

CRIMINOLOGY B:

CHAPTER 11

TEXT "Criminology the Core" by Larry J. Siegel
Course of Study Designed and Constructed by Dr. M. Scott

SECTION 1: Pages 343 – 352 (4 Pages of Hand Written Notes)
"Chapter Outline" to "Terrorism"

SECTION 2: Pages 352 – 363 (5 Pages of Hand Written Notes)
"Terrorism" to "What Motivates a Terrorist?"

SECTION 3: Pages 363 – 372 (4 Pages of Hand Written Notes)
"What Motivates a Terrorist?" to "Thinking Like a Criminologist"

**HEADINGS for ALL written work should follow the example below:*

Criminology A (Course Title)	Student Name: _____ (First & Last)
Chapter / Section	Class Period: _____

TAKING NOTES: Approaches & Strategies: Teach Yourself How to Learn!		
The Classic Approach	Gather the Important Data <i>Target Reading!</i> 	WHO: Name the Players WHERE: Geography WHAT: Vocabulary HOW: Actions & Process WHEN: Dates in Order WHY: Reasons
<i>"In Your Own Words!!!"</i>		
The Personalized Approach "Summarize"	TRANSLATE "Text Book" English to YOUR English	<i>Copying "Word For Word" does NOT insure Understanding</i> TRANSLATION and SUMMARISING INSURES UNDERSTANDING

"Knowing ≠ Understanding just as Understanding ≠ Knowing" - Doc

Q & A: WRITTEN SUBMISSIONS

CREATE FIVE (5) Questions and Correct Answers for EACH SECTION

Questions should be related to the material being studied.

The questions should be written as if YOU were explaining the material to another person and wanted to see if they understood the Content of the Course.

Questions 1 – 3 should be “BASIC and FACTUAL”

(Vocabulary and/or Basic Information – “*Who, What, When & Where*”)

Questions 4 & 5 should require demonstration of “DEEPER UNDERSTANDING”

(Explain, Compare & Contrast – “*Why & How*”)

The Questions YOU CREATE should be labeled and numbered clearly.

ANSWERS to each question should be written on a new line – just below the question.

For Example: If the topic we were talking about was “*Chickens*” (it won’t be – but I don’t want to give away answers from a topic we WILL be discussing),

GOOD “Q & A” Assignments would look like this:

Criminology A

Chapter 1: Section C

Dr. Scott

Period 9

Q1. “**What is a chicken?**” (Basic Vocabulary – *What?*)

A1. A bird of the clucking variety that many people find delicious.

Q2. “**Who usually raises chickens?**” (Basic Fact – *Who?*)

A2. Usually farmers but sometimes people who like to keep them as pets.

Q3. “**Where are chickens usually raised?**” (Geography - *Location*)

A3. In coops found on farms that often times have business relationships with fast food chains and grocery stores.

Q4. “**Why did the chicken cross the road?**” (Deeper Understanding – *Why?*)

A4. To get to the other side, away from many people who might be hungry.

Q5. “**Explain how a chicken can escape:**” (Deeper Understanding – *How?*)

A5. Using power tools, quick thinking and inspiring an uprising against the oppression of the farmers.

Chapter Outline

Political Crime

The Goals of Political Criminals
Becoming a Political Criminal

Types of Political Crimes

Election Fraud
Abuse of Office/Public Corruption
Treason

Profiles in Crime

KWAME KILPATRICK: BETRAYING THE PUBLIC'S TRUST

Espionage
State Political Crime

Terrorism

Defining Terrorism
Terrorist and Guerilla
Terrorist and Insurgent

Policies and Issues in Criminology

ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND THE LEVANT (ISIL)
Terrorist and Revolutionary

A Brief History of Terrorism

Contemporary Forms of Terrorism

Revolutionary Terrorism
Political Terrorism
Nationalist Terrorism
Retributive Terrorism
State-Sponsored Terrorism
Criminal Terrorism
Lone-Actor Terrorism

What Motivates the Terrorist?

Psychological View
Alienation View
Religious View
Family Conflict View
Political View
Socialization/Friendship View
Ideological View
Explaining State-Sponsored Terrorism

Extent of the Terrorism Threat

Response to Terrorism

Confronting Terrorism with Law Enforcement
Confronting Terrorism with the Law
Combating Terrorism with Social Change

Edward Snowden, born in North Carolina in 1983, worked for Booz Allen Hamilton, a provider of management and technology consulting services to the U.S. government.¹ Booz Allen was hired to consult with the National Security Agency, and as a trusted employee Snowden was assigned to the NSA's Oahu, Hawaii, office. In May 2013, Snowden began collecting top-secret documents regarding NSA domestic surveillance practices, including spying on millions of American citizens. He found this invasion of privacy disturbing and left his employment, going to Hong Kong. Soon after, newspapers began printing excerpts from the purloined NSA documents. They detailed NSA spying practices against American citizens and foreign nationals. Snowden was charged under the Espionage Act but, before he could be apprehended, fled to Russia.

In a series of interviews given in Hong Kong and Russia, Snowden told the press, "I'm willing to sacrifice [my former life] because I can't in good conscience allow the U.S. government to destroy privacy, Internet freedom, and basic liberties for people around the world with this massive surveillance machine they're secretly building." He saw himself as a truth teller, informing the press that the American people have a right to know ▶

FACT OR FICTION?

- ▶ Treason is the only crime mentioned in the United States Constitution.
- ▶ Terrorist attacks have been increasing every year; the world is becoming more dangerous.

about government abuses that were kept hidden: "The secret continuance of these programs represents a far greater danger than their disclosure . . . So long as there's broad support amongst a people, it can be argued there's a level of legitimacy even to the most invasive and morally wrong program, as it was an informed and willing decision. . . . However, programs that are implemented in secret, out of public oversight, lack that legitimacy, and that's a problem. It also represents a dangerous normalization of 'governing in the dark,' where decisions with enormous public impact occur without any public input."² Is Snowden a patriot or a political criminal? After fleeing the country, he took refuge somewhere in Russia where he remains to this day.

1

political crime

Illegal acts that are designed to undermine an existing government and threaten its survival. Political crimes can include both violent and nonviolent acts and range in seriousness from dissent, treason, and espionage to violent acts such as terrorism or assassination.

Political crimes have recently become a very important area of criminological inquiry, and many criminologists who previously paid scant attention to the interaction between political motivation and crime have now made it the focus of intense study. In this chapter, we will briefly discuss the concept of **political crime**—illegal acts that are designed to undermine an existing government and threaten its survival.³ Some political acts are nonviolent, such as election fraud and espionage. Others are extremely violent and involve terrorism, which now occupies the center stage of both world opinion and government policy. It is important for students of criminology to develop a basic understanding of terrorism's definition, history, and structure, and review the steps being taken to limit or eliminate its occurrence.

Political Crime

L01 Define the term *political crime*.

Political crimes can include both violent and nonviolent acts and range in seriousness from taking bribes to espionage to violent acts such as terrorism or assassination. When an act becomes a political crime and when an actor is considered a political criminal are often extremely subjective. In highly repressive nations, any form of unsanctioned political activity, including writing a newspaper article critical of the regime, may be considered a political crime, punishable by a prison term or even death. In contrast, people whom some label as terrorists and insurrectionists are viewed by others as freedom fighters and revolutionaries. What would have happened to George Washington and Benjamin Franklin had the British won the Revolutionary War? Would they have been hanged for their political crimes or considered heroes and freedom fighters?

One reason for this vagueness and subjectivity is that the political criminal and political crimes may stem from religious or ideological sources. Because their motivations shift between selfish personal needs and selfless, noble, or altruistic desires, political crimes often occupy a gray area between conventional and outlawed behavior. It is easy to condemn interpersonal violent crimes such as rape or murder because their goals are typically selfish and self-centered (e.g., revenge or profit). In contrast, political criminals may be motivated by principle, faith, or conviction. While it is true that some political crime involves profit (such as selling state secrets for money), many political criminals, including Edward Snowden, do not consider themselves antisocial but instead patriotic and altruistic. They are willing to sacrifice themselves for what they consider to be the greater good. While some concoct elaborate schemes to hide or mask their actions, others are quite brazen, hoping to provoke the government to overreact in their zeal to crack down on dissent. Because state authorities may engage in a range of retaliatory actions that result in human rights violations, even those

who support the government may begin to question its activities—maybe the government is corrupt and authoritarian? On the other hand, if the government does nothing, it appears weak and corrupt and unable to protect citizens.

Even those political criminals who profit personally from their misdeeds, such as someone who spies for an enemy nation for financial payoffs, may believe that their acts are motivated by a higher calling than common theft. “My ultimate goal is to weaken or overthrow a corrupt government,” they reason, “so selling secrets to the enemy is justified.” Political criminals may believe that their acts are criminalized only because the group holding power fears them and wants to curtail their behavior. And while the general public has little objection to laws that control extreme behaviors such as plotting a bloody revolution, they may have questions when a law criminalizes ordinary political dissent or bans political meetings in order to control suspected political criminals.

The Goals of Political Criminals

One survivor of a bombing attack in Iraq told reporters, “There may be a state, there may be a government. But what can that state do? What can they do with all the terrorists? Are they supposed to set up a checkpoint in every house?” In their attack, the bombers succeeded in their efforts to create an atmosphere of intimidation and fear designed to oust the government.⁴ Unsettling the populace and reducing faith in the government may be one goal of political criminals; some of the others include:

- *Intimidation.* Some political criminals want to intimidate or threaten an opponent who does not share their political orientation or views.
- *Revolution.* Some political criminals plot to overthrow the existing government and replace it with one that holds views they find more acceptable.
- *Profit.* Another goal of political crime is profit: selling state secrets for personal enrichment or trafficking in stolen arms and munitions.
- *Conviction.* Some political criminals are motivated by altruism; they truly believe their crimes will benefit society and are willing to violate the law and risk punishment in order to achieve what they see as social improvement.
- *Pseudo-conviction.* These political criminals conceal conventional criminal motivations behind a mask of conviction and altruism. They may form a revolutionary movement out of a hidden desire to engage in violence rather than their stated goal of reforming society. The pseudo-convictional criminal is particularly dangerous because they convince followers to join them in their crimes without fully revealing their true motivations.⁵

Becoming a Political Criminal

Why does someone become a political criminal? There is no set pattern or reason; motivations vary widely. Some use political crime as a stepping stone to public office, while others use it as a method to focus their frustrations. Others hope they can gain respect from their friends and family. Although the motivations for political crime are complex and varied, there does appear to be some regularity in the way ideas are formed. Political crime expert Randy Borum finds that this pattern takes the form of a series of cognitive stages:

- Stage 1: “*It’s not right.*” An unhappy, dissatisfied individual identifies some type of undesirable event or condition. It could be economic (e.g., poverty, unemployment, poor living conditions), social (e.g., government-imposed restrictions on individual freedoms, lack of order, or morality), or personal (“I am being cheated of what is due me”). While the conditions may vary, those involved perceive the experience as “things are not as they should be.”
- Stage 2: “*It’s not fair.*” The prospective political criminal concludes that the undesirable condition is a product of “injustice”—that is, it does not apply to everyone.

L02 Assess the cause of political crime.

CONNECTIONS

Borum's typology seems similar to the techniques of neutralization discussed in Chapter 7. Is it possible that terrorists must neutralize feelings of guilt and shame before planting their bombs? Or do their religious and political beliefs negate any need for a psychological process to reduce personal responsibility for violence?

election fraud

Illegal interference with the process of an election. Acts of fraud tend to involve affecting vote counts to bring about a desired election outcome, whether by increasing the vote share of the favored candidate, depressing the vote share of the rival candidates, or both. Varieties of election fraud include intimidation, disruption of polling places, distribution of misinformation such as the wrong election date, registration fraud, and vote buying.



AP Images/The Hawk Eye/John Gaines

Kelli Jo Griffin wipes away tears as she is embraced by Sister Peggy from the Holy Family Catholic Church of Fort Madison, Iowa, following her not-guilty verdict on March 20, 2014. The former drug offender, who believed her voting rights had been restored when she cast a ballot last year, was acquitted of perjury in a voter fraud case. Some states have begun to crack down on alleged voter fraud, and in some cases, such as Griffin's, prosecutions may be overzealous.

A government worker may feel his or her low pay scale is "not fair" and that corporate workers with less skill are making more money and getting more benefits. At the same time, government workers are portrayed as lazy and corrupt. For those who are deprived, this facilitates feelings of resentment and injustice.

- Stage 3: "It's your fault." Someone or some group must be held accountable for the extremist's displeasure. It always helps to identify a potential target. A youth who joins a racist group may become convinced that minorities get all the good jobs while his family is suffering financially. Extremist groups spread this propaganda to attract recruits. Americans may be portrayed as rich and undeserving by overseas enemies looking to recruit disenfranchised young men and women to become terrorists.
- Stage 4: "You're evil." Because good people would not intentionally hurt others, targeted groups are appropriate choices for revenge and/or violence. The disaffected government worker concludes that since his country has let him down it is only fair to sell state secrets to foreign nations for profit or to join a terrorist group or both. Aggression becomes justifiable when aimed against bad people, particularly those who intentionally cause harm to others. Second, by casting the target as evil, it dehumanizes them and makes justifying aggression even easier. So it's not so bad to rig an election, because the opposing candidates are evil and do not deserve to hold office.⁶

Types of Political Crimes

Considering this cognitive thought that produces political crime and terrorism, what are the specific crimes and what form do they take?

Election Fraud

Some political criminals want to shape elections to meet their personal needs (even elections for student council president). In some instances their goal is altruistic: the election of candidates who reflect their personal political views. In others, their actions are motivated by profit: they are paid by a candidate to rig the election. Whatever the motive, **election fraud** is illegal interference with the political process. Acts of fraud tend to involve affecting vote counts to bring about a desired election outcome, whether by increasing the vote share of the favored candidate, depressing the vote share of the rival candidates, or both.

In some third-world dictatorships, election fraud is the norm, and it is common for the ruling party to announce, after party members counted the votes, that they were returned to office with an overwhelming majority. Election fraud, a feature of political life since Roman times, includes a variety of behaviors designed to give a candidate or his/her party an unfair advantage:

- *Intimidation.* Voters can be scared away from the polls through threats or intimidation. Having armed guards posted at polling places may convince people it is dangerous to vote. Lists of registered voters can be obtained and people subjected to threatening calls before the election.
- *Disruption.* Bomb threats can be called into voting places in areas that are known to heavily favor the opposing party, with the goal of suppressing the vote. There can be outright sabotage of polling places, ballots, ballot boxes, and voting machines.
- *Misinformation.* Flyers are sent out to voters registered with the opposition party containing misleading information such as the wrong election date or saying that rules have been changed about who is eligible to vote.

- *Registration fraud.* Political operatives may try to shape the outcome of an election by busing in ineligible voters from other districts. Because many jurisdictions require minimal identification and proof of citizenship, political criminals find it easy to get around residency requirements. They may provide conspirators with “change of address” forms to allow them to vote in a particular election, when in fact no actual change of address has occurred.
- *Vote buying.* Securing votes by payment or other rewards or the selling of one’s vote is an age-old problem that still exists. One popular method is to buy absentee ballots from people who are in need of cash. The fraudulent voter can then ensure that the vote goes their way, an outcome that cannot be guaranteed if the conspirator casts a secret ballot at a polling place.

Most states have created laws to control and punish vote fraud. The federal government has a number of statutes designed to control and/or restrict fraud, including 18 U.S.C. § 594, which provides:

Whoever intimidates, threatens, coerces, or attempts to intimidate, threaten, or coerce, any other person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote or to vote as he may choose, or of causing such other person to vote for, or not to vote for, any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, Presidential elector, Member of the Senate, Member of the House of Representatives, Delegate from the District of Columbia, or Resident Commissioner, at any election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing such candidate, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

Abuse of Office/Public Corruption

In 2015, Senator Robert Menendez became the 12th senator to be indicted while in office. Menendez, the top Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was indicted on corruption charges alleging that he used his office to help Salomon Melgen, a Florida ophthalmologist and political donor, who was accused of overbilling Medicare.⁷ Menendez is believed to have received personal favors from Melgen including plane tickets to vacation resorts; he denied all charges. He is by far not the only well-known politician accused of using their office for personal enrichment:

- On August 14, 2013, former Congressman Jesse L. Jackson Jr. was sentenced to 30 months in prison for conspiring to defraud his reelection campaigns by converting \$750,000 in campaign funds to pay for personal items and expenses, including high-end appliances and electronics. Jackson, who filed misleading reports to conceal his illegal activities, was released in March 2015.⁸
- Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich received a 14-year sentence in federal prison following conviction for corruption and the soliciting of bribes for political appointments, including an attempt to sell the U.S. Senate seat formerly occupied by Barack Obama.⁹
- Detroit Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick was incarcerated for corruption. His story is told in the Profiles in Crime feature.

Public corruption involves a breach of public trust and/or abuse of position by government officials and their private sector accomplices. Whether elected, appointed, or hired, they are committing a crime if while in office they demand, solicit, accept, or agree to receive anything of value in return for being manipulated in the performance of their official duties. They and their relatives and friends may be the recipients of illegal funds paid for by businesspeople willing to bribe to gain public contracts and other government actions. The victims of public corruption are the general public, who pay for corruption through inflated costs and sometimes higher taxes.

Treason

“I have learned to hate all traitors, and there is no disease that I spit on more than treachery.”¹⁰ So said the Greek poet and playwright Aeschylus 2,500 years ago.

CONNECTIONS

Public corruption is also considered a white-collar crime. We will return to this issue in Chapter 12 when we cover bribery and extortion. Should public officials who accept bribes go to prison? After all, they are not really dangerous people. How about requiring that they really do public service: volunteering in the community after their illegal gains are confiscated?

L03 Compare and contrast the terms *espionage* and *treason*.

PROFILES IN CRIME

KWAME KILPATRICK: BETRAYING THE PUBLIC'S TRUST

When Kwame Kilpatrick became mayor of Detroit in 2002, he promised to revitalize the city but instead used his position for personal gain. After being incarcerated on one corruption charge, he was re-indicted on others as soon as he was paroled. After a lengthy trial, Kilpatrick was sentenced in 2013 to a 28-year prison term for his role in a wide-ranging racketeering conspiracy that included extortion, bribery, and fraud. Thirty-two other associates were also convicted of crimes in connection with the case, including contractor Bobby Ferguson, a close friend of Kilpatrick, who received a 21-year prison term.

What did the conspirators do to earn such draconian punishment? Kilpatrick extorted money from people doing business with the city, rigged bids, and took bribes. He illegally appropriated funds from nonprofit civic organizations Kilpatrick and Ferguson obtained more than \$500,000 from the state of Michigan and private donors for nonprofit organizations they controlled. The organizations were supposed to help the community. Instead, the mayor spent large sums on himself for luxury vacations, spa treatments, and golf clubs. In addition, Kilpatrick coerced contractors to include Ferguson in public contracts and to rig the awarding of the contracts to ensure that Ferguson got a portion of the revenue. Ferguson received at least

\$73 million in revenues from municipal contracts through this scheme, a portion of which he shared with his co-conspirators.

The government obtained text messages from Kilpatrick, given to them by his cell phone service provider, that discussed bid rigging, bribes, and other criminal activity. Kilpatrick had no idea the messages were being recorded and saved. Federal investigators also found that he was making large cash deposits—his bank account records revealed more than \$840,000 in unexplained expenditures above and beyond his salary as mayor, and none of that money was disclosed on his tax returns. He actually would hand officers on his protective detail an envelope with cash and tell them to take it to the bank and pay his credit card bill. The amazing aspect of the case was that the mayor did little to cover his tracks. Believing he was above the law, he thought he could get away with repeated and prolonged betrayal of the public trust—but he didn't.

Source: U.S. Attorney's Office, Eastern District of Michigan, "Former Detroit Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick, Contractor Bobby Ferguson, and Bernard Kilpatrick Sentenced on Racketeering, Extortion, Bribery, Fraud, and Tax Charges," press release, October 17, 2013, www.fbi.gov/detroit/press-releases/2013/former-detroit-mayor-kwame-kilpatrick-contractor-bobby-ferguson-and-bernard-kilpatrick-sentenced-on-racketeering-extortion-bribery-fraud-and-tax-charges (accessed 2015).

treason

An act of disloyalty to one's nation or state.

Yet, while the crime of treason has been around since ancient times, and the word "traitor" is a generic term, there have actually been fewer than 40 prosecutions for **treason** in the entire history of the United States and most have resulted in acquittal. The most famous case: the 1807 trial of former Vice President Aaron Burr, who was accused of hatching a plot to separate the western states from the union. When that plot went awry, he conspired to seize Mexico and set up a puppet government with himself as king! Arrested on charges of treason, Burr was acquitted when the federal court, headed by John Marshall, ruled that to be guilty of treason an overt act must be committed; planning is not enough.¹¹

Because treason is considered such a heinous crime, and to deter would-be traitors, many nations apply or have applied the death penalty to those convicted of attempting to overthrow the existing government. Treason was considered particularly loathsome under English common law, and until the nineteenth century it was punishable by being "drawn and quartered," a method of execution that involved hanging the offender, removing their intestines while still living, and finally cutting the offender into four pieces for public display. William Wallace, the Scottish patriot made famous in the film *Braveheart*, was so displayed after his execution.

Acts can be considered treasonous in order to stifle political dissent. In eighteenth-century England, it was considered treasonous to merely criticize the king or his

behavior, and not surprisingly, the American colonists feared giving their own central government that much power. Therefore treason is the only crime mentioned in the United States Constitution, which defines treason as levying war against the United States or “in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort,” and requires the testimony of two witnesses or a confession in open court for conviction. The purpose of this was to limit the government’s ability to bring charges of treason against opponents and to make it more difficult to prosecute those who are so charged.¹²

Today, the United States Criminal Code codifies treason as “whoever, owing allegiance to the United States, levies war against them or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the United States or elsewhere, is guilty of treason and shall suffer death, or shall be imprisoned not less than five years and fined under this title but not less than \$10,000; and shall be incapable of holding any office under the United States.”¹³ Helping or cooperating with the enemy in a time of war would be considered treason; so too would be creating or recruiting a military force to help a foreign nation overthrow the government. After World War II, two women, Iva Ikuko Toguri D’Aquino, a Japanese American born in Los Angeles and known as Tokyo Rose, and Mildred Elizabeth Gillars, born in Portland, Maine, and known as Axis Sally, served prison terms for broadcasting for the Axis powers in an effort to demoralize American troops.

Espionage

Robert Hanssen was a counterintelligence agent for the FBI assigned to detect and identify Russian spies. A former Chicago police officer, Hanssen’s assignment required him to have access to sensitive top-secret information. In one of the most shocking cases in U.S. history, Hanssen volunteered to become a paid spy for the KGB during the Cold War and over a period of 15 years received at least \$1.4 million in cash and diamonds. He was arrested on February 18, 2001, after leaving a package of classified documents for his Russian handlers under a footbridge in a park outside Washington. During his years as a double agent, Hanssen not only provided more than 6,000 pages of documents to the Soviet Union but also caused the death of two U.S. double agents whose identities were uncovered with the aid of his secret documents. The Hanssen case was the subject of the 2007 film *Breach*, which starred Chris Cooper as the corrupt agent.¹⁴ Another infamous case of espionage involved Aldrich Hazen Ames, a 31-year veteran of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) who spied for the Russians, receiving \$1.88 million in pay before being caught and sentenced to life without the possibility of parole.¹⁵

Espionage (more commonly called “spying”) is the practice of obtaining information about a government, organization, or society that is considered secret or confidential without the permission of the holder of the information. Espionage involves obtaining the information illegally by covertly entering the area where the information is stored, secretly photographing forbidden areas, or subverting through threat or payoff people who know the information and will divulge it through subterfuge.¹⁶

Espionage is typically associated with spying on potential or actual enemies, by a foreign agent who is working for his or her nation’s intelligence service. With the end of the Cold War, the threat of espionage seemed reduced until 2010, when a major Russian spy group was unraveled and 10 people arrested. These were sleeper agents who had spent decades fitting seamlessly in their new environment. Neighbors were shocked to find out that “Richard Murphy” and “Cynthia Murphy” were actually spies named Vladimir Guryev and Lydia Guryev, while “Michael Zottoli” and “Patricia Mills” were in reality Mikhail Kutsik and Natalia Pereverzeva, agents of the Russian Federation. The case was settled when the Russians were exchanged for four American spies being held in Russian prisons. The TV shows *The Americans* and *Alliance* were roughly based on this Russian spy group.

INDUSTRIAL ESPIONAGE The concept of espionage has been extended to spying involving corporations, referred to as industrial espionage. This involves such unethical

FACT OR FICTION?

Treason is the only crime mentioned in the United States Constitution.

FACT Treason is considered so serious that it is the only crime set out in the Constitution. Article 3, Section 3 defines treason and its punishment:

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court. The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

The phrase “Corruption of Blood” refers to the fact that the children of people convicted of treason would not be punished or attainted as they were in England.

espionage

The practice of obtaining information about a government, organization, or society that is considered secret or confidential without the permission of the holder of the information. Commonly called spying.



Andrew Hamm/Washington Times/Landov

Industrial espionage is aimed at illegally appropriating information from rival networks or nations. A "Wanted by the FBI" document announces a criminal indictment against five Chinese military hackers for cyberespionage. Wen Xinyu, Wang Dong, Sun Kailiang, Huang Zhenyu, and Gu Chunhui are charged with targeting U.S. corporations and labor organizations for commercial advantage.

or illegal activities as bribing employees to reveal trade secrets such as computer codes or product formulas. The traditional methods of industrial espionage include recruiting agents and inserting them into the target company or breaking into an office to take equipment and information. It can also involve surveillance and spying on commercial organizations in order to determine the direction of their new product line or even what bid they intend to make on a government contract. Such knowledge can provide vast profits when it allows a competitor to save large sums on product development or to win an undeserved contract by underbidding.¹⁷

FOREIGN INDUSTRIAL ESPIONAGE In 2014, five Chinese men were indicted for stealing thousands of "sensitive, internal communications" from U.S. companies, including Alcoa, United States Steel Corporation, and Westinghouse.¹⁸ This international hacking case shows that not all corporate espionage is home-grown, and some attacks have been carried out by foreign agents. A report of the National Counterintelligence Center lists biotechnology, aerospace, telecommunications, computer software, transportation, advanced materials, energy research, defense, and semiconductor companies as the top targets for foreign economic espionage.¹⁹

Industrial espionage by foreign agents' efforts has hurt the United States by eroding the U.S. military advantage. Foreign militaries have been able to acquire sophisticated capabilities that might otherwise have taken years to develop. Such efforts also undercut the U.S. economy by making it possible for foreign firms to gain a competitive economic edge over U.S. companies.

Many foreign agents did not come to the United States specifically to engage in espionage, but when an opportunity arose they jumped on the chance to satisfy their desire for profits, for academic or scientific acclaim, or out of a sense of patriotism to their home countries. A number of factors have combined to facilitate private-sector technology theft. Globalization, while generating major gains for the U.S. economy, has given foreigners unprecedented access to U.S. firms and to sensitive technologies. There has also been a proliferation of devices that have made it easy for private-sector experts to illegally retrieve, store, and transfer massive amounts of information, including trade secrets and proprietary data; such devices are increasingly common in the workplace.

In addition to private citizens conducting espionage, foreign government organizations also mount their own operations, including:

- Targeting U.S. firms for technology that would strengthen their foreign defense capabilities
- Posting personnel at U.S. military bases to collect classified information to bolster military modernization efforts
- Employing commercial firms in the United States in a covert effort to target and acquire U.S. technology
- Recruiting students, professors, scientists, and researchers to engage in technology collection
- Making direct requests for classified, sensitive, or export-controlled information via personal contacts, telephone, email, fax, and other forms of communication
- Forming ventures with U.S. firms in the hope of placing collectors in proximity to sensitive technologies or else establishing foreign research

Foreign companies seek entrée into U.S. firms and other targeted institutions by pursuing business relationships that provide access to sensitive or classified information, technologies, or projects:

- *Conferences, conventions, and trade shows.* These public venues offer opportunities for foreign adversaries to gain access to U.S. information and experts in dual-use and sensitive technologies.
- *Official foreign visitors and exploitation of joint research.* Foreign government organizations, including intelligence services, use official visits to U.S. government and cleared defense contractor facilities, as well as joint research projects between foreign and U.S. entities, to target and collect information.
- *Foreign targeting of U.S. visitors overseas.* Whether traveling for business or personal reasons, U.S. travelers overseas—businesspeople, government employees, and contractors—are routinely targeted by foreign collectors, especially if they are assessed as having access to some sensitive information. Some U.S. allies engage in this practice, as do less friendly powers such as Russia and China. Targeting takes many forms: exploitation of electronic media and devices, surreptitious entry into hotel rooms, aggressive surveillance, and attempts to set up sexual or romantic entanglements.
- *Open source information.* Foreign collectors are aware that much U.S. economic and technological information is available in professional journals, social networking and other public websites, and the media.²⁰

LEGAL CONTROLS Before 1996, there was no federal statute that explicitly penalized industrial espionage. Recognizing the increasingly important role that intellectual property plays in the well-being of the American economy, Congress enacted the Economic Espionage Act (EEA) of 1996, which criminalizes the theft of trade secrets. The EEA actually contains two separate provisions, one that penalizes foreign agents from stealing American trade secrets and one directed at domestic spying.

Convictions of foreign agents under the Economic Espionage Act have been relatively rare. It was not until 2006 that the first conviction occurred, when two Chinese Nationals, Fei Ye and Ming Zhong, pleaded guilty to stealing secret information from Sun Microsystems and Transmeta Corporation.²¹

State Political Crime

While some political crimes are committed by people who oppose the state, others are perpetrated by state authorities against the people they are supposed to serve; this is referred to as **state political crime**. Critical criminologists argue that rather than being committed by disaffected people, a great deal of political crime arises from the efforts of the state to either maintain governmental power or to uphold the race, class, and gender advantages of those who support the government. In an industrial society, the state will do everything to protect the property rights of the wealthy while opposing the real interests of the poor. They might even go to war to support the capitalist classes who need the wealth and resources of other nations. The desire for natural resources such as rubber, oil, and metals was one of the primary reasons for Japan's invasion of China and other Eastern nations that sparked their entry into World War II.

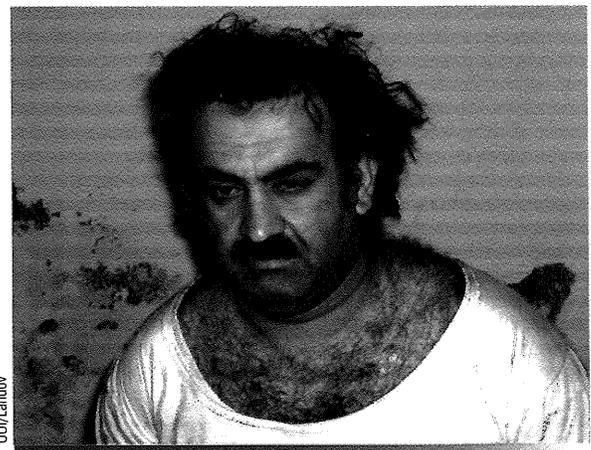
USING TORTURE Of all state political crimes, the use of **torture** to gain information from suspected political criminals is perhaps the most notorious. Government intelligence agencies claim that torturing suspected terrorists can produce important information needed to thwart plots against U.S. interests. However, a recent report by the Senate Intelligence Committee disparaged the use of torture and disputed claims that it can be a valuable source of information. The Senate report gives

state political crime

Political crime that arises from the efforts of the state to either maintain governmental power or to uphold the race, class, and gender advantages of those who support the government. It is possible to divide state political crimes into five varieties: (1) political corruption, (2) illegal domestic surveillance, (3) human rights violations, (4) state violence such as torture, illegal imprisonment, police violence and use of deadly force, and (5) state corporate crime committed by individuals who abuse their state authority or who fail to exercise it when working with people and organizations in the private sector.

torture

An act that causes severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, that is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining a confession, punishing them for a crime they may have committed, or intimidating or coercing them into a desired action.



UD/landov

Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, the mastermind of the 9/11 attacks, is shown here shortly after his capture. He was interrogated using waterboarding and other extreme measures. Held at Guantánamo Bay, he has asked for the death penalty so that he can become a martyr. Can the use of torture with suspected terrorists ever be appropriate or morally justified? Would someone like Mr. Mohammed ever give intelligence voluntarily?

CHECKPOINTS

Political crimes can include both violent and nonviolent acts and range in seriousness from dissent, treason, and espionage to terrorism and assassination.

- ▶ When an act becomes a political crime and when an actor is considered a political criminal are often extremely subjective.
- ▶ To truly be considered a political criminal, the perpetrator must be motivated by religious or ideological beliefs and not solely for profit or personal gain.
- ▶ Political crimes often occupy a gray area between conventional and outlawed behavior.
- ▶ Even those political criminals who profit personally from their misdeeds believe their acts are motivated by a higher calling than common theft.
- ▶ There is no set pattern or reason for becoming a political criminal, and motivations vary widely.
- ▶ Unlike common-law criminals, political criminals may actually give other people money rather than stealing for their personal use.
- ▶ Some political criminals want to shape elections to meet their personal needs.
- ▶ The U.S. Criminal Code codifies treason as "whoever, owing allegiance to the United States, levies war against them or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the United States or elsewhere."
- ▶ Espionage involves stealing information about a government, organization, or society that is considered secret or confidential without the permission of the holder of the information.
- ▶ Another form of espionage involves attacks carried out by foreign agents on American corporations in an effort to steal trade secrets, acquire technology, interrupt manufacturing, or otherwise interfere with operations.
- ▶ State political crimes are perpetrated by state authorities against the people they are supposed to serve.

a detailed accounting of the most gruesome techniques that the CIA used to torture and imprison terrorism suspects. In some cases, suspected terrorists were deprived of sleep for a week and threatened with death. Some prisoners were subjected to medically unnecessary rectal feeding or rectal hydration, a technique used to gain total control over the detainee. The waterboarding of Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, the chief planner of the 9/11 attacks, was described as near drownings. The Senate committee found that more prisoners were subjected to waterboarding than the three the CIA had acknowledged in the past and found photographs of waterboarding paraphernalia in facilities where the CIA had claimed that waterboarding was never used. Some facilities were described as dungeon-like and prisoners described as dogs in a kennel. When Abu Zubaydah was interrogated in a facility in Thailand, the sessions became so extreme that some CIA officers were "to the point of tears and choking up" when Abu Zubaydah became "completely unresponsive with bubbles rising through his open, full mouth."²²

THE TICKING BOMB SCENARIO Despite the damning findings of the Senate report, can the torture of a suspected terrorist determined to destroy the government and harm innocent civilians ever be permissible or is it always an example of state-sponsored political crime? While most people loathe the thought of torturing anyone, some experts argue that torture can sometimes be justified in what they call the **ticking bomb scenario**. Suppose the government found out that a captured terrorist knew the whereabouts of a dangerous explosive device that was set to go off and kill thousands of innocent people. Would it be permissible to engage in the use of torture on this single suspect if it would save the population of a city?

The ticking bomb scenario has appeal. Famed social commentator and legal scholar Alan Dershowitz argues that the "vast majority" of Americans would expect law enforcement agents to use any means necessary to obtain information needed to prevent a terror attack. To protect against abuse, Dershowitz proposes the creation of a "torture warrant" that can only be issued by a judge in cases where (a) there is an absolute need to obtain immediate information in order to save lives and (b) there is probable cause that the suspect has such information and is unwilling to reveal it to law enforcement agents. The suspect would be given immunity from prosecution based on information elicited by the torture; it would only be to save lives. The warrant would limit the torture to nonlethal means, such as sterile needles being inserted beneath the nails to cause excruciating pain without endangering life.²³

Not everyone agrees with Dershowitz.²⁴ Opponents of torture believe that even imminent danger does not justify state violence. There is a danger that such state-sponsored violence would become calculated and premeditated; torturers would have to be trained, ready, and in place for the ticking bomb argument to work. We couldn't be running around looking for torturers with a bomb set to go off, could we? Because torturers would be part of the government bureaucracy, there is no way to ensure that they would only use their skills in certain morally justifiable cases.²⁵ What happens if a superior officer tells them to torture someone, but they believe the order is unjustified? Should they follow orders or risk a court martial for being disobedient? Furthermore, there is very little empirical evidence suggesting that torture provides any real benefits and much more that suggests it can create serious problems. It can damage civil rights and democratic institutions and cause the general public to have sympathy for the victims of torture no matter their evil intent.²⁶

Terrorism

2 On April 2, 2015, gunmen belonging to the Somalia-based al-Shabaab terror group attacked the Garissa University campus in neighboring Kenya, killing 148 students before being rooted out by security forces. Four of the gunmen were killed and five more later apprehended as they attempted to flee. In the aftermath of the attack al-Shabaab spokespersons pledged a "long, gruesome war" in retaliation for Kenya's

security forces joining with other nations of the African Union to fight al-Shabaab.²⁷ What is unsettling about this deadly outrageous attack was while it made headlines for a day it was quickly forgotten. The world has become so used to large-scale terror attacks that incidents during which “only” 150 people are killed in a faraway land rarely get more than a day or maybe two of news coverage.

The Garissa University attack reminds us that the political crime people are most concerned with is terrorism. The remainder of this chapter focuses on the history, nature, and extent of terrorism and the methods being employed for its control.

Defining Terrorism

Despite its long history, it is often difficult to precisely define terrorism (from the Latin *terrere*, which means to frighten) and to separate terrorist acts from interpersonal crimes of violence. If a group robs a bank to obtain funds for its revolutionary struggles, should the act be treated as terrorism or as a common bank robbery? In this instance, defining a crime as terrorism depends on the kind of legal response the act evokes from those in power. To be considered **terrorism**, an act must carry with it the intent to disrupt and change the government and must not be merely a common-law crime committed for greed or egotism.

Because of its complexity, an all-encompassing definition of terrorism is difficult to formulate, although most experts agree that it generally involves the illegal use of force against innocent people to achieve a political objective.

- According to the U.S. State Department, the term *terrorism* means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.²⁸
- The U.S. Department of Defense defines terrorism as “the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.”²⁹
- The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines terrorism as “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.”³⁰

Terrorism usually involves a type of political crime that emphasizes violence as a mechanism to promote change. Whereas some political criminals sell secrets, spy, and the like, terrorists systematically murder and destroy or threaten such violence to terrorize individuals, groups, communities, or governments into conceding to the terrorists’ political demands. Because terrorists lack large armies and formidable weapons, their use of subterfuge, secrecy, and hit-and-run tactics is designed to give them a psychological advantage and the power to neutralize the physical superiority of their opponents.

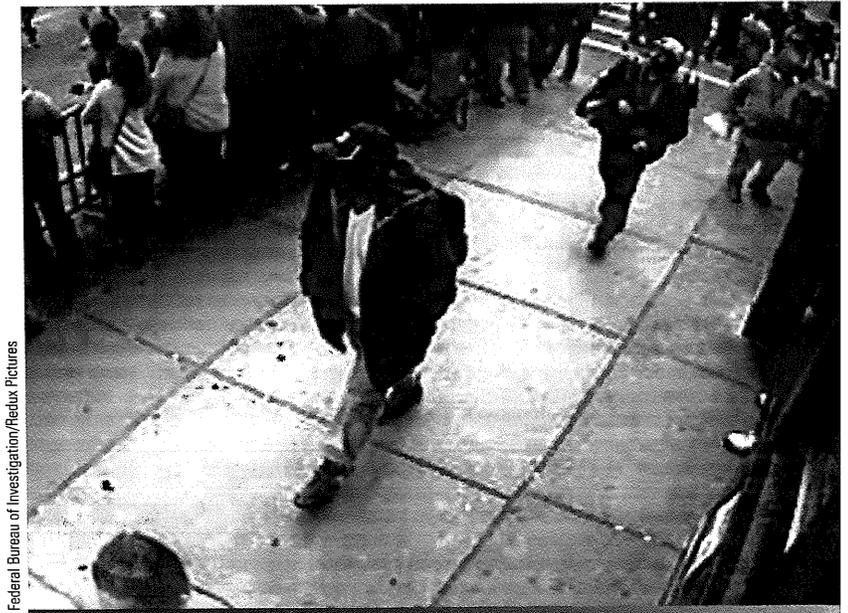
However, it may be erroneous to assume that all terrorists have political goals. Some may try to bring about what they consider to be social reform—for example, by attacking women wearing fur coats or sabotaging property during a labor dispute. Terrorism must also be

ticking bomb scenario

A scenario that some experts argue in which torture can perhaps be justified if the government discovers that a captured terrorist knows the whereabouts of a dangerous explosive device that is set to go off and kill thousands of innocent people.

terrorism

The illegal use of force against innocent people to achieve a political objective.



Federal Bureau of Investigation/Redux Pictures

Tamerlan Tsarnaev and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, the two brothers who carried out the Boston Marathon bombings, are shown here on a video capture as they prepare to plant their bombs. The marathon bombing shows that the threat of domestic terror is real and that a terrorist may be the young man sitting next to you in class (Dzhokhar Tsarnaev was a student at the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth at the time of the bombing).

L04 Distinguish among terrorists, insurgents, guerillas, and revolutionaries.

guerilla

Armed military bands, typically located in rural areas, that use hit-and-run terror tactics to destabilize the existing government.

insurgent

The typical goal of an insurgency is to confront the existing government for control of all or a portion of its territory, or force political concessions in sharing political power. While terrorists may operate in small bands with a narrow focus, insurgents represent a popular movement and may also seek external support from other nations to bring pressure on the government.

distinguished from conventional warfare, because it requires secrecy and clandestine operations to exert social control over large populations.³¹ So terrorist activities may be aimed at promoting an ideology other than political change.

Terrorist and Guerilla

The word *terrorist* is often used interchangeably with the word *guerilla*, but the terms are quite different. **Guerilla** comes from the Spanish term meaning “little war,” which developed out of the Spanish rebellion against French troops after Napoleon’s 1808 invasion of the Iberian Peninsula.³² Terrorists have an urban focus. Operating in small bands, or cadres, of three to five members, they target the property or persons of their enemy, such as members of the ruling class.³³ However, terrorists may not have political ambitions, and their actions may be aimed at stifling or intimidating other groups who oppose their political, social, or economic views. For example, terrorists who kill abortion providers in order to promote their “pro-life” agenda are not aiming for regime change. Guerillas, on the other hand, are armed military bands, typically located in rural areas, that attack military, police, and government officials in an effort to destabilize the existing government. Their organizations can grow quite large and eventually take the form of a conventional military force. Some guerilla bands infiltrate urban areas (urban guerillas). For the most part, guerillas are a type of insurgent band.

Terrorist and Insurgent

An insurgency is a political movement that may use terror tactics to achieve its goals. Insurgents wish to confront the existing government for control of all or a portion of its territory, or force political concessions in sharing political power by competing with the opposition government for popular support.³⁴ What makes the **insurgent** unique is that they have the luxury of receiving aid from neighboring sympathizers, allowing them to base their insurgency outside the target nation, thereby protecting them from their enemies. For example, Taliban members took shelter in Pakistan when the United States military drove them out of Afghanistan. Insurgencies may attract recruits who do not actually live in the disputed area but are sympathetic to the cause.

ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) started out as an insurgency, raiding into Iraq from Syria and occupying major cities such as Mosul. ISIL has the goal of creating a caliphate, based on a very conservative Islamic religious code, that spans Sunni-dominated sections of Iraq and Syria. ISIL was able to launch their insurgency after organizing outside of Iraq and then filtering through the porous border with Syria where they achieved territorial gains. ISIL is discussed more fully in the Policies and Issues in Criminology feature.

Insurgents tend to live isolated and stressful lives and enjoy varying levels of public support.³⁵ Although insurgents may engage in violence, they also may use nonviolent methods or political tactics. For example, they may set up food distribution centers and schools in areas in which they gain control in order to provide the population with needed services while contrasting their benevolent rule with the government’s incompetence and corruption.



Handout/New York Times/Redux

Here, militants from the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL, also known as ISIS) lead away captured Iraqi soldiers. The militants boasted on Twitter that they had executed 1,700 Iraqi government soldiers. ISIL has beheaded and burned to death those who oppose their regime and destroyed ancient relics in their effort to create an independent and all-powerful caliphate in Syria and Iraq.

Policies and Issues in Criminology

ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND THE LEVANT (ISIL)

The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), startled the world in the summer of 2014 when it took control of cities in Syria and Iraq defended by large contingents of enemy soldiers, who threw down their weapons and abandoned their posts. Those who actually fought were captured and killed in extremely brutal ways, through burning or decapitation. In the aftermath of its success, the group declared itself a caliphate, governed by Sharia law. Nonbelievers and opponents were killed in public executions. When Iraqi and Syrian forces tried to recapture lost territory, they only made headway under cover of U.S. and other allies' air strikes. Despite this show of force, ISIL still held sway over significant territory.

Where did this deadly group come from? How did it get its start? ISIL origins can be traced back to 2002, when Abu Musab al-Zarqawi founded a jihadist organization called Tawhid wal-Jihad in the north of Iraq. Affiliated with al-Qaeda, Tawhid wal-Jihad focused its attention on elements of the Islamic world rather than the West. When the United States invaded Iraq, Zarqawi's organization morphed into al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), and began to recruit locally as a jihadist organization, while at the same time allowing al-Qaeda to gain a foothold in Iraq.

Al-Qaeda in Iraq was involved in internal conflicts until Zarqawi was killed in an airstrike in 2006 and the group joined with other hard-core Islamist groups to create the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI), whose goal was creating an ultra-religious caliphate, governed by Islamic law, to whom all Muslims owed allegiance. Drone attacks by the U.S. helped degrade ISI until Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi took over in 2010. This change in leadership, coupled with the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq and the start of the Syrian civil war, helped revive the group's prospects. ISI, now renamed ISIL, gained significant amounts of territory in both Syria and Iraq, including the Syrian city of Raqqa. The major Iraqi cities of Tikrit and Fallujah fell in 2014, followed

by Mosul, Iraq's second-largest city. In 2015, ISIL begun to be the target of attacks by Kurdish forces. Other Muslim nations, including Jordan and Turkey, have either heavily criticized or actually attacked ISIL. Russia began bombing targets in September 2015.

In addition to its terrorist activities, ISIL is a governing body that imposes a very strict version of Islamic law in the territory it holds. It guarantees protection in exchange for the payment of a tax and the acceptance of second-class citizenship for minorities, including Shia Muslims. ISIL has engaged in massacres, beheadings, burnings, and executions of foreign journalists and humanitarian aid workers who have fallen into their hands. Ironically, this brutality has helped them draw an estimated 30,000 recruits who applaud their ruthlessness and want to be part of an Islamic caliphate that will not abide any element of Western culture. Western leaders fear that some of the recruits will return to their homes after being trained in jihad, creating tremendous danger for their home nations since they can blend in and have families and friends for support. Some well-known groups such as Boko Haram in Nigeria have allied themselves with ISIL.

Critical Thinking

Considering the refugee crisis caused by people desperately trying to flee violence, should Western states intervene militarily every time a group such as ISIL or the Taliban forms in the Middle East? Are there solutions other than military intervention?

Sources: Peter Welby, "What Is ISIS?" Tony Blair Faith Foundation, March 16, 2015, tonyblairfaithfoundation.org/religion-geopolitics/commentaries/background/what-isis; BBC News, "What Is 'Islamic State'?" June 29, 2015, www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29052144; Tim Arango, Kareem Fahim, and Ben Hubbard, "Rebels' Fast Strike in Iraq Was Years in the Making," *New York Times*, June 15, 2014, www.nytimes.com/2014/06/15/world/middleeast/rebels-fast-strike-in-iraq-was-years-in-the-making.html; Andrew Silke, "Holy Warriors: Exploring the Psychological Processes of Jihadi Radicalization," *European Journal of Criminology* 5 (2008): 99–123; Farouk Chothia, "Who Are Nigeria's Boko Haram Islamists?" BBC News Africa, May 20, 2014, www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13809501 (URLs accessed 2015).

Terrorist and Revolutionary

A revolution (from the Latin *revolutio*, "a revolving," and *revolvere*, "turn, roll back") is generally seen as a civil war fought between nationalists and a sovereign power that holds control of the land, or between the existing government and local groups over issues of ideology and power. Historically, the American Revolution may be considered an example of a struggle between nationalistic groups and an imperialistic

Concept Summary 11.1 Forms of Radical Political Groups

	Terrorist	Guerilla	Insurgent	Revolutionary
Description	Groups who engage in premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets.	Armed groups operating in rural areas who attack the military, the police, and other government officials.	Groups who engage in armed uprising, or revolt against an established civil or political authority.	Groups who engage in civil war against sovereign power that holds control of the land.
Examples	Al-Qaeda, Hamas	Mao's People's Liberation Army, Ho Chi Minh's Viet Cong	Iraqi insurgent groups; ISIS	American Revolution, French Revolution, Russian Revolution
Goals	Personal, criminal, or political gain or change.	Replace or overthrow existing government.	Win over population by showing government's incompetence. Force government into political concessions and/or power sharing.	Gain independence or oust existing government or monarchy.
Methods	Small, clandestine cells who use systematic violence for purpose of intimidation.	Use unconventional warfare and mobile tactics. May grow large and use tactics similar to conventional military force.	May use violent (bombings and kidnappings) or nonviolent means (food distribution centers and creating schools).	Can use violent armed conflict or nonviolent methods such as Gandhi used in India.

overseas government. Classic examples of ideological rebellions are the French Revolution, which pitted the middle class and urban poor against the aristocracy, and the Russian Revolution of 1917, during which the Czarist government was toppled by the Bolsheviks. More recent ideological revolutions have occurred in China, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Chile, to name but a few.

While some revolutions (such as the American, French, and Russian) rely on armed force, terror activities, and violence, others can be nonviolent, depending on large urban protests and threats. Such was the case when the Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was toppled in Iran in the 1979 revolution that transformed Iran into an Islamic republic under the rule of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Similar events unfolded in Egypt in early 2011 in the effort to topple the government of Hosni Mubarak that had been in power for 30 years.

Concept Summary 11.1 describes the components of various types of radical political groups.

Reign of Terror

The origin of the term *terrorism*, the French Revolution's Reign of Terror began in 1795 and was initiated by the revolutionary government during which agents of the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention were referred to as terrorists.

A Brief History of Terrorism

While terrorist-like activities have been known since Roman times, the term *terrorist* first became popular during the French Revolution. Use of the word *terrorism* began in 1795 in reference to the **Reign of Terror** initiated by the revolutionary government during which agents of the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention were referred to as terrorists. In response, royalists and opponents of the revolution employed terrorist tactics in resistance to the revolutionists. The widespread use of

the guillotine is an infamous reminder of the revolutionary violence; urban mobs demanded blood, and many government officials and aristocrats were beheaded in gruesome public spectacles. From the fall of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, until July 1794, thousands suspected of counterrevolutionary activity were killed on the guillotine. Here again, the relative nature of political crime is documented: most victims of the French Reign of Terror were revolutionaries who had been denounced by rival factions, whereas thousands of the hated nobility lived in relative tranquility. The end of the terror was signaled by the death of its prime mover, Maximilien Robespierre, on July 28, 1794, as the result of a successful plot to end his rule. He was executed on the same guillotine to which he had sent almost 20,000 people.

In the hundred years following the French Revolution, terrorism continued to be a political tool around the world. Terrorist acts became the preferred method of political action for national groups in the early years of the twentieth century. In Eastern Europe, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization campaigned against the Turkish government, which controlled its homeland (Macedonia became part of the former Yugoslavia). Similarly, the protest of the Union of Death Society, or Black Hand, against the Austro-Hungarian Empire's control of Serbia led to the group's assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, which started World War I. Russia was the scene of left-wing revolutionary activity, which killed the czar in 1917 and gave birth to the Marxist state.

After the war ended, the Treaty of Versailles restructured Europe and broke up the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The result was a hodgepodge of new nations controlled by majority ethnic groups. Self-determination was limited to European nations and ethnic groups and denied to others, especially the colonial possessions of the major European powers, creating bitterness and setting the stage for the long conflicts of the anticolonial period. The Irish Republican Army, established around 1916, steadily battled British forces from 1919 to 1923, culminating in the Republic of Ireland gaining independence.

Between the World Wars, right-wing terrorism existed in Germany, Spain, and Italy. One source of tension, according to author Michael Kellogg, was the virulently anti-Communist exiles (called White Russians) who fled Russia after the 1917 revolution and took up residence in Germany and other Western nations. According to Kellogg, between 1920 and 1923, Adolf Hitler was deeply influenced by the Aufbau (Reconstruction), the émigrés' organization. Members of the Aufbau allied with the Nazis to overthrow the legitimate German government and thwart German communists from seizing power. The White Russians' deep-seated anti-Semitism may have inspired Hitler to go public with his campaign to kill the European Jews, prompting both the Holocaust and the invasion of Russia, which spelled the eventual doom of Hitler and National Socialism.

During World War II, resistance to the occupying German troops was common throughout Europe. The Germans considered the resisters to be terrorists, but the rest of the world considered them heroes. Meanwhile, in Palestine, Jewish terrorist groups—the Haganah, Irgun, and Stern Gang, whose leaders included Menachem Begin, who later became Israel's prime minister—waged war against the British to force them to allow Jewish survivors of the Holocaust to settle in their traditional homeland. Today, of course, many of these alleged terrorists are considered freedom fighters who laid down their lives for a just cause.

After the war, Arab nationalists felt that they had been betrayed. Believing they were promised postwar independence, they were doubly disappointed—first when the French and British were given authority over their lands, and then especially when the British allowed Zionist immigration into Palestine in keeping with a promise contained in the Balfour Declaration. Hence, the creation of the PLO and Hamas.

Since the end of World War II, terrorism has accelerated its development into a major component of contemporary conflict. Primarily in use immediately after the war as a subordinate element of anticolonial insurgencies, it has expanded beyond that role. In the service of various ideologies and aspirations, terrorism sometimes supplanted other forms of conflict completely. It became a far-reaching weapon

capable of effects no less global than the intercontinental bomber or missile. It has also proven to be a significant tool of diplomacy and international power for states inclined to use it.

L05 Enumerate the various forms of terrorism.

Contemporary Forms of Terrorism

Today the term *terrorism* encompasses many different behaviors and goals. Some of the more common forms are briefly described here.

Revolutionary Terrorism

Revolutionary terrorists use violence to frighten those in power and their supporters in order to replace the existing government with a regime that holds political or religious views that the terror group finds acceptable. Terrorist actions such as kidnapping, assassination, and bombing are designed to draw repressive responses from governments trying to defend themselves. These responses help revolutionaries to expose, through the skilled use of media coverage, the government's inhumane nature. The original reason for the government's harsh response may be lost as the effect of counterterrorist activities is felt by uninvolved people.

Jemaah Islamiyah, an Indonesian terrorist organization aligned with al-Qaeda, is believed to be intent on driving away foreign tourists and ruining the nation's economy so they can usurp the government and set up a pan-Islamic nation in Indonesia and neighboring Malaysia. Another example is Boko Haram, a fundamentalist Islamic group that has caused havoc in Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, through bombings, assassinations, and abductions. Its aim is to overthrow the government and create an Islamic state based on the concept "Anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors." Boko Haram promotes a version of Islam that makes it *haram* (forbidden) for Muslims to take part in any political or social activity associated with Western society. This includes voting in elections, wearing shirts and trousers, or receiving a secular education. Boko Haram regards the Nigerian state as being run by nonbelievers—even when the country had a Muslim president—and it has extended its military campaign by targeting neighboring African states. It made international news in 2014 when the group abducted nearly 300 girls attending a Western school, saying it would treat them as slaves and marry them off—a reference to an ancient Islamic belief that women captured in conflict are part of the "war booty."³⁶

Political Terrorism

Political terrorism is directed at people or groups who oppose the terrorists' political ideology or whom the terrorists define as "outsiders" who must be destroyed. Domestic terrorists in the United States can be found across the political spectrum. On the right, they tend to be heavily armed groups organized around such themes as white supremacy, militant tax resistance, and religious revisionism. Identified groups have included, at one time or another, the Aryan Republican Army, the Aryan Nation, the Posse Comitatus, and the Ku Klux Klan. These groups want to shape U.S. government policy over a range of matters, including ending abortion rights, extending the right to bear arms, and eliminating federal taxation. Anti-abortion groups have demonstrated at abortion clinics, attacked clients, bombed offices, and killed doctors who perform abortions. Although unlikely to topple the government, these individualistic acts of terror are difficult to predict or control. On April 19, 1995, 168 people were killed during the Oklahoma City bombing, the most severe example of political terrorism in the United States so far.

Research conducted at the University of Maryland's National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism found that between 1990 and 2013 there were 155 ideologically motivated homicide events committed by far-right extremists in the United States, of which 13 percent were anti-government in nature. During these incidents 50 federal, state, and local law enforcement officers were killed in the line of duty; more than two-thirds were killed during ideologically motivated attacks.³⁷

Some political terrorists focus on saving the environment. Founded in 1992 in Brighton, England, by members of the Earth First! environmental movement, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) conducted a series of actions intent on damaging individuals or corporations that they consider a threat to the environment. On October 19, 1998, ELF members claimed responsibility for fires that were set atop Vail Mountain, a luxurious ski resort in Colorado, designed to stop the resort from expanding into animal habitats. Fires have also been set in government labs conducting animal research, and spikes have been driven into trees to prevent logging in fragile areas.

Another group, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), focuses their efforts on protecting animals from being used as food, in clothing, or as experimental subjects. Their philosophy is that animals are entitled to the moral right to possess their own lives and control their own bodies, while rejecting the view that animals are merely capital goods or property intended for the benefit of humans and can be bought, sold, or killed by humans.³⁸ ALF is still active and in 2015, members were responsible for “liberating” 5,740 mink from farms in Idaho, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Minnesota and also vandalizing property and destroying breeding records in an attempt to disrupt the fur breeding economy.³⁹

The federal government began cracking down on environmental terrorists in the 1990s, and some environmental activists have received long prison sentences for their crimes, including Justin Solondz, a member of an eco-terrorist cell known as “The Family,” who received a seven-year sentence for committing an estimated \$48 million worth of arson and vandalism across the Pacific Northwest and western United States.⁴⁰

While eco-terrorists have been relatively dormant in recent years, there have been many other examples of anti-government domestic terrorists who planned to use violence to push their political agenda. Recently, federal agents broke up an anarchist extremist cell that planned to blow up a bridge in Cleveland, Ohio, and arrested members of a militia in Georgia who were planning to acquire silencers and explosives to use against various U.S. government targets in Atlanta.⁴¹

Nationalist Terrorism

Nationalist terrorism promotes the interests of a minority ethnic or religious group that believes it has been persecuted under majority rule. Terrorist acts are designed to force the government to cede land so that the minority group can have its own independent nation. While revolutionary terrorists are aiming for regime change in their home country, nationalists want to create a separate country of their own.

In the Middle East, terrorist activities have been linked to the Palestinians’ desire to create an independent state. At first, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), led by Yasser Arafat, directed terrorist activities against Israel. Now the group Hamas is perpetuating the conflict with Israel and is behind terrorist attacks that have sent thousands of missiles into Israeli territory, designed to elicit a sharp response from the Israeli army and air force in order to demonstrate to the world the righteousness of their cause. In 2014, three Israeli youths were kidnapped and killed by Hamas members, prompting Israeli military retaliation. Hamas amped up the tension by sending



Political terrorists may target groups whom they consider outsiders who must be eliminated. Here, Frazier Glenn Cross, also known as Frazier Glenn Miller, is escorted by police in Overland Park, Kansas. Cross, 73, a white supremacist and former Ku Klux Klan leader, was convicted of killing three people in attacks at a Jewish community center and Jewish retirement complex near Kansas City. At his 2015 trial he called the shootings “righteous” and “honorable”; none of his three victims was Jewish. Cross faces the death penalty.

thousands of missiles into Israel, prompting increased intervention. Worldwide outrage prompted both sides to eventually back down and honor a ceasefire.

Hezbollah (from the Arabic, meaning “party of God”) is a Lebanese Shi’ite Islamist organization founded in 1982 in response to the presence of Israeli forces in southern Lebanon. At inception, its goals were to both drive Israeli troops out of Lebanon and to form a Shi’ite Islamic republic in Lebanon. Taking its inspiration from Iran, Hezbollah members follow a distinct version of Shia ideology developed in Iran and have also received arms and financial support from Iran. Hezbollah is anti-West and anti-Israel and has engaged in a series of terrorist actions, including kidnappings, car bombings, and airline hijackings.⁴² Recently, Hezbollah has shifted its focus and has become increasingly embroiled in the Syrian civil war, fighting for the Assad regime. Ironically, this shift has alienated some of its Lebanese constituents and prompted deadly reprisals in Beirut from partisans of the predominantly Sunni Muslim Syrian rebels. The U.S. government and its European allies consider Hezbollah a global terrorist threat and a menace to Middle East stability.

The Middle East is not the only source of nationalistic fervor and terrorism. The Chinese government has been trying to suppress separatist groups fighting for an independent state in the northwestern province of Xinjiang. The rebels are drawn from the region’s Uyghur people, most of whom practice Sufi Islam, speak a Turkic language, and wish to set up a Muslim state called Eastern Turkistan. During the past decade, the Uyghur separatists have organized demonstrations, bombings, and political assassinations. To control their rebellion, over the past decade, many prominent Uyghurs have been imprisoned after being accused of terrorism. Mass immigration of Han Chinese to Xinjiang have made Uyghurs a minority group in their own region.⁴³

retributive terrorists

Terror groups who refrain from tying specific acts to direct demands for change. They want to instead redirect the balance between what they believe is good and evil. They see their revolution as existing on a spiritual plane; their mission is to exact retribution against sinners.

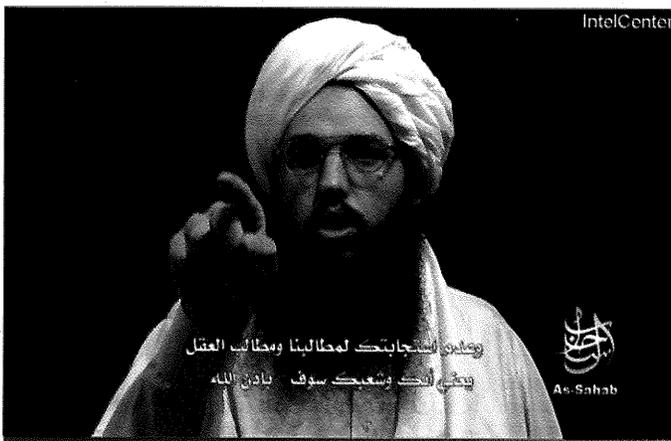
Retributive Terrorism

Some terrorist groups are not nationalist, political, or revolutionary organizations. They do not wish to set up their own homeland or topple a government but rather want to punish people or governments for ideological, political, or religious reasons.⁴⁴ Al-Qaeda is the paradigm of the **retributive terrorist** organization. Rather than fighting for a homeland, its message is a call to take up a cause: there is a war of civilizations in which “Jews and Crusaders” want to destroy Islam and must therefore be defeated. Armed jihad is the individual obligation of every Muslim; terrorism and violence are appropriate methods for defeating even the strongest powers. The end product would be a unified Muslim world, the destruction of the West, and the end of decadent and depraved Western influence.

These themes are preached in schools, on the Internet, and disseminated in books and pamphlets. Videos are distributed in which al-Qaeda’s leaders expound on political topics, going as far as calling Western leaders liars and drunkards. As a result of this media strategy, al-Qaeda’s messages have penetrated deeply into Muslim communities around the world, finding a sympathetic response among many Muslims who have a sense of helplessness both in the Arab world and in the Western Muslim diaspora. Al-Qaeda offers a sense of empowerment to young men who feel lost in their adopted cultures, prompting many to travel to the East to receive terror training.⁴⁵

Retributive terrorists have a number of characteristics that are unique and separate them from guerrillas, revolutionaries, and other terrorists:⁴⁶

- Violence is used as a method of influence, persuasion, or intimidation. The true target of the terrorist act extends far beyond those directly affected by the attack and is designed to lead to some desired behavior on the part of the larger target population or government.



Adam Gadahn, also known as Azzam al-Amriki, is shown delivering a statement in English with Arabic subtitles, laying out al-Qaeda’s justifications for conducting future attacks against the United States. Gadahn was an American originally from California. On January 19, 2015, he was killed in a CIA drone strike in Pakistan.

- Victims are usually selected for their maximum propaganda value, ensuring a high degree of media coverage. The message is that the target population had better comply with their demands because the terrorists are desperate enough to “do anything.” Sometimes this may backfire if the attack results in the death of innocents, especially children, along with the symbolic targets.
- Unconventional military tactics are used, especially secrecy and surprise, as well as targeting civilians, including women and children. Because the goal is to inflict maximum horror, it makes sense to choose targets that contain the largest number of victims from all walks of life. The message: everyone is a target; no one is safe.

State-Sponsored Terrorism

State-sponsored terrorism occurs when a repressive government regime forces its citizens into obedience, oppresses minorities, and stifles political dissent. Death squads and the use of government troops to destroy political opposition parties are often associated with political terrorism. Much of what we know about state-sponsored terrorism comes from the efforts of human rights groups such as London-based Amnesty International, whose research shows that tens of thousands of people continue to become victims of security operations that result in disappearances and executions. Political prisoners are now being tortured in about 100 countries, people have disappeared or are being held in secret detention in about 20 countries, and government-sponsored death squads have been operating in more than 35 countries. Countries known for encouraging violent control of dissidents include Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru, Iraq, and Sudan.

State-sponsored terrorism became a world issue when South and Central American dictatorships in the 1970s and 1980s unleashed state violence against political dissidents through forced disappearance, political imprisonment, torture, blacklisting, and massive exile. The region-wide *state* repression in this period emerged in response to the rise of the 1960s radical movements, which demanded public reforms and programs to help the lower classes in urban areas and agricultural workers in the countryside. Local authoritarian governments, which used repression to take control of radical political groups, were given financial support by the economic elites who dominated Latin American politics and were fearful of a socialist revolution.⁴⁷

As might be expected, governments claim that repressive measures are needed to control terror and revolutionary groups that routinely use violence. Thus the use of terror is sometimes a way of defending the nation against violence, a conundrum that supports the idea that a state is both protective and destructive.⁴⁸

It is sometimes difficult to assess blame for state terror—is it a few rogue government agents who act on their own authority or the government itself? The issue of responsibility for improper acts hit home during the Abu Ghraib scandal in Iraq. Photos beamed around the world embarrassed the United States when they showed military personnel victimizing suspected insurgents. The U.S. government’s response was to prosecute and imprison the perpetrators. However, some critics, such as criminologist Mark Hamm, suggest that these images constitute the photographic record of a state-sponsored crime.⁴⁹ He argues that rather than being the work of a few rogue officers, the sophisticated interrogation practices at Abu Ghraib were designed and executed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and that the torturing of detainees at Abu Ghraib followed directly from decisions made by top government officials to get tough with prisoner interrogations. So while we condemn state-sponsored violence, it is not easy to identify who is truly responsible.

Criminal Terrorism

Sometimes terrorist groups become involved in common-law crimes such as drug dealing, kidnapping, and piracy to support their cause. Illegal activities may on occasion become so profitable that they replace the group’s original focus. In some instances, the line between being a terrorist organization with political support and

state-sponsored terrorism

Terrorism that occurs when a repressive government regime forces its citizens into obedience, oppresses minorities, and stifles political dissent.

vast resources and an organized criminal group engaging in illicit activities for profit becomes blurred. What appears to be a politically motivated action, such as the kidnapping of a government official for ransom, may turn out to be merely a crime for profit.⁵⁰

In some cases, there has been close cooperation between organized criminal groups and guerillas in which illegal activity is used to fund terror operations. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) imposes a tax on Colombian drug producers, but evidence indicates that the group cooperates with Colombia's top drug barons in running the trade (currently the FARC and the Colombian government are in peace talks which hope to end their long-running guerilla war).

Al-Shabaab, the Somalia-based terror group infamous for their 2015 attack on Garissa University and the 2013 attack on Westgate Mall in Nairobi, Kenya, which resulted in hundreds of casualties and more than 60 deaths, has long been linked to criminal activity. They require a share of the payment of ransoms given to Somalian pirates who launch cross-ocean raids from the al-Shabaab-controlled territory; piracy would be impossible without cooperation from al-Shabaab. The group is also heavily involved in smuggling, slapping taxes on illegal charcoal exports to the Gulf, arms shipments from Yemen, and electronic goods destined for the region.⁵¹

Lone-Actor Terrorism

On November 5, 2009, U.S. Army Major Nidal Malik Hasan attacked fellow soldiers at Fort Hood, leaving 12 dead and 31 wounded. On July 22, 2011, Anders Breivik killed 77 civilians in and around Oslo, Norway. Dzhokhar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev set off bombs at the finish line of the 2013 Boston Marathon, killing 3 and wounding more than 250. These mass killings have drawn attention to so-called lone-actor terrorists who plan and carry out an attack without assistance from others. They are not affiliated with terror organizations nor are they under orders to take violent action.⁵²

Why would any individual take this kind of risk and choose to sacrifice himself or herself for a cause? Research by Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko shows that lone actors may see themselves as representing some larger group or cause and may have had some experience in a group, organization, or social movement related to this cause.⁵³ However, it was difficult for them to stay or be part of a group because they tend to suffer from some form of psychological disturbance, are socially isolated, and tend to be loners with few friends.

Many have a military background and have recently suffered some form of serious personal disruption that triggered a violent attack, such as divorce or the death of a partner. For example, Major Hasan had no close relationships. He had turned to the Quran after the death of his parents and was about to be transferred to Afghanistan. He saw himself discriminated against as a Muslim and viewed the war on terrorism as a war on Islam, thereby developing both personal and political grievances.

Taken together, these results provide a portrait of the typical lone actor as a grievance-fueled individual, likely to have weapons experience, who suffers from depression or other mental disorders, and experiences temporary or chronic social isolation. McCauley and Moskalenko call this the *disconnected-disordered* profile.

However, not all lone-actor terrorists fit the disconnected-disordered profile: there are some who are neither loners nor suffer mental disorder, but who nonetheless undertake lone-actor terrorist violence. They may be motivated by some emotionally charged event that sets them off on a destructive path: the political becomes personal. They are radicalized by feelings of moral obligation to right a perceived wrong: a man bombs abortion clinics after a family member loses a child at birth; a woman burns down a factory farm after witnessing the suffering of animals. The Tsarnaev brothers, who planned and carried out the Boston Marathon bombing, were motivated by their sensitivity to what they perceived as the oppression of Muslims by the West. A note that Dzhokhar Tsarnaev wrote while hiding from authorities on a dry-docked boat said in part: "God has a plan for each person. Mine was to hide in this boat and shed some light on our actions. . . . Stop killing our innocent people

Concept Summary 11.2 The Variety of Terror Groups

Revolutionary terrorists	Use violence to frighten those in power and their supporters in order to replace the existing government with a regime that holds acceptable political or religious views.
Political terrorists	Political terrorism is directed at people or groups who oppose the terrorists' political ideology or whom the terrorists define as "outsiders" who must be destroyed.
Eco-terrorists	Political terror groups involved in violent actions to protect the environment.
Nationalist terrorists	Groups whose actions promote the interests of a minority ethnic or religious group that has been persecuted under majority rule and/or wishes to carve out its own independent homeland.
Retributive terrorists	Groups that use violence as a method of influence, persuasion, or intimidation in order to achieve a particular aim or objective.
State-sponsored terrorists	Carried out by a repressive government regime in order to force its citizens into obedience, oppress minorities, and stifle political dissent.
Criminal terrorists	Terrorist groups that become involved in common-law crimes such as drug dealing and kidnapping, even selling nuclear materials.
Lone-actor terrorists	Individuals who carry out terror acts without guidance from a group or organization. They are motivated by a variety of reasons and beliefs, including feelings of alienation, racial hatred, and religious oppression.

and we will stop." On April 8, 2015, Dzhokhar (the surviving brother—Tamerlan was killed in a shootout with police) was found guilty on all 30 federal counts with which he was charged; on June 24, he was sentenced to death.⁵⁴

What sets this type of lone terrorist apart is their unusual capacity to care about the suffering of others. Those who fit this *caring-compelled profile* have social relations and are not mentally ill. But they care too much and find that there is a dark side to caring greatly about others. Individuals can kill for love, including love of strangers seen as victimized.

In sum, McCauley and Moskaleiko believe that lone-actor terrorists fit one of these two profiles: disconnected-disordered or caring-compelled. They suspect that the caring-compelled profile is less common than the disconnected-disordered profile—not least because self-sacrifice for others is less common than self-interest—but this hypothesis remains to be tested.

The various forms that terror groups take are summarized in Concept Summary 11.2.

What Motivates the Terrorist?

3 In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, destruction of the World Trade Center in New York City, many Americans asked themselves the same simple question: Why? What could motivate someone like Osama bin Laden to order the deaths of thousands of innocent people? How could someone who had never been to the United States or suffered personally at its hands develop such lethal hatred? Some experts believed the attacks had a political basis, claiming that bin Laden's anger was fueled

CHECKPOINTS

▶ Revolutionary terrorists use violence to frighten those in power and their supporters in order to replace the existing government with a regime that holds acceptable political or religious views.

▶ Political terrorism is directed at people or groups who oppose the terrorists' political ideology or whom the terrorists define as "outsiders" who must be destroyed.

▶ Nationalist terrorism promotes the interests of a minority ethnic or religious group that believes it has been persecuted under majority rule and wishes to carve out its own independent homeland.

▶ Retributive terrorist groups want to impose their social and religious code on others.

▶ State-sponsored terrorism occurs when a repressive government regime forces its citizens into obedience, oppresses minorities, and stifles political dissent.

▶ Lone-actor terrorists do not belong to an organized group but act on their own, motivated by political, religious, or social beliefs.

L06 Explain what motivates the terrorist to commit violent acts.

by the U.S.'s Middle East policies. Others saw a religious motivation and claimed that Osama was a radical Muslim at war with the liberal religions of the West. Another view was that Osama's rage was fueled by deep-rooted psychological problems.

As such, there have been a number of competing visions of why terrorists engage in criminal activities such as bombings, shootings, and kidnappings to achieve a political end. Several views stand out.

Psychological View

One of the most controversial views of terrorists is that some if not all suffer from psychological deficits, and that the typical terrorist can be described as an emotionally disturbed individual who acts out his or her psychoses within the confines of violent groups. According to this view, terrorist violence is not so much a political instrument as an end in itself; it is the result of compulsion or psychopathology. Terrorists do what they do because of garden variety emotional problems, including but not limited to self-destructive urges and disturbed emotions combined with problems with authority.⁵⁵ As terrorism expert Jerrold M. Post puts it, "Political terrorists are driven to commit acts of violence as a consequence of psychological forces, and . . . their special psychology is constructed to rationalize acts they are psychologically compelled to commit."⁵⁶

Some terror experts say that the majority of research on terrorists indicates that most are not psychologically abnormal.⁵⁷ Even suicide bombers, a group that should show signs of psychological abnormality, exhibit few signs of the mental problems such as depression that are typically found in people who choose to take their own life. Rather than acting disturbed and disoriented, those terrorists willing to die for their cause display a heightened sense of purpose, group allegiance, and task focus.⁵⁸ After carefully reviewing existing evidence on the psychological state of terrorists, mental health experts have concluded that terrorism is not linked to mental illness or personality defects, nor is there a "terrorist personality." Histories of childhood abuse and trauma and themes of perceived injustice and humiliation often are prominent in terrorist biographies, but do not really help to explain terrorism.⁵⁹

Alienation View

Another explanation for terrorist activity is that a lack of opportunity creates a sense of alienation that motivates men and women to embrace terrorism.⁶⁰ Regions such as South Asia breed terrorists because they house an incendiary mix of strong ethnic identities and diverse religious communities, many of which are concentrated within exclusionary ghettos. Young men and women residing in these areas are motivated to join terror groups when they feel left out of the social and economic mainstream because of their religious or ethnic status.⁶¹ According to this view, terror recruits suffer alienation from friends, family, and society.⁶² Many have been raised to hate the groups who are in power and believe that they have been victimized by state authorities whom they view as oppressors.

Terrorism expert Arie Kruglanski finds that the need for coherence in their lives is what drives young foreigners to travel to Iraq/Syria to join ISIL. The group's ideology, he finds, offers an invaluable psychological reward: by joining the fight against infidels, recruits earn the status of heroes and martyrs, thus gaining a larger-than-life significance and earning a spot in history. Groups like ISIL can provide a greater meaning and purpose to life, giving young people a chance to be noticed, to matter, and to be esteemed in a way that their home country can never provide. And the quest for significance is inflamed by claims that Muslims have been humiliated by the West in Iraq, Bosnia, and other areas. Frustrated youths, Kruglanski finds, without coherent purpose, with uncertain prospects, and on the receiving end of rejection are particularly prone to jihadism.⁶³

Not all experts abide by the alienation view. When Marc Sageman studied members of extremist Islamist groups he found that most tend to be well educated; about 60 percent had some form of higher education. More than 75 percent came from upper- or middle-class backgrounds. When they joined a terror organization, the majority had professional occupations such as doctor or engineer, or semiskilled

employment, such as civil service; fewer than 25 percent were unemployed or working in unskilled jobs. Surprisingly, Sageman found that almost three-quarters were married and that most had children.⁶⁴ These findings suggest that terrorists are not suffering from the social problems usually associated with alienation: poverty, lack of education, and ignorance.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS Terrorism has also become an alternative for people whose religious beliefs alienate them from our postmodern, technological, global society in which foreign influences routinely clash with age-old traditions. They may believe that modern forms of communication, entertainment, and social interaction have brought foreign influences that are corrupting and disrespectful to their traditional way of life. Religious beliefs can become so powerful that the terrorist may even believe that a suicide mission will help cleanse them of the corruption of the modern world while at the same time scaring off outsiders.

How do terrorists justify using violence if they are truly religious, since most of the world's religions eschew violence? Islamic terrorists believe that their commitment to God justifies their extreme actions. They regard the actions of people they trust as a testimony to the righteousness of their acts. They trust significant others, and rely on their wisdom, experience, and testimony and accept their expressions of faith. To the terrorist, someone like Osama bin Laden demonstrated the strength of his faith by living in poverty and giving up a more luxurious and leisurely life in the name of God. When a charismatic leader calls them to jihad, they are likely to follow, even if it means killing those who deny their faith or beliefs. Perceived miracles, such as the defeat of a superpower through faith alone (e.g., the Soviet/Afghan war or the fight against the United States in Iraq), also increase confidence in the righteousness of the cause. Some have mystical experiences during prayers or dreams that demonstrate the existence of God and reinforce faith.⁶⁵ Tales of religious oppression by the West can incense individuals who may otherwise be seen as well-adjusted and with a promising future.⁶⁶

Family Conflict View

Terrorists report that they are products of dysfunctional families in which the father was absent or, even if present, was a distant and cold figure.⁶⁷ Because of this family estrangement, the budding terrorist may have been swayed to join a group or cult by a charismatic leader who serves as an alternative father figure. Some find it in religious schools run by strong leaders who demand strict loyalty from their followers while indoctrinating them in political causes.⁶⁸ In this sense, terror groups, similar to what happens in urban street gangs, provide a substitute family-like environment, which can nurture a heretofore emotionally underprivileged youth.

Political View

When people are left out of the political process, having their votes restricted or even losing the right to vote, they may be inclined to join terror groups.⁶⁹ Research shows that most of the risk for political violence lies in those nations that are nearly democracies, which experience three times as many terror attacks as full democracies. Ironically, the most autocratic countries, governed by dictators and without free elections, generally had the lowest average number of attacks. In contrast, **failed states**—those where governments have lost physical control of their own territory, are unable to provide reasonable public services, and cannot interact properly with other states—have extremely high rates of terrorist activity. Terrorist attacks against failed states are much more lethal than attacks against other nations. Nations that provide access to the political process for people holding a wide range of diverse viewpoints create a culture that helps reduce the frustration that leads to terrorist violence. Those states that cannot maintain order or provide services to its citizens are fertile grounds for terrorists. And while iron-handed dictators may keep terrorism under control in the short term, their long-term prospects are sketchy at best, as recent events in Egypt, Libya, and Syria have shown.

failed state

A nation whose government has lost control of its own territory, is unable to provide public services and protection, and lacks the ability to interact with other states as a full member of the international community.

Socialization/Friendship View

Many jihadist recruits are living in foreign countries where they were looking for economic opportunity when they get involved with terrorist organizations. Feeling homesick, they seek out people with similar backgrounds, whom they often find at mosques.⁷⁰ Though many appear to be motivated by religious fervor, their devotion is fueled by an effort to seek comrades while living in a foreign land. Some move in together to share the rent and also to eat together under Muslim dietary laws. Group relations and activities solidify beliefs and create a sense of solidarity. If one group member becomes committed to terrorism, others may follow rather than let him down.

Ideological View

Another view is that terrorists hold extreme ideological beliefs that prompt their behavior. They may have developed heightened perceptions of oppressive conditions, believing they are being victimized by some group or government for their beliefs or way of life. Once they conclude that the government will not help people with their beliefs, they decide to resort to violence to encourage change.

Facilitating the use of violence is the ability to divide people into two categories based on religious, ethnic, racial, or other cultural criteria: those with common interests and beliefs who are avenged through terrorist activities ("us") and those against whom the terrorist activities are to be directed ("them"). Those associated with "us" are viewed as moral, right, good, and strong. Those associated with "them" are seen as immoral, wrong, bad, and weak.⁷¹ Once this division is made, the terrorist can act with impunity to further their ideological beliefs because those harmed have beliefs that make them less than human.

Explaining State-Sponsored Terrorism

How can state-sponsored terrorism be explained? After all, these violent acts are not directed at a foreign government or overseas adversaries but against natives of one's own country. In her book *Reigns of Terror*, Patricia Marchak finds that people willing to kill or maim their fellow countrymen are likely to be highly susceptible to unquestioning submission to authority. They are conformists who want to be part of the central group and who are quite willing to be part of a state regime. They are vulnerable to ideology that dehumanizes their targets and can utilize propaganda to distance themselves psychologically from those they are terrorizing.⁷² So the Nazis had little trouble recruiting people to carry out horrific acts during the Holocaust because many Germans wanted to be part of the popular social/political movement and were easily indoctrinated by the Nazi propaganda that branded Jews as subhuman. Stalin was able to carry out his reign of terror in Russia because his victims were viewed as state enemies who were trying to undermine the Communist regime. How can these tendencies be neutralized? Marchak sees little benefit to international intervention that results in after-the-fact punishment of the perpetrators, a course of action that was attempted in the former Yugoslavia after death squads had performed "ethnic cleansing" of undesirables. Instead she argues for a prevention strategy that involves international aid and economic development by industrialized nations to those in the Third World that are on the verge of becoming collapsed states, the construction of social welfare systems, and the acceptance of international legal norms and standards of human rights.⁷³

Extent of the Terrorism Threat

The most recent and comprehensive data on terrorist attacks (2013) are generated by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) based at the University of Maryland. START estimates that during that single year, 11,952 terrorist attacks occurred resulting in 22,178 fatalities across 91 countries.

This represents a sharp increase over the past few years. More than half of all attacks (54 percent), fatalities (61 percent), and injuries (69 percent) occurred in just three countries: Iraq, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, countries that have seen the majority of attacks for the past several years. While Asia and Africa remain the location of most attacks, there were some shifts within these regions: total attacks increased for Iraq, Pakistan, the Philippines, Syria, Egypt, Libya, and Lebanon; total attacks decreased for Nigeria and Turkey.⁷⁴

Who were the most active groups? They included the Taliban in Afghanistan, Boko Haram in Nigeria, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, ISIL and al-Qaida in Iraq, Tehrik-i-Taliban in Pakistan, al-Shabaab in Somalia, al-Nusra Front in Syria and Lebanon, the David Yau Yau militia in the Sudan, and the New People's Army (NPA) in the Philippines. Some of these groups are generally considered allied with the central al-Qaeda group, and its alliance with these groups means that it remains a central player in a network of highly lethal and active terrorist organizations.⁷⁵

These data indicate that terrorism is rapidly evolving, with an increasing number of groups around the world—including both al-Qaeda affiliates and other terrorist organizations—still posing a significant threat. There has been a rise in increasingly aggressive and autonomous al-Qaeda affiliates who disregard the central command's order to avoid collateral damage to civilians. At the time of this writing, the area around Northern Iraq and Syria continues to be a major battleground for terrorism, and thousands of foreign fighters have traveled to Syria to join violent extremist groups. The Syrian conflict also empowered ISIL to expand its cross-border operations into Iraq.

Response to Terrorism

After the 9/11 attacks, agencies of the criminal justice system began to focus their attention on combating the threat of terror. Even local police agencies created anti-terror programs designed to protect their communities from the threat of attack. How should the nation best prepare itself to thwart potential attacks? The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (also known as the 9/11 Commission), an independent, bipartisan commission, was created in late 2002 and given the mission of preparing an in-depth report of the events leading up to the 9/11 attacks. Part of their goal was to create a comprehensive plan to ensure that no further attacks of that magnitude take place.

To monitor the more than 500 million people who annually cross in and out of the U.S., the commission recommended that a single agency should be created to screen border crossings. They also recommended creation of an investigative agency to monitor all aliens in the United States and to gather intelligence on the way terrorists travel across borders. The commission suggested that people who wanted passports be tagged with biometric measures to make them easily identifiable.

In response to the commission report, a **Director of National Intelligence (DNI)** was created and charged with coordinating data from the nation's primary intelligence-gathering agencies. The DNI serves as the principal intelligence adviser to the president and the statutory intelligence adviser to the National Security Council. On February 17, 2005, President George W. Bush named U.S. Ambassador to Iraq John Negroponte to be the first person to hold the post; he was confirmed on April 21, 2005; the current director is James R. Clapper, a former Air Force general and director of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Among the agencies reporting to the DNI is the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), which is staffed by terrorism experts from the CIA, FBI, and the Pentagon; the Privacy and Civil Liberties Board; and the National Counterproliferation Center. The NCTC serves as the primary organization in the U.S. government for analyzing and integrating all intelligence possessed or acquired by the government pertaining to terrorism and counterterrorism, excepting purely domestic counterterrorism information.

FACT OR FICTION?

Terrorist attacks have been increasing every year; the world is becoming more dangerous.

TRUE The number of terror attacks has risen sharply in the past few years.

Director of National Intelligence (DNI)

Government official charged with coordinating data from the nation's primary intelligence-gathering agencies.

While the 9/11 Commission report outlined what has already been done, what has not been done, and what needed to be done to protect the nation, agencies of the justice system rapidly began to respond to the challenge.

Confronting Terrorism with Law Enforcement

Ending the threat of terror is not easy. One reason is the very nature of American society. Because we live in a free and open nation, it is extremely difficult to seal the borders and prevent the entry of terrorist groups. In his book *Nuclear Terrorism*, Graham Allison, an expert on nuclear weapons and national security, describes the almost superhuman effort it would take to seal the nation's borders from nuclear attack considering the thousands of trucks, rail cars, and ships that deliver goods every day. The potential for terrorists to obtain bombs is significant: there are more than 100 nuclear research reactors now in operation around the world, and many are contained in states hostile to the United States, such as Iran and North Korea. Even if terrorists lack the knowledge to build their own bomb, they may be able to purchase an intact device on the black market. Russia alone has thousands of nuclear warheads and material for many thousands of additional weapons; all of these are vulnerable to theft. Terrorists may also be able to buy the knowledge to construct bombs. In one well-known incident, Pakistan's leading nuclear scientist, A. Q. Khan, sold comprehensive "nuclear starter kits" that included advanced centrifuge components, blueprints for nuclear warheads, and uranium samples in quantities sufficient to make a small bomb, and even provided personal consulting services to assist in nuclear development.⁷⁶

Recognizing this problem, law enforcement agencies around the country began to realign their resources to combat future terrorist attacks. In response to 9/11, law enforcement agencies undertook a number of steps: increasing the number of personnel engaged in emergency response planning; updating response plans for chemical, biological, or radiological attacks; and reallocating internal resources or increasing departmental spending to focus on terrorism preparedness.⁷⁷ Actions continue to be taken on the federal, state, and local levels.



AP Images/Elaine Thompson

Law enforcement agencies at every level are preparing for terror attacks. During a drill, SWAT team members step over a downed "terrorist" while clearing the Washington State ferry MV *Salish*, out of Bainbridge Island, Washington. In winds that kicked up whitecaps and drenched the small boarding boats, the Coast Guard and several police agencies drilled for a potential terrorist attack on a state ferry.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI) One of the most significant changes has been a realignment of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the federal government's main law enforcement agency. The FBI has announced a reformulation of its priorities, making protecting the United States from terrorist attack its number one commitment. It is now charged with coordinating intelligence collection with the Border Patrol, Secret Service, and the CIA. The FBI must also work with and share intelligence with the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC). Another initiative has been the creation of Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTFs), which are now located in 103 cities nationwide. The JTTFs include more than 4,400 members nationwide, hailing from over 600 state and local agencies and 50 federal agencies (the Department of Homeland Security, the U.S. military, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and the Transportation Security Administration, to name a few). JTTFs enable a shared intelligence base across many agencies, among other benefits.⁷⁸

DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY (DHS) Soon after the 9/11 attack, President George W. Bush proposed the creation of a new cabinet-level agency called the **Department of Homeland Security (DHS)**, which is engaged in:

- Preventing terrorist attacks within the United States
- Reducing America's vulnerability to terrorism
- Minimizing the damage and recovering from attacks that do occur

Rather than start from the ground up, the DHS combined a number of existing agencies into a superagency. Among its components are:

- *Border and transportation security.* The Department of Homeland Security is responsible for securing our nation's borders and transportation systems, which include 350 ports of entry. The department manages who and what enters the country, and works to prevent the entry of terrorists and the instruments of terrorism while simultaneously ensuring the speedy flow of legitimate traffic. The DHS also is in charge of securing territorial waters, including ports and waterways.
- *Emergency preparedness and response.* The department ensures the preparedness of emergency response professionals, provides the federal government's response, and aids America's recovery from terrorist attacks and natural disasters. The department is responsible for reducing the loss of life and property and protecting institutions from all types of hazards through an emergency management program of preparedness, mitigation, response, and recovery.
- *Chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear countermeasures.* The department leads the federal government's efforts in preparing for and responding to the full range of terrorist threats involving weapons of mass destruction. To do this, the department sets national policy and establishes guidelines for state and local governments. It directs exercises and drills for federal, state, and local chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) response teams and plans. The department is assigned to prevent the importation of nuclear weapons and material.
- *Information analysis and infrastructure protection.* The department analyzes information from multiple available sources, including the CIA and FBI, in order to assess the dangers facing the nation. It also analyzes law enforcement and intelligence information.⁷⁹

The DHS has numerous and varied duties. It is responsible for port security and transportation systems and manages airport security with its Transportation Security Administration (TSA). It has its own intelligence section, and it covers special events in the United States, such as political conventions.

STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT In the wake of the 9/11 attacks, a number of states have beefed up their intelligence-gathering capabilities and aimed them directly at homeland security. For example, Arizona maintains the Arizona Counter Terrorism Information Center (ACTIC), a statewide intelligence system designed to combat terrorism.⁸⁰ It consists of two divisions. One is unclassified and draws together personnel from various public safety agencies. The other operates in a secretive manner and cooperates with the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force. Its Fusion Center is responsible for sharing information about situations that might affect jurisdictions in the state and combs through diverse informational sources to provide early warning of incidents at the local, regional, and state levels.⁸¹ ACTIC also has an outreach program known as the Community Liaison Program (CLP). Community partners, including religious groups, businesses, and community crime watches, provide intelligence information to ACTIC personnel as the need arises.

In addition to state systems, some local police agencies have established counterterrorism units, including New York City, one of the main targets of the 9/11 attacks.⁸² After the 9/11 attacks, the NYPD augmented its anti-terrorism forces from 17 to 125 and assigned them to the operational control of the Counterterrorism Bureau.

Department of Homeland Security (DHS)

An agency of the federal government charged with preventing terrorist attacks within the United States, reducing America's vulnerability to terrorism, and minimizing the damage and aiding recovery from attacks that do occur.

Teams within the bureau have been trained to examine potential targets in the city and attempt to insulate them from possible attack. Viewed as prime targets are the city's bridges, and landmark sites such as the Empire State Building, Rockefeller Center, and the United Nations. Bureau detectives are assigned overseas to work with the police in several foreign cities, including cities in Canada and Israel. The department has backup command centers in different parts of the city in case a terror attack puts headquarters out of operation. In January 2015, the NYPD announced it was expanding the counterterrorism unit by creating a Strategic Response Group, whose officers will receive training on counterterrorism and be equipped with heavy protective gear, including long rifles and machine guns.⁸³

Confronting Terrorism with the Law

Soon after the September 11 terrorist attacks, the U.S. government enacted several laws focused on preventing further acts of violence against the United States and creating greater flexibility in the fight to control terror activity. Most importantly, Congress passed the **USA Patriot Act (USAPA)** on October 26, 2001. The bill is over 342 pages long, creates new laws, and makes changes to more than 15 existing statutes. Its aim is to give new powers to domestic law enforcement and international intelligence agencies in an effort to fight terrorism, to expand the definition of terrorist activities, and to alter sanctions for violent terrorism. While it is impossible to discuss every provision of this sweeping legislation here, a few of its more important elements will be examined.

USA Patriot Act (USAPA)

Legislation giving U.S. law enforcement agencies a freer hand to investigate and apprehend suspected terrorists.

THE USA PATRIOT ACT USAPA expands all four traditional tools of surveillance—wiretaps, search warrants, pen/trap orders (installing devices that record phone calls), and subpoenas. The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), which allows domestic operations by intelligence agencies, is also expanded. USAPA gives greater power to the FBI to check and monitor phone, Internet, and computer records without first needing to demonstrate that they were being used by a suspect or target of a court order.

The government may now serve a single wiretap, or pen/trap order, on any person regardless of whether that person or entity is named in a court order. Prior to this act, telephone companies could be ordered to install pen/trap devices on their networks that would monitor calls coming to a surveillance target and to whom the surveillance target made calls; the USAPA extends this monitoring to the Internet. Law enforcement agencies may now also obtain the email addresses and websites visited by a target, and emails of the people with whom they communicate. It is possible to require that an Internet service provider install a device that records email and other electronic communications on its servers, looking for communications initiated or received by the target of an investigation. Under USAPA, the government does not need to show a court that the information or communication is relevant to a criminal investigation, nor does it have to report where it served the order or what information it received.

The act also allows enforcement agencies to monitor cable operators and obtain access to their records and systems. Before the act, a cable company had to give prior notice to the customer, even if that person was a target of an investigation. Information can now be obtained on people with whom the cable subscriber communicates, the content of the person's communications, and the person's subscription records; prior notice is still required if law enforcement agencies want to learn what television programming a subscriber purchases.

The act also expands the definition of "terrorism" and enables the government to monitor more closely those people suspected of "harboring" and giving "material support" to terrorists (Sections 803, 805). It increases the authority of the U.S. attorney general to detain and deport noncitizens with little or no judicial review. The attorney general may certify that she has "reasonable grounds to believe" that a noncitizen endangers national security and is therefore eligible for deportation.

The attorney general and secretary of state are also given the authority to designate domestic groups as terrorist organizations and deport any noncitizen who is a member.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE USA PATRIOT ACT Although law enforcement agencies may applaud these laws, civil libertarians are troubled because they view the act as eroding civil rights. Some complain that there are provisions that permit the government to share information from grand jury proceedings and from criminal wiretaps with intelligence agencies. First Amendment protections may be violated because the Patriot Act authority is not limited to true terrorism investigations but covers a much broader range of activity involving reasonable political dissent. Though many critics have called for its repeal, the act has been repeatedly revised and extended. There have been a slew of provisions ensuring that the act does not violate civil rights by limiting its surveillance and wiretap authorizations.⁸⁴ The PATRIOT Sunsets Extension Act of 2011 extended provisions of the act concerning roving electronic surveillance orders, requests for the production of business records and other tangible things until June 1, 2015, and amended and extended the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, revising the definition of an “agent of a foreign power” to include any non-U.S. person who engages in international terrorism or preparatory activities (the “lone wolf” provision).⁸⁵ On June 2, 2015, the three sections of the Patriot Act anti-terrorism law set to expire were restored and extended through 2019. However, under a new law called the USA Freedom Act the National Security Agency (NSA) was prevented from continuing its mass phone data collection program. Instead, phone companies will retain the data and the NSA can obtain information about targeted individuals with permission from a federal court.⁸⁶

Combating Terrorism with Social Change

In the long run, it may simply be impossible to defeat terror groups and end terrorism using military, law enforcement, or legal solutions. Using force may play into terrorists’ hands and convince them that they are freedom fighters valiantly struggling against a better armed and more ruthless foe. No matter how many terrorists are killed and/or captured, military/deterrence-based solutions may be doomed. Aggressive reprisals will cause terrorist ideology to spread and gain greater acceptance in the underdeveloped world. The resulting anger and alienation will produce more terrorists than can be killed off through violent responses. In contrast, if the terrorist ideology is countered and discredited, the appeal of terror groups such as al-Qaeda will wither and die.

One approach suggested by policy experts is to undermine support for terrorist groups by being benevolent nation-builders giving aid to the nations that house terror groups.⁸⁷ This is the approach the United States took after World War II to rebuild Germany and Japan (the Marshall Plan) all the while gaining support for its Cold War struggle against the Soviet Union. According to the Rand Corporation, a nonprofit research group, the following steps are required to defeat jihadist groups such as al-Qaeda:

- Attack the ideological underpinnings of global jihadism
- Sever ideological and other links between terrorist groups
- Strengthen the capabilities of front-line states to counter local jihadist threats

This approach may work because al-Qaeda’s goal of toppling “apostate” regimes in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Pakistan and creating an ultraorthodox pan-Islamic government spanning the world does not sit well with large groups of Muslims; their monolithic vision has no room for other Muslim sects such as Shi’ites and Sunni moderates. Therefore, political and social appeals may help fracture local support for al-Qaeda. In addition, the United States should seek to deny sanctuaries to terrorist groups and strengthen the capabilities of foreign governments to deal with terrorist threats, but in an advisory capacity by providing intelligence. In his book *Unconquerable Nation*, Brian Michael Jenkins, a noted expert on the topic, identifies the strategic principles he believes are the key to combating terror in contemporary society. These beliefs are summarized in Exhibit 11.1.

Exhibit 11.1 Countering Terror

- *Destroy the jihadist enterprise.* Jihadists have proven to be flexible and resistant and capable of continued action despite sustained military actions. They remain the primary threat to U.S. national security and will continue to be so for the foreseeable future. Therefore, they must be destroyed and their ability to operate damaged.
- *Conserve resources for a long war.* These include blood, treasure, the will of the American people, and the support of needed allies. This means picking future fights carefully, making security measures both effective *and* efficient, maintaining domestic support, avoiding extreme measures that alienate the people, and cultivating rather than bullying other countries.
- *Wage more-effective political warfare.* Political solutions must be pragmatic. We must be ready to compromise. Amnesty should be offered to terrorists who have become disillusioned. Local leaders should be accommodated and deals cut to co-opt enemies.
- *Break the cycle of jihadism.* Jihadism is a cycle beginning with recruitment and ending with death, arrest, or detention. Combating terror must involve neutralizing terror groups' ability to radicalize and indoctrinate potential recruits before the cycle begins and then, at the end of the cycle, deal effectively with terror suspects once they have been captured and detained.
- *Impede recruitment.* Recruitment sites must be identified and made dangerous and therefore unusable. Alternatives to terror must be offered. Former, now disillusioned terrorists can be used to denounce terror and counteract its appeal with potential recruits.
- *Encourage defections and facilitate exits.* Potential defectors must be identified and encouraged to quit through the promise of amnesty, cash, job training, and homes.
- *Persuade detainees to renounce terrorism.* Rehabilitation of known terror suspects may be more important than prosecution and imprisonment.
- *Maintain international cooperation.* International cooperation is a prerequisite to success, a precious commodity not to be squandered by bullying, unreciprocated demands, indifference to local realities, or actions that repel even America's closest friends.
- *Reserve the right to retaliate—a muscular deterrent.* Terror groups and their sponsors should know that any attack using weapons of mass destruction will be met with all-out warfare against any group or government known to be or even suspected of being responsible.

Source: Brian Michael Jenkins, *Unconquerable Nation: Knowing Our Enemy, Strengthening Ourselves* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2006).

Thinking Like a Criminologist

Torture or Not?

As a criminologist whose specialty is terrorism, it comes as no surprise that the director of the CIA asks you to draw up a protocol setting out the rules for the use of torture with suspected terrorists. The reason for his request is that a series of new articles has exposed the agency's practice of sending suspected terrorists to friendly nations that are less squeamish about using torture. Shocking photo evidence of torture from detention facilities at the Guantánamo base in Cuba support these charges. Legal scholars have argued that these tactics violate both international treaties and domestic statutes prohibiting torture. Some maintain that the U.S. Constitution limits the authority of an executive agency like the CIA to act against foreigners abroad and also limits physical coercion by the government under the Fifth Amendment due process and self-incrimination clauses and the Eighth Amendment prohibition against cruel and unusual punishments. Legally, it is impermissible for United States authorities to engage in indefinite detention or torture regardless of the end, the place, or the victim.

Writing Assignment

Write a memo to the CIA director outlining the protocol you recommend for the use of torture with suspected terrorists. In your document, address when torture should be used, who it should be used on, and what tortures you recommend using. Of course, if you believe the use of torture is always unethical, you could let the director know why you have reached this conclusion.