TERROPISM

AND HOMELAND SECURITY



JONATHAN R. WHITE

Terrorism and Homeland Security

Jonathan R. White

Frederik Meijer Honors College Grand Valley State University





Terrorism and Homeland Security, Ninth Edition, Jonathan R. White

Product Director: Marta Lee-Perriard
Sr Product Manager: Carolyn Henderson Meier
Content Developer: Christy Frame
Product Assistant: Valerie Kraus
Sr Marketing Manager: Jennifer Levanduski
Art and Cover Direction, Production
Management, and Composition: Lumina
Datamatics, Inc.
Manufacturing Planner: Judy Inouye

Cover Image: Oleg Zabielin/Getty Images

© 2017, 2014, Cengage Learning

WCN: 01-100-101

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. No part of this work covered by the copyright herein may be reproduced, transmitted, stored, or used in any form or by any means graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including but not limited to photocopying, recording, scanning, digitizing, taping, Web distribution, information networks, or information storage and retrieval systems, except as permitted under Section 107 or 108 of the 1976 United States Copyright Act, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015951183

For product information and technology assistance, contact us at Cengage Learning Customer & Sales Support, 1-800-354-9706.

For permission to use material from this text or product, submit all requests online at www.cengage.com/permissions.

Further permissions questions can be e-mailed to permissionrequest@cengage.com.

Student Edition:

ISBN: 978-1-305-63377-3

Loose-leaf Edition:

ISBN: 978-1-305-66020-5

Cengage Learning

20 Channel Center Street Boston, MA 02210 USA

Cengage Learning is a leading provider of customized learning solutions with employees residing in nearly 40 different countries and sales in more than 125 countries around the world. Find your local representative at www.cengage.com.

Cengage Learning products are represented in Canada by Nelson Education, Ltd.

To learn more about Cengage Learning Solutions, visit www.cengage.com.

Purchase any of our products at your local college store or at our preferred online store **www.cengagebrain.com**.

Printed in the United States of America Print Number: 01 Print Year: 2015

Dedicated to:

Gabe and Sam, my buddies for life,

Do not repay evil for evil or abuse for abuse; but, on the contrary, repay with a blessing. It is for this that you were called—that you might inherit a blessing. 1 Peter 3:9

With love, Paw Paw

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

JONATHAN WHITE is professor of Interdisciplinary Studies in the Frederik Meijer Honors College of Grand Valley State University, Allendale, Michigan. He also served as an instructor in the Bureau of Justice Assistance, State and Local Anti-Terrorism Training program for 15 years. He has lectured in the FBI Academy, in the Department of State Anti-Terrorism Assistance program, in all branches of the U.S. Armed Forces, and in law enforcement agencies throughout the world. The Founding Director of GVSU's School of Criminal Justice and former Dean of Social Science, he holds a PhD in Criminal Justice and Criminology from Michigan State University and a Master of Divinity from Western Theological Seminary.

I began work on the first edition of this book 30 years ago and have reworked it several times to describe constant changes in causes, groups, tactics, and issues. Terrorists constantly employ new methods of murder and destruction as the face of terrorism changes. Yet, no matter how terrorism mutates, one aspect remains constant. Technology provides the means for a relatively small group of violent people to terrorize nation-states, including superpowers.

Professors who have used previous editions of this book have asked for changes and updates to this text. In addition, they have offered valuable critiques, suggestions for new material, and corrections of factual errors. Many of them asked me to reduce historical coverage and to increase discussions of trends and future directions. I hope this new addition meets their expectations, although I do utilize historical discussions to place contemporary events and probable future issues in context.

While this is a new edition, the purpose of the book remains the same. It is designed to introduce criminal justice and other social science students to the field of terrorism and homeland security. The book is also meant to provide a pragmatic background for the law enforcement, intelligence, and military communities. It is a basic, practical introduction for people who will or already do face the threat of terrorism. Many theories, polemics, and models are summarized and compared, but readers will find no grand theory. The purpose is to expose readers to a vast array of issues, campaigns, theories, and opinions.

As stated in the previous editions, issues surrounding terrorism are emotionally charged. Therefore, the information in this text is presented from a variety of positions. The purpose is to explain various points of view without taking sides. Students are exposed to differing interpretations of issues that have spawned heated controversies. Hopefully, the text presents enough information to allow students to make informed decisions.

Overview

This text is designed to provide readers with basic information. The purpose is to provide the background for understanding terrorist movements in many parts of the world. Part I focuses on practical criminology. It begins with a chapter on definitional and historical issues. This is followed by a discussion of criminology, processes of radicalization, and various types of terrorism. Chapter 3 is now completely devoted to the financial aspects of terrorism at the request of multiple professors throughout the United States. It also discusses virtual economies. Chapter 4 has new information about the media and terrorism. One of the foremost changes is an examination of research on the new types of media that are influencing terrorist behavior. Chapter 5 has an enhanced discussion of gender roles and the increasing involvement of women in terrorism. It also discusses tactics and force multipliers.

The remainder of the book builds on the information in Part I. Part II focuses on international terrorism motivated by ethnicity and nationalism. I have included presentations on Boko Haram and al Shabaab in Chapter 7 of Part II even though they claim to be part of a larger jihadist movement. I believe they are more motivated by tribal and familial issues than religion, but these discussions would have fit equally well in the chapter about jihadist violence. Part III examines international ideological and religious terrorism. The final section deals with domestic terrorism and homeland security.

New to This Edition

There are several new items in the ninth edition. Here is a summary of the major additions and updates.

In Every Chapter:

More focus on current activities and future projections Hypothetical examples used to illustrate major points General chapter summaries and specific summaries of new chapter objectives

Chapter 1:

Updated examples of terrorist activities Analysis of comparative definitions Review of impact of definitions on policy Streamlined historical material highlighting major events

Chapter 2:

Updated criminology with a new emphasis on the value of practical criminology for law enforcement and security forces

Added emphasis on the importance of recognizing terrorist behavior for state and local law enforcement

Discussion of lone wolf attacks

Updated cases related to recent terrorist events and new case studies

Enhanced discussion of radicalization processes

Expanded examination of prison radicalization

Added summary of the debate about the existence of radicalization

Chapter 3:

Refocused exclusively on terrorist financing

Defined terrorist financing and money laundering

Comparison of terrorist financing and money laundering

Review of national and international efforts to control terrorist financing and money laundering

Discussion of underground economies

Examination of private and virtual economies

Expanded examination of the hawala network

Discussion of gathering intelligence on financial terrorism

Chapter 4:

Analysis of social media Updated research findings on empirical and qualitative studies of media-terrorism Comparison of "old media" and "new media" Analysis of media biases when covering gender issues

Chapter 5:

Reorganization of chapter structure
Examination of all subjects, including gender, within a tactical framework
Summary of recent research on gender and terrorism
Examination of stereotypes of femininity in Muslim women
Analysis of the impact of terrorism and counterterrorism on Arab women
Summary of research on gender and suicide bombing

Chapter 6:

Political analysis of separatist terrorism Role of negotiation in separatist terrorism Speculation about future potential areas of separatist terrorism

Chapter 7:

Description of nationalistic terrorism
Reduced discussion of anticolonial historical material
Addition of recent research findings
Analysis of endemic violence in Nigeria
Discussion of political situations in Somalia and Nigeria
Addition of in-depth discussion of Boko Haram
Analysis of African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM)
Addition of new material on al Shabaab and its relation to endemic terrorism

Chapter 8:

Summary of the Syrian civil war Explanation of changes in international jihadist terrorism Summary of terrorism in Syrian civil war with reference to Muslim versus Muslim fighting

Chapter 9:

Coverage of summer 2014 fighting in Gaza
Summary of Hamas encounters with the Islamic State of Iraq and al Sham (ISIS)
Impact of the Syrian civil war on the Hezbollah–Hamas relationship
New analysis of the rise of Fatah and associated splinter groups
Review of the future of Hamas–Palestinian Authority unity pledge
Discussion of the issues from both Israeli and Palestinian views
Updated assessment of al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades

Chapter 10:

Discussion of United Self Defense Forces (AUC) in conjunction with death squad

Removal of dated material concerning Europe and Nepal

Discussion of Bacrims

Completely revamped section on the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), including peace negotiations Updated information on Naxalite violence in India

Chapter 11:

Introduction to twenty-first-century Jihadi Salafism

Addition of modern jihadist ideologues Abu Bakr Naji and Abu Musab al Suri Review of material on A Call for Global Islamic Resistance and The Management of Savagery

Summary of al Qaeda core's relationship with al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI)

Analysis of the Islamic State of Iraq and al Sham (ISIS)

Summary of current activities of ISIS

Examination of Al Qaeda core's split with ISIS

Expanded discussion of al Qaeda franchise with new analysis, including al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Mokhtar Belmokhtar, Ansar al Sharia–Libya, Ansar al Sharia–Tunisia, Ansar Bayt al Magdis, and al Nusra

Addition of material on new jihadist groups

Chapter 12:

Summary of political debates about the meaning of domestic terrorism Inclusion of background on Public Enemy Number 1 (PEN1)
Examination of mass shootings
Analysis of racial terrorism and new work on the Ku Klux Klan
Addition of section on extremism versus terrorism
Summary of updated information about domestic jihadist attacks
Presentation of new empirical data on ecoterrorism

Chapter 13:

Analysis of emerging threats to the U.S. homeland Reorganization of chapter based on input from reviewers Questioning of the need of intelligence reform Review of methods of verifying intelligence assumptions

Chapter 14:

Inclusion of new RAND study on information sharing and homeland security Future analysis of homeland security needs

Chapter 15:

Expiration of some provisions in the USA PATRIOT Act Summary of the impact of the USA FREEDOM Act Response by various stakeholders to the USA FREEDOM Act Critique of National Security Letters Examination of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISA) Examination of bulk data gathering techniques

Chapter 16:

Examination of community policing and homeland security
Evaluation of law enforcement militarization and use of military equipment
Militarization of the "war on drugs" metaphor impact on community partnerships
Review of law enforcement tactical units

Ancillaries

For the Instructor

MindTap for Criminal Justice from Cengage Learning represents a new approach to a highly personalized, online learning platform. A fully online learning solution, MindTap combines all of a student's learning tools—readings, multimedia, activities, and assessments into a singular Learning Path that guides the student through the curriculum. Instructors personalize the experience by customizing the presentation of these learning tools for their students, allowing instructors to seamlessly introduce their own content into the Learning Path via "apps" that integrate into the MindTap platform. Additionally, MindTap provides interoperability with major Learning Management Systems (LMS) via support for industry standards and fosters partnerships with third-party educational application providers to provide a highly collaborative, engaging, and personalized learning experience.

Online Instructor's Manual includes learning objectives, key terms, detailed chapter outlines, chapter summaries, lesson plans, discussion topics, student activities, "What If" scenarios, media tools, and a sample syllabus. The learning objectives are correlated with the discussion topics, student activities, and media tools.

Online Test Bank. Each chapter's test bank contains questions in multiple-choice, true false, completion, essay, and new critical thinking formats, with a full answer key. The test bank is coded to the learning objectives that appear in the main text and indicates the section in the main text where the answers can be found. Finally, each question in the test bank has been carefully reviewed by experienced criminal justice instructors for quality, accuracy, and content coverage.

Online PowerPoint® Lectures. Helping you make your lectures more engaging while effectively reaching your visually oriented students, these handy Microsoft Power-Point slides outline the chapters of the main text in a classroom-ready presentation. The PowerPoint slides are updated to reflect the content and organization of the new edition of the text, are tagged by chapter learning objective, and feature some additional examples and real-world cases for application and discussion.

Cengage Learning Testing Powered by Cognero. This assessment software is a flexible, online system that allows you to import, edit, and manipulate test bank content from the *Terrorism and Homeland Security* test bank or elsewhere, including your own favorite test questions; create multiple test versions in an instant; and deliver tests from your LMS, your classroom, or wherever you want.

For the Student

MindTap for Criminal Justice. MindTap Criminal Justice from Cengage Learning represents a new approach to a highly personalized, online learning platform. A fully online learning solution, MindTap combines all of your learning tools—readings, multimedia, activities, and assessments into a singular Learning Path that guides you through the course.

Acknowledgments

This book was not produced in a vacuum, and I am grateful to many people. Foremost is Marcia for understanding the many months of new research and writing. Senior Product Manager Carolyn Henderson Meier and Content Developer Christy Frame were wonderful and supportive. The copyeditor Sarah Wales-McGrath was amazing. Kailash Rawat was patient and helpful throughout the copyediting phase of the book. I am also grateful to academic colleagues who reviewed work and made valuable suggestions. They include:

Julie Baldwin, University of Arkansas at Little Rock Aaron M. Carver Sr., University of Mount Olive David Admire, Southern Utah University Keith E. Johnson, Mansfield University Magdalena A. Denham, Sam Houston State University

I ask that all of you accept my heartfelt gratitude.

BRIEF CONTENTS

PART 1	Terrorism in Historical and Social Contexts 1	
	1	The Shifting Definition of Terrorism 2
		Practical Criminology, Radicalization, and Types of Terrorism 25
	3	Terrorist Financing and Money Laundering 52
	4	Terrorism and the Media 78
	5	Force Multipliers, Gender Roles, and Tactics 101
PART 2		ernational Terrorism: National and Ethnic ovements 123
	6	Long-Term Separatist Terrorism 124
	7	Nationalistic and Endemic Terrorism 148
	8	Background to the Middle East 173
	9	Terrorism in Israel and Palestine 196
PART 3 International Terrorism: Ideological and Religious Movements 223		
	10	Revolutionary and Counterrevolutionary Terrorism 224
	11	Jihadist Networks 250
PART 4	: Do	omestic Terrorism and Homeland Security 279
	12	Domestic Terrorism 280
	13	An Introduction to Homeland Security 302
	14	Organizing Homeland Security 328
	15	Homeland Security and Constitutional Issues 353
	16	Law Enforcement, Homeland Security,

and the Future 375



PREFACE xvii

PART 1 Terrorism in Historical and Social Contexts 1

1	The Shifting Definition o	f Terrorism	2
	Difficulties with Definitions 3		

Definitions Influenced by Social Context 3 The Importance of Defining Terrorism 4

Attempts to Define Terrorism 5 Definitions and Policy 5

An Insurmountable Problem? 6

Shifts of Meanings in History 7

The Origins of Terrorism in Western History 8
The French Revolution 9
Guerrillas and the Spanish Peninsula 9

1848 and the Radical Democrats 9

Socialists 11 Anarchists 12 Violent Anarchism 12 Anarchism and Nationalism 13

Terrorism and Revolution in Russia, 1881–1921 15

The People's Will 15 Czar Nicholas and the Revolutions of 1905 and 1917 16 Lenin and Trotsky 17

Selective Terrorism and the Birth of the Irish Republic 17

The Early Irish Republican Army 19
The Easter Rising 20
The Black and Tan War, 1920–1921 21
Selective Terror 21

Emphasizing the Points 22 Summary of Chapter Objectives 22 Key Terms 24

2	Practical Criminology, Radicalization, and
	Types of Terrorism 25
	The Criminology of Terrorism 26
	Differences Between Criminals and Terrorists 27
	Radicalization 29
	Practical Criminology and Radicalism 29 The Process of Radicalization 30
	Testing Radicalization with Recent Case Studies 32
	Other Cases of Radicalization 34
	Commonalities in Radicalization 36
	Individual Journeys 37
	Two Views of Prison Radicalization 38 The Process of Radicalization in Prison 38
	Questioning Prison Radicalization 39
	Rejecting the Term 41
	Types of Terrorism 42
	Lone Wolves 43
	Small Groups and Urban Terrorism 44
	Guerrillas and Large Group Terrorism 47 Response to Differing Types of Terrorism 49
	Emphasizing the Points 49
	Summary of Chapter Objectives 50
	Key Terms 51
	Key Terms 31
3	Terrorist Financing and Money
	Laundering 52
	Financial Flows 53
	Money Laundering 53
	Terrorist Financing 56
	Comparing Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing 57 Toward a Theory of Terrorist Financing 58
	Efforts to Control Terrorist Financing 59
	Regulation and Enforcement 60
	Efforts by the United Nations 61
	Financial Information as an Investigative
	and Intelligence Tool 63
	Illegal Funding Methods 64 Legal Methods of Raising Funds 66
	Underground Networks and Systems 66
	The Hawala System 68
	Hezbollah as an Example 69
	The Political Economy of Terrorism 70
	Narcoterrorism 72
	The Link Between Drugs and Terrorism 73
	Narcoterrorism Controversies 74

	Emphasizing the Points 75 Summary of Chapter Objectives 75 Key Terms 77
L	Terrorism and the Media 78 The New Media Environment 79 Defining the New Media 79 Characteristics of the New Media 80 The New Media and the Internet 81 Other Aspects of the Internet 82
	Trends in Research 85 A Set of Empirical Findings on Twitter 85 Televised Gender Stereotypes 86
	The Media and Socially Constructed Reality 86 News Frames and Presentations 87 Types of Frames 87 Ambiguous Stories and News Frames 88 Neglecting the Domestic Front 88 Terrorism and Television 89 End of the Western Monopoly on the Old News Media 91
	Issues in the Media 92 Biases in the Old Media 92
	Creating Critical Reflection in the Audience 95
	Censorship Debates 97 Emphasizing the Points 99
	Summary of Chapter Objectives 99
	Key Terms 100
5	Force Multipliers, Gender Roles, and Tactics 101 Tactics and Force Multipliers 102 Technology 103 Cyberterrorism 104
	WMD: Biological Agents 105 WMD: Chemical and Radiological Weapons 106
	Nuclear Terrorism 109
	Economic Targeting and Transnational Attacks 111 Tourism 111 Energy 112 Transportation 113
	Suicide Attacks: Conflicting Opinions 114 A Theory of Suicide Terrorism 114 Other Research on Suicide Bombing 116 Models for Suicide Bombing 117
	Tactical Misunderstandings and Gender 117

	Tactical Roles and Organization 118 Tactical Considerations 119 Overlooking Female Terrorists: A Tactical Mistake 119
	Emphasizing the Points 121
	Summary of Chapter Objectives 121
	Key Terms 122
	Rey Terms 122
PART 2	International Terrorism: National and Ethnic Movements 123
6	Long-Term Separatist Terrorism 124
•	Ethnic and Nationalist Separatist Movements 125
	Characteristics of Ethnic and Nationalist Terrorism 125
	Three Cases of Ethnic and Nationalist Separatism 126
	Modern Terrorism in Northern Ireland 127
	The IRA and the Modern "Troubles" 128
	The Army and Overreaction 129
	Unionist Terrorism 131
	Negotiating a Peace Settlement in Ireland 132
	Negotiating with Terrorists 132
	Rational Political Goals and Negotiated Settlements 133
	The Basque Nation and Liberty 133
	Background 134 The Spanish Civil War 135
	Twentieth-Century Basque Nationalism 135
	The ETA Turns to Terrorism 136
	ETA Tactics and Spanish Death Squads 137
	Reframing the Conflict 138
	The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam 139
	The Origins of Tamil Dissatisfaction 140
	Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers 141
	LTTE Tactics 141
	Fighting Renewed 143 Government Repression after Victory 144
	Emphasizing the Points 145
	Summary of Chapter Objectives 145
	Key Terms 147
7	Nationalistic and Endemic Terrorism 148
	Nationalistic Terrorism 149
	Cyprus, 1955–1959 149
	The Battle for Algiers, 1954–1962 151
	The Mau Mau in Kenya, 1950–1960 153
	Turkey 155
	Turkey's Struggle with Terrorism 155

The Kurdistan Workers' Party and Its Alter Egos 156
China's Problems in Xinjiang 160
Sikh Separatism in India 162
Endemic Ethnic Terror in Sub-Saharan Africa 162
Conditions in Nigeria 163
Boko Haram and Ansaru 165
Al Shabab's Regional Jihad 167
Emphasizing the Points 171
Summary of Chapter Objectives 171
Key Terms 172

8 Background to the Middle East 173

Defining the Middle East 174

A Brief Introduction to Islam 175

The Centrality of Mohammed's Revelation 175 Creating the Muslim Community at Medina 176 The Shi'ite–Sunni Split 176 The Golden Age of Arabs 178

Synopsis of Traditional Middle Eastern Issues 180

Three Sources of Violence in the Middle East 181
The Early Zionist Movement in Palestine 182
World War I and Contradictory Promises 183
The Birth of Israel 184
Arab Power Struggles and Arab–Israeli Wars 185
The Return of Terrorism 188

Iran 189

Uniquely Persian 189
British Influence and Control 190
Prelude to the 1979 Revolution 190
The Revolution 191
The Call to Karbala 193
Emphasizing the Points 194
Summary of Chapter Objectives 194

Key Terms 195

9 Terrorism in Israel and Palestine 196

Messy Definition 197

Fatah and the Six-Day War 197 The 1982 Invasion of Lebanon 200

Factionalism in Palestinian Terrorism 200 Major Groups 201

Hezbollah: Local and International 204
The Origins of Hezbollah 204

Hezbollah's Operational Capabilities 209

Hamas and the Rise of Sunni Religious Organizations 212