Jeremy R. Spindlove | Clifford E. Simonsen

SIXTH EDITION

Terrorism Today

The Past, The Players, The Future

Pearson

Sixth Edition

TERRORISM TODAY

THE PAST, THE PLAYERS, THE FUTURE

Jeremy R. Spindlove

Clifford E. Simonsen

330 Hudson Street, NY, NY 10013

—This edition is dedicated to Evan in the hope that you will grow up in a safer and kinder world

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PREFACE

When we first contemplated a text on terrorism in its very broad scope, very little of that focus was on the United States. Texts on terrorism are not new, and prior to 9-11 they focused quite naturally on left- and right-wing groups and paramilitaries in Europe, Asia, and South America. The concept of terrorism includes such a wide range of activities that the most difficult task was how to make a text short enough to be effective for instructors, casual readers, and students, but long enough that it adequately covers an acceptable depth into this discipline. The rapidly changing world we now inhabit has become preoccupied with terrorism and the threats posed to our daily lives, and we admit that, at times, it seemed like we were trying to paint a moving bus—the players, organizations, and operations often changed faster than the speed at which we could write the words, and this continues to be the case!

We are grateful to those professors who have used and reviewed our previous texts and made valuable suggestions for additional material and information as well as correcting factual errors.

"What is terrorism?" As you read this book, it will become apparent that most terrorism actions are committed by groups of fanatics, some religious some not, dissidents and lone wolves, often with conflicting goals and little interface; but that has changed with the use of the Internet to spread global jihad. Many of these groups are continuing their plans to upset security and safety in Western democracies. We hope that the knowledge we have assembled in this book will stimulate students and others to seek out ways to offer better safety and security to all persons worldwide.

Your authors have attempted to provide a clear overview of many of the sectors and operations that comprise the broad terms *terrorism* and *counterterrorism.* We explore some specific subjects and locations in greater depth than others, reduce redundancy, and cover as many differences and similarities as possible. We present this edition with the belief that any learning experience should be enjoyable as well as educational. We offer instructors a text that we have organized and written with the goal of making teaching and the learning experience as interesting and effective as possible. We cover the essentials of the subject and include a large array of pedagogical tools in each chapter.

Security is an ancient need for humans—a basic rung on the ladder of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The twenty-first century dawned and we awoke to a decade of unspeakable terrorist atrocities—attacks in New York, London, Washington, Madrid, Stockholm, and Bali, to name but a few. The second decade has proved to be no less deadly than the first with lone wolf attacks and commando style attacks in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the United States. Terrorism remains an elusive term to define; and we have presented an array of material to include opinion and theories on terrorist events.

THE TRADITION CONTINUES

The methodology for textbook development, which we have used successfully in the past, continues to be the foundation and cornerstone for this edition of *Terrorism Today.* We have built on the comments of readers, instructors, and students to the book's previous editions:

- An engaging writing style, resulting in a book that is highly readable and effective as an informational, teaching, and learning tool.
- A balanced treatment of practical examples, technology, history, and data from available documents and academic research.
- A systems approach to exploring the varied elements of terrorism, terrorists, and the various motives for terrorist groups as a potentially integrated and interrelated series of subsystems.
- An unbiased presentation of a wide range of topics, making for a text suitable for instructors and students from many disciplines and points of view.
- In-chapter and end-of-chapter materials that augment the textual materials with examples of events, persons, stories, terms to remember, maps, graphs, and photographic illustrations.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

Comprehensively updated to keep pace with today's fast-moving world of terrorism:

- **Up-to-date Terror Attack Briefs** detail specific attack incidents and provide examples of terror attack methodology by specific groups.
- **New statistical charts and information** on suicide attacks help students appreciate that the scale of terror attacks has not diminished with a War on Terror.
  - Data catalogued by the University of Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism provides insight on the value placed by the terrorist and the effectiveness of this method of attack.
  - For example, Figure 2.1 charts the number of terrorist attacks in 2015 and which countries had the most attacks, and Chapter 10 presents suicide attacks by location, year, target type, religion and weapon.
- **A new Chapter 16, "Risk Management, Incident Management, and Business Continuity Management,"** helps prepare students for the real world of terrorism and shows how to take a proactive approach to security and risk mitigation in the business, organization, or operation where they will work.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT

This edition has again been divided into three major parts and sixteen chapters that build from historical backgrounds to predictions about terrorism in the twenty-first century. The addition of the sixteenth chapter discusses the practicality of risk management in a security environment and how to build an effective program that also addresses incident management and business continuity management. Each chapter begins with a set of Learning Outcomes, which should be accomplished after completion of the text. Information on specific terror events of note is included in the body of the text to illustrate and frame each chapter. Extensive endnotes, placed at the end of each chapter, provide helpful content and applicability to the subject matter. These should be considered as important as the textual materials themselves for presentation and study. The materials we have selected come from what we hope are the best and most currently available sources in the field. We presented them in their original form, or blended them into our own writing to minimize confusion.

Part One: The Definitions and History of Terrorism

Part One offers a historical look at terrorism's origins. Learning about the types of terror and their history will provide the student/reader with the background necessary to understand the evolution of terrorism in the present and into the future.

CHAPTER 1: IN SEARCH OF A DEFINITION FOR TERRORISM Chapter 1 presents some basic definitions for terminology used throughout the following chapters. The information will allow the student to understand and differentiate between terrorist acts and ordinary criminal acts. The chapter presents defining issues, operational terms, useful typologies, as well as forms and tactics of terrorism in today's troubled world. Terrorism as criminal behavior and its use as a method for change are detailed. Such acts as ambush, assassination, arson, bombing, hijacking, hostage taking, kidnapping, blackmail, and protection are included. The initiation and development of the Patriot Act are covered in detail.

CHAPTER 2: A BRIEF HISTORY OF TERRORISM Chapter 2 describes an act of violence as a logical progression, but one that can take place in microseconds within a single individual. Violence perpetrated for ideological reasons and for a systematically organized cause or complaint is shown to be much different. Chapter 2 also explores the motives and methods employed by individual terrorists or groups and state sponsors with some perceived agenda as compared to the motives of a state for suppressing dissent and revolution. The student/reader is introduced to the concept of state-sponsored terrorism, a concept that supports terrorist groups and individual terrorists with weapons, money, and supplies to achieve a government's goals. Discussions range from the Crusades to the continuing frictions between major religions around the world today. Islam, jihad, media, and social media involvement in terrorism are broadly reviewed.

Part Two: Terrorism Around the World

Part Two brings the reader to terrorist events—both left-and right-wing—of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. We examine the right-wing factions in various countries and regions, their similarities and differences, and their goals and objectives. We also look at the left-wing factions in various countries and regions, using a similar methodology, and we contrast the two. Part Two covers regions and nations in the investigation of terrorism, its many different forms and factions, and their interrelationships.

CHAPTER 3: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA We examine the events leading up to 9-11 and the so-called intelligence "dots" that were never connected to prevent that cataclysmic event. We examine what has happened since 9-11 in the U.S. War on Terror. We examine and analyze "homegrown" terrorism in the United States to see how it compares with terrorism in other parts of the world. The United States is no longer free from the violent terrorist actions that have been plaguing the rest of the world. Defending the Homeland, the Patriot Act coupled with rendition tactics and how Americans are being radicalized will also be discussed.

CHAPTER 4: CANADA AND THE CARIBBEAN We now examine the problems of immigration, illegal aliens and refugees, and the threat posed not just to Canada but also to the United States. Canada has for several decades expounded on its program of "multiculturalism," and this chapter reviews how Canada became a haven for fund-raising activities for terror groups including the Tamil Tigers and Sikh extremists. Canada suffered one of the worst terrorist attacks prior to 9-11, namely the downing of Air India Flight 182 in the Irish Sea, and this chapter examines that case in detail.

CHAPTER 5: GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND Sectarian violence and terrorism associated with a long-enduring fight typifies Northern Ireland for much of the last century, and we examine the background to the "Irish Problem" and bring the reader up to date with examples of friction and terrorism on both sides of the issues; "the Troubles," as they have been termed, lasted for more than forty years and have only now reached the final, almost peaceful chapter. This chapter provides a model for examining other terror spots of the world. It shows similarities and differences in the use of terrorism in meeting political or religious goals. Ireland and mainland Britain have been embroiled in terrorism for more than four decades. Here, we examine the current political processes and the methods employed to reach a solution to the violence. We discuss the concerns of security forces and the export of terror knowledge to other international terror groups. The rise of Islamic extremism and suicide attacks by young British-born men on the London transport system and lone wolf attacks by jihadists are also discussed.

CHAPTER 6: WESTERN EUROPE Chapter 6 examines terrorism, past and present, in Western Europe. The rise and fall of the ETA movement is tracked and draws comparisons with Ireland's Republican terrorist movement. We look at the turbulent history of Spain—from the inquisition to the fascist reign of terror under Franco, to the many terrorist activities in Spain, especially those involving the Basque separatists and Islamic extremists. In the twenty-first century, Europe is the target for international terror cells plotting and planning mayhem in other regions as well as their adopted homelands. Europe is witnessing the arrival of and threats from homegrown terrorism with commando style attacks in Paris and Brussels as western Europe struggles to contain the threats posed by refugees and migrants from the conflicts raging in Syria and Iraq.

CHAPTER 7: EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS Chapter 7 recounts the sad history of the multiracial, multireligious region formerly known as Yugoslavia, from the partisan terrorism and German terrorism in World War II to the divided state that has seen constant interracial and interreligious fighting since its breakup. Terrorism and even genocide will be the main weapons in these battles for ethnic purity. We discuss the tensions between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz and the presence of Islamic radicals that will try and dictate outcome following decades of cultural repression under the Soviet boot. We examine the Russians and their long history of national terrorism to keep the populace under control, from the Czars, to the Soviet Union, and Stalin's murder of

50 million of his countrymen. The role of the ICTY in bringing war criminals who have committed crimes against humanity to justice is also reviewed.

CHAPTER 8: NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST Chapter 8 examines this most complex region of the world, where terrorism is a way of life in both local and international conflicts. We realize that all of the conflicts are similar in this region and terror is the primary weapon used by all sides. From the Ottoman Empire to the creation of the State of Israel to an Arab Spring, and the bloodshed that is Syria; the region has been subjected to wars, internal battles involving nationhood, religion and ethnic conflicts that have seen methods of terrorism, and the creation of terror groups that have spread throughout the world.

CHAPTER 9: THE PERSIAN GULF Chapter 9 explores the Persian Gulf states, an area rich with oil and gas deposits and also the presence of diverging religious beliefs of Islam. We discuss the persecution of the Kurds in Iraq, the use of oil revenue to sponsor worldwide terrorism, and the threat of the use of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons stirring the pot of terrorism in this area. The second Gulf War, the fall of Saddam Hussein, the U.S. military presence, and the rise of Islamic State have had a destabilizing effect on the entire region

CHAPTER 10: NORTHEAST, CENTRAL, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA Chapter 10 examines the Dark Continent, from the long struggle for freedom from apartheid in South Africa to a quite different struggle in Robert Mugabe's dictatorship in Zimbabwe. We explore the genocide in the Congo, Uganda, and Rwanda and tribalism that divides most of these regions. We examine the presence of al Qaeda and groups pledging allegiance to Islamic State in Kenya and the atrocities of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

CHAPTER 11: SOUTHERN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA Chapter 11 looks at past and present terrorism in southern and southeast Asia. India has a long history of terrorism; also, it possesses nuclear weapons. Following independence, India has had to combat attacks from religious factions and rebel causes. Pakistan and India maintain a tense relationship, with sporadic border violence bringing both countries to the brink of all-out war. The 2008 attack by extremists in Mumbai is also reviewed as having relevance for destabilizing the region. We re-examine Afghanistan, the first battlefield of the post-9-11 War on Terror. This chapter covers a long, ongoing war suffered by Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) with the Tamil Tigers and their eventual surrender. From the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia to the guerrilla fighters in the jungles of Malaysia and Indonesia, terrorism has seemed to find a long-term home in Southeast Asia.

CHAPTER 12: THE PACIFIC RIM Chapter 12 explores the countries of the Pacific Rim. We examine China, which has moved past its terror-filled period following the ascension of Communism. Terror as a philosophy can be traced back through Chinese history as a viable means to control that vast nation. From the fighters against the government at the turn of the twentieth century to World War II and the Japanese occupation and to the terrorist tactics of the Marcos regime, the history of the Philippines has also shown that terror can be a useful tool in controlling a large, scattered, and very poor country. We explore the "successful" deployment of a weapon of mass destruction (WMD) by a Japanese cult/terror group, which stands as an example of the threat such weapons pose to the West in the twenty-first century. Indonesia with its vast Muslim population has encountered Islamic extremism with links to both al Qaeda and Islamic State.

CHAPTER 13: LATIN AMERICA AND SOUTH AMERICA Chapter 13 discusses Latin America's struggles with terrorism. The so-called banana republics have long suffered from dictators who used terrorism against their people as well as rebels who used terrorism against governments. We examine major conflicts in terms of past history and present status and the roles of Mexico and Cuba in these struggles. Mexico has a long history of terrorism and revolution. The "other America" has been rife with terrorist activities for a long time, from The Shining Path of Peru to the "disappeared" in Brazil and Argentina. We discuss the drug cartels in Colombia that have led to political upheavals. The violence and danger of this region, as well as suppressive Latin American governments, invite terrorist organizations to emerge.

Part Three: The War on Terror

Part Three discusses the varying efforts of nations around the world to detect or defeat terrorism, to find other ways to deal with it, and to manage the threats of terrorism in the post 9-11 era. We will examine what the future of terrorism might be.

CHAPTER 14: COUNTERING TERRORISM Chapter 14 examines the world of counterterrorism—both politically and operationally. We determine which methods are effective and which have failed. These range from national paramilitary groups to local activities by regular citizens. We study in detail the importance of intelligence gathering, the cycle of intelligence, and the proper uses of intelligence against terrorism. The threats to aviation from acts of terror, along with maritime piracy, are discussed. The chapter examines worldwide counterterrorist groups and strategies, from the Delta Force in the United States, Delta 88 in Indonesia and to the Mossad in Israel, to the Special Air Service in the United Kingdom, and many other highly organized and effective groups both police and military. We discuss the strategies of the United Nations and regional governments and their successes and failures. The threats posed by chemical and biological agents have to be considered as the world prepares for the unexpected and the possibility of attack with WMDs.

CHAPTER 15: THE FUTURE—WHAT NEXT FOR TERRORISM? Chapter 15, as in the words of Pogo Possum, "*predicting stuff is difficult, especially if it's in the future"*. In looking forward we have to look back, and looking back at the last half-century we can possibly get a better understanding of terrorism and the future trends in terrorist activity. We will also look at the methods that we will need to employ to deter future terror actions wherever they might spring from.

CHAPTER 16: RISK MANAGEMENT, INCIDENT MANAGEMENT, AND BUSINESS CONTINUITY MANAGEMENT Chapter 16 gives students some insight and information on risk management principles and how to conduct a risk assessment. We live in a world of uncertainty which means we need to be capable of assessing risk and threats, and determining what needs to be done in mitigation. How will your business or organization function in the event of disaster—here we take a look at the models for Business Continuity and how to manage and train for incident management.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Jeremy R. Spindlove retired from his position as Director of Safety and Business Continuity Management North America for DHL Supply Chain in May 2015, a global leader in supply chain management. Based in Vancouver, Canada, his responsibilities extended throughout Canada and the United States. He is now a principal in LLA Technologies Inc., a company developing state-of-the-art mesh networked security and life safety systems deployable in almost any environment. He has had firsthand experience in terrorism—first, through his service in the Surrey Constabulary (the United Kingdom) as a first responder on the scene in 1974 when a Provisional Irish Republican Army cell detonated two bombs, one in the Horse and Groom and the second in the Seven Stars pub in Guildford, which killed six and wounded more than sixty. Jeremy went on to be recruited by British Airways as an overseas security officer to supervise air terminal security operations for the airline in Baghdad, Iraq, for two years; in Amman, Jordan, for three months; and in Beirut, Lebanon, for six months. He traveled globally throughout the network conducting airport risk assessments for BA. On his return to the UK, Jeremy set up a fraud investigation unit, tracking and intercepting illegal immigrants transiting the UK en route to North America on forged passports and travel documents. He has been assigned to security duties escorting H.M. Queen Elizabeth to the Far East in 1987 and to Rome in 1988. Jeremy immigrated to Canada in 1988 and holds dual Canadian/British citizenship. He has held critical security leadership positions as Manager of Security and then Director of Airport Security at Vancouver International Airport. He is a qualified Passenger Screening Instructor and, during his airport tenure in 1994, served on a Canadian Advisory Board reviewing airport and aviation security regulations. In 1996, he moved to the Tibbett and Britten Group North America as Manager and, later, Director of Loss Prevention, Health and Safety for Western Canada and the United States, advancing to a senior position with broader responsibilities. Jeremy Spindlove was presented the Royal Humane Society Award by Britain's Queen Elizabeth in 1976 for his courage in saving a woman's life. He is a longtime member of ASIS International and the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences and the coauthor of the five successful previous editions of *Terrorism Today: The Past, The Players, The Future*. He is a frequent guest commentator on airport security and terrorism for Canada's Global News Network. He has also authored a contributory text on victims of terrorism entitled *Victimology—A Study of Crime Victims and Their Roles*, edited by Judith M. Scarzi and Jack McDevitt.

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His honors and awards include two Meritorious Service Awards, U.S. Army; Legion of Merit, U.S. Army; Korean National Police Medal of Merit, Korean government; Outstanding Service International Association of Halfway Houses; Outstanding Achievement as a Scholar, Washington State Council on Crime and Delinquency; Fellow of the International Institute for Security and Safety Management, IISSM, New Delhi, India.

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PART ONE

The Definitions and History of Terrorism

1

In Search of a Definition for Terrorism

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Summarize the historical roots of the term terrorism and the difficulty of arriving at an all-encompassing definition.
2. List some of the approaches to defining terrorism.
3. Analyze the structures of terrorist groups and their possible common qualities.
4. Apply the FBI construct to a prominent terror event.
5. Compare and contrast the existing definitions as detailed in this chapter.

KEY WORDS TO NOTE

Assassination—The targeted killing of an important person for political or ideological reasons

Hague Conventions—International treaties first negotiated at The Hague in the Netherlands pronouncing formal statements on the laws of war

Islamic Sharia—Islamic law that influences legal process and codes in most Muslim countries

Jihad—Islamic term used to describe a holy war against religious or political oppression

Prescribed—To establish rules, laws, and direction

Proscribed—To outlaw and ban terror organizations

Water Boarding—A form of water torture where a captive is restrained and water poured over a cloth on the face forcing a gagging reflex—has the sensation of being drowned

VBIED—Vehicle-borne improvised explosive device

OVERVIEW

Terrorism constitutes one of the most serious threats to global security. Universal acceptance of a definition that fits every terrorist event and meets every country's political need, as well as that of the United Nations, has not been achieved. Terrorism has been around for centuries. Since 2001, when hijackers flew commercial airliners into New York's World Trade Center Towers and the Pentagon in Washington, DC, and the subsequent attacks in London, Madrid, and Mumbai, the fear of terrorism has spawned a global response led primarily by the United States and strongly supported by Great Britain. This became the now-familiar "War on Terror," a phrase coined by then U.S. President George W. Bush in the aftermath of 9-11. With the prospect of the next attack taking place in Chicago, Delhi, Singapore, or Melbourne, the specter of a feared but unknown doom has required the expenditure of huge sums of money to protect us from the threat of dangerous, threatening fanatics we call, for lack of a better title, "terrorists." The prospect of more attacks has become an everyday reality to Western nations. This threat has forced airlines and the aviation industry to make drastic changes in their methods for securing thousands of flights each day as well as the hardening of terminal facilities and operations. The Internet and other media

streams respond and immediately inform and frighten the public about terrorist acts from around the globe. We also need to realize that there is no globally accepted definition of terrorism.

This chapter examines and asks several key questions: Just who is this larger-than-life monster that we call a "terrorist?" What are terrorist acts? Can we protect ourselves against them? How do we define "terrorism"? Combs, discussing this problem, says, "Terrorism is a political as well as a legal and military issue; its precise definition in modern terms has been slow to evolve. Not that there are not numerous definitions available—there are hundreds! But few of them are of sufficient legal scholarship to be useful in international law, and most of those which are legally useful lack the necessary ambiguity for any political acceptance."[1] The 9-11 attacks provided a wake-up call for the U.S. government, which quickly passed the USA Patriot Act of 2001.

We now begin the exercise of trying to define "terrorism" and/or "terrorist behavior." The terms must be carefully constructed so that they project the precise meanings intended. A terrorist incident is any violent act that can become a broader threat as the purpose and intention for such action becomes clearly known, and the act is clearly of a criminal nature. What it is (and is not) called hinges on finding a commonly understood meaning for the term "terrorism." This chapter will lay a foundation for the reader/student to use throughout the rest of this text.

To better understand these concepts, we must explore some historical context and the specific rules that society has developed over time to define the use of criminal and antisocial acts to meet political or social goals. Behavior in social groups, whether they are for primitive tribes or complex modern nation-states, can be regarded as points on a simple continuum.

Changes in Behavioral Definitions

In even the most primitive societies, certain acts or groups of acts have been universally forbidden, discouraged, or **proscribed**. Such acts include murder, rape, kidnapping, incest, and treason (or some form of rebellion affecting the entire social group's safety and the leadership's authority). By contrast, most societies have encouraged, sponsored, or **prescribed** behaviors such as marrying, having children, hunting, growing food, and other actions that clearly benefit the group's or tribe's common social welfare and survival.

Terrorism will inevitably fall into the range of behaviors that are not only a violation of laws but also a violation of politics and practices (mores) of a social group or tribal organization. Often the violation of codified law requires that a person must call a public safety officer to make an investigation or an arrest. All of these behaviors are related to the ways that social groups or subcultures chose to respond to transgressions that violate their mutually agreed standards. What is considered right or wrong has been shown capable of being placed on a behavior continuum from prescribed to proscribed (see Figure 1-1). The balance point of the behavioral continuum is not constant and

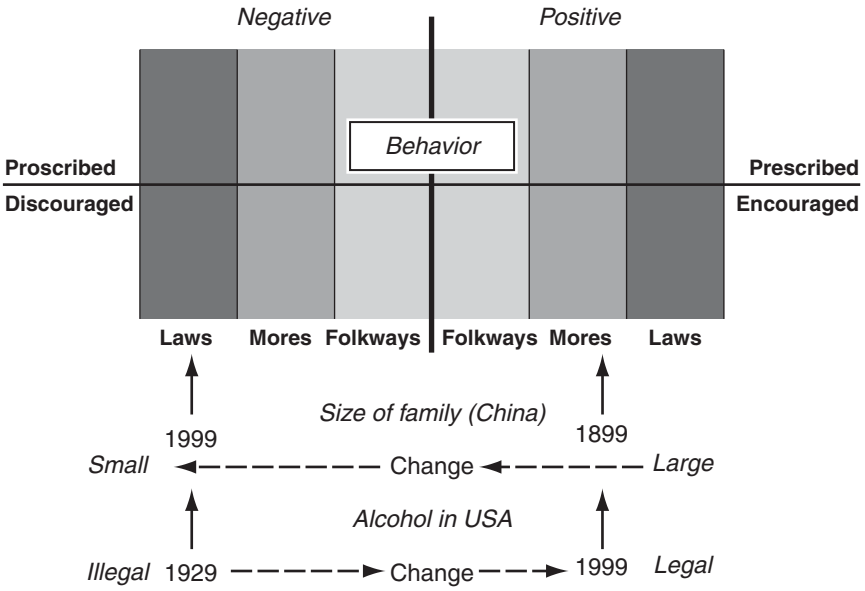

FIGURE 1-1 The continuum of behavior. *Courtesy:* C. Simonsen.

often changes over time, at different times, and in different societies. The values of the society as a whole are continuously subjected to challenges that test the limits of taste and acceptance. A clear example is the widespread growth of the Internet and social media in the twenty-first century.

TERRORISM: SEARCHING FOR A DEFINITION

It is perhaps too easy to use terms such as "terror," "terrorism," and "terrorist" for acts and persons that shock the senses of most reasonable people. The Reign of Terror, which took place in France from 1792 to 1794, is generally accepted by most as the first event to be commonly called "terrorism." During the French Revolution, those who resisted the dictums of the revolutionaries faced arrest, imprisonment, and death by the guillotine. Most convictions were made without the benefit of trials or legal due process. The revolutionary groups went to extreme lengths to eliminate every possible threat, eventually seeking out those with even moderate-to-mild opposition to their cause. Those who considered themselves to be possible targets of the revolutionaries finally decided to adopt countermeasures for their self-preservation. On July 27, 1794, members of the Jacobin dissenters murdered Robespierre and his council of supporters. The Reign of Terror, in which over 400,000 "suspects" (including children and women) had been imprisoned, hanged, or beheaded, finally came to an end. But the seminal concepts of terror tactics as a part of a political strategy grew directly out of this bloody episode. From a devastating beginning, terrorism and terrorist acts became defined as "the systematic application of violence to establish and maintain a new political or religious system." Such a definition may be difficult to use today, primarily because it fails to separate terrorism from other acts of aggression that use terror as only a small component, not the primary objective, of such behavior. For example, terror in conventional warfare between nation-states is a natural by-product of the violence and confusion of combat. Military objectives and tactics are usually chosen in order to effect the quickest elimination of an enemy's force, its morale, and its will to fight through the destruction or disruption of its command, control, communication, and support and supply networks. Victory is decided by force of numbers, skill at arms, weapon superiority, strategy and tactics, or a combination thereof. Terror is not intended to be a primary factor or function in such military actions.

Trained soldiers or citizens frightened into surrender or compliance but not physically injured are the most logical and realistic targets of terrorism; other casualties are easily classified according to the way they were injured or killed. Rosie offers a tentative definition of terrorism for our consideration: "The use and/or threat of repeated violence in support of, or in opposition to, some authority, where violence is employed to induce the fear of similar attack in as many non-immediate victims as possible so that those so threatened accept and comply with the demands of the terrorists."[2]

Within this awkward definition, we can perhaps work out a methodology for describing the variety of behaviors springing from terrorists acting from a wide range of motives. This definition remains neutral with regard to the great variety of traits that characterize particular groups. It can be applied to political terrorism, revolutionary terrorism, state terrorism, religious terrorism, insurgencies, and all the many other variations. It eliminates the need for suggesting a particular type of motivation as part of the definition of terrorism and creates a temptation to infer that terrorism has to be politically motivated.

Is the twenty-first-century assassin the quintessential suicide bomber? The suicide bomber regardless of gender calculates his or her acts to induce extreme fear in a wider populous, hoping to have a major impact on a far larger population than those likely to be injured by the acts themselves. The perpetrators would most likely believe that these drastic means could and would coerce a wider group into abandoning a political or military agenda that lies at the root of the terrorists' actions. This definition also excludes acts of violence in which the terror component is incidental, or secondary, to a primary objective. The death of the owner operator of a major oil company may be the primary goal of environmental extremists who wish to silence him or his leadership. Or, more likely, the owner could be about to influence legislation that is clearly in opposition to the environmental extremist group's goals. In this situation, the fear generated by the killing is of secondary importance to the actual silencing of that individual. This act should probably be more accurately labeled as "murder" or "assassination," rather than as "terrorism." If the extremist group that killed this leader were also to issue a statement of demands, however, and threaten that more such industrialists and even private citizens would be attacked if the group's demands were not met, then it would be more accurate to refer to the group's actions as "terrorism."

Labeling persons or groups as terrorists does not preclude also categorizing those same persons or groups as "guerrillas," "ideologues," or "revolutionaries." An example could go as follows: "A grocery store owner, who plays baseball on weekends, might be sometimes referred to as a 'baseball player.' But he has not, however, stopped being a grocer." Members of the IRA (Irish Republican Army), PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), or ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) may be revered as freedom fighters by their subgroups of the local political system. But, to others they clearly continue to be seen as "terrorists." Without some recourse to established definitional parameters, these kinds of labels are just a matter of value judgment. If the person making the judgment does not agree with the objectives of the group using such methods to gain some goal, they will be called (with very few exceptions) terrorists. The group thus categorized immediately denies this, of course, and calls itself a National Liberation Army, or a "Workers Army," or some similar identifying term. The conclusion is that a terrorist group invariably has no legitimacy and therefore its goals have no validity. The label of "terrorist" then becomes a catchall term of derision and, thus, obscures whatever legitimate complaints the group may have had. In order to understand the phenomenon of terrorism, one must always assess the divergent views of what precisely constitutes terrorism and then ask, "What is the current definition in use?" Reaching a general consensus on a universal definition of terrorism has generated many debates in the social sciences. No single definition seems to satisfy every terrorist or act of terrorism, and there is no "one-size-fits-all" for terrorist/terrorism situations.

Terrorism is clearly a very special type of violence. It is a tactic used in many situations—peace, conflict, and even war. The threat of terrorism can be ever-present, and an attack, such as the one on the World Trade Center in 2001, can occur when least expected. The 9-11 attacks were the kind of events that almost always force a transition from peaceful coexistence to conflict—or war. As an example of a terrorist act, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914 led to the outbreak of World War I in Europe.

Combating terrorism is a factor that must be considered in all military plans and operations. Combating terrorism requires a continuous state of intelligence gathering and awareness, and should be a constant practice, rather than a particular type of military operation. Terrorism is also a criminal offense under nearly every national and international legal code. With few exceptions, acts of terrorism are forbidden in war—just as they are in times of peace.[3]

SOME APPROACHES TO DEFINING TERRORISM

The following diverse definitions are also used to describe terrorism:

Simple: Violence or threatened violence intended to produce fear or cause change.

Legal: Criminal violence violating legal codes and punishable by the state.

Analytical: A specific political and/or social factor behind individual violent acts.

State sponsored: National or other groups used to attack Western or other vested interests.

State: Power of the government used to repress its people to the point of submission.[4]

In his book *Political Terrorism* (1983), Alex Schmid surveyed 100 scholars and experts in the field and asked for their definition of terrorism. This analysis found two constant characteristics:

1. An individual is being threatened.
2. The terrorist act's meaning is derived from the choice of target and victims. Schmid's analysis concluded that the following elements are common throughout the 100 definitions surveyed:
   - Terrorism is an abstract concept with no real essence.
   - A single definition cannot account for all the possible uses of the term.
   - Many different definitions often share common elements.
   - The meaning of terrorism derives from the victims or targets.[5]

Schmid also provided the following from his research of those 100 definitions:

> Terrorism is an anxiety inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reason, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main target.

The perpetrators of terrorism may truly believe that their cause is altruistic and that it serves for the betterment of society. In Bruce Hoffman's (1998) *Inside Terrorism*, he states that

the terrorist is fundamentally a violent intellectual who is prepared to use and, indeed, is committed to using force in the attainment of perceived goals.

Hoffman also adds that by distinguishing terrorists from other types, such as thugs or common criminals, we come to appreciate that terrorism is

- primarily political in aims and motives;
- violent or—equally important—threatens violence;
- designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions, beyond the immediate victim or target;
- conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structures (whose members wear no uniform or identifying insignia); and
- perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity.[6]

Can we accept that "terrorism" is simply a means to an end—nothing more and nothing less? Can we apply the term to an event without the inclusion of moral beliefs and sociological–political mumbo jumbo? The operatives of the PLO are clearly terrorists. But that fact alone does not mean that their aims and objectives are not without some validity. Provisional IRA members might be described as "freedom fighters"; even if they do not accept the label of terrorist, they would almost always be labeled so by those whom their actions affect, be they the general public, government, or specific individuals. Militant groups, particularly those like the Irish terror groups and Spain's ETA, whose *modus operandi* includes bombings in public places and targeted assassinations, are universally condemned and labeled terrorists.

It is often easier for one to perceive a long-established, freely elected (even dictatorial, religious, or royalist) regime as "legitimate" than it is to accept that a handful of individuals with views significantly different from the majority might deserve the same classification. This holds true if the individuals use methods that provoke moral indignation against a sanctioned, "legitimate" target, such as the government. When an indiscriminate "enemy" label is applied to those not actually supportive of a dissenting aggressor's objective, the situation becomes far more disturbing, even more so because the aggressors frequently use violence as a means to their ends. Wearing no uniforms, they employ weapons that may not need to be personally fired or activated (e.g., letter bombs, improvised explosive devices (IEDs), vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices (**VBIEDs**), and time bombs). Likewise, unknown aggressors kill unknown victims for reasons that are seldom made clear until after the attack.

There will always be "bottom-line" considerations, of course, even when the targets are considered "acceptable enemies" in the eyes of many. Violence against the former Soviet-backed regimes, for example, finds more favor among Western observers, even when such strikes could be clearly defined as terrorist actions. But if the nature of the assault transgresses certain unwritten, but widely accepted, boundaries of decency or fair play, then condemnation is more likely to be applied. The downing of a Russian helicopter gunship by Chechen rebels is more likely to be interpreted (except by supporters of the Russians) as acceptable, than would be the downing of a civilian airliner by the PLO. The deliberate slaughter of armed soldiers in an ambush is more easily accepted than is the slaughter of small children. In descending order, "fair game" for terrorists or dissenters might be depicted as follows:

- Military personnel
- Government officials
- Civilians unconnected in any way with the continuance of the policy against which the terrorist is fighting

This same attenuated sample list might constitute the basis of a target selection for almost any military offensive. However, a terrorist group would consider the following order to be more appropriate for maximum impact:

- Civilians unconnected in any way with the continuance of the policy against which the group is fighting
- Government officials
- Military personnel

This second, seemingly illogical, order is the one that is very logical for terrorists because maximum fear can be generated by attacks against non-combatants. This prioritizing

demonstrates to the populace as a whole that the targeted regime is clearly unable to protect them. Such actions are generally a far safer technique—for the terrorist group—than trying to prove that the regime cannot protect itself. Terror groups will choose to cause outrage and revulsion in their target audience in order to maintain the required level of terror, fear, and anger against government agencies. You should now have a clearer basis for understanding that while strategies incorporating acts of terrorism in the past centuries have changed in delivery and methods, the primary aims of terrorist acts have always remained generally constant:

- To bring attention to perceived grievances or causes by some act or acts.
- To use media coverage of such acts in order to get the widest possible dissemination of their message.
- To contain reaction by the public at large through fear and intimidation.
- To coerce change and destabilize opponents through the threat of further and continued use of such acts until the grievances or causes are recognized and acted upon.

Over a quarter of a century ago, Jenkins argued that "terrorism is theatre; therefore, terrorists do not want a lot of people dead … they want a lot of people watching and listening."[7] In recent years, that rationale has significantly diminished with the advent of Islamist terror attacks. This watching and listening has been used over the centuries—from a few villagers who stood by while terrorists acted out or gave their speeches up to today's instant and live worldwide television coverage by all of the major networks of the vilest acts, piped directly into millions of homes. It is seldom that one hears much about the barbarous acts committed in Third World countries, such as Rwanda, Congo, Zimbabwe, Burma, and Sudan, on the evening news in other than a quick sound bite. But let a few armed attackers take over a commercial airliner from a developed country, with 150–300 or so paying passengers, and the media flocks to stand by and listen to the demands of the terrorists and broadcast them around the globe.

Following the London subway suicide attacks, the British government sought to define terrorism as it might apply to the current threat and attack scenarios. At the time, the existing legislation, the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1989, which had been formulated to deal with Irish nationalist terrorism, defined terrorism as "the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear." As it is written, this is obviously a very broad definition of terrorism and excludes violence for religious ends or for a non-political ideological end. Subsequently, the Terrorism Act 2000 was developed to remedy the defects of the 1989 definition. In the United States, the Homeland Security Act of 2002 defines terrorism as "any activity that involves an act that is dangerous to human life or potentially destructive of critical infrastructure or key resources; and is a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State or other subdivision of the United States and appears to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping."

Another current UK definition for terrorism can be found in the Reinsurance (Acts of Terrorism) Act 1993, section 2(2), which states: "In this section 'acts of terrorism' means acts of persons acting on behalf of, or in conjunction with, any organization which carries out activities directed towards the overthrowing or influencing, by force or violence, of Her Majesty's government in the United Kingdom or any other government de jure or de facto."

This chapter just begins our study of the topic "terrorism" and examines the difficulty in deciding just what that term really means. Author George Rosie further highlights this difficulty as follows:

> Terrorism is a complex, multifaceted, and often baffling subject. The organizations involved have a way of emerging, splintering, disappearing and then reappearing, which makes it very difficult for the average person to follow. Individuals come and go, are jailed, die, go underground, or apparently vanish. Counter terror bureaucracies are formed then reformed, names are changed, and leaders are shuffled around, like deck chairs on the Titanic, as they are promoted, demoted, forced to resign, or put out to pasture. Incidents proliferate across the world, some of which can trigger a chain of events that will destabilize a whole region and bring nations and governments to the edge of ruin. At the same time, major terrorist actions can shock for a short while, and then be quickly forgotten

> (except by those who were directly affected by the inevitable tragedy). Treaties are written, theories propounded, grievances aired, tactics discussed, occasionally to some effect, but usually not. Causes are picked up by the world's media, examined, probed, and then all too soon often overlooked, until the next explosion occurs, or the next airliner is hijacked.[8]

We now continue our examination of what terrorism is (and what it is not) with a few more commonly used definitions. Acts of terrorism conjure emotional responses in the victims (those hurt by the violence and affected by the fear) as well as in the practitioners. Even the U.S. government cannot agree on one, single definition. Following are a few more common definitions of terrorism:

- Terrorism is the use or threatened use of force designed to bring about political change—Brian Jenkins.
- Terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted—Walter Laqueur.
- Terrorism is the premeditated, deliberate, systematic murder, mayhem, and threatening of the innocent to create fear and intimidation in order to gain a political or tactical advantage, usually to influence an audience—James M. Poland.
- Terrorism is the unlawful use or threat of violence against persons or property to further political or social objectives. It is usually intended to intimidate or coerce a government, individuals, or groups, or to modify their behavior or politics—U.S. Vice President's Task Force, 1986.
- Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives—FBI definition.
- Terrorism is the calculated use of violence or the threat of violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological—Department of Defense definition.[9]

THE FBI CONSTRUCT

The FBI seems to have developed a very useful construct of what is to be considered terrorism in the United States. This issue concerns foreign power–sponsored or foreign power–coordinated activities that

1. Involve violent acts that are dangerous to human life and a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or any state, or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States, or any state.
2. Appear to be intended to
   - intimidate or coerce a civilian population;
   - influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; and
   - affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping.
3. Occur totally outside of the United States, or transcend national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished, the persons they appear intended to coerce or intimidate, or the locale in which their perpetrators operate or seek to find asylum.

Investigating acts of terrorism overseas includes interviewing victims, collecting forensic evidence, and apprehending terrorist fugitives. The FBI coordinates all overseas investigations with the U.S. Department of State and the host foreign government.[10]

THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE (DOD) CONSTRUCTS

Christopher G. Essig stated at the United Nations, quoting from his paper *Terrorism: Is It a Criminal Act or an Act of War?*:

> This is discussed in depth at the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, and its implications for National Security in the twenty-first century, but there is no single determination for classifying all acts of terrorism, neither as acts of war, nor criminal acts. In light of a predicted terrorist threat significant enough to threaten the survival of the nation (catastrophic terror), this determination is less a legal or academic exercise and more practically

one based on how such a determination governs this situation (law enforcement or national security?) to respond to the threat. More important is how that response protects our nation's interests and our status in the world community. Catastrophic terror makes relying solely on a law enforcement response a dangerous option. Yet, reflecting on the changing strategic environment, an act of war determination, in a classical legal sense, is equally impractical. A new determination, carrying the same weight as an act of war must be developed and accepted, domestically and internationally, to provide legal response options offering greater latitude to law enforcement and national security forces. This latitude will provide the means to better meet threats to national security in the twenty-first century.

Terrorism, as further defined by the DOD, is usually considered to be calculated, and the selection of a target preplanned and rational. The perpetrators know the effect they seek. Terrorist violence is considered to be neither spontaneous nor random. Terrorism is intended to produce fear in someone other than the victim. In a layperson's terms, "Terrorism is a psychological act conducted primarily for its impact on a specific audience." In the decade since 9-11, the Islamist threat has hardened against Western democracies as well as secular Middle East regimes. Many believe that the 9-11 attacks and the subsequent invasions of both Iraq and Afghanistan were exactly what the Islamists hoped to achieve. For the Islamists, the presence of foreign troops in the Middle East gives them the excuse they so dearly need to extend, prolong, and widen their **jihad** to global proportions.

The DOD definition also addresses goals. Terrorism may be motivated by political, religious, or ideological objectives. In one sense, terrorist goals are invariably political—extremists are driven by religious or ideological beliefs and usually seek political power to compel the general society to conform to their views. The objectives of terrorism distinguish it from other violent acts aimed at personal gain, such as criminal violence. However, the definition permits including violence by organized crime when it also seeks to influence government policy. Some drug cartels and other international criminal organizations engage in political action when their activities influence governmental functioning. As noted previously, the essence of terrorism is the intent to inculcate fear into persons other than its direct victims in order to make a government or other audience finally change its political behavior.

Terrorism is common practice in insurgencies, but insurgents are not necessarily terrorists; especially if they comply with the rules of war and do not engage in forms of violence that could be clearly identified as terrorist acts, then they should probably not be termed as "terrorists." Insurgents can be defined as those who rebel against leadership and authority and could well be termed as "rebels" or "rebellious." Insurgents may resort to tactics that are by their very act considered acts of terrorism. The terms "terrorist" and "terrorism" are so widely used by politicians and commentators alike that being able to discern who is a terrorist and how to define the term becomes markedly complex. Terrorists are rarely inhibited with their attacks and actions, convincing themselves their actions are justified by an even higher law or principle. Their single-minded dedication to a goal, however poorly it may be articulated, renders legal sanctions ineffective. By contrast, war is subject to the rules of international law and of course the terrorists recognize no rules. No person, place, or object of value is immune from terrorist attack; there are no innocents.

The U.S. Department of State

Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism—Section 2656f(a) of Title 22 of the U.S. Code states as follows:

The term "international terrorism" means terrorism involving citizens of the territory of more than one country.

- The term "terrorism" means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents.
- The term "terrorist group" means any group practicing, or which has significant subgroups which practice, international terrorism.

INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION OF KEY TERMS The terms "international terrorism," "terrorism," and "terrorist group" have the definitions assigned to them in 22 U.S.C. 2656f(d) (see above). The term "non-combatant," which is referred to but not defined in 22 U.S.C. 2656f(d)(2),