bin Laden in May 2011 occurred prior to the 10th commemoration of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the U.S. homeland. The attacks were seen by many as a turning point in the history of political violence. In the aftermath of these attacks, journalists, scholars, and national leaders repeatedly described the emergence of a new international terrorist environment. It was argued that within this new environment, terrorists were now quite capable of using—and very willing to use—weapons of mass destruction to inflict unprecedented casualties and destruction on enemy targets. Terrorist movements also became quite adept at using social networking technologies and the Internet to recruit and inspire individuals to carry out mass-casualty attacks against “soft” civilian targets. These attacks seemed to confirm warnings from experts during the 1990s that a New Terrorism,¹ using “asymmetrical” methods, would characterize the terrorist environment in the new millennium.² (Asymmetrical warfare is discussed further in [Chapters 8](#) and [10](#).)

Several questions about this new environment have arisen:

- How has the new terrorist environment affected traditional terrorist profiles?
- How has traditional terrorism been affected by the collapse of revolutionary Marxism?
- What is the likely impact of “stateless” international terrorism?

Readers will notice that these questions focus on terrorist *groups* and *movements*. However, it is very important to understand that terrorist *states* were responsible for untold millions of deaths during the 20th century. In addition, genocidal fighting between *communal groups* claimed the lives of many millions more. Our exploration of terrorism, therefore, requires us to consider every facet of political violence, from low-intensity campaigns by terrorist gangs to high-intensity campaigns by terrorist governments and genocidal paramilitaries.

Photo 1.1 Osama bin Laden. From the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation most-wanted terrorists website. Bin Laden was killed during a raid by a U.S. naval special forces unit in Abbottabad, Pakistan, on May 2, 2011.



U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation

This chapter is a general introduction to the subject of terrorism. It is an overview—a first glance—of basic concepts that will be developed in later discussions. The following themes are introduced here and will be explored in much greater detail in subsequent chapters:

- First Considerations
- Conceptual Considerations: Understanding Political Violence
- The Past as Prologue: Historical Perspectives on Terrorism
- Terrorism and Criminal Skill: Three Cases From the Modern Era

First Considerations

At the outset, readers must develop a basic understanding of several issues underlying the study of terrorism. These issues are ongoing topics of research and debate among scholars, government officials, the media, and social activists, and all of them will be explored in detail in later chapters.

The discussion here introduces the following:

- An Overview of Extremism and Terrorism
- Terrorism at First Glance
- Sources of Extremism and Terrorism

An Overview of Extremism and Terrorism

Extremism is a quality that is “radical in opinion, especially in political matters; ultra; advanced.”³ It is characterized by intolerance toward opposing interests and divergent opinions, and it is the primary catalyst and motivation for terrorist behavior. Extremists who cross the line to become terrorists always develop noble arguments to rationalize and justify acts of violence directed against enemy nations, people, religions, or other interests.

Extremism is a radical expression of one’s political values. Both the *content* of one’s beliefs and the *style* in which one expresses those beliefs are basic elements for defining extremism. Laird Wilcox summed up this quality as follows:

Extremism is more an issue of style than of content. . . . Most people can hold radical or unorthodox views and still entertain them in a more or less reasonable, rational, and nondogmatic manner. On the other hand, I have met people whose views are fairly close to the political mainstream but were presented in a shrill, uncompromising, bullying, and distinctly authoritarian manner.⁴

Thus, a fundamental definitional issue for extremism is *how* one expresses an idea, in addition to the question of *which* belief one acts upon. Both elements—style and content—are important for our investigation of fringe beliefs and terrorist behavior.

Extremism is a precursor to terrorism—it is an overarching belief system terrorists use to justify their violent behavior. Extremism is characterized by what a person’s beliefs are as well as how a person expresses his or her beliefs. Thus, no matter how offensive or reprehensible one’s thoughts or words are, they are not by themselves acts of terrorism. Only those who violently act out their extremist beliefs are terrorists.

Terrorism would not, from a layperson’s point of view, seem to be a difficult concept to define. Most people likely hold an instinctive understanding that terrorism is

- politically motivated violence,
- usually directed against **soft targets** (i.e., civilian and administrative government targets), and
- with an intention to affect (terrorize) a target audience.

This instinctive understanding would also hold that terrorism is a criminal, unfair, or otherwise illegitimate use of force. Laypersons might presume that this is an easily understood concept, but defining terrorism is *not* such a simple process. Experts have for some time grappled with designing (and agreeing on) clear definitions of terrorism; the issue has, in fact, been at the center of an ongoing debate. The result of this debate is a remarkable variety of approaches and definitions. Walter Laqueur noted that “more than a hundred definitions have been offered,” including several of his own.⁵ Even within the U.S. government, different agencies apply several definitions. These definitional problems are explored further in the [next chapter](#).

Terrorism at First Glance

The modern era of terrorism is primarily (though not exclusively) a conflict between adversaries who on one side are waging a self-described war on terrorism and on the other side are waging a self-described holy war in defense of their religion. It is an active confrontation, as evidenced by the fact that the incidence of significant terrorist attacks often spikes to serious levels. For example, the number of terrorist incidents worldwide has annually been documented as consistently robust, as reported by the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Counterterrorism and Countering Violent Extremism:⁶

- 11,023 in 2005
- 14,443 in 2006
- 14,415 in 2007
- 11,663 in 2008
- 10,968 in 2009
- 11,641 in 2010
- 10,283 in 2011
- 6,771 in 2012
- 9,707 in 2013
- 13,463 in 2014
- 11,774 in 2015
- 11,072 in 2016

Photo 1.2 Hijacked United Airlines Flight 175 from Boston crashes into the south tower of the World Trade Center and explodes at 9:03 a.m. on September 11, 2001, in New York City.



Spencer Platt/Getty Images News/Getty Images

Although such trends are disturbing, it is critical for one to keep these facts in perspective because the modern terrorist environment is in no manner a unique circumstance in human history.

It will become clear in the following pages that the history of terrorist behavior extends into antiquity and that common themes and concepts span the ages. State terrorism, dissident terrorism, and other types of political violence are found in all periods of human civilization. It will also become clear to readers that many common *justifications*—rooted in basic beliefs—have been used to rationalize terrorist violence throughout history. For example, the following concepts hold true regardless of the contexts of history, culture, or region:

- Those who practice revolutionary violence and state repression always claim to champion noble causes and values.
- Policies that advocate extreme violence always cite righteous goals to justify their behavior, such as the need to defend a religious faith or defend the human rights of a people.
- The perpetrators of violent acts uniformly maintain that they are freedom fighters (in the case of revolutionaries) or the champions of law and social order (in the case of governments).

Sources of Extremism and Terrorism

The underlying causes of terrorism have also been the subject of extensive discussion, debate, and research. This is perhaps because the study of the

sources of terrorism spans many disciplines—including sociology, psychology, criminology, and political science. The causes of terrorism will be explored in detail in [Chapter 3](#). For now, a general model will serve as a starting point for developing our understanding of which factors lead to terrorist violence. To begin, we must understand that “political violence, including terrorism, has systemic origins that can be ameliorated. Social and economic pressures, frustrated political aspirations, and in a more proximate sense, the personal experiences of terrorists and their relations, all contribute to the terrorist reservoir.”⁷

Nehemia Friedland designed “a convenient framework for the analysis of the antecedents of political terrorism,” outlined as follows: “First, terrorism is a group phenomenon . . . perpetrated by organized groups whose members have a clear group identity—national, religious or ideological. . . . Second, political terrorism has its roots in intergroup conflict. . . . Third, ‘insurgent terrorism,’ unlike ‘state terrorism,’ . . . is a ‘strategy of the weak.’”⁸

One should appreciate that these issues continue to be a source of intensive debate. Nevertheless, working definitions have been adopted as a matter of logical necessity. Let us presume for now that terrorist acts are grounded in extremist beliefs that arise from group identity, intergroup conflict, and a chosen strategy.⁹

Conceptual Considerations: Understanding Political Violence

The term *terrorism* has acquired a decidedly pejorative meaning in the modern era, so that few if any states or groups who espouse political violence ever refer to themselves as terrorists. Nevertheless, these same states and groups can be unabashedly extremist in their beliefs or violent in their behavior. They often invoke—and manipulate—images of a malevolent threat or unjust conditions to justify their actions. The question is whether these justifications are morally satisfactory (and thereby validate extremist violence) or whether terrorism is inherently wrong.

The Significance of Symbolism

Symbolism is a central feature of terrorism. Most terrorist targets at some level symbolize the righteousness of the terrorists’ cause and the evil of the opponent they are fighting. Symbolism can be used to rationalize acts of

extreme violence and can be manipulated to fit any number of targets into the category of an enemy interest. Terrorists are also very mindful of their image and skillfully conduct public relations and propaganda campaigns to “package” themselves. Modern terrorists and their supporters have become quite adept at crafting symbolic meaning from acts of violence.

Symbolism can create abstract ideological linkages between terrorists and their victims. This process was seen during the wave of kidnappings by Latin American leftists during the 1970s, when terrorists seized civilian business executives and diplomats who the kidnappers said symbolized capitalism and exploitation. Symbolic targets can also represent enemy social or political establishments, as in the Irish Republican Army’s (IRA’s) assassination of Lord Louis Mountbatten (the uncle of Prince Philip Mountbatten, husband of Queen Elizabeth II) in 1979 and the IRA’s attempted assassination of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1984. In some cases, entire groups of people can be symbolically labeled and slaughtered, as during the genocides of the Nazi Holocaust (pseudo-racial), in the killing fields of Cambodia (social and political), in Rwanda (ethnic and social), and in the Darfur region of Sudan (racial).

Political Violence: *Mala Prohibita* or *Mala in Se*?

It is helpful to use two concepts from the field of criminal justice administration. In criminal law, the terms *mala prohibita* and *mala in se*¹⁰ are applied to behaviors that society defines as deviant acts. They represent concepts that are very useful for the study of terrorism.

- ***Mala prohibita*** acts are “crimes that are made illegal by legislation.”¹¹ These acts are illegal because society has declared them to be wrong; they are not inherently immoral, wicked, or evil. Examples include laws prohibiting gambling and prostitution, which are considered to be moral prohibitions against socially unacceptable behaviors rather than prohibitions of fundamental evils.
- ***Mala in se*** acts are crimes “that are immoral or wrong in themselves.”¹² These acts cannot be justified in civilized society, and they have no acceptable qualities. For example, premeditated murder and rape are *mala in se* crimes. They will never be legalized.

Are terrorist methods fundamentally evil? Perhaps so, because terrorism commonly evokes images of maximum violence against innocent victims carried out in the name of a higher cause. However, is terrorist violence