Terrorism, Intelligence, and Homeland Security
To the one person in this world that greets me every morning with a smile, is my constant and steady companion during the day, and keeps me warm at night ... my wife, Mary. With love and affection always.

Bob

My wife is the light that helps sustain me with her faith, compassion, caring, wisdom, and quick wit. Our journey through this life is an adventure. Paige, for these and so many other reasons, this book is lovingly dedicated to you.

Mike
Terrorism, Intelligence, and Homeland Security

Second Edition

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Terrorism—Intelligence—Homeland Security are three subjects that often dominate today’s news events. No other issues are so prominent, so compelling, or so critically important to our communities and our nation than these three separate but interconnected topics. Nothing is more contemporary.

We are still dealing with the lingering effects of the attacks on September 11, 2001, an event that clearly changed our world forever. On that day, our security weaknesses were exploited, our vulnerability was exposed, and our fear became real. Approaching two decades after 9/11, we continue working to improve the security of our homeland from attack, whether these attacks are from aircraft hijackings, the use of biological agents, or more sophisticated cyber attempts to infiltrate crucial infrastructures. In this effort, we have sent special operations troops to quell threats and train countries in responding to terrorism. These countries include Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, Algeria, Somalia, Albania, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, and the Philippines. More broadly, during 2017, special operations troops were active in 138 countries.

We have expanded our intelligence-gathering and analysis capabilities to filter even our largest social media sites. We have also developed entirely new departments of government to protect us, and to respond to emergencies whether they be caused by man-made terrorist events or natural disasters. Billions of dollars have been spent in this effort to make us safer. More important, our zeal to be safer and more secure has tested the limits of our government and the basic democratic values of “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” that underscore our country. Nothing is more important.

Hence, the decision to write this book was an easy one, inasmuch as we had previously collaborated for years on other coauthored books (Criminal Investigation and Police Administration: Structures: Processes, and Behavior). It was also an opportunity to contribute to the discussion of some of the most important issues of our times. More important, we thought there was room for a new book. In looking at the existing works, they seemed somewhat disproportionately concentrated on historical aspects of terrorism without discussing it sufficiently in a modern context. Other volumes focused on terrorism without addressing homeland security or didn’t give enough attention to the basics, such as “How did we get here?” Although interesting, edited volumes were typically too narrow in scope.

We have written a book that is historical, contemporary, and exciting while also interrelating terrorism, intelligence, and homeland security. Our goal was to write a book that focused on students—one that serves as an introductory textbook to this complex set of topics. In doing that, we also produced a book that instructors will find easy to use.

This book has four elements that are of the utmost importance:

1. The book is written in a clear and concise manner, aimed at piquing student interest and learning. We stay focused on our readers, providing them with both interesting content and thought-provoking features. Embedded in the content are Information Links to Internet sites that contain extended insights on important topics. We wrote many case studies to illustrate chapter content and make it come alive; and we filled each chapter with interesting pieces of information that were directly aimed at sparking discussion. For instance, each Box ends with a compelling question, and forces students to think about and discuss critical issues presented in each chapter, while Quick Facts provide short doses of information that spark interest in the subject under discussion.

2. The book is compelling. This book is carefully researched and presents content from the latest findings in the literature. As important, interviews with key leaders in the
intelligence field, heads of departments, agents within the FBI and members of local task forces, as well as friends returning from battlefields in Iraq and Afghanistan provided keen insight into issues addressing the reality of combatting terrorism. Hence, the book represents not only a strong scholarly approach to the study of terrorism, but also incorporates the real-world experience of federal agents, police officers, and soldiers tasked with preventing the next terrorist attack on our country. In addition, the photographs in each chapter were personally selected by the authors after careful attention to detailed research. To the best of our knowledge, none of these images have previously been used in a college textbook. The pictures command attention and are accompanied by carefully written captions that tell a story, adding value to each image.

3. The book is simultaneously historical and contemporary. We believed it was essential for readers to understand the background of people, ideas, organizations, and movements. At the same time, readers are provided with current information about new issues in the field. This approach provides readers with a unified and cutting-edge understanding of terrorism, intelligence, and homeland security and their interrelationship. For instance, readers learn not only about the Islamic State, a newly emerged terrorist organization in the Middle East, but also about the historical factors that led to its development and how the international community is responding to this new international threat.

4. The book is well organized and has unique chapters. The book is divided into four separate parts. Part One provides a solid framework in which to understand terrorism. Because some significant threats originate in the Middle East, we provide strong chapters that explain the geography, history, culture, and religion of this complex area. We give significant time to understanding the complexities of Islam and the rise of radicalization in chapters that are well written and easy to read. Part Two focuses on terrorist groups, their organization, and their critical processes. These are important foundational chapters that provide unique interdisciplinary discussions on terrorist structures and strategies such as recruitment and retention of members, lone wolf strategies, and suicide bombing attacks. We provide strong chapters that differentiate among state-involved terrorism, single-issue terrorism, separatist or nationalist movements, and terrorism from the left and right wings. In Part Three, we discuss America’s vulnerabilities to terrorism and present the governmental agencies that are tasked with preventing terrorism. We discuss the intelligence community and the myriad Constitutional issues that have sparked controversy in our country through the USA PATRIOT Act (e.g., clandestine spying on U.S. citizens, the use of drones, “enhanced” interrogation techniques and the abuse or torture of prisoners, and use of the military in preventing terrorism domestically). In every case, we tried to provide a balanced approach to understanding the issues that we face as a nation, providing security from real threats while still safeguarding civil and personal liberties. And finally, in Part Four, we define the forces that combat terrorism on a daily basis. In a one-of-a-kind chapter, we focus on those agencies that have anti-terrorism or counterterrorism as part of their primary missions. Again, the emphasis here is on clarity and the provision of pinpoint information in an easy-to-read format.

New to the Second Edition

- The design has been updated with a number of enhanced learner experiences to include new box items, Quick Facts, key terms, web links, chapter review questions, and critical thinking exercises.
- New interactive videos, point-counterpoint videos, and reader-based survey questions via interactive learning environment software that accompany the second edition highlight new student learning methodologies.
- Numerous additions have been made throughout the book to reflect significant changes in the Middle East and other geographic areas where terrorism has been a continual issue and problem.
• An expanded and updated introduction to Chapter 1 sets the tone for the entire book, with a special focus on the War in Syria and the emergence of the Islamic State.
• New Quick Facts on the decline of al-Qaeda and the rise of the Islamic State highlight Chapter 3.
• Chapter 4 reveals a new and focused section on the Islamic State today.
• Chapter 5 has new and updated material on the Lone Wolf Organizational Model and carnage resulting from such attacks in recent years.
• New box items on Islamic State recruiting videos via the Internet, and training of IS fighters highlights the new additions in Chapter 6.
• Better understanding the philosophical, ideological goals and meteoric rise of a worldwide caliphate presented by the Islamic State marks an interesting new section in Chapter 7.
• New material on the emergences of the Hammerskin Nation, the rise of the Neo-Nazi movement in the United States, a discussion of new incidents involving Sovereign Citizen groups, and a new right wing alliance are reflected in Chapter 8.
• Two new box items discussing the impact of the election of President Donald Trump on the intelligence community, and the new potential for cyberterrorism present by the Islamic State highlight Chapter 9.
• Chapter 12 provides new discussion on the organization of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the five core mission of DHS, and the impact of the Quadrennial Homeland Security Review.
• Introduction of the THIRA Model (Threat and Hazard Identification and Risk Assessment) and the Recovery Continuum marks new material on emergency management in Chapter 13.
• A completely new introduction on national security policy and strategies, expanded discussion on the role of the military in both antiterrorism and counterterrorism missions, and the introduction of hostage and crisis negotiations as a tool to managed critical terrorist incidents spotlight new additions to Chapter 14.
• Chapter 15 highlights include updated material on the START Study, a new Quick Facts on terrorism data in the United States, two new box items focusing on the media, social media, fake news, and terrorism, and a focused discussion on recent low-tech, unsophisticated terrorist attacks aimed at mass carnage in the international and domestic communities.

Organization

This section is not a table of contents, but rather an informative dialogue highlighting each chapter of the book.

We did not write a comprehensive history of terrorism chapter, although the first and second chapters have an overview of some of its milestones. It seemed more useful to write shorter history sections in the context of the content of chapters, linking the past and the present together to bring meaning to contemporary issues. This second edition has many new and updated sections, photographs, informational links, box items, quick facts, and case histories. A number of learning objectives and related features have been rewritten to reflect these changes.

Chapter 1: Defining, Conceptualizing, and Understanding Terrorism

This chapter introduces the subject of terrorism and some of the topics and issues that are explored in more detail in later chapters. In the introduction section, reasons why it is important or perhaps essential to understand terrorism are identified, for example, challenges such as the emerging tactic of system disruption and Black Swan events that are so different they will be difficult to predict, but will impact us nonetheless.
There was terrorism before we had a name for it. To this day scholars, governments, and international organizations, such as the United Nations, struggle to find a common definition of terrorism. One barrier to understanding terrorism is the surplus of competing and conflicting definitions. The chapter also addresses how our individual and cultural perspectives affect how we think about terrorism and create barriers to understanding it. The chapter concludes by contrasting war and war crimes, irregular war, and terrorism.

Chapter 2: Political Ideology and the Historical Roots of Terrorism

Chapter 2 is a foundational chapter for the entire book. It represents a significant work on the historical development of terrorist ideology. The chapter begins with a discussion of political ideology as the general belief system on which society is based and the mechanisms people undertake to achieve this perspective. Terrorism has a direct effect on the social structure of society. People depend on a framework of informal and formal rules that foster mutual respect and trust. Terrorism substitutes this trust with insecurity and fear. Essentially, terrorism attacks the very bases of social order, culture, and government. Chapter 2 explores the political and social theory that motivates certain groups—from the genesis of revolutionary ideology and terror to contemporary hate crime and radical Islamic movements. We start with the historic left-wing ideologies of socialism and communism as expressed by Karl Marx, Fredrick Engels, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and Vladimir Lenin in Europe and Russia at the end of the 19th century and trace ideological ties to more contemporary perspectives of revolution in South America and the Middle East as expressed by Che Guevara, Carlos Marighella, and Sayyid Qutb. A focus on the development of Latin American leftist groups like FARC and ELN in Colombia, the Tupamaros in Uruguay, and Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) in Peru brings our discussion to the concept of a “guerilla war” as part of a revolutionary strategy in some cases, and as terrorism in others. We also explore the development of the “new left” in Europe during the 1960s, including the Red Brigades, the Red Army Faction (also known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang), the Revolutionary Cells, and its feminist-leaning auxiliary group, the Red Zora, bringing us full circle from the inception of left-wing, political revolutionary thought to more contemporary anti-imperialist and anticolonial ideology.

The final part of this chapter focuses on the historical roots of terrorism in the Middle East, from early anticolonial ideology and the mandate system developed at the end of World War I to the establishment of Israel and the beginning of the Palestinian Resistance movement. The chapter sets up Chapter 3 by exploring the early tenets of oil, politics, and radical Islam in the modern era.

Chapter 3: Understanding the Middle East and Islam

This book has five sets of chapters that are so closely intertwined we think of them as “twin chapters.” Chapters 3 and 4 are the first set of the “twins.” In Chapter 3, we start with the assertion that knowing some history of the Middle East, a few laws, and a handful of definitions is not sufficient grounding to assert one has a grasp on the Middle East and Islam. The chapter provides a basic understanding of Islam, but there is more to be learned. To fully understand the Middle East, you must also fully understand Islam. Illustratively, some critics maintain that the “problem” with Islam is that it has never undergone a reformation, as has Christianity. The Muslim view is there has never been a need for it. In their view, the Archangel Gabriel revealed the Word of God to Muhammad and he, in turn, faithfully recorded it. While ideological change in Islam has not been an historical issue, certainly leadership after the death of the Prophet has been. Understanding the emergence of two Muslim traditions, Sunni and Shi’a, provides a basis for comprehending not only the historical differences between these two groups, but also sets a foundation on which to grasp more contemporary concepts of radical Islam and the Islamic State caliphate that now threaten the entire Middle East.

The vast majority of Muslims in America are good and decent people who practice their religion peacefully. Some Islamic religious leaders have twisted the meanings of Islamic
concepts. For instance, “jihad” actually refers to an individual’s struggle to overcome adversity and submit to the will of God. Jihad addresses an inner, spiritual struggle against evil, not a war against others. The twisted definition of jihad fuels hatred, violence, and grisly actions, such as the recent beheadings and executions of American journalists, English aid workers, and others by members of the Islamic State.

The concluding section of the chapter ends with an explanation of Islam’s five pillars of faith: (1) Shahada (testimony of faith); (2) Salat (prayer); (3) Zakat (giving a portion of your annual income to those in need and to support Islam); (4) Sawm (fasting); and (5) Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca).

Chapter 4: The Rise of Radical Islam

Islam is one of the world’s great religions. Like Judaism and Christianity, it is one of the three primary monotheistic religions, meaning it is a religion that believes in one all-loving and powerful God. The histories of these three great religions are inseparably intertwined. So what events took place within Islam that led to such a vast radicalization of basic principles within the religion? This chapter explores that change and focuses on the political dimension of Islamic fundamentalism. It analyzes the radicalization of Islam in both traditions, Sunni and Shia (Shiite). Much of the discussion is centered on the Arab Revolution beginning after World War I and culminating in the Arab Spring of 2010, the ideologies that form major radical movements in today’s Sunni tradition—the Wahhabi movement, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Salafi movement, and the Jihadist-Salafi movement. Each is discussed in terms of their primary philosophical leader and the contemporary evolution of the movement today as visible throughout the Middle East.

The radicalization of Sunni Islam has been an historic process, led by a number of key individuals. The chapter is laced with boxed items and commentary that provide a basic understanding of the historical complexities associated with radical Islam as proscribed by philosophical leaders such as Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Ahmed Yassin, Abdul Rahman, Usama bin Laden, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, and Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, as well as active Sunni groups, such as the Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), al-Qaeda, and the Islamic State. The latter group, the Islamic State, is given additional attention in this chapter, particularly focusing on the ruthless violence stemming from extremist interpretations of early Muslim ideology originating from Wahhabi and Salafi doctrine. Known as Takfiri Practices, or the excommunication from Islam, the radical Islamic State claims the right to label other Muslims to whom they object as “unbelievers,” justifying the violent torture and execution (beheadings, crucifixions, rape, burning, hanging, and shooting) of innocent individuals throughout the Middle East.

The final part of the chapter addresses the radicalization of the Shia (or Shiite) tradition within Islam, concentrating on the ideologies expressed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini during the Iranian Revolution of 1979. His thoughts provide the ideological foundation for today’s Islamic Republic of Iran. The other primary Shia group discussed in this chapter is that of Hezbollah, under the leadership of Hassan Nasrallah, a group active throughout the world but centered in Lebanon.

Chapter 5: Terrorist Organizations and Structures

Chapters 5 and 6 are the second set of “twin chapters” in that they are interrelated: Both focus on terrorist organizations. Chapter 5 largely deals with how these groups are arranged and Chapter 6 scrutinizes the processes with which terrorist organizations operate. Organizational theory is a tool that explains how formal organizations are structured and relate to their environment. It can be applied to such disparate entities as General Motors, the New York Times, Girl Scouts, concentration camps, Red Cross, Hamas, and the Department of Defense. In Chapter 5, organizational theory is the lens by which we examine and explain the structure of terrorist organizations. We do so without requiring readers to learn, or be conversant with, organizational theory because this book is on a different subject.
The application of organizational theory to terrorist structures can provide important information about them. It reveals how authority is distributed, how work will be accomplished, and some indication of their relative importance of leaders.

Other topics in Chapter 5 include dilemmas of terrorist organizations, types of terrorist cells, organizational structures used by terrorists (such as hierarchical, umbrella, and virtual), the selection of targets, suicide bombing attacks, and how terrorist organizations end. The literature on how terrorist organizations end does not contemplate a movement that ends in a caliphate, despite the Islamic State’s aspirations.

Chapter 6: Critical Processes of Terrorist Organizations

In this chapter we shift our analysis from how terrorist organizations are organized to essentially asking the question, “What does it take for a terrorist organization to be successful administratively and operationally?”

Like many other types of organizations, terrorists need administrative or organizational tools, which are the things they must accomplish to foster the organization’s viability. To be operationally successful terrorists must have command of these operational tools. Chapter 6 covers these topics with examples and case studies. One of the organizational tools discussed is the financing of the group, with special attention given to funding via hawalas, narcotics trafficking, and other criminal activities, sponsorships and donations, charities, and even the trading of Bitcoins.

Chapter 7: Typologies of Terrorism: State-Involved and Single or Special Issue Movements

Chapters 7 and 8 are another set of “twin chapters,” both dealing with typologies of terrorism. To avoid having one very long chapter we wrote two shorter chapters. We logically grouped movements in those chapters not by geography, but by their ideologies. Typologies logically group things, such as terrorist movements. In contrast, taxonomies create groups based on statistical analysis. We used typologies because there is insufficient data to create full taxonomies of terrorism. The history of each identified terrorist group is covered, and Chapters 7 and 8 are replete with examples and case studies to provide concrete meaning.

Chapter 7 scrutinizes four types of terrorism in which the political state is involved: state terrorism, state-enabled terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism, and state-perpetrated/international terrorism. By and large, single/special-issue terrorism is still a concern, but toward the lower end of the threat scale. “Fading” may be a reasonable description of these movements, which include the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), Earth Liberation Front (ALF), and Anti-Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO) groups, which oppose “frankenfood.”

Chapter 8: Typologies of Terrorism: The Right and Left Wings and Separatist or Nationalist Movements

A large portion of this chapter covers right-wing groups, which envision having a homogeneous “racially pure” country. All right-wing groups have in common “enemies” such as the “Zionist Occupied Government” (ZOG); illegal immigrants; people of color; and lesbians, gay, bisexual, transgender people, and those questioning their sexual identity (LGBTQ). Having a group to oppose promotes in-group solidarity, which helps to perpetuate the existence of right-wing movements (e.g., Hitler used the Jews for this purpose and the English Defence League targets Muslims). Right-wing movements in America include the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis, and the anti-federalist/Christian Patriot groups.

Left-wing groups identified globally in the chapter include Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) in Peru; the Red Army Faction (RAF) that operated mainly in Germany; but also in France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands; the Red Brigades in Italy; Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC); the Seung Fein in China; and the Weather Underground in the United States. The left wing historically has been unsuccessful in achieving its goal: replacing existing governments with ones that are based on Marxist-Leninist principles.
Separatist/nationalist movements are typically subnational groups who want a homeland. The groups often share a common culture, language, and history. Examples include the Kurdistan Workers Party, the Tamil Tigers, the Eritrean Liberation Front, and the Second Vermont Republic. Ireland’s drive to become an independent country is discussed, as are the similarities between the Anglo-Irish War and the American Revolution.

Chapter 9: Intelligence and Terrorism

Chapters 9 and 10 represent yet another set of “twins.” In Chapter 9, we define intelligence and counterintelligence and, more important, we define plaguing questions that continue to impede our ability to prevent terrorism. For instance, the final report of a Congressional Advisory Panel after 9/11, commonly known as the Gilmore Commission, identified several issues relating to the failure of the intelligence community to prevent terrorism. These included a failure to provide timely, accurate, and specific intelligence information to law enforcement, security, and military agencies, as well as an overly bureaucratic and decentralized structure (particularly within the FBI) that hindered a unified and coordinated effort between federal and local agencies to address the terrorist threat. While some of these issues continue, the intelligence community has worked hard to overcome many of these obstacles. More recent controversies involving the uneasy alliance between President Donald Trump and the intelligence community are also discussed in this chapter, with special attention given to the replacement (firing) of NSA Director Michael Flynn and FBI Director James Comey.

We address the complexity of the intelligence community in Chapter 9, defining the agencies involved in the intelligence community, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Agency (NSA), and the relatively new roles of the Office of National Intelligence and the National Counterterrorism Center. We also present an overview of other agencies within the intelligence community and explore “fusion centers,” which have become common entities at the state and local level aimed at better coordinating the intelligence efforts among all divisions of government—federal, state, tribal, county, and city.

Chapter 10: Intelligence, Terrorism, and the U.S. Constitution

In Chapter 10, we address head-on the issues that surround the use of intelligence and intelligence gathering as a tool to prevent terrorism that seem to dot our newspapers on a near weekly basis. We closely examine the USA PATRIOT Act and discuss specific incidents that question and, in some cases, answer how far our government should go to protect our citizens. Specifically, we discuss the conflicts between the PATRIOT Act, the Freedom Act, and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) and the First, Fourth, and Fifth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution as related to the practice of extraordinary rendition, “enhanced” interview techniques and torture of suspected terrorist prisoners, the use of the military to supplement civilian police in conflict to the Posse Comitatus Act, police agencies that infiltrate political and religious groups that clearly blurs the line between policing and intelligence gathering, and the use of drones as both an offensive weapon in the Middle East and as a spying tool domestically. These issues and others are discussed in light of current events and the highlighted cases involving Bradley/Chelsea Manning, WikiLeaks, and Edward Snowden.

Chapter 11: Homeland Security

Eleven days after the 9/11 attacks, Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge was appointed as the first director of the Office of Homeland Security by President George W. Bush. His job was to develop, oversee, and coordinate a new, comprehensive national strategy to safeguard the country against terrorism and respond to any future attacks. Over a year later, on November 25, 2002, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was created as a stand-alone agency, composed of 22 different preexisting federal agencies. It was the largest reorganization of the federal bureaucracy since the National Security Act of 1947. Chapter 11 provides an overview...
of the key agencies assigned to DHS, such as the U.S. Coast Guard (USCG), U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Customs and Border Protection (CBP), Transportation Security Administration (TSA), U.S. Secret Service, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). The chapter explores each agency’s role in fulfilling the core homeland security mission of preventing terrorism and enhancing the security of the United States.

**Chapter 12: America’s Vulnerability to Terrorism**

Chapters 12 and 13 represent our final set of “twin” chapters. They are slightly different from the other sets as they are not extensions of the same subject matter, but rather complements to each other. In Chapter 12, we discuss openly America’s vulnerability to terrorism. We define “critical infrastructure” and focus our work around the National Infrastructure Protection Plan (NIPP) that provides a framework in which to discuss potential target sites and give a reasonable risk assessment for each of the 16 sectors identified in NIPP. The discussion in Chapter 12 is all about “prevention” now, before an event, and providing an “all-hazard” plan that protects critical resources and human life from any kind of catastrophe, disease, or disaster regardless of causation, natural (e.g., flood, fire, hurricane, tornado, or earthquake) or man-made (e.g., terrorist strike; large cyber attack; mass shooting at a school, mall, or sporting event; or surprise attack from a foreign government). In Chapter 13, our discussion moves from prevention to response and mitigation—the effort to reduce loss of life and property by lessening the impact of such an event.

**Chapter 13: Emergency Management**

While FEMA is the key federal agency for the emergency management of a terrorist attack or natural disaster after the event, a myriad of other agencies have specific roles in responding to and recovering from a disaster. For instance, the coordination of local relief agencies, food banks, shelters, and the like fall within the FEMA management guidelines, while specific responses to public health issues from open sewage lines, biological agents, or even radiation may be more appropriately handled by another agency such as the Center for Disease Control (CDC), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), or the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC)—all of which are discussed in Chapter 13.

The chapter provides a strong historical piece on the evolution of emergency management culminating in an in-depth discussion on our current National Preparedness System. We address the possibilities of significant attack from weapons of mass destruction and CBRNE-borne weapons, and more important, the formal mechanisms of the Incident Command System that are currently in place to address such an unspeakable event—from local and state perspectives to specific federal roles. Chapters 12 and 13 discuss America’s defensive posture (i.e., planning, preventing, mitigating, and responding to a critical terrorist strike or disaster), setting up Chapter 14: Combating Terrorism.

**Chapter 14: Combating Terrorism**

There is an important distinction between anti-terrorism (AT) and counterterrorism (CT). At the risk of oversimplification, the former is largely composed of defensive actions, while the latter centers on offensive operations. Chapter 14 addresses AT and CT on the basis of a cross-section of the organizations that are executing those respective kinds of missions, although it must be noted that some of them perform both AT and CT activities. With respect to these activities, the military, federal agencies, state and local governments, and law enforcement agencies are covered. The role of the military is given substantial attention because of the array of units involved and their important contributions to America’s national security. The chapter also examines types of action that can be taken against terrorists, including raids and direct action. Military deployments are determined by national strategy, security policy, and the determination of whether they fit into the ways, ends, and means that have been established.
Chapter 15: Terrorism, Intelligence, and Homeland Security: The Future

This concluding chapter of the book ties the subject matters of terrorism, intelligence, and homeland security together and identifies recent trends in terrorist activities. Many of the past attacks in the United States have been carried out by homegrown terrorists using lone wolf terrorist tactics. These events have been mostly bombings or spree shootings using very crude and nonsophisticated weapons. Internationally, while al-Qaeda appears to be weakening and fractionalizing as a single group, radical Islamic ideology appears to be dramatically increasing throughout the Middle East and the rest of the world with the emergence of the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq. While America has been victimized repeatedly by attacks on our transportation sector (particularly the airline industry), attacks that are cyber in nature pose a much more significant threat in the future. Much of our critical infrastructure—including water systems, power grids, gas pipelines, nuclear power functions, and financial and communication networks—were built long before the specter of terrorism was a consideration and contain weak defenses against potential attacks by terrorists, rogue nations, or even sophisticated criminals. Indeed, rather than focusing on attacks that raise the public hysteria, such as attacks from weapons of mass destruction (WMD), it might be more prudent to assume that the next major terrorist attack may be cyber in nature.

The final chapter also includes an important segment on the role of the media during terrorist events and the impact of such events on the mind of the general public. Our concluding remarks in Chapter 15 focus not on the significant dangers and potential threats that lurk in an unstable world, but rather on the richness, strength, diversity, and resilience of America as we confront the future together, no different than generations before us.

Pedagogical Features

Each chapter includes the following pedagogical features to aid students and instructors:

Learning Objectives at the beginning of each chapter identify the core elements students need to learn.

After completing this chapter, you should be able to:

1. State six reasons why it is important to understand terrorism.
2. Trace the history of key events in terrorism from the nineteenth century to 9/11/2001.
3. Contrast individual and cultural perspectives of terrorism.
4. Explain why there are so many definitions of terrorism.
5. Identify six acts punishable as war crimes.
6. Summarize the event that led to the Syrian War.
Key Terms in the margins define each term where it is first used in the text. At the back of the text is a comprehensive glossary of all the key terms.

Introduction

The subject of "politics" often provokes intense emotion, generates passionate discussion, and can frequently create extreme resistance to considering another person's point of view—this is obvious even during political discussions at the dinner table or seeing friends on Facebook tear into each other because of deeply held political convictions. Indeed, politics are sometimes so interwoven into people's psyches that it affects nearly every facet of their belief system.

And, as we learned in the previous chapter, the way that people think about or perceive their environment, government, and society—and the way they feel those entities should be structured—springs from a host of factors, including genetics, family tradition, educational background, socioeconomic status, religious affiliation, and geographical location (individual perspective and culture). These factors are not mutually exclusive, they are not simple, and they have wide-ranging effects on a person's belief system. Political ideology, then, is (on an individual level) "the set of beliefs about the proper order of society and how it can be achieved." On a group level, political ideology is the "shared framework of mental models that groups of individuals possess that provide both an interpretation of the environment and a prescription as to how that environment should be structured."

Boxes throughout the chapters highlight interesting topics that are relevant to the chapter subject matter. Each box concludes with challenging questions aimed at sparking class discussion.

Box 2-1

Characteristics of the Far Left and the Right

On the ideological spectrum, leftist groups like the ones discussed here are at the very extreme—located far from moderate or centrist ideologies and even more distant from fringe right-wing counterparts. What really sets leftist terror groups apart—and, in fact, distinguishes all ideological groups from each other—is the types of groups that they advocate, their techniques, and their endgame. For example, most moderate or centrist groups tend to advocate for society in general, not focusing on one group, but rather seeing society as a "whole." Their process for advancing causes is via a group consensus—generally as part of a populist democratic event such as voting—and the outcome is generally a balance between a gradual change with a road to tradition or status quo. This is a good characterization of traditional American political groups.

However, on the far-right fringe of the spectrum, groups advocate for a specific race or ethnicity, religion, or nationality. Their endgame is a change based on a reaction to a perceived threat—that is, a changing values system and a new and pervasive culture that is spending a long-standing social order. Their methodology for achieving their endgame involves a retreat or return to the "good old days"—a social movement that seeks to restore a cherished social order. These are characterized by the neo-fascist, neo-Nazi, and skinhead hate groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, and the Christian Identity Church.

Far-left groups, by contrast, are more future-oriented: they look to radical change, hoping to topple the social order of the past on behalf of certain societal classes (e.g., the working class or proletariat). Their movements are often based in a complex theoretical groundwork that describes those that have wealth and those that are oppressed (e.g., anticolonialism, anticapitalism, Marxism). The ultimate goal is liberation from a real or perceived oppressive government. This designation contains groups that often self-identify as communist, socialist, or anarchist, such as the Black Blocs, Earth Liberation Front, Weather Underground, and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

Far-right and far-left groups tend to hold sharply contrasting views on racial equality, law and order, patriotism, labor, economic issues, and religion; however, they do share some common ground. Both camps tend to be very alienated from mainstream society, mostly due to their zealousness and inflexible belief systems. They are also equally likely to embrace conspiracy theories and stereotypical views of social and political affairs.

Extremist groups on both sides of the spectrum are also similar in their pursuit of their goals: both sides will use covert operations and deal harshly with adversaries. Furthermore, both sides view civil liberties through an extremely partisan lens—calling for unwavering support of civil liberties when doing so supports their agenda, or completely eschewing them when they aid rival points of view.

What other similarities and differences can you think of between left and right extremist groups?

Information Links direct readers to Internet sites that provide more information on chapter topics.

had " usurped the authority of God," Quib knew that those in the ruling class would certainly not be inclined to surrender without a fight. This vanguard of violence and terrorism is the foundation for the modern concept of jihadism. Refer to Chapter 4, "The Rise of Radical Islam," for a more detailed discussion of Sayyid Quib and his radical Islamic philosophies.

Leftist groups, then, with their roots in mid-nineteenth-century Europe, have demonstrably influenced modern terrorism philosophically and tactically. Elements of Marxism and Leninism—particularly the concept of the vanguard—have made their way into different factions of terrorism, from leftist to Islamic terror, as have anarchist principles of "propaganda by the deed." Historically, terrorism (widespread killing, assassinations, and bombings) was a major part of the violent cultural and social changes in Russia, France, Cuba, and elsewhere, and has always been part of an accepted strategy among the revolutionary left.

Information Link: Visit his biography at www.biography.com. Search the site for the biography of Che Guevara. Listen to his biography and watch the popular 2004 film entitled The Motorcycle Diaries, chronicling the written memoir of a twenty-three-year-old Che Guevara as he rode his motorcycle throughout Latin America.
Quick Facts boxes provide unique tidbits of information related to the chapter topics.

Quick Facts
The Anarchist Cookbook

Anarchists believe that the world is in the epoch of capitalism and it is a historical necessity to advance socialism through violence and terrorism. As such, The Anarchist Cookbook by William Powell, first published in 1971, continues to be a popular manual for guerrilla and revolutionary tactics. It originally contained instructions for the manufacture of explosives, poisons, drugs, and rudimentary weapons. Later editions (available in PDF on the Internet) have added instructions on computer hacking and credit card fraud, basic electronic surveillance, sabotage, and GPS tracking. The familiar red Anarchist "Circle A" adorns newer editions of the book.

Summaries are organized around Learning Objectives that highlight the main points of each chapter.

Chapter Summary

SUMMARY BY LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Describe the concept of political terrorism.

Political terrorism can be defined as "a symbolic act designed to influence political behavior based on extra-normal means, entailing the use or threat of violence." Recall that political terror is based on a set of ingrained beliefs that stem from the way people think about their environment, government, and society—and that those beliefs are often inflexible.

2. Provide an overview of leftist terror cells, including Latin American and European groups.

Groups that espouse Marxist ideologies include the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia, or FARC, which purports to represent the rural, agrarian poor in Columbia by protecting their land interests against the wealthier classes of Columbia, the influence of the imperialist United States, the privatization of resources, and the influence of global corporations. The National Liberation Army, or ELN, also a pro-Marxist group that operates in the Colombian countryside, seeks to replace the Colombian government with an egalitarian democracy that represents the rural peasant class. Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (or MRTA) exists in Peru, and was founded in Marxist ideology to reform the Peruvian government, removing all imperialist elements, and create a society in which power, prop-

Review Questions at the end of each chapter pose a series of questions to test students' recall of the chapter information.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the basic tenets of Marxism, and how do you see its effects in modern Middle Eastern terror?
2. How do you think Latin American and European terror organizations inspired present-day Arab terror organizations?
3. What was the mandate system and how do we see its lasting effects in Middle Eastern conflict?
4. Although the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) fractured into over a hundred separate groups, identify the three primary groups and their respective leaders that gained worldwide notoriety for conducting terrorist attacks in the international arena.
5. How is the United States perceived by the Arab world, and why? How does this influence terrorist ideology?
Critical Thinking Exercises at the end of each chapter require students to go further and think on the analytical level. Most of the exercises involve web research.

### Critical Thinking Exercises

1. The Impact of Oil in the Middle East. Visit the homepage for Saudi Aramco at www.saudiaramco.com/en/home.html and Life-Time Magazine at http://life.time.com. Search these sites for stories on the discovery of oil in the Middle East. Learn about the history and culture of the Middle East in 1945 when the oil industry just began in that region. Notice the photos of the region and compare them to more modern times. How much has the landscape really changed in half a century? Visit the home pages of some of the wealthiest Middle East countries like Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates. Notice the significant improvements in health, education, and welfare of the individuals in those countries. Notice also that each of these countries is a royal monarchy. How do you think the form of government and the pervasive religion of Islam in the region have impacted the economic development of the Middle East—both negatively and positively?

In addition to these pedagogical features, we devoted careful attention to the maps, tables, figures, and photographs, researching and selecting them ourselves, striving for a blend of informative historical images and also more current ones, many of which are compelling and tell a story by themselves.

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REVEL for Terrorism, Intelligence and Homeland Security, Second Edition by Robert W. Taylor and Charles R. Swanson

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Although it is insufficient compensation for their gracious assistance, we would like to recognize here the individuals who helped make this book a reality. Many good friends at “three letter agencies” and the military, all of whom wish to remain unnamed, read several chapters and made cogent comments, for which we are grateful. Several provided up-to-date information on issues relating to the Middle East as the chapters were being written.

Ms. Jennifer Davis-Lamun provided ongoing research and contribution to several chapters. We are forever indebted for her services. Mr. Jason Lane greatly assisted with research on Chapter 12: America’s Vulnerability to Terrorism and Chapter 13: Emergency Management. Dr. Kelley Stone contributed to Chapter 13 as well, and allowed us to draw upon his excellent knowledge of fusion centers in Chapter 9: Intelligence and Terrorism. A special “thank you” to our good friend and Bob’s former graduate student, Dr. Ahmet Yayla, former Chief of Counterterrorism and Operations Division for the Turkish National Police (TNP) and the coauthor of a new exciting book entitled ISIS Defectors: Inside Stories of the Terrorist Caliphate (Washington, D.C.: Advances Press, July 2016), with Dr. Anne Speckhard. Ahmet and Anne graciously provided several photos for this book as well as their keen insight into the Islamic State. Dr. Sulyman Ozeren, Dr. Samih Teymur, and Dr. Mustafa Ozgular, again from the Turkish National Police, assisted in writing and developing Chapters 3 and 4. Their knowledge and patience greatly helped us understand the foundations as well as the historical evolution of Islam as presented in Chapter 3: Understanding the Middle East and Islam and Chapter 4: The Rise of Radical Islam. Mr. Zeeshan Syed proofread Chapters 3 and 4 for accuracy, and Ms. Amy Kryzak proofed the entire first edition through Grammarly. Last, but certainly not least, Bob’s close friend and colleague, Dr. Galia Cohen, edited the entire manuscript for Pearson, providing a solid foundation and wonderful direction for the book. Her suggestions were invaluable to this edition.

Paige Cummings, Traci Swanson, and Kellie Pless also read and commented on the chapters, improving them. Our longstanding friend, Leonard Territo, went through materials very carefully, catching lapses. The Federal Bureau of Investigation provided photos, and we are appreciative of the speed with which they responded to our requests.

We would like to thank the following reviewers for their comments and suggestions: Selih Hakan Can, Penn State University – Schuylkill Campus; Brian LeBlanc, Rivier University; Deborah Louis, Eastern Kentucky University; Pamela Mertens, Northeastern State University; James O’Sullivan, Pace University; John Padgett, Capella University; Carlos Parker, Cumberland County College; Jennifer Estis-Sumerel, Itawamba Community College; and Lisa Ann Zanglin, Auburn University – Montgomery.

Lastly, we would like to thank our editors. Ms. Elisa Rogers, our developmental editor, has just been wonderful during this entire project. Thank you, Elisa, for your time, energy, and patience. And, thank you to our managing editor, Mr. Gary Bauer, for his continued guidance and support. He was willing to “go to bat” for us on numerous occasions. We truly hope this book realizes his expectations. It has been a pleasure working with him, as well as the entire Pearson team.
Robert W. Taylor is currently a tenured full Professor in the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at The University of Texas at Dallas. The Department was recently ranked fifth in the world in academic excellence based on the strength of its Ph.D. program. Previous to this position, he was the Director of the Executive Masters in Justice Administration and Leadership Program and the former program Head for the Public Affairs Program at UT-Dallas. Both are academic programs integrating the traditions of management, governmental affairs, policy analysis, and decision science in the public sector. The Public Affairs Program hosted one of the largest graduate degree programs on campus, including Doctoral (Ph.D.) and Master’s Degrees in Public Affairs and Public Administration.

From January 2008 through 2010, Bob was the Executive Director of the W.W. Caruth Jr. Police Institute at Dallas (CPI). The Institute was established through a $9.5 million grant from the Communities Foundation of Texas. Bob was a principal party to the development of the Institute and was appointed the founding director by the University of North Texas System. The primary mission of the Institute is to provide direction and coordination of major training and research projects for the Dallas Police Department. The Institute represents a national “think tank” on policing strategies focused on major urban cities in the United States. He remains a “Scholar-in-Residence” at the Institute. From 1996 to 2008, Bob was professor and chair of the Department of Criminal Justice at the University of North Texas. He served in this capacity for thirteen years, and under his direction the Department gained national prominence, especially with the establishment of the Caruth Police Institute.

In 1995, Dr. Taylor took a leave of absence from university administration and teaching to join Emergency Resources International, Inc., the parent company of the famed “Red Adair” firefighters. His duties as Senior Vice-President, Crisis Management Division, included liaison with foreign governments and authorities, extensive contract negotiations, and the strategic development of a worldwide communication and information system. Bob’s major project was acting as team leader on the largest oil spill in history (3 million barrels), located in the remote Nenets District of Russia, over 200 miles north of the Arctic Circle.

For the past forty years, Dr. Taylor has studied criminal justice administration and specifically police responses to crime and terrorism, focusing on issues in the Middle East. He has traveled extensively throughout the Middle East, meeting several heads of state in that region. He has acted as a consultant to numerous federal, state, and local agencies, and since September 11, 2001, Bob has been a consultant to the U.S. Department of Justice working with the Institute for Intergovernmental Research (IIR) as a lead instructor in the State and Local Anti-Terrorism Training Program (SLATT). Bob has also worked extensively throughout the Middle East, especially in the country of Turkey. He has been an instructor for the U.S. Department of State, Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) Program (2001–2006) and taught internationally in the Executive Seminar on Cyber Terrorism presented to executives of foreign governments. Dr. Taylor holds appropriate top secret national security clearances through the JPASS system (archived).

About the Authors


Dr. Taylor has an extensive background in academic and professional criminal justice, having taught at four major universities and serving as a sworn police officer and major crimes detective (lateral rank of sergeant) in Portland, Oregon, for over six years.

In 1984, Bob was appointed as a Research Fellow at the International Center for the Study of Violence at the University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida, conducting various studies involving international and domestic terrorism, police training and management, public violence and homicide, computerized mapping, and international drug trafficking. He continues to conduct research in these areas and is the recipient of numerous grants and contracts (over $18 million in funded projects). His latest work is concentrated in four areas: (1) quality improvement in police agencies through advanced leadership and management practices; (2) international terrorism, especially Middle-Eastern groups, and the spread of radical Islam; (3) evaluation of community policing, CompStat, and intelligence-led policing strategies in the United States; and (4) intelligence analysis, fusion centers, and decision making, particularly during protracted conflict or crisis situations.

In 2004, the International Justice Mission in Washington, D.C., asked Bob to assist in the training of the Cambodian National Police on child sex slavery and human trafficking as part of a large project funded through the U.S. Department of State ($1 million). His interest and research in this area have led to a leadership role in designing and developing training efforts in the United States aimed at raising awareness of the human trafficking tragedy for American law enforcement officers, funded in part through the U.S. Department of Justice. Dr. Taylor focuses on the nexus between human trafficking, drug trafficking, and the financing of terrorist incidents internationally and domestically. He continues this important work as a guest lecturer, speaking at conferences internationally on these subjects.

In 2003, Dr. Taylor was awarded the *University of North Texas, Regent's Lecture Award* for his work in the Middle East. In March 2008, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences presented Bob with the prestigious *O.W. Wilson Award* “in recognition of his outstanding contribution to police education, research and practice.”

Dr. Taylor has been a consultant to the U.S. Army, the U.S. Marine Corps, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, the U.S. Department of Treasury, Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, the U.S. Secret Service, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, the U.S. Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Police Foundation, the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF), the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), and numerous state and local municipalities and private corporations. He has also conducted significant training in the United States protectorates of the U.S. Virgin Islands, Guam, and Saipan, and the countries of Canada, England, France, Switzerland, Thailand, Cambodia, Barbados, Northern Cyprus, Bahrain, Venezuela, Russia, Finland, United Arab Emirates, Kenya, Singapore, and Turkey. He is an active member of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (elected National Chair of the ACJS Police Section – 2002), the American Society for Public Administration, and the American Society of Criminology.

Dr. Taylor is a graduate of Michigan State University (Master of Science, 1973) and Portland State University (Doctor of Philosophy, 1981).
Charles R. “Mike” Swanson enlisted in the Marine Corps when he was 17 years old, subsequently working as Patrol Officer and Detective with the Tampa Police Department. He joined Florida Governor Claude Kirk’s staff as a Senior Police Planner and later as Deputy Director of the Governor’s Council on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. Mike taught criminal justice courses at East Carolina University before becoming a faculty member at the Institute of Government (IOG) at the University of Georgia. Faculty members in the IOG are charged with carrying out programs of research, training, and technical assistance for Georgia units of state and local government. Mike specialized in reorganization of police departments to achieve enhanced performance.

For much of his 29 years in the IOG, Mike focused on three efforts:

1. **Designing promotional systems for police and fire departments.** Notably, he led a large city police department and a state patrol agency out of federal court, creating promotional systems that are still used and have not been successfully challenged. Mike has designed hundreds of valid and reliable written promotional tests and assessment center exercises. He has trained hundreds of assessors and directed more than 50 assessment centers.

2. **Training.** As Director of the IOG’s Southeastern Law Enforcement Programs, he created and led advanced training programs for more than 10,000 officers from 46 states and 4 foreign countries.

3. **Partnering with police departments to foster improvements.** Virtually on a daily basis for 29 years, Mike worked with police departments to resolve smaller to large-scale problems, often acting as a change agent. On a larger scale, he conducted analyses that were the basis of his reorganization of units or entire police agencies, as well as the consolidation of a large city police department with a county police agency. Many of Mike’s more than 100 technical reports were written to support his work in this area.

Mike advanced through the administrative ranks of the IOG, Program Director, Division Director, Deputy Director, and retired as the Acting Director. His home is in Athens, Georgia, a musical hot spot with several internationally known bands residing there. One of his more unusual consulting jobs was advising a major touring band on how to recover a member’s stolen guitar.

In addition to conference papers, refereed articles, and chapters in books, Mike has co-authored several books, including *The Police Personnel Selection Process, Introduction to Criminal Justice, Court Administration, Police Administration: Structures, Processes, and Behavior* (9th edition, 2017), and *Criminal Investigation* (12th edition, 2018).

Mike has received an array of recognitions, including a Distinguished Service Award and the Walter Bernard Hill Award from the University of Georgia, commendations from the governors of three states for contributions to public service, the O.W. Wilson Award for Distinguished Scholarship, a Service Award from the Georgia Association of Chiefs of Police, as well as receiving their First Honorary Chief of Police Award for service to that organization. As a consultant, Mike has worked with police agencies as far apart as the Elizabeth, New Jersey, Police Department, the Dallas Police Department, and the Multnomah County (Oregon) Department of Public Safety. He has also taught abroad in the Shanghai Municipal Institute. In 2016, Mike was honored as a Distinguished Alumni of Florida State University’s College of Criminology and Criminal Justice.

He received bachelor and masters degrees in criminology from Florida State University and a Ph.D. in Political Science, with a concentration in public administration, from the University of Georgia.