

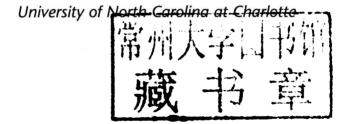
Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century 06

CINDY C. COMBS

Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century

Sixth Edition

Cindy C. Combs



Longman

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PREFACE

(T)errorist groups today show a degree of resiliency and capacity for survival that has increased their average lifespan some five to ten times that of their Cold War counterparts... They are learning organizations that have adapted and adjusted to even the most formidable governmental countermeasures to continue their struggle.

BRUCE HOFFMAN

ruce Hoffman, terrorism expert and Professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service Security Studies, highlights the critical problem in terrorism studies and strategies today: The individuals and organizations carrying out terrorist attacks today are not static, they are learning and translating their learning into survival in spite of governments' best efforts to counter them. Just as terrorism is not static but constantly evolving and surviving today, understanding of terrorist groups, tactics, and training cannot be static if counterterrorism measures are to be effective. Terrorism is not a subject we can afford to comfortably ignore, nor can we safely build effective counterterrorism policy without an evolving understanding of this phenomenon. The last decade of the twentieth century, although it offered positive changes with the end of the Cold war, did not mark the end of terrorism. Instead, terrorism has become a larger, not a smaller, player in international politics, as states began to be confronted by stronger groups determined to seek political change by violent means. September 11, 2001, was, in some respects, a "wake-up call" not only for the United States but for the world that terrorism constitutes a clear and present danger, a weapon evolving faster and more effectively than the world community's responses to it.

Whether leaders like Osama bin Laden are captured or killed, terrorism will not end. It will continue to exist and to evolve. Evaluating present conditions and attempting to predict future trends can offer useful insights for policymakers and citizens throughout the world, as terrorism is today a transnational threat.

In the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks in the US., al-Qaeda spokesman Suliman Abu Geith suggested that the perpetrators of the attacks had "destroyed America with their airplanes," evoking an image of terrorists at war with a country. Geith's comment that these individuals had "moved the battle into the heart of America" was reflected in the response of the U.S. government, which issued a declaration of "war" on terrorism in the wake of these attacks. The subsequent war in Afghanistan and the war initiated by the United States in Iraq were premised on the threat of terrorism and the need of states, individually and collectively, to respond. The early years of the twenty-first century are clearly demonstrating the changing nature of terrorism and

its challenge to international peace and security. This challenge is one that the international communities, as well as individual nation-states, are in many respects ill-prepared to meet. *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century* is intended to strengthen our ability to cope by improving our understanding of the problem of terrorism today.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

This new edition—of a text that was first published years before the September 11 attacks—focuses on the "learning curve" for terrorist groups and for those responsible for counterterror measures today and on the transnational nature of contemporary terrorism. While the effort to "define" terrorism continues to challenge governments and scholars, the importance of an operational definition of terrorist acts is examined in the context of a world engaged in a "war" on this phenomenon.

Terrorism is not new, but it is changing in tactics, in scope of operations, and in the structure of the organizations responsible for terrorist acts. This new edition examines more carefully the nature of these changes, retaining the historical basis of our understanding of terrorism, but noting the differences in modern terrorism as it presents new challenges on a global rather than simply a national scale. The specific revisions made to this edition include the following.

- A new section on how terrorism is defined has been added
- A new Analysis Challenge feature is included at the end of the chapter to provide opportunities for readers to explore further at least one aspect from the chapter, using the Internet to increase understanding and to provoke more analytical efforts.
- The role of new technologies on both sides of this struggle, as tools like the Internet impact both the training, recruitment, planning, and funding of terrorist groups and the countermeasures to track these activities by law enforcement agencies, is incorporated into chapters examining terrorist training, structures, and counterterror measures.
- There is more material on understanding the role of religion as a transnational force linking groups and individuals in all parts of the globe and as a recruiting tool for terrorist acts.
- The emergence of terror training grounds in failed or failing states as they impact transnational threats, such as piracy, and the escalation of suicide bombings and the use of IEDs in transnational attacks is discussed to help to make clear the transnational nature of terrorism today.
- The "learning curve" analysis is also applied to counterterror measures that are in place in many countries, and those that are evolving, illustrated by a variety of new case studies, including:
 - Redefining terrorism
 - Cycles of violence
 - The Black Widows
 - Genocide in Darfur

- Al-Qaeda's network
- Training camps in the UK
- Internet training camps
- Improvised Explosive Devices
- Enemy combatants
- Differentiating between combatants and noncombatants
- Arresting Sudan's president
- Dark Web Project tracking terrorism
- Terrorism in Mumbai
- London transportation attacks in 2005
- Allocating resources based on threat and risk assessment
- Cyber security and cyber terror

The ongoing "war on terror" declared in 2003 is a transnational effort to combat the threat of terrorism, and the steps taken in this "war" have impacted terrorist groups and stimulated terrorist acts in many countries as well. Counterterrorism efforts, such as the emerging international conventions on terrorism and the building of regional efforts to gather and share intelligence, offer insights into the counterterror learning curve, as do the national legislations enacted in several nations both before and after the September 11 attacks, with varying degrees of success. New efforts, including "fusions centers" of a domestic as well as an international nature, offer potential for increased success in information sharing, but also raise concerns about privacy rights and civil liberties protections.

In order to keep this new edition user-friendly for students, it retains the original structure of chapters, but has substantially more case studies in each chapter. These case studies, beginning with one on "redefining terrorism" in Chapter 1, offer ways for students to apply the ideas discussed in the chapter with real events, organizations, or materials, which help them apply the more abstract concepts to reality. The idea of women involved in terrorism, for example, is made "real" by a small case study of the "Black Widows" group in Russia. The reality of genocide is easier to accept using the case study in Chapter 5 on the events in Darfur. An understanding of the transnational threat of terrorist training camps is made clear in the Chapter 7 case study of such camps in the United States, the United Kingdom, and on the Internet.

Approaching this revision as a "learning curve" exercise has generated an additional item at the end of each chapter: an Analysis Challenge. These "challenges" are designed to provide opportunities for readers to explore at least one aspect from each chapter further, using the Internet to increase understanding and to provoke further analytical efforts. If individuals who are engaged in effectively countering this threat, today and in the future, are to adapt their responses and countermeasures as successfully as those who are initiating terrorism, their skills in the use of the Internet as a tool must be continuously enhanced and analytical skills challenged. This small "challenge" is designed to further the evolution of successful counterterror efforts by increasing the "learning curve."

The transnational nature of terrorism today is infused in the study of patterns of socialization toward terrorism examined in Chapter 4, using Social Identity Theory and individual-level analysis to understand the root causes and the vast differences that may exist between people who carry out terrorist acts. The list of "failed states" is generated by the US Dept. of State each year, with assistance from the Dept. of Defense and related intelligence agencies. It is posted on the State Dept.'s web site concerning terrorism. The potential for cyberterror, explored from several angles in different chapters, offers further insights into the transnational nature of this threat. The transformation of terrorism into a form of "netwar," the potential for cyberterror, and the ability of nations to deal with this asymmetric threat are examined carefully.

FEATURES

To understand terrorism in the twenty-first century, it is important to examine what is known about terrorism in historical context. Political science is founded upon a need to *explain* and to *predict* actions in the political realm. For that purpose, this text examines the elements of contemporary terrorism, attempting to explain the primary characteristics of *what*, *who*, *why*, and *how*. Predictions about forthcoming patterns of terrorism can then be based on an understanding of previous and current patterns of behavior.

It has always been important that this text be easy for both students and professors to use, with material organized clearly and concisely, and presented without prejudice. In order to prevent, as far as possible, a pejorative use of the material, the examination of the concept of "terrorism" emphasizes a legal, operational definition applicable to terrorist *acts*, rather than to the individuals, groups, or states who carry out such acts. This makes the term much less likely to be applied with prejudice; if the term is applied in a legally correct context, it can be done objectively rather than subjectively. This also facilitates the use of the book by a wider audience, since each individual, group, and state can be evaluated in the context of the actions taken.

The purpose of this text is to facilitate an understanding of what terrorism is in this new century: both an old and a new phenomenon—constantly evolving, yet retaining basic characteristics, an asymmetric form of warfare with the ability to dramatically impact the peace and stability of the world. The first part of the book, therefore, explores the definitions offered for this phenomenon, looking at the recent efforts by agencies and governments to clarify what a terrorist act is. Since these definitions emerged from historical context, Chapter 2 explores the roots of modern terrorism, from assassinations to bombings, looking specifically at the cycles of violence engendered by terrorism perpetrated by both state and nonstate actors.

Building on this historical analysis, Chapter 3 examines the causes of modern terrorism, from frustrated nationalism to radical religious fundamentalism, building toward an understanding of why groups of people resort to terrorist acts. From an understanding of the causes of terrorist violence, Chapter 4

offers insights into the mind of a terrorist, helping to differentiate between types of terrorists and the socialization patterns that help to create these mind-sets.

Recognizing that States have demonstrated more capacity to commit acts of terror than any individual or group throughout history, Chapter 5 shifts the focus in the study of terror to include terror by States, exploring the spectrum of such terror from relatively mild intimidation to coerced conversion to the practice of genocide. Modern terrorism, as Chapter 6 makes clear, networks across state lines, acting in many ways as a multinational corporation, often engaged in profitable business enterprises to support the commission of the terrorist acts.

These networks serve to recruit and train a wide range of individuals to the commission of terrorism today. The scope of modern terrorist training and networking is explored in Chapter 7, with Chapter 8 adding a careful look at the role of the media today in this networking, recruitment, and implementation process, comparing the goals of terrorists with those of the media reporting the acts to an increasingly international audience. The next chapter, Chapter 9, serves as a larger case study, briefly examing terrorism in the United States in terms of its history, the types which have evolved, the networking evident in modern incidents, leading into an exploration of the responses explored in this country to combat modern terrorism.

Since, as Chapter 9 indicates, a large part of US counter-terror response is based in law (the PATRIOT Act), it is logical that the next chapter deal with law as a counterterrorism tool. Indeed, Part Four of this text focuses on the efficacy of several different counterterror tools: international law (Chapter 10), military special forces (Chapter 11), legislation and intelligence-gathering (Chapter 12), and security measures (Chapter 13). However, since none of these measures has been completely successful in eliminating terrorism, the need to prioritize the problems faced, and to analyze the success of the responses initiated is critical. The last two chapters of the text, thus, explore the expanding threat of the use of weapons of mass destruction in terrorist incidents, and the challenges of the future in a world in which global terrorism is a norm, rather than an aberration.

Understanding what terrorism is must be rooted in an understanding of the causes of terrorist actions. Individuals are not "born" terrorists, nor are most individuals engaged in revolution guilty of terrorist acts. Clearly, terrorism evokes a wide range of responses from governments and peoples today, so a study of those responses should clarify the options for counterterrorism, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of each, making it unnecessary for each nation to reinvent the wheel in devising a response to the challenge of terrorism today. Moreover, there is no single "terrorist type" that fits all individuals carrying out acts of terrorism, so this text takes a quick look at the "types" of modern terrorists, based on available studies. Applying such criteria to individuals, groups, and states makes it possible to differentiate to some degree between such terms as crusaders and criminals, between state-sponsored and state-tolerated terrorism, and between separatist and

nationalist groups. Familiarity with these operationalized terms makes it easier to apply such terms without prejudice and, more significantly, to evaluate the response options for each type.

The text is organized in a style intended to be quite comfortable for use in a lecture or a seminar-style course. Lists of key concepts at the beginning of each chapter, case studies throughout the chapters designed to illustrate key points, discussion sections after the conclusion of each chapter, significant endnotes to alert readers to important works in this field of study, and a list of suggested readings for those interested in pursuing ideas further allow people with a variety of learning styles and reading approaches to master the content of this text fairly easily. Internet site listings for further readings and research have been added to this edition. Faculty can readily accentuate, elaborate, or correlate examples that are similar, parallel or contrary, to create a sound framework for student understanding. With this format, I hope to engage the interest of a wide range of readers of varied preparatory backgrounds and academic experience in the vitally interesting subject of terrorism.

SUPPLEMENTS

Longman is pleased to offer several resources to qualified adopters of *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century* and their students that will make teaching and learning from this book even more effective and enjoyable.

For Instructors

MyPoliSciKit Video Case Studies. Featuring video from major news sources and providing reporting and insight on recent world affairs, this DVD series helps instructors integrate current events into their courses by letting them use the clips as lecture launchers or discussion starters.

For Students

MYSEARCHLAB. Need help with a paper? MySearchLab saves time and improves results by offering start-to-finish guidance on the research/writing process and full-text access to academic journals and periodicals. To learn more, please visit www.mysearchlab.com or contact your Pearson representative. To order MySearchLab with this book, use ISBN 0205798640.

LONGMAN ATLAS OF WORLD ISSUES (0–321-22465–5). Introduced and selected by Robert J. Art of Brandeis University and excerpted from the acclaimed Penguin Atlas Series, the *Longman Atlas of World Issues* is designed to help students understand the geography and major issues facing the world today, such as terrorism, debt, and HIV/AIDS. These thematic, full-color maps examine forces shaping politics today at a global level. Explanatory

information accompanies each map to help students better grasp the concepts being shown and how they affect our world today. The atlas is available at no additional charge when packaged with this book.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Center for Counterterrorism Studies at The University of North Carolina facilitated opportunities to research as well as to teach in this vital field. Charlotte has a strong commitment toward the integration of research and teaching, encouraging faculty to generate materials that are of use in the classroom.

Because our Master in Public Administration program developed a concentration in disaster management with a focus on homeland security, I owe thanks in this edition to its director, Jim Douglas, for offering me the opportunity to teach about terrorism and homeland security and to work toward grants in this field. The opportunity to offer lectures in the Summer Workshops on Teaching Terrorism, organized by Steve Shellman and Greg Miller, was enormously useful for gathering faculty input on the text. I also want to express my appreciation to the following reviewers for their comments and suggestions: Oladimeji Aborisade, University of North Carolina at Charlotte; Terry L. St. Clair, Lindenwood University; Nicholas J. Steneck, Ohio State University; Carol Strong, University of Arkansas at Monticello; and Charles B. Strozier, John Jay College, CUNY.

Credit for the lack of bias in this text belongs to my father, Harold Culbreth, who challenged me all of my life to keep my mind open to other points of view. My husband, Lee, is always my strongest critic and best researcher, downloading information in the wake of the attacks on America and the development of America's response, including the "war on terror." Our daughters, Sara, Elizabeth, and Katherine, with their assessments of the inherent "dullness" of social science from a student's perspective, kept me focused on making this sixth edition interesting and exciting to the students who will be its primary consumers.

Cindy C. Combs

SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY OF RECENT TERROR			
1993	February 26	United States: Seven dead, 1,000 injured (some seriously) in car bomb explosion in the World Trade Center, New York.	
	March 12	India: Three hundred dead, over 1,300 injured by coordinated series of bombings in the heart of Bombay.	
1994	April 6	Rwanda: Assassination of the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi in a missile attack on their plane. Genocidal war in Rwanda erupts, resulting in the displacement and death of millions.	
	December 24	Algeria: Members of the Armed Islamic Group hijack an Air France flight in Algeria. The plane arrives in Marseille, France, on December 26. A French antiterrorist unit storms the plane, ending the 54-hour siege in which three hostages are killed by the terrorists. All four terrorists killed during the rescue.	
1995	March 20	Japan: Members of Aum Supreme Truth carry six packages onto Tokyo subway trains and puncture the packages with umbrella tips, releasing deadly sarin gas that kills 12 persons and injures more than 5,000.	
	April 19	United States: Car bomb blows up Oklahoma City federal building. One hundred sixty-eight dead, hundreds more injured.	
	November 4	Israel: Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin assassinated by a Jewish extremist at peace rally.	
1996	January 31	Sri Lanka: Suspected members of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) ram an explosivesladen truck into the Central Bank in the heart of downtown Colombo, killing 90 civilians and injuring more than 1,400 others.	
	December 17	Peru: Fourteen members of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) take over the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, holding 72 persons hostage for four months.	
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(Continued)

SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY OF RECENT TERROR (Continued)

1997 October 15

Sri Lanka: LTTE guerrillas detonate a massive truck bomb in the parking lot of a major hotel next to the new World Trade Center in Colombo, killing 18 persons and injuring at least 110 others.

November 17

Egypt: Six gunmen enter the Hatshepsut Temple in Luxor and for 30 minutes methodically shoot and kill tourists trapped inside the temple's alcoves. Fifty-eight foreign tourists are killed, along with three Egyptian police officers and one Egyptian tour guide. Al-Gama'a claimed responsibility for this attack.

1998 August 7

Kenya and Nairobi: U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es-Sala'am are bombed, killing 224 persons and wounding about 5,000. The attacks are believed to be carried out by Osama bin Laden's organization al-Qaeda.

August 20

Afghanistan and Sudan: U.S. missiles are launched to strike five camps belonging to bin Laden's organization in Afghanistan and a factory for the manufacturing of chemicals in Sudan. These attacks are made in retaliation for the bombing of the U.S. embassies.

1999 March 1

Uganda: According to French diplomatic reports, 150 armed Hutu rebels attacked three tourist camps, killing four Ugandans, and abducting three U.S. citizens, six Britons, three New Zealanders, two Danish citizens, one Australian, and one Canadian. On March 2, U.S. Embassy officials report that the Hutu rebels killed two U.S. citizens, four Britons, and two New Zealanders. The remaining hostages are released.

December 24

Nepal: Five heavily armed militants hijack an Indian Airlines Airbus carrying 189 passengers and 11 crew members en route from Katmandu to New Delhi. The Indian government agrees to release three imprisoned militants in exchange for the hostages' safe return. Within less than three months of his release, one of the militants forms a new group and begins terrorist attacks on India.

SELEC	TIVE CHRONOLO	OGY OF RECENT TERROR (Continued)
2000	March 21	India: Armed militants kill 35 Sikhs in Chadisinghpoora Village. Members of two groups, the Lashkar-e-Tayyiba and the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, militant Muslim groups in Kashmir, are arrested.
	October 12	Yemen: In Aden, a small dinghy carrying explosives rams the U.S. destroyer, USS <i>Cole</i> , killing 17 sailors and injuring 39 others. Supporters of Osama bin Laden are suspected in this attack.
2001	June 1	Israel: HAMAS claims responsibility for the bombing of a popular nightclub in Tel Aviv that causes over 140 casualties.
	September 11	United States: Two hijacked airliners crash into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. Soon thereafter, the Pentagon is struck by a third hijacked plane. A fourth hijacked plane, headed for a high-profile target in Washington, crashes into a field in southern Pennsylvania. More than 3,000 people are killed in these attacks. U.S. intelligence information indicates that Osama bin Laden, based in Afghanistan, was responsible for coordinating the attacks.
		United Nations: A global "war on terrorism" is declared by the United Nations, meeting in New York, in the wake of the September 11 attacks on the United States.
	October	United States: Letters containing anthrax are sent through the U.S. Postal Service in the Washington, DC and New York areas. Several people are infected—a few fatally.
2002	June 18	Israel: A 22-year-old member of HAMAS detonates a suicide bomb in a bus in Jerusalem, killing 19 and wounding at least 55, many of whom are high school students.
	October 12	Indonesia: A bomb explodes in a pub in Kuta, a town on the Indonesian island of Bali. As patrons and others rush into the street, a more powerful second bomb hidden inside a van is detonated. 202 people are killed and 209 injured in these attacks. Jemaah Islamiya Organization claims responsibility.

2003	May 12	Three housing compounds for expatriate workers in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, are bombed, killing dozens and wounding about 140.
		Al-Qaeda cells are implicated.
	October 23–26	Chechen rebels take more than 200 people hostage at a Moscow theater, demanding that Russian troops leave Chechnya. After nearly three days, special forces troops pump an anesthetic gas into the theater and attack. All of the rebels and 129 of the hostages are killed, with most of the hostages dying from the gas.
2004	March 11	Ten bombs are detonated on several commuter trains in Madrid, Spain, killing 191 and wounding more than 1,500. Al-Qaeda cells are responsible for the attacks.
	August 31	Hamas suicide bombers detonate on two buses almost simultaneously in the city of Beersheba, killing at least 15 and wounding dozens.
2005	July 7	Four bombs explode in London: three simultaneously aboard London Underground trains and one aboard a bus. The attacks, carried out by suicide bombers, kill more than 50 people and injure more than 700.
	July 23	Three suicide bombers detonate bombs at the Egyptian resort town of Sharm el-Sheikh in Sinai. More than 60 people are killed, including more than 40 Egyptians and at least 15 foreign tourists, mainly Europeans.
	September 30	In Darfur, Sudan, a group of 300 armed assailants attack a camp for refugees, killing 29 civilians, wounding 10 others, and destroying 80 temporary shelters. No group claimed responsibility.

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