

Contents

<i>Credits</i>	<i>page</i> xv
<i>Preface</i>	xix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xxiii
1 The Nature of Terrorism	1
A. Introduction	1
B. Definitions and Typologies of Terrorism	2
1. Definitions	3
2. Typologies	8
C. Critical Distinctions: Terrorism, Aggression, Crime, and War	12
1. Terrorism and Crime	14
2. Terrorism and War	16
3. Legal and Military Interventions	20
Discussion Questions	20
2 Theories of Aggression and Terrorism	21
A. Introduction	21
B. Nature and Nurture	22
C. Normlessness and Alienation	25
D. Strain and Deprivation Theories	26
E. Routine Activities Theory	29
F. Gangs, Territory, and Honor	31
G. Strategic and Psychological Motives	35
1. Motives of Leaders and Followers	35
	vii

Contents

2. Rationality and Culture	36
3. Rationality, Passion, and Shame	38
4. Rationality and Deterrence	40
H. Other Theories of Aggression	40
I. Do Explanations of Terrorism Lend Legitimacy to It?	41
Discussion Questions	42
3 A Brief History of Terrorism	43
A. Early Forms of Terrorism: Babylon and Rome, Asia, Europe, and America	43
B. Ethnic and Religious Terrorism in the Twentieth Century	47
1. Turks and Kurds	47
2. Sunnis and Kurds	48
3. Sunni Arabs and Shi'a	48
4. Russians and Chechens	49
5. Basques and Spaniards	50
6. Hutus and Tutsis	50
7. English Protestants and Irish Catholics	51
8. Tamils and Sinhalese	52
C. Emergence of the Suicide Bomber	53
D. Women in Terrorism	62
E. Post-9/11 Terrorism: Alienation Meets Advanced Technology	64
Discussion Questions	71
4 Two Trajectories of Humankind: Globalization or Clash?	73
A. From Alexander the Great to Twenty-First-Century Globalization	73
1. A Short History of Globalization	73
2. Critiques of Globalization and Counter-Critiques	83
B. The Clash of Civilizations Theory	87
1. Bernard Lewis	87
2. Samuel P. Huntington	88
3. Critiques of the Clash of Civilizations Theory	91
C. Reconciling the Irresistible Force of Globalization with the Immovable Object of Tradition	97
Discussion Questions	99
5 Religion, the State, and Terrorism	101
A. The Major Religions: Origins, Scriptures, Followers, and Links to Violence	101
1. Christianity	104

Contents

2. Islam	105
3. Judaism	115
4. Hinduism	117
5. Buddhism	119
6. Taoism	120
B. Moderates, Fundamentalists, and Extremists	122
C. Religion and the State	125
D. Does Religion Cause Terrorism?	129
E. The Future of Religion	135
Discussion Questions	136
6 Nonreligious Extremism and Terrorism	137
A. Extremist Ideologies	137
1. Political Extremism	141
2. Racist and Ethnic Extremism and Hate Groups	143
3. Other Extremist Ideologies	145
B. Prominent Extremist Groups	148
1. The German Red Army Faction	148
2. The Italian Red Brigades	149
3. The Shining Path of Peru	151
4. Symbionese Liberation Army	152
5. Earth Liberation Front	154
6. Ku Klux Klan	155
7. Home-Grown Extremists: Citizen Militias, Small Team Operations, and Lone Wolves	156
C. Dealing with Extremism	162
Discussion Questions	164
7 Technology and Terrorism	166
A. Technology as an Instrument of Terror	166
1. Weapons of Mass Destruction: Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear	168
2. Attacks on Technology Infrastructures and Critical Systems	180
3. Cyberterrorism	181
4. The Internet as a “Rage Enabler”	189
B. Technology as a Tool Against Terrorism	191
1. Smart Identification Technologies	194
2. Technology for Gathering Intelligence Data	196
3. Technology for “Connecting the Dots”	197
4. The Internet as Bridge Builder	198

Contents

C. The Limits of Technology	199
Discussion Questions	200
8 Terrorism throughout the World	202
A. Terrorism in the United States	202
1. Terrorist Groups and Acts of Domestic Origin	203
2. Terrorist Groups and Acts of International Origin	207
B. From Mexico to South America: Narcoterrorism and Leftist Terrorism	213
1. The Tijuana (Arellano Felix) Drug Cartel	217
2. Colombian Drug Cartels	218
3. The Zapatista National Liberation Front	219
4. The Sandinistas in Nicaragua	220
C. Attacks in Europe and Russia	221
1. March 2004 Madrid Commuter Train Attack	221
2. September 2004 Beslan School Hostage Crisis	222
3. July 2005 London Subway and Bus Attack	224
D. Asia	225
1. Japanese Red Army	225
2. Aum Shinrikyo	227
3. Jemaah Islamiah and the Bali Bombings of 2002 and 2005	228
E. The Middle East	229
1. Al Qaeda	229
2. Hezbollah	230
3. Palestinian Terrorist Groups	232
4. Libya	235
F. Prominent Contemporary Terrorist Leaders	238
G. Commonalities and Differences	248
Discussion Questions	249
9 Responses to Terrorism	250
A. Investigative, Diplomatic, and Military Responses	250
1. Diplomatic Responses	251
2. Military Power	252
B. Just War Theory and Terrorism	263
C. Unilateral vs. Collective Responses	268
D. The Tactic of Torture	270
1. What Is Torture?	270
2. Is Torture Ever Justifiable?	271
3. If Not Torture, What?	277
E. Covert and Other Special Operations	281
F. Dealing with Hostage-Taking	285

Contents

G. Reward (Bounty) Programs	287
H. International Collaboration in the Investigation and Prosecution of Terrorism	288
I. Economic Sanctions	290
J. The 9/11 Commission: Findings and Recommendations	293
1. What Went Wrong?	293
2. How Can Future Attacks Be Prevented?	295
K. Ending the War on Terror	296
Discussion Questions	297
10 Fear of Terrorism	299
A. Fear of Terrorism: Basics	299
1. The Significance of Fear	300
2. Short- and Long-Term Consequences of Excessive Fear	301
3. Fear of Crime, Fear of International Violence	302
4. Community-Oriented Interventions to Reduce Excessive Fear	303
B. The Anatomy of Fear and Its Relationship to Risk	303
1. The Nature and Sources of Fear	304
2. The Universality of Fear	305
3. Fear and Risk	306
4. Subjective vs. Objective Assessments of Risk	307
C. Media and Fear	310
1. Do the Media Exploit Our Sense of Powerlessness?	312
2. Reliable Media Accounts, Invalid Risks	317
3. Media Objectivity	318
D. Exploitation of Fear by Politicians	323
E. Fear and Public Policy	329
1. Managing Fear	329
2. Finding a Balance	333
F. An Agenda for Reducing the Social Costs of Fear	334
Discussion Questions	337
11 Preventing Terrorism: Short-Term Approaches	339
A. Introduction	339
B. Dealing with a Thinking Adversary	340
C. The Role of Intelligence	341
1. Integrating Intelligence Activities	342
2. Collection, Processing and Analysis, and Dissemination of Intelligence	344
D. Public Prevention: Homeland Security	350
1. Department of Homeland Security	350

Contents

2. Terrorism and Natural Disasters: Lessons from Hurricane Katrina	353
E. Financial Interventions	362
F. The 9/11 Commission and the Intelligence Gap: Findings and Recommendations	366
1. Intelligence Shortcomings and Goals	366
2. Need for Coordination	367
3. Criticism of the 9/11 Commission Report	368
G. State and Local Initiatives	370
Discussion Questions	373
12 Preventing Terrorism: Long-Term Strategies	375
A. Introduction	375
B. From Clash of Civilizations to Dialogue	376
1. Why Dialogue?	376
2. What Is Dialogue?	377
3. Dialogue and Social Capital	377
4. Barriers to Dialogue	382
5. Understanding What Works in Dialogue: A Research Agenda	390
C. Government Initiatives: Soft Power	392
1. Ambassadors, Consulates, and Embassy Staffs	392
2. Peace Processes	394
3. Public Diplomacy	395
4. Creative Public Initiatives	400
D. Private Initiatives	401
E. Building Trust and Community	403
1. The Importance of Culture	404
2. Tolerance and Trust	404
3. Good Government and the Rule of Law	407
4. Strengthening of Civil Associations	410
F. Reducing Dependence on Foreign Oil	411
G. Further Perspectives	411
Discussion Questions	412
13 Balancing Security and Rights to Liberty and Privacy	414
A. The Problem and Its Historical Precedents	414
B. How Terrorism Alters the Balancing Act	415
C. The Tradeoff: What Is Given Up? What Is Gained?	417
D. Profiling of Terrorists	423
E. The USA Patriot Act	430

Contents

F. Toward a More Informed Balance of Security and Liberty	434
Discussion Questions	435
14 Toward a Safer and Saner Twenty-First Century	436
Discussion Questions	440
<i>Notes</i>	441
<i>References</i>	451
<i>Index</i>	479