A Military Guide to Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century

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Table of Contents

Preface

This document is intended as a resource to inform U.S. military personnel of the nature and characteristics of the terrorist threat in the current operational environment. Its purpose is to provide unit leaders, planners and commanders with a tool for understanding the nature of the terrorism and identifying the threat of terrorism to their units. It provides information for leaders to conduct realistic evaluations of risk and vulnerability to their units, and details probable circumstances in which U.S. military units can expect terrorist operations against them and likely motivations for such operations. This document is not intended to be a counter-terrorism "how-to" manual, or to replace current training and intelligence products dealing with terrorism.

This document describes terrorism as an increasingly common method of conflict. It uses historical discussions and vignettes to familiarize the audience with the progressive development of terrorist thought and technique. The document is organized into six chapters and six appendices, with a glossary and bibliography included. It was compiled from open source research and materials.

The first three chapters examine key components of the phenomenon of terrorism and its practitioners. They include definitions and characteristics of terrorism in general, historical milestones, common features and key behaviors of terrorist groups and individuals, and models of terrorist organizations. Categories, descriptions, and classifications of terrorism and its associated aspects are introduced, simplified and rationalized.

The next three chapters examine the relation of terrorist threats to U.S. military forces in general, specific considerations for U.S. forces while deploying, preparing for deployment, or at home station, and the future evolution of terrorism. The first appendix contains details of specific terrorist groups relative to each combatant command with a geographical responsibility. The other appendices describe terrorist planning, operations, commonly used weapons, and weapons of mass destruction.

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Unless this publication states otherwise, masculine nouns or pronouns do not refer exclusively to men.

Introduction

> **"Many potential adversaries, as reflected in doctrinal writings and statements, see US military concepts, together with technology, as giving the United States the ability to expand its lead in conventional warfighting capabilities.**
> **This perception among present and potential adversaries will continue to generate the pursuit of asymmetric capabilities against US forces and interests abroad as well as the territory of the United States. US opponents—state and such nonstate actors as drug lords, terrorists, and foreign insurgents—will not want to engage the US military on its terms. They will choose instead political and military strategies designed to dissuade the United States from using force, or, if the United States does use force, to exhaust American will, circumvent or minimize US strengths, and exploit perceived US weaknesses. Asymmetric challenges can arise across the spectrum of conflict that will confront US forces in a theater of operations *or on US soil.*"**
> **- National Intelligence Council's "Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue About the Future With Nongovernment Experts" report, December 2000 [Emphasis in original].**
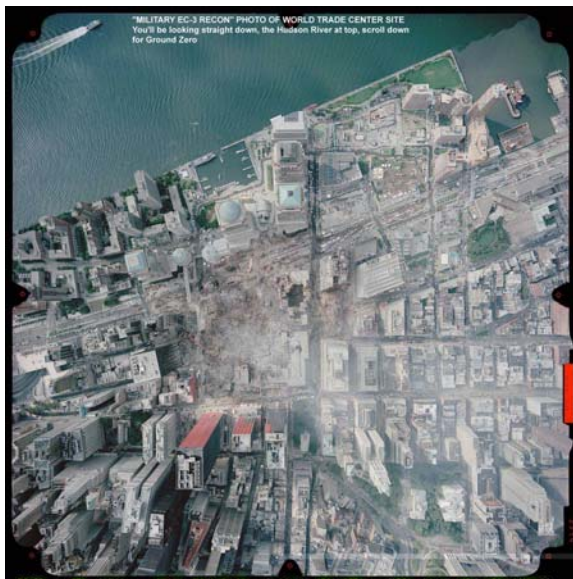
Figure I-1: World Trade Center after 9/11/01
(*Source*: DOD Photo)

Terrorism has become one of the most pervasive and critical threats to the security of the United States in recent history. U.S. military fatalities from terrorist actions since 1972 exceed the total battle deaths from Operations Urgent Fury (Grenada), Just Cause (Panama), and Desert Shield/ Storm (Persian Gulf).[1] As Chart I-1 depicts below, there were 655 military deaths between 1980 and 2001 attributed to either hostile action or terrorism. Of these deaths, 65% were due to terrorist actions. However, despite its consistent menace, terrorism is a threat that is poorly understood, and frequently confusing due to widely divergent views over exactly what it is.

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[1] Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, *Table 13, Worldwide U.S. Active Duty Military Deaths, Selected Military Operations* (Washington, D.C., n.d.); available from http://web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/table13.htm; Internet; accessed 3 February 2003.

Chart I-1: U.S. Active Duty Military Deaths 1980-2001

Deaths (y-axis): 0, 50, 100, 150, 200, 250, 300, 350, 400, 450

Total Deaths due to Terrorism = 426

Total Deaths due to Hostile Action = 229

Year (x-axis): 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, Total

Legend: Hostile Deaths, Terrorist Deaths

Data labels: 0 1 0 0 0 0 18 263 1 6 0 5 2 0 37 2 17 23 0 0 1 147 0 0 1 0 29 0 0 0 7 19 0 0 0 3 0 0 17 0 55 426

Source: Department of Defense,
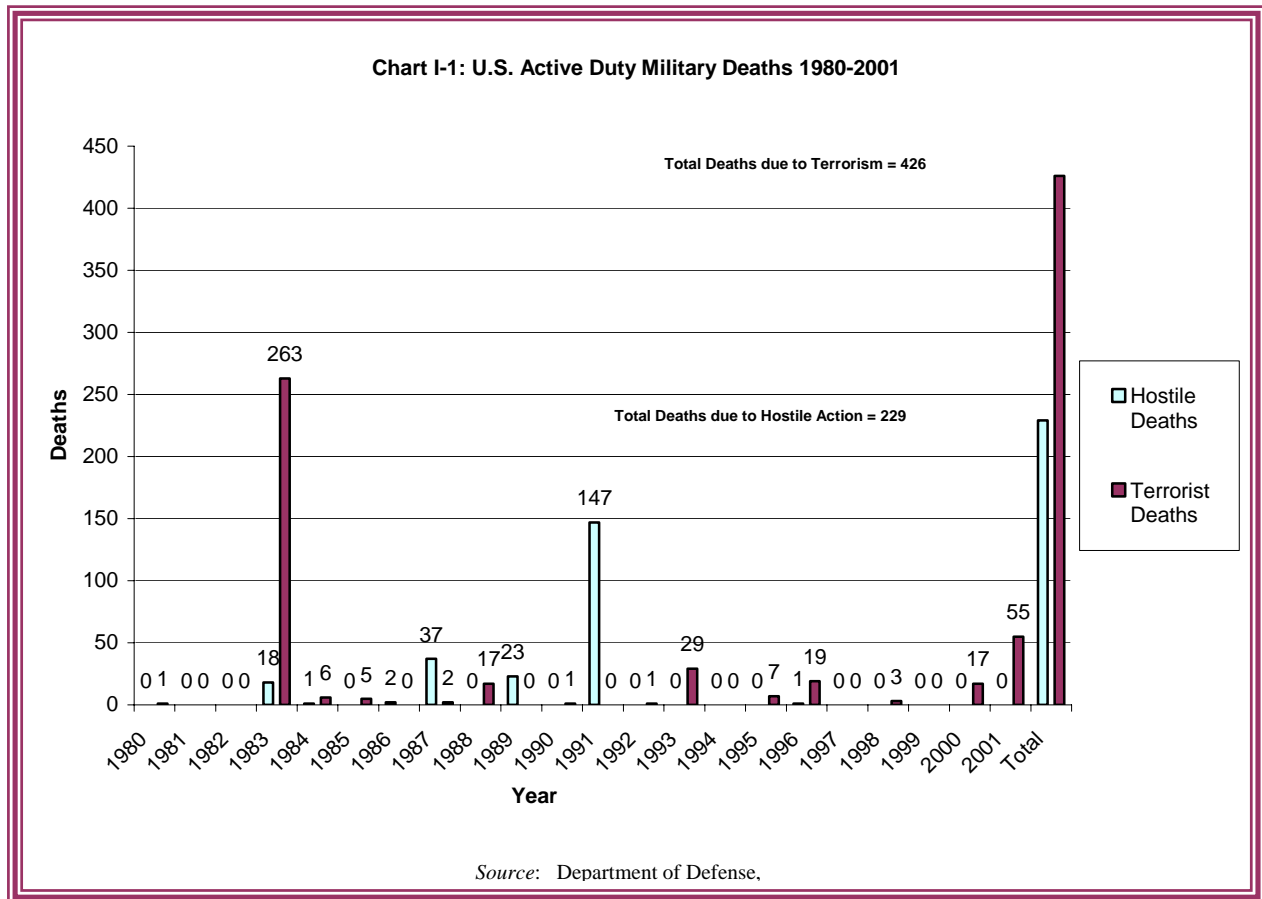
Scope of Problem

Conflict (Army FM 100-20.) — A political-military situation between peace and war, distinguished from peace by the introduction of organized political violence and from war by its reliance on political methods. It shares many of the goals and characteristics of war, including the destruction of governments and the control of territory.

Terrorism is a significant challenge for U.S. military forces in the 21st Century. It has evolved from a tactic for influencing political and social action to a dominant strategy for the conduct of irregular warfare. As shown in the historical review in Chapter 1, terrorist violence has changed from an agenda-forcing and attention-getting tool of the politically weak to a distinct method of asymmetric conflict employed against adversaries of greater economic, military, and political strength. It has also become a millenarian phenomenon; what some see as a precursor for cataclysmic change or apocalyptic transformation of society, religion, or the global status quo.

Terrorism is defined by DOD 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".[2] This is not a universally accepted definition outside of the Department of Defense, and the study of terrorism has often been mired in a conflict over definitions and semantics. This is examined at length in Chapter 1, but for the purposes of this document, this doctrinal definition will be used unless otherwise noted.

Having defined terrorism as violence in pursuit of goals, we have placed it squarely in the arena of warfare and conflict. Terrorism is a special type of violence; while it has a political element, it is a criminal offense under nearly every national or international legal code. Although terrorism has not yet caused the physical devastation and large number of casualties normally associated with warfare, it often produces a significant adverse psychological impact and presents a greater threat than a simple reckoning of the numbers killed or the quantity of materiel destroyed would indicate.[3] For the U.S. military, conventional warfare has become less lethal due to the superiority of our equipment and training over potential adversaries. However, while casualties have been trending downwards in conventional conflicts, the lethality of terrorism is on the rise.

While terrorism creates effects greater than the simple physical impact, and therefore is frequently successful in attracting attention and creating fear and anxiety, it typically fails to translate that success into concrete gains, and fails to achieve its ultimate objective.[4] Thus, as a tactic, terror is successful, but as a strategy, it either fails or requires concurrent political or military efforts to produce tangible results.[5] The fact still remains, though, that terrorism is a serious threat to our forces.

Purpose

This document is intended as a resource to inform U.S. military personnel of the nature and characteristics of terrorist operations. The purpose is to provide unit leaders, planners and commanders with a useful tool for:

Understanding the nature of the terror threat through a concise historical review of terror, basic descriptions of the methods and organizational structures commonly used by terrorist organizations, an understanding of terrorist goals and objectives, and how terrorists plan and conduct operations.

Understanding the threat of terrorism to their units. By using terms descriptive of terrorist *capabilities* we attempt to show the likely level of threat and the types of actions that may be directed against U.S. military personnel and units.

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[2] FM 100-20, *Military Operations in Low Intensity Conflict*, 5 December 1990; and Joint Publication 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, 12 April 2001, as amended through 9 January 2003.

[3] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 33-34.

[4] Caleb Carr, *The Lessons of Terror: A History of Warfare Against Civilians: Why it has Always Failed and Why it will Fail Again* (New York: Random House, 2002), 11.

[5] Walter Lacquer, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 48.

Identifying appropriate levels of force protection, security and countermeasures based upon unit status and situation. By providing data on commonly used weapons and tactics of terrorist groups, the intent is to enable realistic assessments of risk and vulnerability.

Providing relevant information applicable to Active, Reserve and Guard units either deployed, deploying, or in CONUS. This document details probable circumstances in which U.S. military units can expect terrorist operations to be undertaken against them and the likely motivations for such operations.

This document is not intended to be a counterterrorism "how-to" manual, or to replace current training and intelligence products. Its intent is to provide a base of knowledge that will allow better understanding and employment of existing resources.

Approach to the Topic

This document will discuss the phenomenon of terrorism in depth, beginning with Chapter 1, The Nature and History of Terror. From there we will examine Terrorist Behavior, Motivation and Characteristics in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 presents information on Terrorist Group Organizations. Chapters 4 provides some general observations on Terrorism And U.S. Forces, while Chapter 5 will examine the specific considerations that apply to units and individuals who are Deployed, Deploying, and Non-Deployable. Chapter 6 traces the Evolution and Future of Terrorism. Detailed information on terrorist weapons, tactics, organization, and areas of operation are provided in the Appendices A-G.

This document intends to provide a clear and straightforward description of an increasingly common method of conflict and will promote knowledge and facilitate understanding of the subject. To that end, historical discussions and vignettes are employed to familiarize the reader with the progressive development of terrorist thought and technique. We examine common features and key behaviors of terrorist groups and individuals to demonstrate what terrorists think. Many of the categories, descriptions, and classifications of terrorism and its associated aspects are introduced in order to simplify and rationalize them. Categorizations and nomenclature commonly used are introduced and discussed so the reader will understand what, if anything, they contribute to understanding terrorism. While we discard most of the accumulated terminology as being misleading or irrelevant to our needs, some terms are useful when employed carefully and understood narrowly.

The concepts used herein to classify terror groups are intended to aid the soldier in assessing the capabilities of potential adversaries. Social, philosophical, and political descriptions are avoided except where they assist in understanding or predicting behavior for a particular group. Descriptions employed focus on capabilities pertinent to the concerns of military professionals analyzing an adversary.

Chapter 1
Nature and History of Terror

Terrorist acts or the threat of such action have been in existence for millennia. Despite having a history longer than the modern nation-state, the use of terror by governments and those that contest their power remains poorly understood. While the meaning of the word _terror_ itself is clear, when it is applied to acts and actors in the real world it becomes confused. Part of this is due to the use of terror tactics by actors at all levels in the social and political environment. Is the Unabomber, with his solo campaign of terror, a criminal, terrorist, or revolutionary? Can he be compared to the French revolutionary governments who coined the word terrorism by instituting systematic state terror against the population of France in the 1790s, killing thousands? Are either the same as revolutionary terrorist groups such as the Baader-Mienhof Gang of West Germany or the Weather Underground in the United States?

So we see that distinctions of size and political legitimacy of the actors using terror raise questions as to what is and is not terrorism. The concept of _moral equivalency_ is frequently used as an argument to broaden and blur the definition of terrorism as well. This concept argues that the <u>outcome</u> of an action is what matters, not the <u>intent</u>.[6] Collateral or unintended damage to civilians from an attack by uniformed military forces on a legitimate military target is the same as a terrorist bomb directed deliberately at the civilian target with the intent of creating that damage. Simply put, a car bomb on a city street and a jet fighter dropping a bomb on a tank are both acts of violence that produce death and terror. Therefore (at the extreme end of this argument) <u>any</u> military action is simply terrorism by a different name.[7] This is the reasoning behind the famous phrase "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". It is also a legacy of

> "One democracy's terrorist is another democracy's terrorist."
> - Professor Paul Wilkinson, St. Andrews University

legitimizing the use of terror by successful revolutionary movements after the fact.

Finally, the very flexibility and adaptability of terror throughout the years has contributed to the confusion. Those seeking to disrupt, reorder or destroy the status quo have continuously sought new and creative ways to achieve their goals. Changes in the tactics and techniques of terrorists have been significant, but even more significant are the growth in the number of causes and social contexts where terrorism is used.

Despite these problems, terrorism can be studied and useful conclusions drawn. The first section of this chapter introduces a background of definitions and concepts for understanding terrorism. The second section provides a brief survey of the historical employment of terrorism. By establishing specific definitions and concrete concepts regarding terrorism, and determining how it has been used in the past, we can improve our ability to understand how it works in the present, and what it may become in the future.

Section I: What is Terrorism

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[6] Bruce Hoffman, _Inside Terrorism_ (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 33.
[7] _International Encyclopedia of Terrorism_, 1997 ed., s.v. "The Terrorists' View."

Terrorism has been described variously as both a tactic and strategy; a crime and a holy duty; a justified reaction to oppression and an inexcusable abomination. Obviously, a lot depends on whose point of view is being represented. Terrorism has often been an effective tactic for the weaker side in a conflict. As an asymmetric form of conflict, it confers coercive power with many of the advantages of military force at a fraction of the cost. Due to the secretive nature and small size of terrorist organizations, they often offer opponents no clear organization to defend against or to deter. That is why preemption is now so important. In some cases, terrorism has been a means to carry on a conflict without the adversary realizing the nature of the threat, mistaking terrorism for criminal activity. Because of these characteristics, terrorism has become increasingly common among those pursuing extreme goals throughout the world. But despite its popularity, terrorism can be a nebulous concept. Even within the U.S. Government, agencies responsible for different functions in our current fight against terrorism use different definitions.

Defining Terrorism

The Department of Defense approved definition of terrorism is: "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."[8] For the purposes of this document, this will be the standard definition. However, this is not the last or only word on the subject. A researcher did a review of writings on terrorism and found 109 different definitions![9] Here is a sampling of definitions to illustrate the difficulties of categorizing and analyzing terrorism.

The FBI uses this: "Terrorism is the unlawful use of force and 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."[10] The U.S. Department of State uses the definition contained in Title 22 U.S.C. Section 2656f(d). According to this section, "terrorism" means "premeditated politically-motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience."[11] These definitions stress the respective institutional concerns of the organizations using them. The FBI concentrates on the "unlawful" aspect, in keeping with it's law-enforcement mission. The Department of State concerns itself with "politically motivated" actions by "sub-national" or "clandestine" actors, a focus appropriate to the Department's functions of international relations and diplomacy.

> **Related Definitions**
>
> **Terrorist**: (JP 1-02) - An individual who uses violence, terror, and intimidation to achieve a result.
>
> **Counter-terrorism**: (JP 1-02) - Offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, and respond to terrorism.
>
> **Anti-terrorism**: (JP 1-02) - Defensive measures used to reduce the vulnerability of individuals and property to terrorist acts, to include limited response and containment by local military forces.

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[8] FM 100-20, *Military Operations in Low Intensity Conflict*, 5 December 1990; and Joint Publication 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, 12 April 2001, as amended through 09 January 2003.

[9] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 39.

[10] Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations, Section 0.85, *Judicial Administration*, (Washington, D.C., July 2001).

[11] Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001* (Washington, D.C., May 2002), xvi.

Outside the United States Government, there are greater variations in what features of terrorism are emphasized in definitions. The United Nations produced this definition in 1992; "An anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets." The most commonly accepted academic definition starts with the U.N. definition quoted above, and adds two sentences totaling another 77 words on the end; containing such verbose concepts as "message generators" and 'violence based communication processes."[12] Less specific and considerably less verbose, the British Government definition of 1974 is"…the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public, or any section of the public, in fear."[13]

On the extremely terse end of the spectrum, the terrorism expert Brian Jenkins bluntly stated in 1974 "Terrorism is theatre." [14] This is possibly the best three-word analogy for such a complex phenomenon. We can think of terrorism, like a play, as a constructed incident presented to a large audience to gain and hold their attention. Modern media provide the stage, and audience attention is further engaged because random individuals are selected to join the principals on stage. And like a play, the point of the exercise is the feelings and attitudes of the audience, not the actors.

Common Elements of Terrorism

There is clearly a wide choice of definitions for terrorism. Despite this, there are elements in common among the majority of useful definitions. Common threads of the various definitions identify terrorism as:

- Political
- Psychological
- Coercive
- Dynamic
- Deliberate

Political

A terrorist act is a political act or is committed with the intention to cause a political effect. Clausewitz' statement that "war is a continuation of policy by other means" is taken as a truism by terrorists. They merely eliminate the intermediate step of armies and warfare, and apply violence directly to the political contest.[15]

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[12] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "The Academic View."
[13] Ibid., s.v. "The Official View."
[14] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 38.
[15] Karl von Clausewitz, *War, Politics and Power* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1962), 83.

Psychological

The intended results of terrorist acts cause a psychological effect ("terror"). They are aimed at a target audience other than the actual victims of the act. The intended target audience of the terrorist act may be the population as a whole, some specific portion of a society (an ethnic minority, for example), or decision-making elites in the society's political, social, or military populace.

Coercive

Violence and destruction are used in the commission of the act to produce the desired effect. Even if casualties or destruction are not the result of a terrorist operation, the threat or potential of violence is what produces the intended effect. For example, a successful hostage taking operation may result in all hostages being freed unharmed after negotiations and bargaining. Regardless of the outcome, the terrorist bargaining chips were nothing less than the raw threat of applying violence to maim or kill some or all of the hostages. When the threat of violence is not credible, or the terrorists are unable to implement violence effectively, terrorism fails.

Dynamic

Terrorist groups demand change, revolution, or political movement. The radical worldview that justifies terrorism mandates drastic action to destroy or alter the status quo. Even if the goals of a movement are reactionary in nature, they require action to "turn back the clock" or restore some cherished value system that is extinct. Nobody commits violent attacks on strangers or innocents to keep things "just the way they are."

Deliberate

Terrorism is an activity planned and intended to achieve particular goals. It is a rationally employed, specifically selected tactic, and is not a random act.[16] Since the victims of terrorist violence are often of little import, with one being as good for the terrorists' purposes as another, victim or target selection can appear random or unprovoked. But the target will contain symbolic value or be capable of eliciting emotional response according to the terrorists' goals. Remember that the actual target of terrorism is not the victim of the violence, but the psychological balance of the society or population.

Specific Observations

In addition to these common elements derived from attempts to define terrorism, some specific observations about terrorists become apparent. These observations are not definitive; meaning they do not automatically indicate terrorist activity. But they are common to the practice of terrorism.

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[16] Ehud Sprinzak, "Rational Fanatics," *Foreign Policy,* no. 120 (September/October 2000): 66-73.

Media Exploitation

Terrorism's effects are not necessarily aimed at the victims of terrorist violence. Victims are usually objects to be exploited by the terrorists for their effect on a third party. In order to produce this effect, information of the attack must reach the target audience. So any terrorist organization plans for exploitation of available media to get the message to the right audiences.[17] Victims are simply the first medium that transmits the psychological impact to the larger target audience. The next step in transmission will depend on what media is available, but it will be planned, and it will frequently be the responsibility of a specific organization within the terrorist group to do nothing else but exploit and control the news cycle.[18]

Some organizations can rely on friendly or sympathetic news outlets, but this is not necessary. News media can be manipulated by planning around the demands of the "news cycle", and the advantage that control of the initiative gives the terrorist. Pressures to report quickly, to "scoop" competitors, allow terrorists to present claims or make statements that might be refuted or critically commented on if time were available. Terrorists often provide names and details of individual victims to control the news media through its desire to humanize or personalize a story. For the victims of a terrorist attack, it is a certainty that the impact on the survivors (if there are any) is of minimal importance to the terrorists. What is important is the intended psychological impact that the news of their death or suffering will cause in a wider audience.

Operations in Permissive Societies

Terrorists conduct more operations in societies where individual rights and civil legal protections prevail. While terrorists may base themselves in repressive regimes that are sympathetic to them, they usually avoid repressive governments when conducting operations wherever possible. An exception to this case is a repressive regime that does not have the means to enforce security measures. Governments with effective security forces and few guaranteed civil liberties have typically suffered much less from terrorism than liberal states with excellent security forces. Al Qaeda has shown, however, that they will conduct operations anywhere.

Illegality of Methods

Terrorism is a criminal act. Whether the terrorist chooses to identify himself with military terminology (as discussed under insurgencies below), or with civilian imagery ("brotherhood", "committee", etc.), he is a criminal in both spheres. The violations of civil criminal laws are self-evident in activities such as murder, arson, and kidnapping regardless of the legitimacy of the government enforcing the laws. Victimizing the innocent is criminal injustice under a dictatorship or a democracy.[19] If the terrorist claims that he is justified in using such violence as a military combatant, he is a de facto war criminal under international law and the military justice systems of most nations.

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[17] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 55-58.

[18] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 33.

[19] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 190.

<u>Preparation and Support</u>

It's important to understand that actual terrorist operations are the result of extensive preparation and support operations. Media reporting and academic study have mainly focused on the terrorists' goals and actions, which is precisely what the terrorist intends. This neglects the vital but less exciting topic of preparation and support operations. Significant effort and coordination is required to finance group operations, procure or manufacture weapons, conduct target surveillance and analysis, and deliver trained terrorists to the operational area. While the time and effort expended by the terrorists may be a drop in the bucket compared to the amounts spent to defend against them, terrorist operations can still involve large amounts of money and groups of people. The need for dedicated support activities and resources on simple operations are significant, and get larger the greater the sophistication of the plan and the complexity of the target.

Differences between Terrorism and Insurgency

If no single definition of terrorism produces a precise, unambiguous description, we can approach the question by eliminating similar activities that are not terrorism, but that appear to overlap. For the U.S. military, two such related concepts probably lead to more confusion than others. Guerilla warfare and insurgencies are often assumed to be synonymous with terrorism. One reason for this is that insurgencies and terrorism often have similar goals.[20] However, if we examine insurgency and guerilla warfare, specific differences emerge.

A key difference is that an insurgency is a movement - a political effort with a specific aim. This sets it apart from both guerilla warfare and terrorism, as they are both methods available to pursue the goals of the political movement.

> **Insurgency**: (JP 1-02, NATO) - An organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict.
>
> **Guerilla Warfare**: (JP 1-02, NATO) - Military and para-military operations conducted in enemy-held or hostile territory by irregular, predominantly indigenous forces.

Another difference is the intent of the component activities and operations of insurgencies versus terrorism. There is nothing inherent in either insurgency or guerilla warfare that requires the use of terror. While some of the more successful insurgencies and guerilla campaigns employed terrorism and terror tactics, and some developed into conflicts where terror tactics and terrorism became predominant; there have been others that effectively renounced the use of terrorism. The deliberate choice to use terrorism considers its effectiveness in inspiring further resistance, destroying government efficiency, and mobilizing support.[21] Although there are places where terrorism, guerilla warfare, and criminal behavior all overlap, groups that are exclusively terrorist, or subordinate "wings" of insurgencies formed to specifically employ terror tactics, demonstrate clear differences in their objectives and operations. Disagreement on the costs of using terror tactics, or whether terror operations are to

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[20] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Theories of Insurgency and Terrorism: Introduction."

[21] Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 16-20.

be given primacy within the insurgency campaign, have frequently led to the "urban guerilla" or terrorist wings of an insurgency splintering off to pursue the revolutionary goal by their own methods.

The ultimate goal of an insurgency is to challenge the existing government for control of all or a portion of its territory, or force political concessions in sharing political power. Insurgencies require the active or tacit support of some portion of the population involved. External support, recognition or approval from other countries or political entities can be useful to insurgents, but is not required. A terror group does not require[22] and rarely has the active support or even the sympathy of a large fraction of the population. While insurgents will frequently describe themselves as "insurgents" or "guerillas", terrorists will not refer to themselves as "terrorists" but describe themselves using military or political terminology ("freedom fighters", "soldiers", "activists"). Terrorism relies on public impact, and is therefore conscious of the advantage of avoiding the negative connotations of the term "terrorists" in identifying themselves.[23]

Terrorism does not attempt to challenge government forces directly, but acts to change perceptions as to the effectiveness or legitimacy of the government itself. This is done by ensuring the widest possible knowledge of the acts of terrorist violence among the target audience. Rarely will terrorists attempt to "control" terrain, as it ties them to identifiable locations and reduces their mobility and security. Terrorists as a rule avoid direct confrontations with government forces. A guerilla force may have something to gain from a clash with a government combat force, such as proving that they can effectively challenge the military effectiveness of the government. A terrorist group has nothing to gain from such a clash. This is not to say that they do not target military or security forces, but that they will not engage in anything resembling a "fair fight", or even a "fight" at all. Terrorists use methods that neutralize the strengths of conventional forces. Bombings and mortar attacks on civilian targets where military or security personnel spend off-duty time, ambushes of undefended convoys, and assassinations of poorly protected individuals are common tactics.

> "We have the right to kill four million Americans- two million of them children…"
>   - Suleiman abu Ghaith, al Qaeda spokesman

Insurgency need not require the targeting of non-combatants, although many insurgencies expand the accepted legal definition of combatants to include police and security personnel in addition to the military. Terrorists do not discriminate between combatants and non-combatants, or if they do, they broaden the category of "combatants" so much as to render it meaningless. Defining all members of a nation or ethnic group, plus any citizen of any nation that supports that nation as "combatants" is simply a justification for frightfulness. Deliberate de-humanization and criminalization of the enemy in the terrorists' mind justifies extreme measures against anyone identified as hostile (more on this in Chapter 2). Terrorists often expand their groups of acceptable targets, and conduct operations against new targets without any warning or notice of hostilities.

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[22] Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 17.
[23] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 29-33.

Ultimately, the difference between insurgency and terrorism comes down to the intent of the actor. Insurgency movements and guerilla forces can adhere to international norms regarding the law of war in achieving their goals, but terrorists are by definition conducting crimes under both civil and military legal codes. Terrorists routinely claim that were they to adhere to any "law of war" or accept any constraints on the scope of their violence, it would place them at a disadvantage vis-à-vis the establishment. Since the nature of the terrorist mindset is absolutist, their goals are of paramount importance, and any limitations on a terrorist's means to prosecute the struggle are unacceptable.[24]

Use of Terror by Nation-States: Is there a difference?

Is there a difference between terrorism and the use of specific tactics that exploit fear and terror by authorities normally considered "legitimate"? Nations and states often resort to violence to influence segments of their population, or rely on coercive aspects of state institutions. Just like the idea of equating any act of military force with terrorism described above, there are those who equate any use of government power or authority versus any part of the population as terrorism. This view also blurs the lines of what is and is not terrorism, as it elevates outcomes over intentions. Suppression of a riot by law enforcement personnel may in fact expose some of the population (the rioters) to violence and fear, but with the intent to protect the larger civil order. On the other hand, abuse of the prerogative of legitimized violence by the authorities is a crime.

But there are times when national governments will become involved in terrorism, or utilize terror to accomplish the objectives of governments or individual rulers. Most often, terrorism is equated with "non-state actors", or groups that are not responsible to a sovereign government. However, internal security forces can use terror to aid in repressing dissent, and intelligence or military organizations perform acts of terror designed to further a state's policy or diplomatic efforts abroad.

A government that is an adversary of the United States may apply terror tactics and terrorism in an effort to add depth to their engagement of U.S. forces. Repression through terror of the indigenous population would take place to prevent internal dissent and insurrection that the U.S. might exploit. Military special operations assets and state intelligence operatives could conduct terrorist operations against U.S. interests both in theater and as far abroad as their capabilities allow. Finally, attacks against the U.S. homeland could be executed by state sponsored terrorist organizations or by paid domestic proxies. Three different ways that states can engage in the use of terror are:

- Governmental or "State" terror

- State involvement in terror

- State sponsorship of terrorism

Governmental or "State" terror: Sometimes referred to as "terror from above", where a government terrorizes its own population to control or repress them. These actions usually

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[24] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 33.

constitute the acknowledged policy of the government, and make use of official institutions such as the judiciary, police, military, and other government agencies. Changes to legal codes permit or encourage torture, killing, or property destruction in pursuit of government policy. After assuming power, official Nazi policy was aimed at the deliberate destruction of "state enemies" and the resulting intimidation of the rest of the population. Stalin's "purges" of the 1930s are examples of using the machinery of the state to terrorize a population. The methods he used included such actions as rigged show trials of opponents, punishing family or friends of suspected enemies of the regime, and extra-legal use of police or military force against the population.[25]

Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons on his own Kurdish population without any particular change or expansion of policies regarding the use of force on his own citizens. They were simply used in an act of governmental terror believed to be expedient in accomplishing his goals.

State involvement in terror: These are activities where government personnel carry out operations using terror tactics. These activities may be directed against other nations' interests, its own population, or private groups or individuals viewed as dangerous to the state. In many cases, these activities are terrorism under official sanction, although such authorization is rarely acknowledged openly. Historical examples include the Soviet and Iranian assassination campaigns against dissidents who had fled abroad, and Libyan and North Korean intelligence operatives downing airliners on international flights.[26]

Another type of these activities is "death squads" or "war veterans": unofficial actions taken by officials or functionaries of a regime (such as members of police or intelligence organizations) against their own population to repress or intimidate. While these officials will not claim such activities, and disguise their participation, it is often made clear that they are acting for the state. Keeping such activities "unofficial" permits the authorities deniability and avoids the necessity of changing legal and judicial processes to justify oppression. This is different than "pro-state" terror, which is conducted by groups or persons with no official standing and without official encouragement. While pro-state terror may result in positive outcomes for the authorities, their employment of criminal methods and lack of official standing can result in disavowal and punishment of the terrorists, depending on the morality of the regime in question.

State sponsorship of terrorism: Also known as "state supported" terrorism, when governments provide supplies, training, and other forms of support to non-state terrorist organizations. One of the most valuable types of this support is the provision of safe haven or physical basing for the terrorists' organization. Another crucial service a state sponsor can provide is false documentation, not only for personal identification (passports, internal identification documents), but also for financial transactions and weapons purchases. Other means of support are access to training facilities and expertise not readily available to groups without extensive resources. Finally, the extension of diplomatic protections and services, such as immunity from extradition, diplomatic passports, use of embassies and other protected grounds, and diplomatic pouches to transport weapons or explosives have been significant to some groups.

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[25] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Stalin's Great Terror."
[26] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 190.

An example of state sponsorship is the Syrian government's support of Hamas and Hizballah in Lebanon. Syrian resources and protection enable the huge training establishments in the Bek'aa Valley. On a smaller, more discreet scale, the East German Stasi provided support and safe-haven to members of the Red Army Faction (RAF or Baader Meinhof Gang) and neo-fascist groups that operated in West Germany.[27] Wanted members of the RAF were found resident in East Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

Section II: Historical Overview of Terrorism

U.S. forces need to be aware that there is a historical perspective to terrorism. It has not sprung into being overnight. Terrorists have directly targeted military personnel and facilities since the earliest times. In the 1980s, European and American radical Left terror groups targeted significant numbers of U.S. service members.[28] Now, greater involvement of U.S. military forces in terrorist related operations, either as targets or combatants, makes attacks on military personnel and facilities more likely than in the past.

Terror in Antiquity: 1st -14th Century AD

The earliest known organization that exhibited aspects of a modern terrorist organization was the Zealots of Judea. Known to the Romans as *sicarii*, or dagger-men[29], they carried on an underground campaign of assassination of Roman occupation forces, as well as any Jews they felt had collaborated with the Romans. Their motive was an uncompromising belief that they could not remain faithful to the dictates of Judaism while living as Roman subjects. Eventually, the Zealot revolt became open, and they were finally besieged and committed mass suicide at the fortification of Masada.

The Assassins were the next group to show recognizable characteristics of terrorism, as we know it today. A breakaway faction of Shia Islam called the Nizari Ismalis adopted the tactic of assassination of enemy leaders because the cult's limited manpower prevented open combat.[30] Their leader, Hassam-I Sabbah, based the cult in the mountains of Northern Iran. Their tactic of sending a lone assassin to successfully kill a key enemy leader at the certain sacrifice of his own life (the killers waited next to their victims to be killed or captured) inspired fearful awe in their enemies.

> The word "Assassin" was brought back to Europe by the Crusaders, and refers to the widespread rumor that the Nizari used hashish to produce the fanatical courage their lone knife-wielding killers repeatedly demonstrated.

Even though both the Zealots and the Assassins operated in antiquity, they are relevant today: First as forerunners of modern terrorists in aspects of motivation, organization, targeting, and

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[27] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 200.

[28] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Chronology of Terrorist Events."

[29] Franklin L. Ford, *Political Murder: From Tyrannicide to Terrorism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 91.

[30] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "The Assassins: A Terror Cult."

goals. Secondly, although both were ultimate failures, the fact that they are remembered hundreds of years later, demonstrates the deep psychological impact they caused.

Early Origins of Terrorism: 14th –18th Century

From the time of the Assassins (late 13th century) to the1700s, terror and barbarism were widely used in warfare and conflict[31], but key ingredients for terrorism were lacking. Until the rise of the modern nation state after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the sort of central authority and cohesive society that terrorism attempts to influence barely existed. Communications were inadequate and controlled, and the causes that might inspire terrorism (religious schism, insurrection, ethnic strife) typically led to open warfare. By the time kingdoms and principalities became nations, they had sufficient means to enforce their authority and suppress activities such as terrorism.

The French Revolution provided the first uses of the words "Terrorist" and "Terrorism". Use of the word "terrorism" began in 1795 in reference to the Reign of Terror initiated by the Revolutionary government. The agents of the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention that enforced the policies of "The Terror" were referred to as 'Terrorists". The French Revolution provided an example to future states in oppressing their populations. It also inspired a reaction by royalists and other opponents of the Revolution who employed terrorist tactics such as assassination and intimidation in resistance to the Revolutionary agents.[32] The Parisian mobs played a critical role at key points before, during, and after the Revolution. Such extra-legal activities as killing prominent officials and aristocrats in gruesome spectacles started long before the guillotine was first used.[33]

Entering the Modern Era: The 19th Century

During the late 19th century, radical political theories and improvements in weapons technology spurred the formation of small groups of revolutionaries who effectively attacked nation-states. Anarchists espousing belief in the "propaganda of the deed" produced some striking successes, assassinating heads of state from Russia, France, Spain, Italy, and the United States. However, their lack of organization and refusal to cooperate with other social movements in political efforts rendered anarchists ineffective as a political movement. In contrast, Communism's role as an ideological basis for political terrorism was just beginning, and would become much more significant in the 20th century.

> "Propaganda of the deed" Acts of revolution, resistance, or violence that will inspire the masses to act. It assumes that there is an untapped force of revolutionary will in the population at large.

Another trend in the late 19th century was the increasing tide of nationalism throughout the world, in which the nation (the identity of a people) and the political state were combined. As

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[31] Caleb Carr, *The Lessons of Terror: A History of Warfare Against Civilians: Why it has Always Failed and Why it will Fail Again* (New York: Random House, 2002), 52-63.

[32] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Terror in the French Revolution 1789-1815."

[33] Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of The French Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1989), 405 & 447.

states began to emphasize national identities, peoples that had been conquered or colonized could, like the Jews at the times of the Zealots, opt for assimilation or struggle. The best-known nationalist conflict from this time is still unresolved - the multi-century struggle of Irish nationalism. Nationalism, like communism, became a much greater ideological force in the 20th century.

The terrorist group from this period that serves as a model in many ways for what was to come was the Russian Narodnya Volya (Peoples Will).[34] They differed in some ways from modern terrorists, especially in that they would sometimes call off attacks that might endanger individuals other than their intended target. Other than this quirk, we see many of the traits of terrorism here for the first time; clandestine, cellular organization; impatience and inability for the task of organizing the constituents they claim to represent; and a tendency to increase the level of violence as pressures on the group mount.

The Early 20th Century

The first half of the 20th century saw two events that influenced the nature of conflict to the present day. The effects of two World Wars inflamed passions and hopes of nationalists throughout the world, and severely damaged the legitimacy of the international order and governments.

Nationalism on the Rise

Nationalism intensified during the early 20th century throughout the world. It became an especially powerful force in the subject peoples of various colonial empires. Although dissent and resistance were common in many colonial possessions, and sometimes resulted in open warfare, nationalist identities became a focal point for these actions.

Gradually, as nations became closely tied to concepts of race and ethnicity, international political developments began to support such concepts. Members of ethnic groups whose states had been absorbed by others or had ceased to exist as separate nations saw opportunities to realize nationalist ambitions. Several of these groups chose terror as a method to conduct their struggle and make their situation known to world powers they hoped would be sympathetic. In Europe, both the Irish and the Macedonians had existing terrorist campaigns as part of their ongoing struggle for independence, but had to initiate bloody uprisings to further their cause. The Irish were partially successful, the Macedonians failed.

Damaged Legitimacy

The "total war" practices of all combatants of WWII provided further justification for the "everybody does it" view of the use of terror and violations of the law of war. The desensitization of people and communities to violence that started in World War I accelerated during World War II. The intensity of the conflict between starkly opposed ideologies led to excesses on the part of all participants. New weapons and strategies that targeted the enemies' civilian population to destroy their economic capacity for conflict exposed virtually every

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[34] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Russian Anarchist Terror."

civilian to the hazards of combatants. The major powers' support of partisan and resistance organizations using terrorist tactics was viewed as an acceptance of their legitimacy. It seemed that civilians had become legitimate targets, despite any rules forbidding it.[35]

The Later 20th Century

<u>Cold War Developments</u>

The bi-polar world of the Cold War changed perception of conflicts the world over. Relatively minor confrontations took on significance as arenas where the superpowers could compete without risking escalation to full nuclear war. Warfare between the East and the West took place on the peripheries, and was limited in scope to prevent escalation. During the immediate postwar period, terrorism was more of a tactical choice by leaders of nationalist insurgencies and revolutions. Successful campaigns for independence from colonial rule occurred throughout the world, and many employed terrorism as a supporting tactic. When terrorism was used, it was used within the framework of larger movements, and coordinated with political, social, and military action. Even when terrorism came to dominate the other aspects of a nationalist struggle, such as the Palestinian campaign against Israel, it was (and is) combined with other activities.

Throughout the Cold War, the Soviet Union provided direct and indirect assistance to revolutionary movements around the world. Many anti-colonial movements found the revolutionary extremism of communism attractive. Leaders of these "wars of national liberation" saw the advantage of free weapons and training. They also realized that the assistance and patronage of the Eastern Bloc meant increased international legitimacy. Many of these organizations and individuals utilized terrorism in support of their political and military objectives. The policy of the Soviet Union to support revolutionary struggles everywhere, and to export revolution to non-communist countries, provided extremists willing to employ violence and terror as the means to realize their ambitions.

<u>The Internationalization of Terror</u>

The age of modern terrorism might be said to have begun in 1968 when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked an El Al airliner en route from Tel Aviv to Rome. While hijackings of airliners had occurred before, this was the first time that the nationality of the carrier (Israeli) and its symbolic value was a specific operational aim. Also a first was the deliberate use of the passengers as hostages for demands made publicly against the Israeli government. The combination of these unique events, added to the international scope of the operation, gained significant media attention. The founder of PFLP, Dr. George Habash observed that the level of coverage was tremendously greater than battles with Israeli soldiers in their previous area of operations. "At least the world is talking about us now."[36]

Another aspect of this internationalization is the cooperation between extremist organizations in conducting terrorist operations. Cooperative training between Palestinian groups and European radicals started as early as 1970, and joint operations between the PFLP and the Japanese Red

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[35] Martin L. Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), 79.
[36] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 70.

Army (JRA) began in 1974. Since then international terrorist cooperation in training, operations, and support has continued to grow, and continues to this day. Motives range from the ideological, such as the 1980s alliance of the Western European Marxist-oriented groups, to financial, as when the IRA exported its expertise in bomb making as far afield as Colombia.

Figures 1-1 through 1-4 below reflect what the U.S. Department of State considers significant terrorist incidents from 1970 through the bombing of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2001. As you can see, there were 12 significant events in the decade of the 1970s, with 6 of those events involving the United States or its citizens in some fashion. The decade of the 1990s shows an increase in total incidents of 625% over that of the 1970s, and an increase of 900% in incidents involving the United States.[37] (Incidents in red/*italics* involve the U.S.)

Total Events = 18
U.S. Involved = 7

June 2000
US Citizen Kidnapped in Colombia

October 2000
US Citizens & Others Kidnapped in Ecuador

January 2000 Car Bombing in Spain

May 2000 UN Personnel Kidnapped in Sierra Leone

June 2000 UN Personnel Kidnapped in Sierra Leone

August 2000 US Citizens Kidnapped in Kyrgyzstan

May 2000 US Journalist Killed in Confrontation

June 2000 British Defense Attache Killed

October 2000 USS Cole Attack

January 2001 Airport Attack

March 2001 Bomb Attack

June 2001 Bomb Attack

Figure 1-1: Significant Terrorist Incidents 2000 through 2001
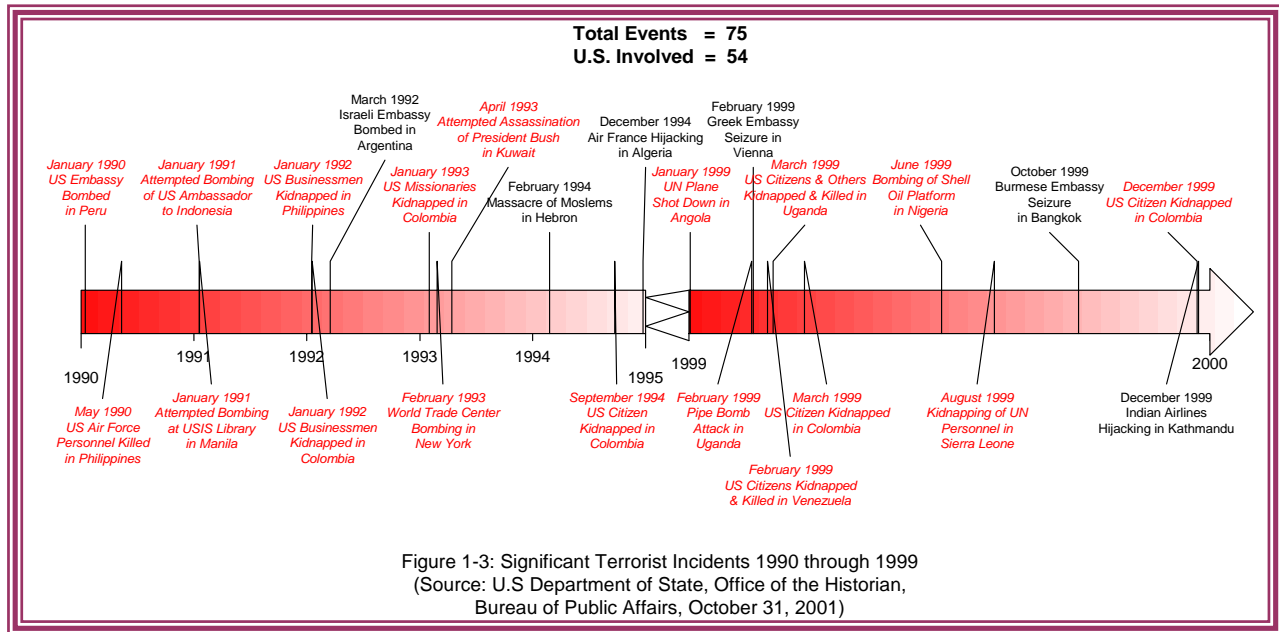(Source: U.S Department of State, Office of the Historian,
Bureau of Public Affairs, October 31, 2001)

Total Events = 32
U.S. Involved = 22

Bomb Exploded Near US Embassy

April 1983 Bombing of US Servicemen in Torrejon, Spain

May 2001 Bomb Attack on BBC Studio in London

April 2001 Bomb Attack on Bus in Israel

August 2001 Bomb Attack on Restaurant in Israel

September 2001 World Trade Center & Pentagon Attacks

September 1986 Kimpo Airport Bombing in Seoul

June 1985 Air India Bombing

October 1983 South Korean Delegation Bombed in Rangoon

September 1982 Lebanese Prime Minister Assassinated in Beirut

November 1983 US Naval Officer Assassinated in Greece

October 1984 Prime Minister Gandhi Assassinated in India

November 1985 Egyptian Airline Hijacking in Athens

December 1987 Servicemen's Bar Bombing in Barcelona

June 1988 US Defense Attache Killed in Greece

August 1981 Ramstein AB Bombed in Germany

December 1981 US Missionaries Murdered in El Salvador

April 1983 US Embassy Bombed in Beirut

June 1985 TWA Hijacking in Rome

April 1986 Berlin Discoteque Bombing in Germany

April 1987 Bus Bombing in Athens

April 1988 USO Bombing in Naples

April 1989 US Army Officer Killed in Manila

2000

1980   1981   1982   1983   1984   1985   1986   1987   1988   1989   1990

Church Bombing in Tajikistan

April 1983 US Citizen Kidnapped in Colombia

October 1983 US Embassy Bombed in Beirut

February 1985 DEA Agents Kidnapped & Murdered

March 1986 USMC Officer in Athens

November 1987 Bomb Blast over Indian Ocean

February 1988 US Naval Officer Kidnapped and Murdered in Lebanon

November 1989 German Bank Chairman Assassinated in Frankfurt

October 1981 President Sadat Assassinated in Egypt

May 1983 US Naval Officer Assassinated in El Salvador

June 1984 Golden Temple Seizure in Amritsar, India

September 1985 Soviet Diplomats Kidnapped in Beirut

December 1988 Pan Am 103 Bombing over Lockerbie, Scotlan

March 1984 US Embassy Official Kidnapped & Murdered in Beirut

October 1985 Achille Lauro Hijacking in the Mediterranean Sea

Figure 1-2: Significant Terrorist Incidents 1980 through 1989
(Source: U.S Department of State, Office of the Historian,
Bureau of Public Affairs, October 31, 2001)

2002

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[37] Department of State, Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, *Significant Terrorist Incidents, 1961-2001: A Chronology* (Washington, D.C., 31 October 2001), 1-10; available from http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/terror_chron.html; Internet; accessed 30 January 2003.

Total Events = 75
U.S. Involved = 54

January 1990 US Embassy Bombed in Peru

May 1990 US Air Force Personnel Killed in Philippines

January 1991 Attempted Bombing of US Ambassador to Indonesia

January 1991 Attempted Bombing at USIS Library in Manila

January 1992 US Businessmen Kidnapped in Philippines

January 1992 US Businessmen Kidnapped in Colombia

March 1992 Israeli Embassy Bombed in Argentina

January 1993 US Missionaries Kidnapped in Colombia

February 1993 World Trade Center Bombing in New York

April 1993 Attempted Assassination of President Bush in Kuwait

February 1994 Massacre of Moslems in Hebron

December 1994 Air France Hijacking in Algeria

September 1994 US Citizen Kidnapped in Colombia

February 1999 Greek Embassy Seizure in Vienna

January 1999 UN Plane Shot Down in Angola

February 1999 Pipe Bomb Attack in Uganda

March 1999 US Citizens & Others Kidnapped & Killed in Uganda

February 1999 US Citizens Kidnapped & Killed in Venezuela

March 1999 US Citizen Kidnapped in Colombia

June 1999 Bombing of Shell Oil Platform in Nigeria

August 1999 Kidnapping of UN Personnel in Sierra Leone

October 1999 Burmese Embassy Seizure in Bangkok

December 1999 US Citizen Kidnapped in Colombia

December 1999 Indian Airlines Hijacking in Kathmandu

1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1999 2000

Figure 1-3: Significant Terrorist Incidents 1990 through 1999
(Source: U.S Department of State, Office of the Historian,
Bureau of Public Affairs, October 31, 2001)

State Sponsorship of Terrorism

State sponsorship of the use of terror is not a strictly modern occurrence. Serbian intelligence officers provided support to the assassins who killed Arch Duke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, and precipitated World War I.[38] Germany provided arms to Irish nationalists during that war to use against the British.[39] Since then, state assistance to terrorists was used both as a means of surrogate warfare between states, and also as an international diplomatic tool. State sponsorship renders terrorism decidedly more effective. Access to a government's resources of weapons, information, money, and expertise, and use of its privileges in diplomatic travel, transportation, and protection made identifiable state sponsored acts eight times as lethal in the 1980s than non-state attacks. State sponsorship also increases lethality by reducing the need for support from constituent populations, leaving the terrorist free to operate without fear of backlash due to excessive violence.[40] The low cost and deniability of this technique has led to its adoption by nations with ambitious foreign policy goals and limited means.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the Soviet Union provided significant assistance to a wide variety of organizations and individuals involved in terrorism. Attempts to destabilize governments through the use of sponsored terrorist groups to some extent replaced "wars of national liberation" as a method of the Soviet Union during this period.[41] Although the USSR officially denounced terrorism, it provided support directly and via surrogates. Commonly, training in revolutionary theory and practical skills were provided to promising individuals from other countries, some of whom the KGB or GRU recruited for intelligence service. Safe havens were provided for members of terrorist groups in East bloc countries such as East Germany and

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[38] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Assassination at Sarajevo 1914."

[39] Ibid., s.v. "State Sponsored Terrorism."

[40] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 189.

[41] Uri Ra'anan, ed., et al*., Hydra of Carnage; International Linkages of Terrorism* (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1986), 11.

Czechoslovakia. Weapons and explosives were given to radical regimes such as Libya, with the knowledge that they would likely end up in the hands of terrorist groups.

The example provided by the Soviet experience led other countries to adopt state sponsorship. Ranging from tenuous diplomatic support internationally, to direct operational control of a terrorist organization, state involvement in terror can be a flexible, low-risk tool for a variety of policy goals. Iran in particular has found sponsorship of terror to particularly suit its objective of militant Islamic revolution. The incidence of state sponsorship declined somewhat after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and due to isolation and retaliation on other identified state sponsors, but shows no signs of going away completely.

Current State of Terrorism

Currently terrorism continues its process of evolution. Although future trends in terrorism will be covered at length in Chapter 6, we are seeing the beginning of many of those trends in current conditions. Shifts in the dominant motivations for terrorists; changes in organizational structures; and the changes in response to world developments such as the global economy and the development of information technology have altered the nature of terrorism considerably.

Changes in Dominant Ideologies

Religious ideology has replaced political and nationalist ideologies as the principal cause for terrorist groups. To cite one example, international terrorist groups espousing religious ideologies went from three percent of total international terror groups in 1980, to forty six percent of international groups by 1995.[42] And the trend is accelerating. Also, the emergences of "single issue" movements, limited to a single concern such as environmentalism or anti-globalization, have started to supplant revolutionary ideology.

For many of the social revolutionaries, the failure of the Soviet Union, and of virtually all of the eastern bloc communist governments, severely discredited Marxist-Leninist ideologies. The loss of supportive governments also impacted the viability of the left-wing groups in Europe. Also, nationalist movements that might have previously turned to terrorism have had success in realizing their goals in the post Cold War world. A large number of separatist movements were accorded international recognition and acceptance as the old world order shifted. Although in some areas, such as the former Yugoslavia, this process has been anything but peaceful, it has not seen long campaigns of insurgent warfare and terrorism previously associated with nationalist struggles.

Changes to Organizational Structures

In response to improvements in counter-terror capabilities, and increased cooperation between governments, terrorists groups are moving to networked organizational models, rather than hierarchical structures. Similar to the "leaderless resistance" model of the American right wing and "eco-terror" domestic groups, this decentralized organization takes advantage of uniform ideology or beliefs to guide the efforts toward the group's goals. The huge advances made in

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[42] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 90.

personal communication and privacy technology have enabled this change to a networked organization. It will be discussed in Chapter 3, but features:

- Increased security, due to fewer communications, no identifiable leadership or command structures, and less required coordination between elements not directly involved in operations.

- Faster response cycles to new countermeasures and tactics.

- Increased deniability, as actions can be acknowledged or disavowed depending on the results.

Changes to Global Conditions

Information technology has provided significant increases to the operational capabilities of terrorists, and also tightened the symbiotic relationship between terrorism and the media. The spread of information technology together with the rise of globalization has enhanced the terrorist capability to communicate, collect intelligence, operate and spread its message. Terror tactics have expanded in scope, and increased in effectiveness in proportion to the development of global media and information technology. The transmission of the message has likewise become easier and more amenable to manipulation by the terrorist.

Today, terrorists are organizing themselves in more fluid ad hoc amalgamations of individuals who appear to have been brought together for a specific, "one time only" mission. Fewer barriers between countries for people and finances are intended to improve commerce, global trade, and freedom of movement, but are enabling factors for modern terrorists and contribute to the development of ad hoc, limited duration alliances and relationships.[43] These terrorist groups may emerge from obscurity to strike, and then just as suddenly disappear.

Terrorism historically flourishes in areas that are permissive. The presence in the modern world of failed states, or dysfunctional governments, has given the terrorist a replacement for state sponsorship, with few of the disadvantages. Weak governments attract criminal activity and outcast movements. In this developing relationship, terror organizations can become local power brokers, commanding more money and technical expertise than the "legitimate" government. In return for assistance from the terrorists, the government provides physical refuge and the protection the status of a sovereign government provides against retaliation and arrest.

Conclusion

This chapter was intended to increase the reader's understanding of the nature of terrorism. Terrorism is a particular tactic in political conflicts that is usable by individuals as well as nations. Due to its complexity it is difficult to define, but can be understood through a combination of description, observation, and historical review. Understanding the larger phenomenon of terror and terrorism is necessary before proceeding to the study of terrorists and their behaviors, motivations, and characteristics in Chapter 2.

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[43] David Newman, ed., *Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity* (Portland: Frank Cass Books, 1999), 17-20.

Chapter 2
Terrorist Behaviors, Motivations, and Characteristics

Terrorists and terror groups constitute the enemy in the current struggle the United States finds itself engaged in today. However, despite decades of study, the nature of terrorists and their behaviors are hard to pin down. In addition to the difficulty in analyzing secretive, conspiratorial groups and individuals, the variety of motivations, ideologies, and behaviors involved gives the appearance of complete confusion. There seems to be no common characteristics or clearly defined traits that cut across the bewildering variety of terrorists and their organizations.

While all of this is true, there are benefits to studying terrorist motivations and behaviors, both at the individual and group level. Observations on human nature and group dynamics under the conditions of stress, excitement, and social isolation (to name just a few factors terrorists experience) can give us insight into the causes of particular behaviors. Also, understanding the various types of motivations for particular terrorists allows us to assess their stated aims against their actual intent. And despite the wide variety of individual terrorists, there are some practical observations about their general characteristics.

This chapter is organized into three sections. The first section is a discussion of terrorist behaviors and psychology at both individual and group level. The second examines the impact of group goals and motivations on their planning and operations. The third section consists of observations of general terrorist characteristics.

Section I: Terrorist Behavior

The common view of the terrorist is usually the unpredictable, viciously irrational stereotype colored by a lot of media images and sensationalism. However, as our examination of the nature and history of terrorism in Chapter 1 shows, terrorism is a rationally selected tactic, employed in the pursuit of political aims. Yet, to lend some truth to the cinema stereotype, the individuals or small organizations that employ terrorist tactics may in fact not always be concerned with particular causes or avowed ideology. Some may in fact be motivated purely by a need to be terrorists, in whatever cause suits them, or as a gun for hire serving a variety of causes.

This contradiction is summed up in the two most common approaches in analyzing terrorist group and individual behavior. They are:

- The psychologically compelled model: This supposes that terrorists engage in terrorism because it fulfils a psychological need (not exclusively a need for violence) on their part. It treats avowed ideology and political causes, as after the fact justifications for behaviors the terrorist will commit anyway.

- The rational choice model: Terror is a tactic selected after rational consideration of the costs and benefits. The individual chooses participation in terrorist activities by a conscious decision (although they may not know what they are getting into). While it acknowledges that individuals or groups may be predisposed to violence, this is not considered the determining factor in the choice to use or renounce terror.

Neither of these descriptions is universally applicable, with all groups or individuals conforming to one or the other. Aspects of both theories are observed in groups and individuals. As usual, the real world provides instances of both theories, and they should both be kept in mind when examining the actions of terrorists.[44]

Individual Terrorist Behaviors

> **"An opinion can be argued with; a conviction is best shot"**
> **- T.E. Lawrence (of Arabia)**

No one profile exists for terrorists in terms of their backgrounds or personal characteristics. The differences in the origins of terrorists in terms of their society, culture, and environment preclude such a universal approach. The profiles developed for the typical West German RAF member 15 years ago is irrelevant to predicting the nature of an Indonesian al Qaeda recruit. Trying to predictively profile potential terrorists, even within the same culture, is a task beyond the scope of this work. But while we cannot predict the identity of future terrorists, there are some valid observations to be made of practicing terrorists. These consist of behaviors and attitudes to which such individuals conform.

Utopian Worldview

Terrorists typically have utopian goals, regardless of whether their aims are political, social, territorial, nationalistic, or religious. This utopianism expresses itself forcefully as an extreme degree of impatience with the rest of the world that validates the terrorists' extreme methods.[45] This philosophy may be best expressed as "Tear everything up; change now and fix later." The individual commonly perceives a crisis too urgent to be solved other than by the most extreme methods. Alternately, the perception is of a system too corrupt or ineffective to see or adopt the "solution" the terrorist expounds. This sense of desperate impatience with opposition is central to the terrorist worldview. This is true of both secular and religiously motivated terrorists, although with slightly different perspectives as to how to impose their "solutions."

There is also a significant element of impracticability associated with this utopian mindset. Although their goals often involve the transformation of society, or a significant reordering of the status quo, individual terrorists, even the philosophical or intellectual leaders, are often vague or uncaring as to what the future order of things will look like or how they will be implemented. It seems that change, and the destructive method by which change is brought about, is much more important than the end result.

> **"…the time after victory, that is not our concern …We build the revolution, not the socialist model"**
> **- Gudrun Ensslin, co-leader, Red Army Faction**

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[44] Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 3 & 30.
[45] Ibid., 30.

Interaction with Others

Terrorists interact within their groups with both other members and leadership. It is common for individuals forming or joining groups to adopt the "leader principle". This amounts to unquestioning submission to the group's authority figure. This is true of both hierarchical and networked organizations, and of large and small groups. It explains the prevalence of individual leaders of great charisma in many terrorist organizations.[46] With a predisposition to view leaders and authority figures within the group as near ideal examples, such leaders can demand tremendous sacrifices from subordinates. It also is a cause of the bitterness of internal dissension when a leader is at odds with the group, or factions arise in the organization.[47]

Another adaptation the individual makes is accepting an "in-group" (us against the world) mentality. This results in a presumption of automatic morality on the part of the other individual members of the group, and the purity of their cause and righteousness of their goals. It also involves the view of the wider world as aggressively attacking or persecuting the individual and his compatriots. Thus, violence is necessary for the "self-defense" of the group and carries moral justification. In some cases, the group comes to identify completely with their use of violence, and it becomes to them the defining characteristic of their existence on both the individual and collective level. Groups in this mind-set cannot renounce violence, since it would equal renouncing their own reason for being.[48]

De-humanization of Non-members

> **"Dear animal killing scum! Hope we sliced your finger wide open and that you now die from the rat poison we smeared on the razor blade."**
> **- Anonymous letter rigged with rat poison covered razor blades sent to 65 guide outfitters across B.C. and Alberta from the "Justice Department" (radical animal rights group), Jan. 1996**

There is a de-humanization of all "out-group" individuals. This de-humanization permits violence to be directed indiscriminately at any target outside the group. Assuming that all those outside of the group are either enemies or neutral, terrorists are justified in attacking anyone. And since anyone outside the group is a potential enemy, circumstances can change that permit any restraints that the terrorists might have observed to be broken in the name of expediency.

De-humanization also removes some of the onus of killing innocents. The identification of authority figures with animals ("pigs" is a common favorite) makes murder simple slaughter of inferior life. The continual picture held up to group members is that there are oppressors and oppressed; they are fighting inhuman opponents in the name of the oppressed.

This is the other aspect of de-humanization. By making "the oppressed" or "the people" an abstract concept, usually an ignorant mass, it permits the individual terrorist to claim to act on

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[46] Sabil Frances, "Uniqueness of LTTE's Suicide Bombers," *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Article no. 321 (4 February 2000): 1; available at http://www.ipcs.org; Internet; accessed 7 September 2002.

[47] Walter Lacquer, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 95.

[48] Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 38.

their behalf. The terrorist believes these acts further the interests of some "un-awakened" social or ethnic constituency that is too oppressed or misinformed to realize its interests. They see themselves as leading the struggle on behalf of the rest of whatever constituency they represent. This view on the part of terrorists is common to all shades of the political spectrum. It is variously identified as "the revolutionary vanguard" or "true patriots", but involves the terrorists acting for the good of either a silent or ignorant mass that would approve of their struggle if they were free to choose.

Lifestyle Attractions

> **"There's something about a good bomb."**
> **- Bill Ayers, Former Weather Underground leader in his memoir "Fugitive Days"**

Frequently, there is actual enjoyment of the lifestyle of a terrorist. While not particularly appealing for members of stable societies, there are emotional, physical and sometimes social rewards for being a terrorist. Emotional rewards include the feelings of notoriety and power. In some societies, there may be a sense of satisfaction in rebellion; in others there may be a perceived increase in social status. For some, the intense sense of belonging generated by membership in an illegal group is emotionally satisfying.[49]

Physical rewards can include such things as money, authority, and adventure.[50] The lure of these things can subvert other motives. Several of the more notorious terrorists of the 1970s and 1980s, such as Abu Nidal[51], became highly specialized mercenaries, discarding their convictions and working for a variety of causes and sponsors.

Motivation for Destruction

Committing destructive acts for purely personal gratification is not confined to the alienation present in modern society. The Temple of Artemis at Epheseus was one of the ancient world's most famous buildings. It was renowned both for the richness of the furnishings and the splendor of the architecture. However, because of this fame, it became a target for an individual whose contribution to world history was self-aggrandizing destruction. Herostratus destroyed the Temple in 356 B.C.E., allegedly stating that the name of the man who had built it would be lost to history, but that the name of the man who destroyed such a wonder would live forever.

There can also be a sense of elitism, and a feeling of freedom from societal mores. "Nothing in my life had ever been this exciting!" enthused Susan Stern, member of the Weather Underground, describing her involvement with the group.[52]

Behaviors Within Organizations

People within groups have different behaviors collectively than they do as individuals. This is as true of terrorists as it is of audiences at concerts or members of book clubs. Terrorist organizations have varying motives and reasons for existence, and how the group interprets these determines a great deal of the internal group dynamics. Again, no one profile or predictive tool works for various terror groups but some common features are set out below.

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[49] Ibid.,34-35.

[50] Ibid., 271.

[51] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 187

[52] Ibid., 176.

Groups are collectively more daring and ruthless than the individual members. No individual wishes to appear less committed than the others, and will not object to proposals within the group they would never entertain as an individual.[53] Leaders will not risk being seen as timid, for fear of losing their influence over the group. The end result can be actions not in keeping with individual behavior patterns as far as risk and lethality, but dictated by the pressure of group expectations and suppression of dissent and caution.

They stress secrecy and loyalty to the group. Disagreements are discouraged by the sense of the external threat represented by the outside world, and pressure to conform to the group view. Doubts about group goals and activities are suppressed, often by eliminating the doubters. No punishment is worse than excommunication from the group, and deserters are objects of universal loathing and hatred.[54] Even the slightest suspicion of disloyalty can result in torture and murder of the suspect. The ideological intensity that makes terrorists such formidable enemies often turns upon itself, and some groups have purged themselves so effectively that they almost ceased to exist.[55]

Frequently, the existence of the group becomes more important than the goal they originally embraced. If the group nears success, it will often "move the goalposts" so as to have a reason to continue to exist. In some cases, success will mean disbanding the organization, an option to be rejected by individuals or factions whose fundamental identity and personal worth is derived from being a terrorist. Factions that advocate keeping to the original objective will inspire bitter infighting and schism in the group. The resulting splinter groups or dissenting individual members are extremely volatile and run the risk of compromising the entire group.

In cases where the terrorists are not tied to a particular political or social goal, groups will even adopt a new cause if the original one is resolved. When first formed, many of the Euro-terror groups such as the Red Army Faction (Germany) and Communist Combatant Cells (Belgium) grew out of the 1960s student protest movement. The initial motivations for their actions were supposedly to protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam and support the North Vietnamese government. When American involvement in Vietnam came to an end, the radical left in Europe embraced Palestinian and pro-Arab causes rather than disband. Later, they conducted attacks against research facilities supporting the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, and to prevent deployment of the Pershing IRBM (Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile) in Germany. This is also an illustration of how a terrorist's announced ideology or goals are misleading. The European radical left was really not "for' anything, but was predominately "anti"; anti-American and anti-NATO.

Organizations that are experiencing difficulties tend to increase their level of violence. This is particularly true when the problems are low morale within the group due to lack of perceived progress or successful counter-terrorism measures putting pressure on the group. The

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[53] Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 36.
[54] David C. Rapoport, ed*., Inside Terrorist Organizations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 157.
[55] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 213.

organization hopes that a change to more spectacular tactics or larger casualty lists will overcome the group's internal problems.[56]

Section II: Impact of Terrorist Goals & Motivations on Planning

Practical strategies against terrorists require consideration of the terrorist's point of view in his targeting and operations. Understanding the opponents' preferences and capabilities allows better defense and promotes an active approach to the threat. Total interdiction of all possible targets is impossible, since the defender cannot protect everything. While consistent prediction is unlikely, accurate determination of what risks are acceptable must consider the terrorists' values, particularly their estimate of the target's value, and the costs of the operation necessary to successfully hit it.

Terror can literally strike anywhere. The proliferation of terrorism expertise, and the breakdown in restraint and observance of international norms means many more groups and individuals can and will use terror as a viable tool[57] to achieve their goals. With more potential terror users, the U.S. will be a prime target for several reasons.

There has been an increase in transnational radicalism as compared to recent historical conflicts. As the most prominent secular democracy and largest single economic, military, and political power in the world, the U.S. becomes the principal opponent of extremists throughout the world, and therefore particularly appealing as a target. Much of the current thinking and literature on terrorism developed when terrorism was closely tied to revolutionary movements and separatist movements concerned with influencing events in relation to one nation. Newer causes and ideologies, such as religion, economic concerns, or environmental issues are international, transnational, or even global in scope.

Further, the perception that the U.S. is the single most powerful nation in the world invites targeting by terror groups regardless of ideology to demonstrate their power and status. In the worldview of many terrorist groups, the perceived power and influence of the U.S. encourages targeting to force the U.S. to extract concessions from third parties (prisoner release, policy changes, etc.).

Another reason to expect greater use of terrorism against the U.S. is that possible competitors may feel that they cannot openly challenge or defeat the U.S. with any other technique. Nations have employed state sponsored terrorism to produce results that could not have otherwise been achieved against U.S. opposition. The current supremacy of American military power leaves adversaries with few options to challenge U.S. interests. Adding non-state groups of formidable capability and few restraints to the roster of potential adversaries of the U.S. increases the likely use of terror against our forces.

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[56] Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 16.
[57] Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice," in *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed., ed. Walter Reich (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 14.

Many potential adversaries view the U.S. as particularly vulnerable to the psychological impact and uncertainties generated by terror tactics in support of other activities.[58] Terrorism and terror tactics have already been used against U.S. forces in support of conventional and insurgent warfare, as well as against U.S. forces during stability and peace support operations in attempts to influence policy. Lessons drawn from previous uses of terror against the U.S. have led to some commonly held perceptions about the effectiveness and impact of terrorism versus the U.S. Some of these perceptions may or may not be valid, but are still widely held. Consequently, terrorist groups are likely to try to capitalize on what they may perceive as vulnerabilities. They include the beliefs that:

- The U.S. is extremely casualty averse. Any loss of life takes on significance out of proportion to the circumstances.

> "We have seen in the last decade the decline of the American government and the weakness of the American soldier who is ready to wage Cold Wars and unprepared to fight long wars. This was proven in Beirut when the Marines fled after two explosions. It also proves they can run in less than 24 hours, and this was also repeated in Somalia."
> - Usama bin Laden interview by ABC News' John Miller, May 1998

- U.S. Government policies and policy makers are overly influenced by public opinion, which in turn is particularly susceptible to the adverse psychological impact of terrorism.

- The U.S. economic performance is perception driven, and therefore equally vulnerable to the adverse psychological impact of terrorism.

> "Whoever has stolen our wealth, then we have the right to destroy their economy."
> - Usama bin Laden's "Letter to America" Sunday November 24, 2002

- The U.S. cannot sustain long-term efforts, or exhibit public sacrifice in pursuit of difficult national goals.

Finally, the growing polarization of some domestic political issues means that the U.S. is also

> "We are an instrument for the hostages… We force the Administration to put their lives above policy"
> - Lesley Stahl, CBS White House correspondent during the TWA flight 847 hostage crisis, 1985

> "Those youths are different from your soldiers. Your problem will be how to convince your troops to fight, while our problem will be how to restrain our youths to wait for their turn in fighting and in operations."
> - Usama bin Laden, "Declaration Of War Against The Americans Occupying The Land Of The Two Holy Places" August 26 1996

likely to see increased terror attacks on its own soil by a variety of "home-grown" groups. These

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[58] Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, *Unrestricted Warfare,* trans. Department of State, American Embassy Beijing Staff Translators (Washington, D.C., 1999).

groups may target U.S. forces either as symbols, sources of weapons and equipment, or at the behest of other terrorist groups in exchange for money or support elsewhere.

Terrorist Asset Cost versus Target Value

Despite popular perception, terrorists are not numerous. They require recruitment, preparation, and integration into the operational structure of the group. They also require extensive vetting to ensure that they are not infiltrators from enemy security forces. For this reason, they are valuable assets, which a group's leadership will not employ without serious consideration of the relationship between the cost of using (and possibly losing) the asset, and the potential benefits to the group. While some groups may have a greater supply of personnel assets than others, no group can expend them injudiciously.[59] Therefore terrorist operational planning focuses on economies of personnel, and balances the likelihood of losses against the value of a target and the probability of success. This is why suicide bombings are on the increase – large payoff for low cost.

In any terrorist operation, extensive pre-operational surveillance and reconnaissance, exhaustive planning, and sufficient resources will be committed to the operation.[60] The potential risk of exposure of these resources, and the demands on their time, must be factored into the equation when deciding to commit to an attack.

Operational Intent of Terrorism

It is vital to remember that terrorism is a psychological act. It is communication through the medium of violence directed at others. This requirement to reach a target audience with the intended psychological impact results in terrorist planning exhibiting many differences from military planning or "rational" game strategies. Terrorist strategies will be aimed at publicly causing damage to symbols or inspiring fear. Timing, location, and method of attacks are designed to accommodate media dissemination and insure "newsworthiness" to maximize impact. A terrorist operation will often have the ultimate goal of manipulating popular perceptions, and it will achieve this by controlling or dictating media coverage. This control need not be overt, as terrorists analyze and exploit the dynamics of major media outlets and the pressure of the "news cycle."[61]

In considering possible terrorist targets, recognize that a massively destructive attack launched against a target that cannot or will not attract sufficient media coverage to impact the target audience is not a viable target for terrorists. A small attack against a "media accessible" target is better than a larger one of less publicity. However, the spread of the global media makes many locations attractive targets that would not have been remotely considered thirty or forty years ago. The 1998 bombings of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania illustrate how these two relatively unimportant posts created a global sensation because of the media coverage. Forty

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[59] Ehud Sprinzak, "Rational Fanatics," *Foreign Policy,* no. 120 (September/October 2000): 66-73.
[60] Rohan Gunaratna, "Suicide Terrorism: a Global Threat," *Jane's Intelligence Review* (20 October 2000): 1-7; available from http://www.janes.com/security/international_security/news/usscole/jir001020_1_n.shtml; Internet; accessed 7 September 2002.
[61] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 136-142.

years ago it would have taken days for the international news media to get still photographs and some text from these locations, making them much less attractive targets. However, with today's modern technology, CNN was able to provide immediate broadcast coverage of the bombings.

Ideology and Motivation Influences on Operations

Ideology and motivation will influence the objectives of terrorist operations, especially regarding the casualty rate. Groups with secular ideologies and non-religious goals will often attempt highly selective and discriminate acts of violence to achieve a specific political aim. This often requires them to keep casualties at the minimum amount necessary to attain the objective. This is both to avoid a backlash that might severely damage the organization, and also maintain the appearance of a rational group that has legitimate grievances. By limiting their attacks they reduce the risk of undermining external political and economic support. Groups that comprise a "wing" of an insurgency, or are affiliated with aboveground, sometimes legitimate, political organizations often operate under these constraints. The tensions caused by balancing these considerations are often a prime factor in the development of splinter groups and internal factions within these organizations.

In contrast, religiously oriented and millenarian groups typically attempt to inflict as many casualties as possible. Because of the apocalyptic frame of reference they use, loss of life is irrelevant, and more casualties are better. Losses among their co-religionists are of little account, because such casualties will reap the benefits of the afterlife. Likewise, non-believers, whether they are the intended target or collateral damage, deserve death, and killing them may be considered a moral duty. The Kenyan bombing against the U.S. Embassy in 1998 inflicted casualties on the local inhabitants in proportion to U.S. personnel of over twenty to one killed, and an even greater disparity in the proportion of wounded (over 5000 Kenyans were wounded by the blast; 95% of total casualties were non-American[62]). Fear of backlash rarely concerns these groups, as it is often one of their goals to provoke overreaction by their enemies, and hopefully widen the conflict.

The type of target selected will often reflect motivations and ideologies. For groups professing secular political or social motivations, their targets are highly symbolic of authority; government offices, banks, national airlines, and multinational corporations with direct relation to the established order. Likewise, they conduct attacks on representative individuals whom they associate with economic exploitation, social injustice, or political repression. While religious groups also use much of this symbolism, there is a trend to connect it to greater physical devastation. There also is a tendency to add religiously affiliated individuals, such as missionaries, and religious activities, such as worship services, to the targeting equation.

Another common form of symbolism utilized in terrorist targeting is striking on particular anniversaries or commemorative dates. Nationalist groups may strike to commemorate battles won or lost during a conventional struggle, whereas religious groups may strike to mark particularly appropriate observances. Many groups will attempt to commemorate anniversaries of successful operations, or the executions or deaths of notable individuals related to their

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[62] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 51.

particular conflict. Likewise, striking on days of particular significance to the enemy can also provide the required impact. Since there are more events than operations, assessment of the likelihood of an attack on a commemorative date is only useful when analyzed against the operational pattern of a particular group or specific members of a group's leadership cadre.

Section III: Terrorist Characteristics

There is no single personality profile of a terrorist, and no predictive test that can reliably identify one. However, there are some general characteristics that are fairly common among terrorists. There are also some common stereotypes and misperceptions regarding the terrorists that are widely held, but inaccurate.

Status

Contrary to the oft-repeated charge that terrorism is a product of poverty and despair, terrorists are most commonly from middle class backgrounds, with some actually coming from extreme wealth and privilege. While guerilla fighters and gang members often come from poor and disadvantaged backgrounds, and may adopt terrorism as a tactic, terrorist groups that specifically organize as such generally come from middle and upper social and economic strata. Even in terrorist groups that espouse the virtues of "the people" or "the proletariat", membership consists primarily of those of middle class backgrounds. This characteristic must be considered in context with the society the terrorist originates from. "Middle class" or "privilege" are relative terms, and will mean completely different levels of income between West Africa and Western Europe, for example.

Education and Intellect

There are two sides to this characteristic. Left wing terrorists, international terrorists, and the leadership echelon of right wing groups are usually of average or better intelligence, and have been exposed to advanced education. These terrorists generally have had exposure to higher learning, although they are usually not highly intellectual, and are frequently dropouts or possess poor academic records. Again, this is subject to the norms of the society they originate from. In societies where religious fundamentalism is prevalent, the higher education may have been advanced religious training.[63]

Domestic and right wing terrorists tend to come from lower educational and social levels, although they are not uneducated. It was right wing domestic groups in the U.S. that first explored the communication and organizational potential of the Internet. They will typically have received a high school level education, and be very well indoctrinated in the ideological arguments they support.

Age

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[63] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 208.

Terrorists tend to be young. Leadership, support, and training cadres can range into the 40-50 year old age groups, but most operational members of terrorist organizations are in the 20-35 year old age group.[64] The amount of practical experience and training that contributes to making an effective operative is not usually present in individuals younger than the early 20s. Individuals in their teens have been employed as soldiers in guerilla groups, but terrorist organizations do not tend to accept extremely young members, although they will use them as non-operational supporters. Groups that utilize suicide operations will employ very young individuals as suicide assets, but these youths are not actually members of the organization, but simply exploited or coerced into an operational role.[65]

Gender

Terrorists are not exclusively male, even in groups that are rigorously Islamic. Women's roles in these groups will often be constrained to support or intelligence work, but some fundamentalist Islamic groups use women in operational roles. In groups where religious constraints don't affect women's roles, female membership may be above fifty percent, with women fully integrated into operations. Female leadership of terrorist groups is not uncommon, and female terrorists lack for nothing in terms of violence and ruthlessness.

Again, there is an exception to this general observation in some right wing groups, particularly those with neo-Nazi and Christian Identity oriented ideologies. Female participation and leadership is much less common in these groups.

Appearance

Terrorists are often unremarkable individually. They do not appear out of the ordinary, and are capable of normal social behavior and appearance. Over the long term, elements of fanatical behavior or ruthlessness may become evident, but they are typically not immediately obvious to casual observation. Although members of sleeper cells or other covert operators may marry as part of their persona, most terrorists do not marry, even though there have been cases of married couples within terrorist organizations.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a discussion of some aspects of terrorist behavior and group dynamics. This information will allow the reader to place these behaviors in context with the descriptions of terrorist organizations in Chapter 3.

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[64] Walter Lacquer, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 38.

[65] Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 270.

Chapter 3
Terrorist Group Organization

This chapter will examine terrorist group organization. The organizational structure of a group determines its strengths and weaknesses. A general knowledge of the prevalent models of terrorist organizations leads to a better understanding of their capabilities. Knowledge of the different labels and systems of classification that have been applied to groups and individuals aid us in discarding useless or irrelevant terms, and in understanding the purposes and usefulness of different terminologies.

In recent times, the popular image of a terrorist group operating according to a specific political agenda and motivated by ideology or the desire for ethnic or national liberation dominated our understanding of terrorism. While still true of some terrorist organizations, this image is no longer universally valid. Also, a generational change in leadership of established groups is in many cases ushering in a more a destructive and relentless type of organization.

There are two general categories of organization; hierarchical and networked. The age of an organization is one of the determinants of whether it is likely to adopt a network or hierarchical structure. Newer groups tend towards organizing or adapting to the possibilities inherent in the network model. Ideology can have an effect on internal organization, with strict Leninist or Maoist groups tending towards centralized control and hierarchical structure. Within the larger structure, virtually all groups use variants of cellular organizations at the tactical level to enhance security and to task organize for operations.

Terrorist groups that are associated with a political activity or organization will often require a more hierarchical structure, in order to coordinate terrorist violence with political action. It also can be necessary for a politically affiliated group to observe "cease-fires" or avoid particular targets in support of political objectives. This can be difficult to enforce in networked organizations.

Terrorist groups can be at various stages of development in terms of capabilities and sophistication. Newer groups with fewer resources will usually be less capable, and operate in permissive areas or under the tutelage of more proficient organizations to develop proficiency. Also, groups professing or associated with ethnic or nationalist agendas and limiting their operations to one country or a localized region tend to require fewer capabilities. Groups can coalesce from smaller organizations, or splinter off from larger ones.

Section I: Terrorist Group Structure

Tactical Organization

The smallest elements of terrorist organizations are the cells that serve as building blocks for the terrorist organization. One of the primary reasons for a cellular or compartmentalized structure is security. The compromise or loss of one cell should not compromise the identity, location, or actions of other cells. A cellular organizational structure makes it difficult for an adversary to

penetrate the entire organization. Personnel within one cell are often unaware of the existence of other cells and, therefore, cannot divulge sensitive information to infiltrators.

Terrorists may organize cells based on family or employment relationships, on a geographic basis, or by specific functions such as direct action and intelligence. The terrorist group may also form multifunctional cells. The terrorist group uses the cells to control its members. Cell members remain in close contact with each other to provide emotional support and to prevent desertion or breach of security procedures. The cell leader is normally the only person who communicates and coordinates with higher levels and other cells.

A terrorist group may form only one cell or may form many cells that operate locally or internationally. The number of cells and their composition depend on the size of the terrorist group. A terrorist group operating within one country frequently has fewer cells and specialized teams than does an international terrorist group that may operate in several countries.

Levels of Commitment

> **"There's nothing wrong with being a terrorist, as long as you win."**
> **- Paul Watson, Sea Shepard Conservation Society**

There are typically different levels of commitment within an organization: sympathizers, supporters, cadre and leadership. The diagram below shows how each successive level of commitment has fewer members. This diagram is not intended as an organizational picture, but to show the relative numbers of each category. This distribution of overall numbers holds true for networks as well as hierarchies, although the numbers may be more evenly distributed, and sympathizers and supporters may intermingle, and be unaware of what their actual relationship to the organization is.
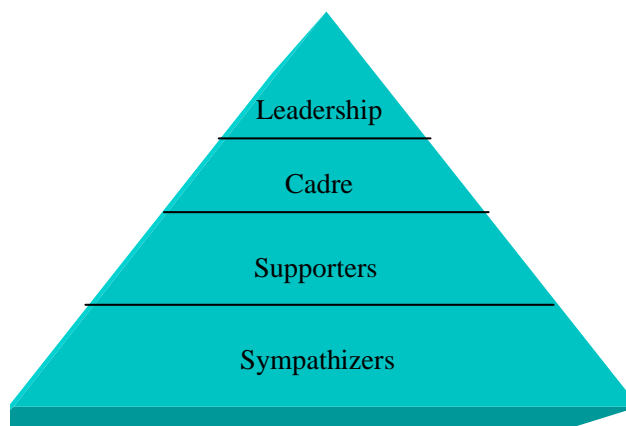
Figure 3-1: Levels of Commitment

- Leaders provide direction; approve goals and objectives; and direct operations. Usually leaders rise from within the ranks of any given organization, or create their own organization from scratch.

- Cadres are the active members of the terrorist organization. They need not all be operations oriented, as intelligence, finance, logistics, information operations, and communications specialists are all required in the active membership.

- Supporters are active in the political, fund-raising, and information activities of the group. They may also conduct initial intelligence and surveillance activities, and provide safe houses and transit assistance for active members of the organization. They are usually fully aware of their relationship to the terrorist group.

- Sympathizers are typically individuals or groups that are sympathetic to the announced goals and intentions of the terrorist organization, but are not committed enough to take action. They may not be aware of their precise relation to the terrorist group, and interface with a front that hides the overt connection to the terrorist group. Sympathizers can be useful for political activities, fund raising, and unwitting or coerced assistance in intelligence gathering or other non-violent activities.

Groups will recruit from populations that are sympathetic to their goals, although these groups need not necessarily be violent or illegal themselves. Often legitimate organizations can be influenced to provide recruiting grounds for terrorists. Militant Islamic recruiting, for example, is often associated with the proliferation of the radical Wahibbi sect. This recruiting is conducted on a worldwide basis via Wahibbist schools financed from both governmental and non-governmental donations and grants.[66] Some recruiting may be done for particular skills and qualifications, and not be tied to ideological characteristics. Of particular concern are attempts of terrorist organizations to recruit current or former members of the U.S. armed forces, both as trained operatives, and as agents in place.

Some groups will also use coercion and leverage to gain limited or onetime cooperation from useful individuals. This cooperation can range anywhere from gaining information to conducting a suicide bombing operation.[67] Blackmail and intimidation are the most common forms of coercion. Threats to family members are also employed. Coercion is often directed at personnel in government security and intelligence organizations.

Networked Structure

Terrorists are now increasingly part of far more amorphous, indistinct and broader networks than previously experienced. Groups based on religious or single-issue motives lack a specific political or nationalistic agenda; they therefore have less need for a hierarchical structure to coordinate the achievement of their goals. Instead, they can depend and even thrive on loose affiliation with like-minded groups or individuals from a variety of locations. General goals and targets are announced, and individuals or cells are expected to use flexibility and initiative to target them.

Basic Concepts

Networks consist of nodes. A node may be an individual, a cell, another networked organization, or a hierarchical organization. They may also consist of parts of other organizations, even governments, which are acting in ways that can be exploited for the network's organizational goals.

The effectiveness of a networked organization is dependent on several things. The network achieves long-term organizational effectiveness when the nodes share a unifying ideology,

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[66] Victor N. Corpus, "The Invisible Army" (Briefing presented at Fort Leavenworth, KS, 5 November 2002), TRADOC ADCSINT-Threats Files, Fort Leavenworth, KS.

[67] Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 270-271.

common goals or mutual interests.[68] When there is failure to accept the goals of the organization, pieces of the network will drop out. This is less catastrophic than a splintering within a hierarchical group, but too many losses will render the organization ineffective.

Another difficulty for network organizations not sharing a unifying ideology is that nodes can pursue objectives or take actions that do not meet the goals of the organization, or are actually counterproductive. In this instance, the independence of nodes fails to develop synergy between their activities or contribute to common objectives.

Networks distribute the responsibility for operations, and provide redundancies for key functions. Operating cells need not contact or coordinate with other cells except for those essential to a particular operation or function. The avoidance of unnecessary coordination or command approval for operations provides deniability to the leadership and enhances operational security.

Networks are not necessarily dependent on the latest information technology for their effect. The organizational structure and the flow of information inside the organization are the defining aspects of networks. While information technology has made networks more effective, low-tech means such as couriers and landline telephones can enable networks in certain circumstances.

Basic Types

- Chain Networks
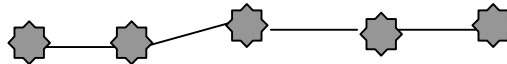
Figure 3-2: Chain Network

Each node links to the node next in sequence. Communication between the nodes is by passing information up or down the line. This organization is most common among networks that smuggle goods and people or launder money.

- Hub (or Star)

Nodes communicate with one central node. The central node need not be the leader or decision maker for the network. A variation of the hub is a wheel design where the outer nodes communicate with one or two other outer nodes in addition to the hub. This is a common financial or economic organization network.
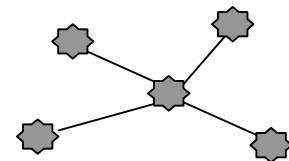
Figure 3-3: Hub Network

- All Channel

All nodes are connected to each other. The network is organizationally "flat", meaning there is no hierarchical command structure above it. Command and control is distributed within the network. This is communication intensive and can be a security problem if the linkages can
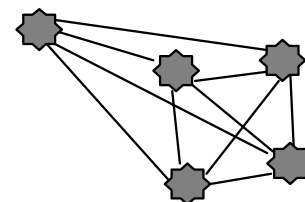
Figure 3-4: All Channel Network

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[68] John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, ed., *Networks and Netwars* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2001), 9.
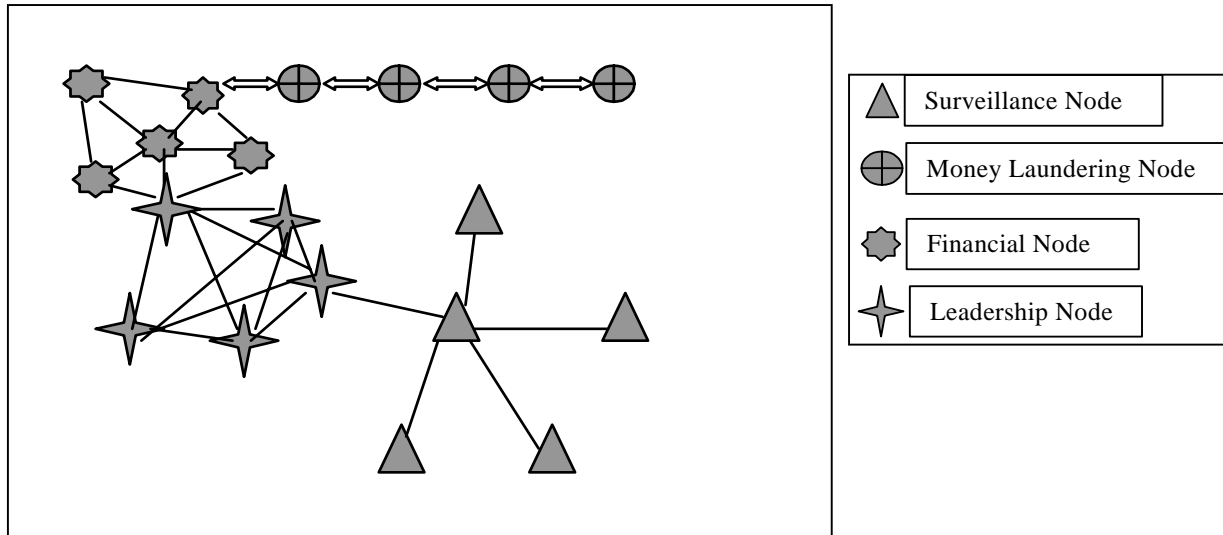
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Figure 3-5: Hybrid Network

be identified or reconstructed. However, the lack of an identifiable "head" confounds targeting and disruption efforts normally effective against hierarchies.

Despite their differences, the three types will most likely be encountered together in hybrid organizations, where the particular organizational capability of that network type is most appropriate. Thus, a transnational terrorist organization might use chain networks for its money laundering activities, tied to a wheel network handling financial matters, tied in turn to an all channel leadership network to direct the use of the funds into the operational activities of a hub network conducting pre-targeting surveillance and reconnaissance.

Hierarchical Structure

Hierarchical organizations are those that have a well-defined vertical chain of command and responsibility. Information flows up and down the organization in channels that correspond to these vertical chains, and may or may not move horizontally through the organization. This is more traditional, and is common of groups that are well established with a command and support structure.

Hierarchical organizations feature greater specialization of functions in their subordinate cells (support, operations, intelligence). Only the cell leader has knowledge of other cells or contacts. Senior leadership has visibility of the organization at large. In the past, terrorism was practiced in this manner by identifiable organizations with a command and control structure influenced by revolutionary theory or ideology. Radical leftist organizations such as the Japanese Red Army, the Red Army Faction in Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy, as well as ethno-nationalist terrorist movements like the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Irish Republican Army and the Basque separatist group ETA, conformed to this stereotype of the "traditional" terrorist group. These organizations had a clearly defined set of political, social or economic objectives, and tailored aspects of their organizations (such as a 'Political" wing or "social welfare" group) to facilitate their accomplishment. The necessity to coordinate activities between the various

"fronts", some of which were political and (avowedly) non-violent, and the use of violence by terrorists and insurgents, favored a strong hierarchical authority structure.

Section II: Categories of Terrorist Organizations

There are many different categories of terrorism and terrorist groups that are currently in use. These categories serve to differentiate terrorist organizations according to specific criteria, which are usually related to the field or specialty of whoever is selecting the categories. Also, some categories are simply labels appended arbitrarily or redundantly, often by the media. For example, every terrorist organization is by definition "radical", as terror tactics are not the norm for the mainstream of any group. While this guide does not employ these categories in describing the operational aspect of terrorist groups, some categories do provide pertinent descriptive information. This section addresses many of the more common classifications, and provides explanation of terms and their relationship.

Legal Categories

Legal categories are those that define terrorist organizations according to legal statutes or in relation to national or international laws. Legal categories usually define a state's or group of states' relation to the terrorist organization. Such a relationship may range from toleration of activities that do no harm to the state in question to proscribing membership or support of such an organization as a criminal act. In the United States, two particular legal categories are:

- DFTO (Designated Foreign Terrorist Organization); this is a political designation determined by the U.S. Department of State. Listing as a DFTO imposes legal penalties for membership, prevents travel into the U.S., and proscribes assistance and funding activities within the U.S. or by U.S. citizens.[69]

- Organizations, individuals or entities identified under Executive Order 13224. 219 as of November 2002. This Executive Order imposes penalties on the specific individuals and organizations named as terrorists and supporters of terrorism. It was designed primarily as a method of disrupting terrorist financing. Since it is an Executive Order, it may be updated to reflect changing conditions.

Other countries and the United Nations have similar, if varied, legal categories of "proscribed" organizations and individuals. Inclusion of a group on such lists of legally designated groups is at the discretion of, and for the interests of, the state or organization compiling the list.

Motivation Categories

Motivation categories describe terrorist groups in terms of their ultimate goals or objectives. While political or religious ideologies will determine the "how" of the conflict, and the sort of society that will arise from a successful conclusion, motivation is the "what"; what the end state or measure of success is. Some of the common motivation categories are:

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[69] Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001* (Washington, D.C., May 2002), 144.

- Separatist. Separatist groups are those with the goal of separation from existing entities through independence, political autonomy, or religious freedom or domination. The ideologies separatists subscribe to include social justice or equity, anti-imperialism, as well as the resistance to conquest or occupation by a foreign power.

- Ethnocentric. Groups of this persuasion see race as the defining characteristic of a society, and therefore a basis of cohesion. There is usually the attitude that a particular group is superior because of their inherent racial characteristics.

- Nationalistic. The loyalty and devotion to a nation, and the national consciousness derived from placing one nation's culture and interests above those of other nations or groups. This can find expression in the creation of a new nation, or in splitting away part of an existing state to join with another that shares the perceived "national" identity.

- Revolutionary: Dedicated to the overthrow of an established order and replacing it with a new political or social structure. Although often associated with communist political ideologies, this is not always the case, and other political movements can advocate revolutionary methods to achieve their goals.

Ideological Categories

> **"From fanaticism to barbarism is only one step."**
> **- Denis Diderot**

Ideological categories describe the political, religious, or social orientation of the group. While some groups will be seriously committed to their avowed ideologies, for others, ideology is poorly understood, and primarily a rationale used to provide justification to outsiders or sympathizers. It is a common misperception to believe that ideological considerations will prevent terrorists from accepting assistance or coordinating activities with terrorists or states on the opposite side of the religious or political spectrum. Quite often terrorists with differing ideologies have more in common with each other than with the mainstream society they oppose.[70] Common ideological categories include:

Political

Political ideologies are concerned with the structure and organization of the forms of government and communities. While observers outside terrorist organizations may stress differences in political ideology, the activities of groups that are diametrically opposed on the political spectrum are similar to each other in practice.

- Right wing: Tending to the reactionary or conservative side of the political spectrum, and often, but not exclusively, associated with fascism or neo-Nazism. Despite this, right-wing extremists can be every bit as revolutionary in intent as other groups, the difference being

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[70] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 198.

that their intent is to replace existing forms of government with a particular brand of authoritarian rule.

- Left wing: Usually associated with revolutionary socialism or variants of communism (i.e. Maoist, Marxist-Leninist, etc.). With the demise of many communist regimes, and the gradual liberalization of the remainder towards capitalism, left-wing rhetoric can often move towards and merge with anarchistic thought.

- Anarchist: Anti-authoritarian, often blending anti-capitalism and populist or communitarian messages. Modern anarchists tend to neglect the problem of what will replace the current order, but generally take the line that small communities are the highest form of political organization necessary or desirable. Currently, anarchism is the ideology of choice for many individuals and small groups who have no particular dedication to any ideology, and are looking for a convenient philosophy to justify their actions.

Religious

Religiously inspired terrorism is on the rise, with a forty-three percent increase of total international terror groups espousing religious motivation between 1980 and 1995.[71] While Islamic terrorists and organizations have been the most active, and the greatest recent threat to the United States, all of the major world religions have extremists that have taken up violence to further their perceived religious goals. Religiously motivated terrorists see their objectives as holy writ, and therefore infallible and non-negotiable.

Religious motivations can also be tied to ethnic and nationalist identities, such as Kashmiri separatists combining their desire to break away from India with the religious conflict between Islam and Hinduism. The conflict in Northern Ireland also provides an example of the mingling of religious identity with nationalist motivations. There are frequently instances where groups with the same general goal, such as Kashmiri independence, will engage in conflict over the nature of that goal (religious or secular government).

Christian, Jewish, Sikh, Hindu and a host of lesser known denominations have either seen activists commit terrorism in their name, or spawned cults professing adherence to the larger religion while following unique interpretations of that particular religion's dogma. Cults that adopt terrorism are often apocalyptic in their worldview, and are highly dangerous and unpredictable. It is interesting to note that religiously motivated terrorists are among the most energetic developers of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) for terrorist use. Also, religiously inspired cults executed the first confirmed uses of biological and chemical nerve agents by terrorists.

Social

Often particular social policies or issues will be so contentious that they will incite extremist behavior and terrorism. Frequently this is referred to as "single issue" or "special interest"

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[71] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 90.

terrorism. Some issues that have produced terrorist activities in the United States and other countries are:

- Animal rights

- Abortion

- Ecology/environment

- Minority rights

> "The overall threat posed by special interest extremism appears to be increasing."
> - From "Terrorism in the United States, 1999" FBI Publication #0308, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Location or Geographic Categories

Geographic designations have been used in the past, and although they are often confusing, and even irrelevant when referring to international and transnational terrorism, they still appear. Often, a geographical association to the area with which the group is primarily concerned will be made. "Mid-Eastern" is an example of this category, and came into use as a popular shorthand label for Palestinian and Arab groups in the 1970s and early 1980s. Frequently, these designations are only relevant to the government or state that uses them. However, when tied to particular regions or states, the concepts of <u>domestic</u> and <u>international</u> terrorism can be useful.

- *Domestic.* These terrorists are "home-grown" and operate within and against their home country. They are frequently tied to extreme social or political factions within a particular society, and focus their efforts specifically on their nation's socio-political arena.

- *International* or *Transnational*. Often describing the support and operational reach of a group, these terms are often loosely defined, and can be applied to widely different capabilities.

  - International groups typically operate in multiple countries, but retain a geographic focus for their activities. Hezbollah has cells worldwide, and has conducted operations in multiple countries, but is primarily concerned with events in Lebanon and Israel.

  - Transnational groups operate internationally, but are not tied to a particular country, or even region. Al Qaeda is transnational; being made up of many nationalities, having been based out of multiple countries simultaneously, and conducting operations throughout the world. Their objectives affect dozens of countries with differing political systems, religions, ethnic compositions, and national interests

  An insurgency-linked terrorist group that routinely crosses an international border to conduct attacks, and then flees to safe haven in a neighboring country, is "international" in the strict sense of the word, but does not compare to groups that habitually operate across regions and continents.

Section III: Knowledge Exchange and Proliferation Between Organizations

Terrorist groups increase their capabilities through the exchange of knowledge. These exchanges occur both directly and indirectly. Direct exchange occurs when one group provides the other with training or experienced personnel not readily available otherwise. An example of direct exchange is the provision of sophisticate bomb construction expertise by the IRA and ETA to less experienced groups.

Indirect transfer of knowledge occurs when one group carries out a successful operation and is studied and emulated by others. The explosion of hijacking operations in the 1970s, and the similar proliferation of hostage taking in the 1980s were the result of terrorist groups observing and emulating successful techniques.

Assessment of terrorist threat capabilities cannot rest upon the basis of proven operational abilities. Military professionals must evaluate potential terrorist threats according to what capabilities they may acquire through known or suspected associations with other groups. Also, consideration must be given to capabilities that can reasonably be acquired through the study and employment of techniques and approaches that have proven successful for other terrorist organizations.

A development related to this is the proliferation of specialized knowledge useful to terrorists over the last decade. The reductions in military and intelligence establishments after the Cold War have made expertise in sabotage, espionage, small unit tactics, and other useful skills readily available. Similar reductions in research and development institutions make technical and scientific expertise in weapons of mass destruction, information technology, and electronic countermeasures more accessible, either through direct contacts or intermediaries such as rogue or dysfunctional states.

Conclusion

This chapter provided descriptions of the common organizational models for terrorist groups. It also presented an array of categories and descriptions of terrorists and terrorist groups, in order to clarify the jargon that surrounds this topic, and to avoid those terms that are not useful for the purposes of military professionals assessing the terrorist threat.

Chapter 4
Terrorism and U.S. Forces

> **"Everything was absolutely ideal on the day I bombed the Pentagon. The sky was blue. The birds were singing. And the bastards were finally going to get what was coming to them."**
>   **- Bill Ayers, Former Weather Underground leader in his memoir "Fugitive Days"**

The Threat to U.S. Military

The United States enters the 21st century as the single most influential nation in the world. The world perceives the United States as the sole remaining superpower, the victor of the Cold War. Some quarters view the United States as a hegemonic enforcer of its own brand of order and stability.[72] Because of this influence, anyone seeking to change the existing world order through aggression, coercion or violence sees the United States as an eventual adversary. As a result, they seek means to effectively challenge the United States. Various forms of low intensity conflict, and competition and conflicts short of war are seen by most of America's potential adversaries as the most promising methods of presenting this challenge.[73] Terrorism is a component of these strategies.

With the end of the bi-polar world order and the demise of the Soviet Union, U.S. diplomatic, military and economic interventions have become more frequent, and more significant. Because of this dominance, some antagonists see terrorism as the only effective means of competing with the United States. In terms of effectiveness, al Qaeda alone has killed more Americans with terrorist attacks than all of the casualties suffered in all the campaigns and interventions since 1980, including the Gulf War. The resulting effects on the United States have been immense, and the unprecedented response by the U.S. to the threat of terrorism encourages the belief that the asymmetric approach of terrorism is the only way of defeating the United States.

As part of the overall primacy of American power, United States military forces have demonstrated dominant conventional capabilities through successful campaigns and participation in multiple international interventions. Despite this level of preeminence, U.S. military forces remain vulnerable to terrorist operations.

There are concrete reasons to consider terrorism as a specific and pervasive risk for U.S. forces. Factors contributing to a greater danger of attack to military forces are:

- The improved protection or "hardening" of non-military targets. Formerly, non-military targets were "softer" due to a lower degree of security consciousness and a lack of belief in a credible threat. Frequent attacks on non-military personnel and organizations, both government and corporate, have resulted in the imposition of improved security measures, greater threat awareness, and acceptance of increased expenditures for protection. This

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[72] Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, *Unrestricted Warfare,* trans. Department of State, American Embassy Beijing Staff Translators (Washington, D.C., 1999).
[73] Ibid., Part III.

increase in the level of difficulty to the terrorist has reduced the bias toward non-military targets.

- The increasing exposure of forward deployed and internationally based military forces in "permissive areas" for terrorist activities. Clearly, increases in the operations tempo and the number of overseas deployments raise the odds that U.S. forces will operate in areas that are more accessible to terrorist groups than CONUS or established overseas bases. This is especially true when the potential military target may in fact come directly to the terrorist, operating in his stronghold due to mission requirements. Likewise, some countries where U.S. forces are permanently based have groups of domestic terrorists that would not be a threat outside that country, yet pose significant risk to units or individuals stationed there.

- The symbolic value of successful attacks against military targets has often been a consideration in terrorist planning. This is now particularly true of the U.S. military, widely perceived as the premiere military in the world. The primacy of the U.S. Department of Defense in the response to the September 11th attacks further raises the profile of the U.S. military. Improved public perceptions about military personnel increase their value as terror targets. Striking at a respected institution whose members have public sympathy, and which also constitutes a direct threat to terrorist groups will become highly attractive. The potential status and psychological impact of such a coup is a strong inducement to all types of terrorist groups.

- The aims and methods of terrorists – particularly religious extremists - have grown more radical and destructive. A generational change in leadership is in many cases, ushering in a more destructive and relentless type of leadership. Added to this is the effect of extended periods of turmoil and conflict in many regions of the world for the past two decades. This provides recruits and followers that have been desensitized to violence, and who have known nothing but conflict and insecurity for all of their lives.

The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the nature of the terrorist threat to U.S. forces, specifically ground forces. To do this we will:

- Examine in a general sense who will want to engage U.S. military forces utilizing terror tactics, and why attacking military targets would be desirable.

- Explore why particular U.S. forces would be targeted, and how that targeting is accomplished.

- Provide context by categorizing U.S. forces based upon their status as Deployed, Deployable, and Non-deployable elements.

- Clarify the categorization of various threats by categorizing terrorist groups by their functional capabilities.

For the purposes of this chapter, when discussing terrorist attacks on "military targets" we are speaking of individuals or facilities targeted because of their military identity. This includes off

duty personnel in civilian settings specifically attacked because of their status as military personnel. It does not address military personnel or activities that are victims of attacks intended to strike non-military targets.

Also, in discussing questions of why terrorists will conduct particular activities, it is helpful to clarify the terminology used to define terrorist goals and objectives.

Objective: The standard definition of *objective* is – "The clearly defined, decisive, and attainable aims which every military operation should be directed towards."[74] For the purposes of this work, terrorist objectives will refer to the intended outcome or result of one or a series of terrorist operations or actions. It is analogous to the tactical or operational levels of war as described in FM 101-5-1.

Goals: The term *goals* will refer to the strategic end or end state that the terrorist objectives are intended to obtain. Terrorist organization goals equate to the strategic level of war as described in FM 101-5-1.

Section I: Potential Adversaries and Their Motivations

Potential Adversaries

There are a large number of terrorist organizations active in the world today, and a wide variety of them are potential antagonists willing to attack U.S. military forces throughout the world. Appendix A contains a listing of specific groups and their operational range. The threat environment for terrorism is too dynamic to discuss specific groups or individuals in this context, but identifying situations that may exacerbate or trigger the motivations of potential adversaries can assist in developing some idea of whose interests are served by such attacks.

- Presence – Many antagonists are opposed to the presence of U.S. military forces in a particular area, or the presence of organizations U.S. forces are safeguarding. Frequently, this opposition is because the U.S. presence is preventing particular political, military, or criminal activities, but it can also be culturally inspired. Another possibility is that the presence of U.S. forces is viewed as an opportunity to eliminate or dominate rival factions, and attacks on U.S. forces would be staged in the hopes that the U.S. would encourage the suppression or disarmament of rivals.

- Culture – Antagonists who are directly opposed to one or more major characteristics of American culture, such as capitalism, secular democracy, polytheism, pop culture, women's rights, sexual freedom, or racial tolerance; will attack Americans wherever found. Groups primarily motivated by cultural differences will not differentiate between civilian and military targets, other than in their respective degree of risk and difficulty to attack.

- State of Conflict – Groups that feel that they are "at war", or in a social or political conflict with the United States will target military personnel and facilities to gain legitimacy and

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[74] Joint Publication 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, 12 April 2001, as amended through 9 January 2003.

make statements. Likewise, states that are engaged in or anticipate hostilities with the U.S. will use sponsored terrorist organizations or clandestine military or intelligence assets to attack military targets.[75]

In considering who may be our potential antagonists, several things must be kept in mind. While a "threat "is normally considered to be an actor with both the capability *and* intention to actively oppose the U.S.[76], both these factors can shift rapidly when dealing with terrorist organizations.

Unit planners must evaluate all known and suspected terrorist groups in the area regardless of their previous attitude toward the U.S. and U.S. military. Terrorism is dynamic, and behavior patterns volatile. Groups that are neutral or that avoided targeting U.S. interests in the past can change their attitudes rapidly. Announced or perceived U.S. policy may antagonize previously neutral groups, if that policy conflicts with the goals or objectives of the group. Changes in leadership or internal fractionalization of a group may cause changes in targeting policies or priorities. Also, any organization amoral enough to utilize terrorism as a tactic will not hesitate in exploiting an "ally" or partner if the benefits seem to warrant it. For all these reasons, assumptions regarding previous attitudes of terrorists toward targeting U.S. military assets should be reexamined frequently and with a highly critical mindset.

Also, in assessing potential antagonists, caution should be taken to avoid considering only those threats that are viewed as particularly large or well known. There is a popular tendency to allow the amount of media attention a group can command to determine how we perceive its effectiveness or lethality. Because of the nature of the modern news media, as well as the acknowledged skill of terrorist groups in manipulating it, this is an invalid approach. Small, little known groups can pose threats that are as probable as larger groups, and every bit as dangerous. This is particularly true when operating in a region or country not previously accustomed to a U.S. military presence, and where domestic or indigenous groups may suddenly be presented with the opportunity of gaining international attention through an attack on U.S. forces.

Motivations to Attack U.S. Forces

During the post-colonial and nationalist insurgencies of the Cold War, terrorists often contended that one civilian casualty was worth many enemy military dead. This was due to the fact that many insurgencies had simultaneous military and terror campaigns, so the novelty and impact of military casualties was lessened.[77] Even when not involved in hostilities, military casualties delivered less psychological impact because of expectations that military personnel are "at-risk" due to their

> **"One corpse in a [suit] jacket is always worth more than twenty in uniform"**
>   **- Ramdane Abane, senior FLN terrorist leader**

profession. Terrorists also pursue soft targets, preferring unarmed, less secure victims. A saying attributed to any number of terrorists is "Why hunt wolves when there are so many sheep

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[75] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 52.

[76] FM 7-100, *Opposing Force Doctrinal Framework and Strategy*, February 2002

[77] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 61.

about?" While there are exceptions to this, such as the consistent targeting of British soldiers and police by the IRA, targeting civilians was the clearly preferred tactic.

As terrorism became less and less associated with classical insurgencies and more international in scope, the preference for civilian targets became less pronounced. American military installations and personnel were frequently targeted in the 1980s and 1990s by anti-NATO European terrorists, and by state sponsored terrorists acting on behalf of a variety of regimes.[78] These attacks generally struck at military targets that were not engaged in hostilities, but that were accessible to the terrorists due to their being based or deployed overseas. This trend has accelerated, although the focus has shifted from Europe to the Persian Gulf region.

There are two strategic factors in terrorists accepting the greater risks associated with attacking military targets: accessibility and symbolic value. (Tactical reasons for selecting specific military targets are discussed in Section II.)

- Accessibility – Military forces are often based or deployed into areas that are "permissive' to terrorist operations. These environments need not be destabilized regions or failed and dysfunctional states such as Bosnia, Lebanon or Somalia, but can also be functioning states with liberal laws, permissive border controls, and existing terrorist infrastructures.

- Symbolic Value – For the United States, commitment of military forces is a significant indicator of national interest, and carries major political consequences. Targeting military forces so committed can achieve a greater visibility and significance than targeting existing civilian targets such as diplomats or commercial personnel and facilities. Additionally, the very presence of U.S. forces in some regions, allegedly offending political or religious sensibilities, can be presented as a justification for the attack.

Section II: Considerations in Targeting U.S. Forces

The foremost consideration in terrorist targeting is always the psychological impact on the selected audience. U.S. forces whose destruction or damage would provide a psychological impact that serves the goals of the terrorist are therefore at risk. However, a key point must be understood; assessment of the risk to potential targets must focus less on their military value, and more on their value to the terrorist in terms of psychological impact.

Risk Assessment

U.S. military risk assessment normally looks at what is most militarily valuable (mission essential) to us. Operationally vital systems and equipment, or key personnel are assumed to be at greater risk based upon an estimation of their military worth in particular conditions. However, the benefits for a terrorist organization do not lie in defeating our military aims. A terrorist will view value as a function of the overall psychological impact the destruction of a target has. The loss of a single piece of equipment (such as an artillery targeting radar) has important military impact, but little psychological impact outside the unit or organization that relies on it. For a

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[78] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Chronology of Terrorist Events."

terrorist, expending assets to destroy such a piece of equipment would not make sense unless it were tied to some other event or objective.

As an example, let's consider a hypothetical comparison of the relative worth of two task forces as terrorist targets. One is a task force built upon a divisional cavalry squadron, soon to play a critical tactical role in a conventional campaign during a major regional conflict. The other is a Civil Affairs (CA) task force TACON to the same division during this conflict. With an upcoming conventional combat mission, the immediate military value of the cavalry task force is relatively greater, and conventionally considered subject to greater risk.

However, from the terrorist perspective, the CA task force is the better target. The composition, mission, and nature of the combat unit render it more difficult to strike, less susceptible to casualties, and capable of controlling the release of information regarding casualties and effects that comprise the terrorist ability to exploit any attack (see Appendix B as regards to the exploitation phase of terrorist operations). The CA unit will be more exposed because of its mission requirements to operate closer to likely terrorist operational environments (population centers). It is less capable of self-defense and the CA unit is likely to contain more suitable victims from the terrorist point of view; reservists, female soldiers, soldiers with a family. All of these categories have a greater likelihood of psychological impact than the average member of a combat unit, and therefore a higher target value for terrorist purposes. Finally, because of its requirement to interact with the local population, the CA task force is less likely to prevent external knowledge of an attack and its effects, which makes exploitation of the attack easier.

From a terrorist's perspective, targeting individual soldiers, especially those that are not perceived to be in imminent danger or engaged in hostilities, is very effective. Several soldiers kidnapped and gruesomely murdered would have a small overall military impact, but a potentially huge psychological payoff for the terrorist. With the atrocity recorded as digital video and streamed via multiple sources on the Internet to bypass any self-censorship news networks might exercise, it would be accessible throughout the world. Palestinian groups have conducted this tactic with varying degrees of success against Israeli soldiers. Consider the amount of media attention given the abduction and eventual murder of reporter Daniel Pearl in 2001, and how the video of his murder was nearly presented on cable television networks.

Undoubtedly, the technique used with Daniel Pearl would be effective even if soldiers were the victims. A case in point occurred during the air campaign against Serbia in the spring of 1999. Three U.S. Army soldiers patrolling the Yugoslav-Macedonian border during this period became separated from a larger patrol and were captured by the Serbians. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic orchestrated an international media campaign during the capture and month long captivity of the three. Maintaining an ambiguous stance on the status of the prisoners, and their possible fate, Milosevic eventually scored a coup by releasing the three to an unofficial mission of prominent American political figures, resulting in even more media coverage. In this case, the political and psychological impact far outweighed any operational impact caused by the capture of three soldiers and one vehicle. While Milosevic enjoyed some advantages as a head of state that few terrorist organizations will possess, proper media manipulation can make up this deficiency.

Reasons for Targeting

With the variety of terrorist motivations and goals, the reasons for a tactical decision to target U.S. military units or individual personnel are equally varied. The most common motivations in recent history are discussed below.

Demonstration of Capability

This is a method to demonstrate a group's ability to deliver on its threats, and to establish a level of effectiveness as a future threat. Targets may be selected for either military or symbolic value, but the true intent is to show that the terrorist has the capability to negate the U.S. military advantage. The failed attempts of the RAF to assassinate General Kroesen and General Haig by bomb and rocket-propelled grenades in Germany are examples of this type of operation.[79]

A more recent and more successful example is the Khobar Towers attack in Saudi Arabia. To Islamic fundamentalists, the presence of U.S. military forces in Saudi Arabia is considered particularly offensive due to the religious importance of the Saudi city of Mecca. In June of 1996, a housing facility for U.S. Air Force personnel near Dhahran, Saudi Arabia was attacked with a large truck bomb. On the heels of this attack, Usama bin Laden declared war on American forces in the Persian Gulf region in August 1996, and announced that all U.S. forces must be withdrawn, or suffer further attacks. The Khobar Towers attack, which killed nineteen U.S. Air Force personnel and wounded over 400 others[80], demonstrated bin Laden's ability to back up threats with effective action.

Influence U.S. Policy

Terrorists can attack military forces with the intent to force a change in U.S. policy. Hizballah and their Syrian sponsors were concerned that the deployment of international peacekeeping forces into Lebanon in the spring of 1983 would reduce their freedom of action in the ongoing Lebanese Civil War. Near-simultaneous suicide truck bomb attacks on the U.S. Marine and French paratroop barracks in October of 1983 killed 241 U.S. servicemen, and 60 French paratroopers. Combined with an earlier bombing campaign against the embassies of the U.S. and other countries, these attacks resulted in the withdrawal of
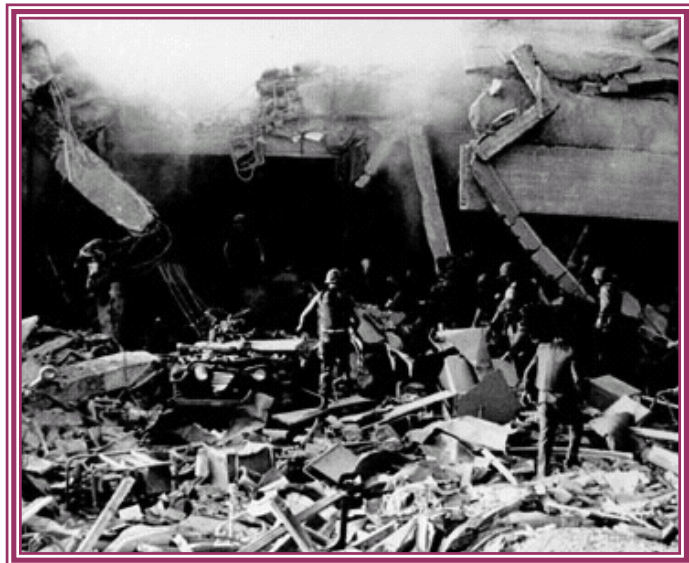

Figure 4-1: U.S. Marine Barracks, Beirut (*Source*: USMC Photo)

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[79] Ibid., s.v. "The Public View: Political Murder."

[80] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 71.

the international military force.

Domestic Politics

The desire to discredit U.S. Federal, state, and local governments can result in military units and personnel being targeted by domestic groups. Anti-war extremist groups targeted ROTC detachments, draft board offices, and university facilities involved in military research during the Vietnam War.[81] The Weather Underground likewise targeted recruiting offices in the late 70's. Both of these campaigns were undertaken to influence U.S. domestic politics. In more recent times, various anti-government groups have targeted CONUS military bases believing them to be staging areas for United Nations directed foreign military forces. During the twenty-year period from 1980 to 1999 (inclusive), thirteen specifically domestic military targets were struck by terrorist activity. This does not count military facilities or personnel who were collocated in the other 101 U.S. Government targets that were attacked.[82]

Reduce Military Capability

Military forces can be targeted to reduce or remove a specific capability or impair effectiveness. Killing one key or very effective individual can also reduce the motivation for others to accept responsible positions or perform above the norm, and thereby risk becoming targets. This tactic will usually be combined with some symbolic justification, such as "justice" applied by the terrorists because of alleged "war crimes" perpetrated by the victim.

The assassination of Colonel Nick Rowe in Manila provides a good example of this. Colonel Rowe was in charge of the Joint U.S. Military Assistance Group for the Philippines. His two years there had been spent contributing to the improvement of the Philippine Army's counterinsurgency capability, and the insurgent New People's Army (NPA) felt he was doing his job too well. He was assassinated April of 1989 in a moving ambush where small arms fire defeated the protection of his armored official vehicle. The NPA announced that the reason for the assassination was Colonel Rowe's notable Vietnam service record. The NPA hoped this would draw the parallel that the Philippines were becoming "another Vietnam". This justification was not stressed at the time, and seems to have been of much less importance to the NPA than the elimination of the threat posed by Colonel Rowe's activities.[83]

Prevent or Delay Deployment

During Operation Desert Storm, Saddam Hussein called for terrorist activity to be directed against the countries of the coalition preparing to invade Iraq. Consequently, more terrorist activities took place during the period of the air campaign and subsequent invasion of Iraq than

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[81] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Student Terror: The Weathermen "

[82] Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Threat Assessment and Warning Unit, Counterterrorism Division, *Terrorism in the United States 1999,* Report 0308, (Washington, D.C., n.d.), 53.

[83] *Colonel James "Nick" Rowe* (Psychological Operations Web Site, n.d.); available at http://www.psywarrior.com/ rowe.html; Internet; accessed 7 January 2003.

the entire year of 1996 (275[84] incidents versus 272[85]). Attacks conducted by indigenous terrorist groups Dev Sol and 17 November took place against U.S. staging areas in Turkey and Greece. Iraq directly supported these overseas attacks with weapons components delivered via diplomatic pouch and other assistance.[86] Due to extensive counter-terrorism efforts and international coordination, the effort to disrupt coalition deployments was ineffective. However, it is a vivid example of the threat that both deployed and deploying units will face in the future.

In addition to terrorist activities outside Iraq, the Iraqi government conducted what amounted to the largest hostage taking in modern time. They seized 10,000 Kuwaiti citizens, and hundreds of foreigners resident in Iraq, as "human shields" immediately after the start of Operation Desert Shield and during preparations for the liberation of Kuwait. Fortunately, most of the hostages were released before the initiation of Desert Storm.[87]

Section III: Categorizing Terrorist Groups by Capability

"Asymmetric challenges can arise across the spectrum of conflict that will confront US forces in a theater of operations *or on US soil.*"
   - "[Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue About the Future With Nongovernment Experts](#)" report (December 2000). [Emphasis in original]

As discussed in Chapter 3, there are many different terms and labels used to describe terrorist organizations. Most of these terms provide little or no information of value to the military professional in assessing the true threat of a terrorist group as an adversary. For the unit at risk of terrorist attack, although it helps to know if the particular terrorist group is on the Designated Foreign Terrorist Organization (DFTO) list or not, or if it is an Islamic fundamentalist organization or a secular nationalistic group; it is more important to understand the capabilities the groups has that can be employed against the military unit.

In this section we will discuss a method to assist soldiers in the rapid and clear assessment and comparison of terrorist threats based upon militarily relevant criteria. It is designed to describe terror groups by their capabilities to target and attack U.S. military forces, rather than by legal status, political or religious characteristics, or other value-based criteria. Capability-driven group descriptions are desirable for a variety of reasons.

Capabilities Descriptions are Neutral: Terms describing capabilities are less likely to be emotionally charged. Attaching politically or socially relevant descriptions to a group allows value judgments to be made relative to those terms. Also, like legal categories and other methods of classifying terrorists, they do not contain much useful information for leaders and planners.

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[84] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 52.
[85] Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001* (Washington, D.C., May 2002), 172.
[86] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 52.
[87] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Chronology of Terrorist Events "

Capability Descriptions do not Constrain: Accepting descriptions that focus on ideological or religious motivations for terrorist groups can be misleading, and encourage false assumptions. Ideological considerations do play a part in determining if a group will target U.S. forces, but they have no effect on that group's capability to do so. Any group can become a threat because its announced objectives or ideology can change or are misleading, perhaps even unimportant.[88] Also, changes to the political situation, U.S. policy, or the role or mission of U.S. forces may cause formerly neutral or ideologically allied groups to become hostile. While the Afghanistan mujahideen were willing to accept U.S. aid in fighting the Soviet occupation, many of these Afghan fighters were confronting the Soviets as the embodiment of corrupting Western influences. When the Soviets withdrew, the mujahideen expanded their anti-Western struggle to include Europe and the United States.[89]

Measures of Capability are Militarily Pertinent: Most systems used to classify terrorists are militarily irrelevant. For the most part, knowing the legal status, social orientation, or political theory of a potential truck bomber is of less value than knowing what sort of explosive devices he can afford, where in the operational area he can strike, and what level of local support and sympathizers he can expect. Motivations and behaviors are important to long term terror and counter-terror strategies, but play a minor role in the tactical activities of terrorists and the true threat opposing our forces.

Specific Measures of Capability

In describing the capabilities of a terrorist group, simple, measurable, concrete terms have been selected for use. These are the **objective**, **levels of support**, **training**, and **operational presence** of a particular group. These factors drive the capabilities of a terrorist organization, not the ideology, religion, or status as determined by U.S. legislation or UN resolution. This method is not intended to add another layer of nomenclature to an already thick coat that covers terrorism analysis. It is designed to be a method by which unit leaders and planners can organize pertinent, objective data about potential threats. This data must be researched or obtained from available intelligence information on specific threats within the AOR (Area Of Responsibility) as the unit prepares to conduct operations.

Objective

As defined in the introduction of this chapter this measure identifies the tactical intent and the operational priorities of an organization. It is the actual directing principle(s) behind group activities. By determining what the group wishes to accomplish, the likelihood and circumstances under which that group would target U.S. forces or facilities can be determined.

The objective may be derived from both communications of the organization and the actions it undertakes. Group communications must be examined with a critical eye toward the use of rhetoric and dogma. As mentioned in Chapter 2, ideological material may be unimportant to the actual objectives of a group. Actual indicators in terrorist communiqués are likely to be: what

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[88] Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 31-35.
[89] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Roots of Fundamentalist Terrorism ".

potential targets are concretely threatened; what organizations or individuals are identified with negative concepts or de-humanizing language. A group may declare itself to be "anti-colonialist", but in fact ignore targets associated with a nation that has colonies, and associate "colonialism" with another organization such as NATO, which they intend to target.

Support

There are several types of support that provides information about a terrorist group's capabilities. These are measures of the strength of financial, political, and popular support for a group, as well as the number of personnel and sympathizers it has. These factors indicate an organization's abilities to conduct and sustain operations, gather intelligence, seek sanctuary and exploit the results of operations.

- Financial: Is the organization well funded? Money is probably the greatest "force multiplier" of terrorist capabilities, and a well financed group can trade money for virtually any imaginable object or ability that their objectives require, especially weapons and equipment (discussed below). Financial support is a question of both income and expenditures. Many of the nationalist terror groups of significant durability (IRA, Hizballah) have incredibly large budgets, but they also have the infrastructure costs and political or social support obligations that come with building an alternative government or social structure.

- Political: Does the organization have political sponsors or representation, either within international, state, or sub-state political bodies? This measures the degree to which a group is state sponsored or supported. It also considers whether the organization has its own political representatives or party that supports its aims (if not its methods). Political support blurs the lines between terrorism and other forms of conflict, and can generate sympathy and reduce negative consequences.

- Popular: Popular support is the level of sympathy and passive or active support for the organization among populations it affects to represent, or operates within. Support from a constituency increases the effectiveness of other types of support. It makes funds go farther, and increases the legitimacy and visibility of a group. Popular support from populations the terrorists operate within reduces the security risks, and complicates the tasks of detection and defeat for the security forces.

- The number of personnel and sympathizers: These are the actual workers and operators for the group, both active and "sleeper". This bears more upon the number of operations a group may undertake than the type of operations. The size of a group in terms of the number of personnel is important, but less so than other aspects of support. For instance, a small, well-funded, highly trained group such as the Japanese Red Army (JRA) can effectively attack targets in CONUS. A larger, poorly funded, untrained group may be no direct threat to U.S. targets other than those in immediate proximity to its base area of operations.

Training

Training is the level of proficiency with tactics, techniques, technology and weapons useful to terrorist operations (see Appendix C for descriptions of general terrorist operations). It measures the abilities of a group in terms of specific operations and activities that threaten friendly forces. Keep in mind that innovative application of tactics can render moderately innocuous activities threatening. For example, the ability to stage a peaceful demonstration may be used to set the conditions for a riot that will provide cover for sniper assassinations of responding security forces.

The proliferation of expertise and technology has enabled groups that do not possess particular skills to obtain them relatively rapidly. In addition to the number of terrorists and terror groups that are willing and available to exchange training with one another, there are also experts in the technical, scientific, operational, and intelligence fields willing to provide training or augment operational capabilities for the right price.

<u>Operational Presence</u>

This indicates where a group can operate, and what limits there are to expansion of its operational area. It considers the physical locations of a group's assets, and the capability to move and conduct activities beyond those locations. Although the physical presence of group members is an important factor for determining operational presence, it must be noted that a terrorist cell can have a variety of functions, and not all cells have direct action capability. Many terrorist organizations have extensive support networks within the continental United States, but have not developed an operational capability to match. Their infrastructure within the U.S. is designed primarily to acquire funding and equipment. Yet they could contribute to a rapid expansion of operational capability into the U.S. if required.

For most groups today, their operational presence is determined by their strategic goals, operational objectives, and funding levels, rather than by physical constraints such as geographical distance. Terrorists have exploited the increasing economic, information, and transportation linkages around the globe to expand their presence. The tools available to terrorists to defeat travel controls include support or sponsorship from rogue states, alliances with criminal trafficking and smuggling networks, technologically enhanced forging operations, and simple bribery.

Weapons and Equipment

The weaponry and equipment available is an important part of any capabilities assessment of organizations that use violence. A separate measure of these categories has not been included in our measures above due to the rapidity of change in this area, and the relation of weapons and equipment capabilities to financial strength. Whereas conventional military organizations rely upon standardization, and often have the problem of "legacy" systems that must be used in lieu of the most modern technologies, terrorists rely upon weapons and equipment tailored to each new operational requirement. If a 30-year old RPG-7 will do the job, it will be used. If not, an appropriate system will be purchased. Since terrorists do not have to go through long acquisition processes like conventional militaries, their only limitation in obtaining state-of-the-art systems is financing and availability of the equipment. If a sophisticated precision guided missile is

needed, and it cannot be bought, it will be "built", utilizing a suicide asset and the appropriate explosives.

Appendices D-G are provided as an introduction to various types of terrorist weaponry and their attack capabilities.

Proxies

Terrorist capabilities are solely a function of the individual group or organization. As previously mentioned, many groups maintain links to rogue states, criminal gangs, activist groups, and other organizations that can expand their capabilities. This expansion may exceed the traditional areas of training and logistic assistance. It can include the actual conduct of operations, with one group acting as a proxy for the other. This is extremely dangerous, as it grafts the motivation and objectives of the group requesting an operation onto the capabilities and characteristics of the organization executing the operation.

Revolutionary groups such as the Baader-Meinhof Gang and the JRA provided operational personnel or undertook specific missions for Palestinian groups in the 1970s in exchange for training and support. Iraqi efforts to instigate terrorist activities as part of their strategy during the Gulf War[90] have been mentioned previously. Many of these attacks were instigated out of shared anti-U.S. objectives, whereas others were in exchange for the support Iraq provided the terrorist groups. In many cases there were previous linkages, and due to the expectation that Iraq would attempt to use the terrorism weapon, security and counter-terrorism forces were alert to these proxy activities.

Other proxy actions have been less obvious. The Chicago based criminal gang El Rukns negotiated with Libya in the early 1980s to shoot down an American passenger jet with a surface to air missile. The fee discussed was one million U.S. dollars. Although the plot was foiled, members of the gang had managed extensive contact with Libyan agents in preparation for the mission.[91]

While proxies generally share some goals or ideological basis with their sponsors or clients, this need not be the case. Purely mercenary proxy operations are possible, and sometimes even ideological opposites can find points where they can cooperate. The American Neo-nazi and Christian Identity movements would seem to have nothing in common with Islamic fundamentalist groups, but in fact they have been cautiously exploring their shared anti-Semitism. Under the right conditions, this may prove to be enough agreement to lead to a proxy relationship.

For U.S. military forces, the most significant threat from a proxy attack is similar to the Gulf War scenario discussed above. A local or regional terrorist group accepts incentives to strike U.S. staging areas inaccessible to a hostile power against which the U.S. is deploying. Unlike

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[90] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 52.
[91] Ibid.,162.

Desert Storm, it is likely that some of these operations in the future will take place against units and facilities within the U.S. itself.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have placed the threat to U.S. forces in a conceptual framework that allows unit planners and leaders to organize and interpret the threat information available to them. We have shown some of the motivations and objectives that exist for attacking military targets, and introduced a method of categorizing terrorist organizations in a militarily useful manner. In Chapter 5 we will look at the various categories of U.S. military forces in relation to terrorist threats.

Chapter 5
The Terrorist Threat to U.S. Forces

This chapter will examine the threats to U.S. military forces. It is intended to provide the unit leader or planner with the likely terrorist actions confronting his or her unit. It is neither a region specific intelligence product nor an exhaustive list of terrorist scenarios, but a description of what techniques have been used against U.S. forces in particular situations, and what can be anticipated from trends in terrorist activities.

Reviewing the casualties resulting from terrorist operations in 2002, the military accounted for 3% of the worldwide figures. Although this is relatively small compared to the large number of casualties in the "Other" category (primarily civilians), Chart 5-1 demonstrates that government targets, which include the military, are definite objectives of terrorist attacks. Further, despite only one attack directed at a military facility, versus fourteen at diplomatic targets, military casualties exceeded diplomatic casualties by over two-to one.[92] This indicates a significantly higher casualty rate per attack for military targets.

Chart 5-1: Total Casualties by Type 2002

Diplomat - 1%
Business - 1%
Military - 3%
Government - 12%
Other - 83%
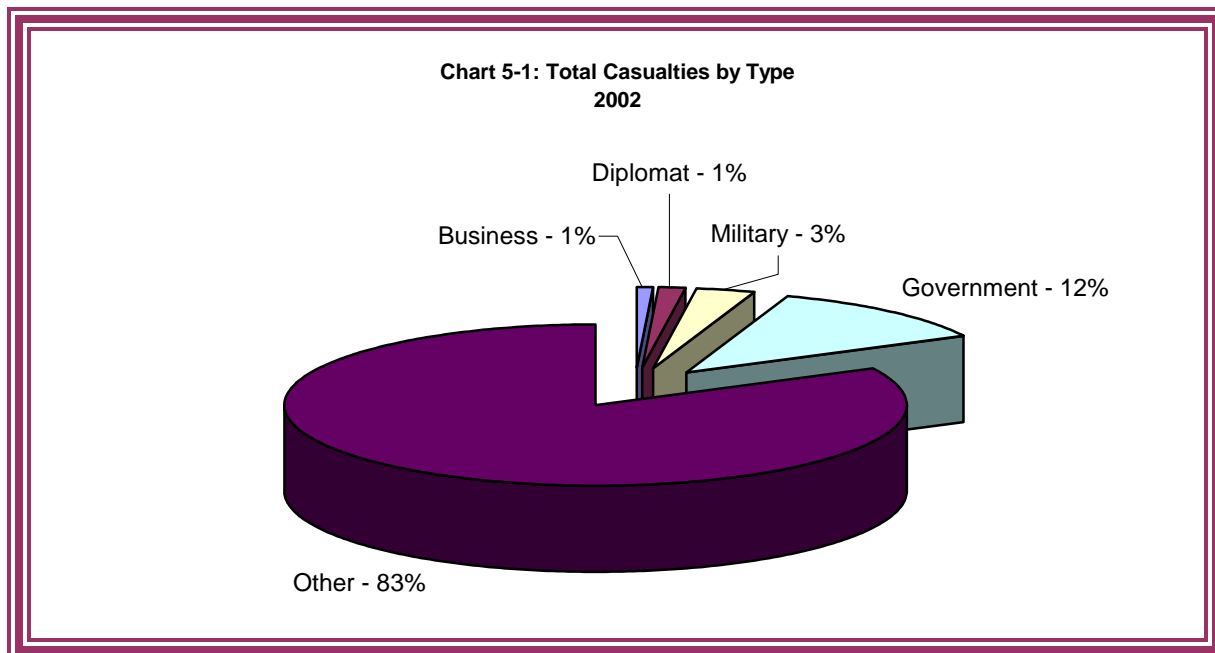
Section I: Categories of U.S. Forces

In discussing the likelihood of particular threats, it is necessary to make some differentiation between various types of units. For this guide, it is a simple classification according to the status of the unit as a deployed asset, deployable (or preparing to deploy) unit, or an activity or organization that does not deploy. This allows any unit to readily identify itself by its status. This system of division has been selected for its clarity, ease of use, and because terrorist targeting

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[92] Department of State, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2002* (Washington, D.C., April 2003), xx.

will be more concerned about where a formation is, who comprises it, and what it is doing, rather than what its' ostensible military function is. Sections II through IV will discuss each situation in detail.

Deployed

This category consists of units that are deployed to locations other than their permanent base. Units that are normally stationed in Germany or Korea do not fit in this category, because although they are overseas, they are based in those countries, and have the infrastructure and local familiarity that would accrue to a unit located at its CONUS base.

Deployed units are assumed to be operating away from their permanent bases, on either operational or training missions in overseas environments. This category includes named contingency operations, fixed rotations into stability operations, and training assistance to foreign militaries. It is not intended to address individual assignments to overseas locations such as attaches or foreign study immersion students.

Deployable

These are units that are either preparing for or in the process of deployment operations. It includes active component units within CONUS or permanently based overseas, even if not currently identified for movement, and reserve component units that are identified for named operations or notified for mobilization.

Non-Deployable

These are active component garrisons, training and logistic facilities, and other activities and installations that do not deploy. It also includes reserve component units and support activities not scheduled for deployment, but are conducting scheduled training drills and activities.

Section II: Terrorist Threat to Deployed Forces

In considering the threats to deployed forces, we will describe the relationship of terrorist action to various environments deployed units will operate in. We will also cover the general conditions that deployed units experience versus a terrorist threat. We will then look, in descending order of likelihood, at the primary threats expected to deployed units, the potential threats, and the possible threats. These will not be expressed in terms of actual terrorist groups, but in terms of likely tactics and approaches to be used by any group against deployed U.S. forces. Finally, we provide a short description of defensive and deterrent measures.

Environments and Conditions

Terrorists prefer to function in environments that reinforce their strengths and negate enemy advantages. They will want to maintain secrecy while discovering enemy information, focus on their objective while denying the enemy a concentration to strike, and achieve surprise. In most cases urban terrain favors the terrorist in accomplishing these ends. Cities provide the terrorist

with a population to conceal personnel, structures and facilities to hide and store equipment or weapons, and transportation nodes for movement.

Terrorists also prefer an environment that is chaotic, but not actually hostile. A fluid, poorly policed and uncontrolled situation permits suspicious activities to go unnoticed. However, terrorists prefer that the environment is not completely or continuously hostile. A hostile environment puts military forces on their guard, reduces the opportunities to get close to targets without being challenged or detained, and increases the difficulty of achieving surprise.

Terrorist groups will avoid operating as terrorists in an actual combat environment, because doing so negates their advantages, and allows conventional military strengths to be brought to bear against them. These strengths include such capabilities as battlefield intelligence and detection systems, high firepower, and reduced legal constraints on the use of force and the authority to arrest and detain, such as martial law or some variation thereof. Since civilians will normally try to escape areas of imminent combat, terrorists also surrender the advantages of surprise and security that hiding within a population brings them. Terrorists will sometimes forego their terror operations and operate as guerillas in areas of active combat operations. However, they may have to reorganize and equip for such operations.

> ### The Impact of Martial Law – The Battle of Algiers
>
> In the post-WWII surge of nationalist insurrections, the most notorious use of military authority to combat terrorism was the campaign waged by the French 10th Colonial Parachute Division against the urban terrorists of the Algerian insurgent movement FLN in the capital city of Algiers.
>
> Algeria was one of the French colonies expecting to gain increased local rule, or perhaps independence, in the aftermath of WWII. When this did not occur, a nationalist insurgency began. By 1957 the nationalist groups, particularly the FLN, had been successfully carrying out a campaign of intimidation and terror that they felt would drive the French out of Algeria. The French responded by allowing the Army, in the person of General Massu and his *paras,* to employ legalized barbarity against the FLN and suspected sympathizers. This included torture, mutilation, and murder.
>
> The resulting campaign of terror and counter-terror has become known as the "Battle of Algiers", as much of the activity was initially concentrated in the capital city. While the French military scored significant successes, and broke the terrorist and guerilla forces in battle, they lost the war. Political support for the brutal suppression of the Algerians was eventually lost which directly contributed to the fall of the French constitution. After two attempted coups by French colonists in Algeria fearing that the mother country was giving in, France finally granted Algerian independence in 1962.

Likewise, deployed military forces will operate in one of two general environments: Base camps or tactical (field). Base camps are characterized by fixed facilities, either constructed or requisitioned, to provide shelter, support, and defensive capabilities to the units operating from them. Tactical environments are considered to be those where the unit operates with only organic support in the field, with no fixed facilities other than what the unit can improvise or what structures happen to be on the terrain.

This may appear to be a difference that has no impact, but in fact from the terrorist perspective, the differences are acute. Operating in a tactical environment means the unit might move at a moment's notice in response to orders or necessities that the terrorist cannot anticipate. Base camps provide a much more stable and predictable target for terrorist planning. It is worthwhile

to note that of the terrorist attacks carried out on U.S. units deployed for operational and training missions, the significant casualties that were produced in Beirut and Dharhan (Khobar Towers) were in fixed billeting areas attacked by "purpose built" vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices (VBIEDs). Units in tactical conditions have experienced casualties from gunfire but nothing comparable to the destruction dealt to the fixed facilities.

It is important to note that deployed forces have some advantages that can contribute to their being less likely to be targeted for terrorist operations. These are:

- They are typically in a significantly enhanced force protection posture. Higher levels of alertness, control of approaches and access routes, and implementation of defensive measures reduce the likelihood of terrorist success, increase the costs to an attacker, and mitigate damage from successful attacks.

- They conduct appropriate planning and training to defeat or control hostile action. While this preparation may not specifically address terrorism, it does increase the probability of effective defense against attack, and reduces the casualties and damage if an attack should occur.

- Deployed units typically have increased access to intelligence assets and products. This information increases the effectiveness of the unit's own intelligence, counter-intelligence, and force protection efforts.

Primary Threats

The primary threats to deployed forces will come from existing in-theater terrorist groups. This will often be in response to the U.S. military presence itself, or will constitute an attempt to influence U.S. policies regarding the use of military force. These terrorist groups will try to minimize their movement of personnel and equipment into the area of operations after the arrival of U.S. forces to avoid detection. Consequently, whenever possible they will attempt to pre-position operational assets. If they do need to position personnel or equipment in the area, they will do so employing all possible caution to avoid exposure to U.S. intelligence collection.

Figure 5-1: Khobar Towers Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, 1996 (*Source*: DOD Photo)

The most dangerous form of attack historically used against deployed U.S. forces is the large vehicle-borne improvised explosive device (VBIED). This tactic has been used primarily against units in a base camp environment. The setback and protection common to deployed unit perimeters requires a large and effective weapon to produce the large number of casualties the terrorists want to achieve. Consequently, the delivery of adequate explosive weight to overcome this setback and layered security requires a

vehicle. VBIEDs equaling thousands of pounds of explosive power can produce the blast wave and secondary missile effect needed to cross the intervening space and still cause damage. The Khobar Towers VBIED was estimated to be the explosive equivalent of 20,000 pounds of TNT.[93] Table E-2 in Appendix E has a DOD chart that details the various size explosive devices with their comparable evacuation distances to avoid casualties.

While possible that a unit in a field environment would be attacked by a large VBIED, it is much less likely. The preparation and deployment of such a weapon requires time that would likely be wasted if the target unit moved or improved its positions. This does not rule out the use of smaller weapons with faster preparation cycles if they can be effectively delivered and detonated. Obvious lapses in security procedures, insufficient setback of personnel and facilities from the perimeter, or habitually assembling units (convoys, patrols, road marches, etc.) in unsecured locations outside perimeters are instances where smaller explosive devices can be effective.

Delivering either a large or small explosive device by means of a suicide asset may or may not increase the effectiveness of such a weapon. If the vehicle checkpoint and barrier system is 800 meters from the target, and there is a perimeter fence or wall 400 meters from the target, why bother ramming the gate with a suicide operator? Parking the device next to the perimeter fence and leisurely setting the fuse and retiring will be more effective than expending a suicide asset that will likely have to detonate twice as far from the target.

The attack on the Marine Corps barracks in Beirut is a different case. The suicide driver breached the gate and delivered the VBIED directly to the target. In this case the use of a suicide bomber increased the effectiveness of the attack. Conversely, at Khobar Towers, the vehicle access point was not considered breachable, and it was anticipated that any VBIED would be detected. Therefore a point was selected on the perimeter closest to the target at which to park the weapon, and a suicide operator rendered unnecessary.

Attacks have been used to defeat specific perimeter security positions (dug-in heavy weapons) with one suicide asset in the first assault, and then followed up with a second suicide asset accompanied by an assault team with supporting fire from overwatch positions to destroy a key target concentration within the perimeter.[94] Because of the value of suicide assets, though, this is an expensive tactic. However, it must be considered in planning in areas where the use of suicide attacks is possible.

The most common form of attack used against deployed forces is the light weapons ambush, involving grenades, small arms, light bombs, and rocket launchers.[95] Additionally, IEDs are being used more in these type attacks. The targets of these attacks are likely to be fixed positions engaged from a moving vehicle, or small units on the move engaged from vehicles or stationary positions with adequate escape routes. This is a considerably less effective casualty producing tactic than the VBIED, as it pits itself against the strengths of a tactical unit, and is the sort of

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[93] Department of Defense, *Report on Personal Accountability for Force Protection at Khobar Towers*, by William S. Cohen, (Washington, D.C., July 31, 1997), 2.

[94] Rohan Gunaratna, "Suicide Terrorism in Sri Lanka and India," in *Countering Suicide Terrorism* (Herzliya, Israel: Interdisciplinary Center Projects Publishing House, 2002), 107.

[95] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 160.

attack most of the U.S. military draws its pay to anticipate, identify and defeat. It also carries the least psychological impact, as most people rightly view firefights of this nature as part of the military mission. Despite this, these attacks have successfully caused U.S. military casualties and drawn international media coverage. They are the easiest and quickest type of attack to plan and stage, and therefore have a high probability of use by a terrorist threat, especially against tactical formations in the field.

The light weapons type of attack described above may be deliberately launched from a group of civilians. This provides concealment for the terrorist(s), as well as complicating the defensive reaction. Engaging the attacker when shielded by non-combatant bodies will almost certainly result in civilian casualties, which can then be exploited by the terrorists for their publicity and propaganda value. On the other hand, if the U.S. forces attempt to apprehend or neutralize the attacker without inflicting collateral non-combatant casualties, the U.S. action may be ineffective and expose the force to other attackers concealed within the group anticipating the U.S. attempt to limit civilian casualties.

In assessing the terrorist threat to a deployed force in a particular area of operations, the effectiveness of poorly resourced local groups should not be underestimated. Low to mid-capability groups motivated the removal of U.S. forces from areas such as Beirut and Somalia in the past (while Somalia was not the result of planned terrorist action, the exploitation of the casualties and psychological impact from the failed U.S. mission are classic terrorist media techniques). While actors from outside the immediate area of operations supported our adversaries in both these incidents, the operations themselves were executed locally. Further, the prestige associated with successfully challenging U.S. forces brings benefits to the groups involved through increased support and positive perceptions by the local populace. These positive results then become incentives for further attacks.

Potential Threats

Less likely than attacks by the existing in-theater groups are attacks by organizations that cannot otherwise reach U.S. targets either in CONUS or in other overseas areas. These groups will take the opportunity to attack U.S. military forces exposed in a third country. This can happen even if the U.S. forces are not a direct threat to the terrorist group, or are not conducting activities that are "objectionable" to the terrorists. The terrorists' attraction to the opportunity target of U.S. forces in a country that is a "permissive environment" is obvious. Such a country would be one with poor border control, a weak or unstable government, and easy access to weapons or smuggling routes. A successful attack could be exploited for objectives unrelated to the actual U.S. military mission.

In these circumstances the target of the attack may be more symbolic in nature, striking at significant individuals occupying positions of power or influence. Targeting senior commanders, particularly while in transit to or from a deployed unit in a permissive or exposed environment has been a frequent objective of terrorists. Attempted assassinations of key unit personnel should be considered a distinct possibility, with any number of methods available to the terrorist (see Appendix C for a discussion of assassination operations).

An example of this sort of "target of opportunity" operation was the bombing of the USS *Cole* in Aden harbor in October of 2000.[96] While the presence of the USS *Cole* was unwelcome to the fundamental Islamics that carried out the attack, the situation exposing the ship to terrorist action in that environment was an irresistible opportunity. The USS *Cole* was no direct threat to terrorist organizations ashore, and the refueling operation conducted in Aden was specifically meant to be unobtrusive to local sensibilities. However, the vulnerability of the ship indicated a high probability of success against an obvious symbol

Figure 5-2: Suicide Bomb Damage to USS Cole. October 2000
(*Source*: U.S. Navy Photo)

of the United States. The resulting casualties and images of the damaged warship were exactly the result the terrorists were looking to achieve.

The USS *Cole* bombing used another VBIED, the vehicle in this case being a boat. Deployed forces should not ignore the possibility of explosive devices or other attack methods being delivered by boat or air. The Tamil Tigers (LTTE) used suicide and remote-controlled explosive motorboats against Sri Lankan government targets. Various groups employed ultralight aircraft, powered and unpowered hang gliders, small civilian aircraft, and remote control aircraft to deliver attack teams, explosives, or suicide bombers to particular targets.[97] A unit that successfully interdicts or controls all surface approaches should not neglect the possibility of an aerial approach. Nor should a unit exposed to a waterborne approach assume that control of surface approaches is sufficient. Several terrorist groups have successfully utilized divers in underwater infiltrations and attacks.

A potential threat that has been employed against other nations' military forces with some success is the capture or kidnap of small units or individuals on missions that isolate them from the larger unit. The individual soldiers may be used as hostages, tortured, or killed for psychological effect. U.S. prisoners of war found themselves used as human shields, hostages, and worse in previous conventional conflicts. Individual U.S. government and military personnel have been kidnapped and exploited by terrorists when serving on individual missions overseas. The uses of "atrocity videos", such as showing the torture and murder of prisoners in the Balkan, Algerian, and Afghan (Soviet) conflicts, are becoming common practice among terrorist

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[96] John McWethy et al., no title, *ABCNews.Com,* (18 October 2000); available from
http://www.abcnews.go.com/sections/world/ DailyNews/cole001018b.html; Internet; accessed 9 January 2003.
[97] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 165.

organizations to attract and indoctrinate recruits, and terrify the opposition.[98] The proliferation of this type of imagery indicates a clear inclination to exploit captured personnel for terror effect.

Possible Threats

Other possible threats include provocations by external or internal politically affiliated terrorist groups to induce U.S. action to achieve a desired outcome. In the Balkans, for example, the various ethnic and religious factions continually attempt to blame each other for harassment, graffiti, arson, and drive-by shootings. In fact, some groups would carry out incidents against their own property and people, and attempt to implicate their opponents to provide a suitable cause for SFOR (Stabilization Force) involvement.[99] Their goal was to provoke SFOR into suppressive action against their enemies.

Another potential threat is the possibility of punitive attacks against family members of forward deployed personnel. This could be either retaliation for actions taken by U.S. forces, or a preemptive action designed to lower morale and decrease unit effectiveness. It could also

> **Family Matters – Reprisal Attack after The USS *Vincennes* Incident**
> Navy Captain Will Rogers commanded the USS *Vincennes*. In the summer of 1988, the *Vincennes* shot down an Iranian airliner that the ship misidentified as an Iranian fighter. Rogers' wife Sharon was targeted in a terrorist attack eight months later on 10 March 1989 in San Diego, California. The car she was driving was destroyed by a pipe bomb, but she was unharmed. While this example deals with a higher profile incident than most deployed unit members and family would face, the threat is clearly there.
> Source: www.sandiego-online.com/retro/setpretro2.stm, Internet, accessed on 1/14/03

be intended to provoke reprisals by U.S. soldiers against civilians in the area of operations.

Such attacks would depend upon the operational reach of the terrorist adversary, or their ability to engage a proxy organization to conduct such an operation for them. If actual attacks are impractical, threatening messages directed at family members could be employed to erode soldier confidence and morale. Falsified emergency notifications and Red Cross messages could be employed to the same effect.

Preventative Measures

> **"Expect only 5% of an intelligence report to be accurate. The trick of a good commander is to isolate the 5%."**
>   **- General Douglas MacArthur**

The greatest deterrent to terrorist action is aggressive OPSEC programs emphasizing surveillance detection and counter-intelligence activities. While physical security measures are essential, they can be neutralized or avoided by terrorists with adequate preparation. Terrorists

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[98] Jason Burke, "You Have to Kill in the Name of Allah until You are Killed," *Guardian Unlimited* (Observer Special Report, 27 January 2002), 3; available from http://www.observer.co.uk/islam/story/0,1442,640288,00.html; Internet; accessed 15 January 2003.

[99] Department of Defense, *11th Psychological Operations Task Force After Action Report for SFOR X*, by MAJ Clint A. Venekamp, (Upper Marboro, MD, July 2002).

must have superior target intelligence to select targets, circumvent security, and plan operations. Deny them this information, and they cannot operate effectively. Detecting them collecting target data permits anticipation of possible terrorist courses of action.

Information the deployed unit should consider obtaining includes any record of surveillance incidents directed against U.S. diplomatic or commercial activities in the country. Correlation of confirmed surveillance against these potential targets permits a deployed unit to identify personnel, vehicles and techniques in use in that area prior to arrival. Terrorists have the capability to use sophisticated tradecraft that will complicate this correlation, but they have also been known to use the same personnel and vehicle repeatedly in surveillance tasks. The Khobar Towers pre-attack surveillance was conducted using one vehicle for all surveillance missions. That vehicle was observed and reported 10 times out of 40 separate uses as a surveillance platform.[100] The only reason this was not fatal to the attack plans was that nothing was done to correlate and interpret this information by U.S. forces.

Unit planners should seek out any record of actual terrorist activities in the area, whether directed against U.S. interests or not, from intelligence, security and law enforcement sources. Additionally, groups or individuals considered dormant or inactive should be reviewed based upon the possible change in attitude or motivation that a U.S. deployment into the area might cause.

Variation of a unit's operational patterns is a basic but useful technique to deter attacks. It prevents anticipation of target actions by the terrorist(s); it introduces uncertainty to his planning, and sharpens the alertness and observations of unit personnel by avoiding routine. Terrorist operations have been called off, and attacks in progress have been "blown" due to simple changes in the routine or activity of a target.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of threats to deployed U.S. forces. Intelligence specific to the area of operations must be studied and integrated into realistic threat assessments for deployed units. However, terrorists have used the techniques mentioned in the scenarios discussed here multiple times against deployed military forces. These techniques will continue to be employed by terrorists in modified forms with innovations in weapons or tactics as long as they continue to be effective.

Section III: Terrorist Threat to Deployable Forces

In this section we will discuss likely threats to U.S. forces in the deployable category. "Deployable forces" are considered to be those units that are either preparing for or in the process of deployment overseas. It includes active component units both within CONUS and permanently based overseas, (even if not currently identified for movement) and reserve component units that are identified for named operations or notified for mobilization. The purpose for identifying "deployable" units in this manner allows us to consider possible threats to a unit ranging from their home station to their debarkation point during a deployment.

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[100] Department of State, Bureau of Diplomatic Security, *State Department Diplomatic Security Surveillance Detection Program Course of Instruction* [CD-ROM], (Washington, D.C., October 1999).

Additionally, this category addresses those threats directed at war fighting or operational units not immediately slated for movement. Installations will be discussed in Section IV.

Reserve component units identified for mobilization or participation in named operations fall into this category even though their deployment may not be imminent. This is because of the increase in training activity and resources they receive, as well as the possibility that their participation in a particular operation will motivate an attack. When discussing home station activities, we will also consider attacks launched against off-duty personnel <u>known to be military</u>, and targeted because of that fact.

This section will be organized like Section II, discussing primary threats, potential threats, and possible threats to deployable forces. It will be broken down further to address threats during normal home station activities, and threats during actual deployment activities. A separate sub-section will address special considerations in the case of units whose home base is overseas. Finally, we will briefly outline some applicable preventative measures.

Primary Threats

The most likely threats to deployable U.S. forces either at home station or during deployment will be from terrorists external to the U.S. These organizations will be international or transnational groups with either an operational presence already in the U.S. or support infrastructure in place to facilitate the arrival of operational assets. They quite possibly will be state sponsored organizations, or organizations operating for profit or for other material considerations on behalf of some government. In some cases they could be state intelligence or covert military special operations forces. While in raw numbers of incidents, domestic terror groups were responsible for more attacks and attempted attacks on U.S. military targets than external groups in the past, most of these attacks were on facilities and installations, not units and personnel.

However, state sponsors or transnational terror groups may also use domestic groups that can be exploited through shared ideology or for profit considerations to conduct operations in the U.S. against military targets. The El Rukns group, a Chicago based gang, negotiated with Libya to attack a domestic airliner with a surface to air missile in 1985.[101] Since Libya directed and sponsored lethal attacks by the Japanese Red Army on U.S. military targets in CONUS and abroad during the same period of time[102], there is little doubt that Libya would have utilized a domestic U.S. group had one been available and capable. There is also evidence indicating that al Qaeda is subcontracting to like-minded terrorist groups to conduct operations.

<u>Home Station Threats</u>

Threats to deployable units at their home station during pre-deployment activities will most likely consist of attacks on units conducting movement to or from training activities, and attacks

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[101] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 162.

[102] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 188-189. The JRA adopted the name "Anti-Imperialist International Brigades" for these operations.

upon off duty personnel during social gatherings. The intent would be to demonstrate the capability to damage U.S. military forces, and weaken morale. The most likely methods of attack would be a small to medium size improvised explosive device (IED), or an ambush conducted with light weapons (automatic weapons, grenades, and anti-tank rockets).

Attacks on units training will most likely take place during movement because:

- The unit is concentrated during movement, and typically dispersed during training.

- Training areas are usually harder to access by non-military personnel than roads leading to or from them.

- Units training have a greater degree of alertness than units in an administrative road movement.

- Units conducting training have greater self-defense capabilities, especially if they are training with live ammunition.

- Routes to and from training areas are well established, almost habitual, whereas movement during training is more difficult to pattern.

Attacks on personnel at social gatherings can occur at clubs on post, or during unit functions at private homes or commercial establishments off post. Traditional observances of organizational days (Army Birthday, division or regimental days) are often publicized in advance and give attackers planning dates for possible gatherings in accessible locations. Attacks at commercial entertainment establishments such as bars, clubs and restaurants off post are less likely because the density of military personnel at a particular establishment is usually not sufficient to gain the appropriate impact (off-post establishment attacks are addressed under the Section "Units Based Overseas"). The most likely attack method will be a small to medium sized IED, although terrorists may employ improvised mortars or other standoff weapons.

Deployment Preparation and Movement

Attacks on deployable units are likely to occur during actual preparation for deployment activities. The specific mission may inspire an attack by a group who wishes to prevent the deployment, or a potential adversary may attempt to extend the depth of the battlefield by engaging units with unconventional terrorist attacks before they arrive in theater. Objectives of these attacks will depend on the mission of the deploying unit and the context of the mobilization, but may include:

- To delay or prevent mobilization or deployment.

- To render the unit non-mission capable for deployment.

- To decrease unit effectiveness when deployed.

<u>Delay or prevent mobilization or deployment.</u>

Operations aimed at this objective would involve either disrupting the unit enough to prevent its movement on schedule, or disrupting the transportation cycle for the unit. Disruptions sufficient to prevent the unit from making movement would probably also render it non-mission capable for deployment. This will be covered in that sub-section below.

Disruption of transportation may take place by sabotage or direct attack upon the unit being transported and its conveyance. Methods of attack would be selected depending upon their effectiveness versus the mode of unit transport. Air, rail and sea are the modes of transport for long voyages, but frequently units must use ground conveyances such as buses or organic vehicles to get to their embarkation point. Consequently, attacks may also occur against these vehicular movements. Weapons likely to be employed include bombs, AT rockets, and potentially, guided missiles. If sabotage is used in preference to direct attack, the sabotage will be designed to produce maximum casualties in the ensuing crash, derailment, fire, etc.

Based upon the availability of military air transport, the deploying unit may be required to move via commercial or chartered air. Since movement from home station to the mobilization station or embarkation point may not originate near a large military airfield, the unit may need to use a civilian airfield, even if military air is available. Civilian fields and chartered aircraft present terrorists with opportunities for attacks unavailable against military aircraft flying from military airfields. This was demonstrated in January 2003 when intelligence sources detected the targeting of chartered aircraft participating in the build up of forces against Iraq.[103]

Despite the emphasis on the vulnerabilities of airlift, all forms of transport are subject to sabotage or attack. Domestic terrorists have derailed U.S. passenger and cargo trains[104], and attacks on ships in port and at sea are well within the capabilities of most transnational and international terror groups.

Destroying facilities such as docks, airfields, refueling facilities, and cargo terminals at intermediate stops or at the final destination is another way for terrorists to prevent or delay deployment. It is a method of adding depth to the battlefield during a conflict, and does not require the projection of assets and weapons into more distant countries. If timed to coincide with the arrival of incoming units, such destructive attacks could cause significant casualties.

<u>Render the unit non-mission capable for deployment.</u>

The objective here is to cause sufficient damage or disruption to the unit so that it will be unable to deploy, or will be unable to function once deployed. The most direct way to do this is to inflict casualties on the unit. IEDs, rocket launchers, and mortars directed at unit assemblies such as formations, manifest calls, and other pre-deployment personnel concentrations are the most

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[103] Thom Shanker, "Officials Reveal Threat to Troops Deploying to Gulf," *New York Times,* 13 January 2003; available from http://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/13/politics/13INTE.html; Internet; accessed 13 January 2003.
[104] Jim Hill, "Sabotage Suspected in 'Terrorist' Derailment," *CNN.com*, 10 October 1995; available from http://www.cnn.com/US/9510/amtrak/10-10/; Internet; accessed 15 January 2003.

likely scenario. A terrorist group with a rudimentary biological weapons capability could infect enough of a unit with a contagious disease that it would have to undergo quarantine, delaying deployment. This is a less likely and somewhat uncertain proposal from the terrorist point of view, but might be used to bypass defenses designed to prevent other forms of attack.

Another possibility to consider is the destruction of a key piece of equipment or the assassination of key personnel. This is less attractive to the terrorists because they cannot be sure that such losses would not be rapidly replaced. Unless the terrorist group is aware of specific personnel or equipment shortages, they will rely on the more certain method of mass casualties.

<u>Decrease unit effectiveness when deployed.</u>

This objective requires actions to undermine morale and destroy unit efficiency. It will be characterized by less lethal, more harassing activities. Contaminating unit equipment with low level radiation sources, infecting unit information processing equipment with viruses, harassing or attacking soldiers' family members, and inserting false messages of death or illness into the various notification systems to both family and service members are all possible scenarios. With the exception of actual attacks on service members' families, these activities do not require significant operational skill or resources.

Potential Threats

<u>Home Station Threats</u>

Although less likely than transnational or international terrorists attacks, domestic groups who object to U.S. military involvement overseas, or to the political goals of U.S. policy still have potential to conduct attacks. Such groups would share the objectives listed above, with the further aim of publicizing the domestic dissent to the particular mission or policy. Such groups could develop capabilities very rapidly, and coalesce from existing organizations with ostensible "anti-capitalist/imperialist" ideologies. Although they are nearer to the targets and less visible to casual suspicions than foreign personnel, domestic terrorists would be constrained in conducting significant lethal attacks due to the possibility of severe backlash for actions against fellow citizens.[105] Actions would probably start out with symbolic and non-lethal arson, vandalism, and sabotage. If these fail to ignite public support for the terrorists' goals, their organizations would increase in radicalization, and attacks would become more lethal, as happened in the Vietnam-era anti-war movement.[106]

There is also the potential for domestic groups to attempt to obtain advanced military technology or new equipment by raiding units during normal training activities. This threat is most likely to come from groups who wish to rapidly increase their offensive capabilities in anticipation of paramilitary operations. Groups whose ideology emphasizes insurrection, social warfare, or "local" uprisings are most likely to attempt this type action. It is likely to be directed at National Guard and Reserve facilities (See Section IV).

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[105] Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 94.
[106] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Student Terror: The Weathermen"

Deployment Preparation and Movement

As discussed above, domestic groups who object to U.S. military activity or U.S. policy could conduct operations against deploying units. A key difference here is that attacks of this nature would probably start out at the lethal end of the spectrum. Either because the domestic groups are conducting operations sponsored or directed by external actors, such as other terrorist groups or nations, or because imminent deployment would increase the sense of radicalization of these groups. Such groups would share the objectives for preventing or delaying unit movements discussed under "Probable Threats", with the further aim of using such actions to publicize their dissent.

A particular specialty of domestic groups is their capability to conduct harassment campaigns against individuals peripherally associated with or employed by activities these groups object to. Such a campaign undertaken by a domestic group against service members' families with the objective to reduce unit morale and effectiveness would be extremely disruptive. Harassment campaigns have included lethal and near lethal attacks, as well as disrupting the victim's daily life and instilling constant, pervasive fear in the victim. Such a campaign added to the normal stresses associated to military careers and deployments could have extremely negative consequences in both the long and short term.

Possible Threats

Possible threats to both home station activities and deployment activities could come from U.S. resident aliens or citizens not specifically organized or affiliated with larger terrorist networks. These groups may have loyalties to ethnic, religious, or nationalist causes hostile to the U.S. or opposed to U.S. policies. Expatriate and immigrant ethnic groups threatened action against government and military targets in the U.S. and Europe when SFOR activities or policies in Bosnia-Herzegovina were perceived as contrary to the best interest of their ethnic "home" state or group. Other immigrant and expatriate groups have provided support for various hostile activities directed against particular U.S. foreign policies. While largely unorganized, even individuals with little support but high motivation can have major impacts. Jordanian Sirhan Bishara Sirhan assassinated Senator Robert Kennedy in 1968 because of his assumption that Kennedy would likely be the next U.S. President, and he wished to prevent Kennedy's expected support for Israel.

Units Based Overseas

Units based in overseas locations have several special considerations. Because of different conditions in OCONUS locations, their home station routine is more vulnerable to terrorist attack than similar units based in CONUS. Europe is an excellent example where attacks on U.S. service members have been extensive and lethal.[107] Some attacks were state sponsored or directed, which made them even more dangerous.[108]

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[107] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Chronology of Terrorist Events."
[108] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 71.

There are two principal conditions contributing to the higher level of threat to overseas-based units. The first is exposure. Countries that have permissive border controls, countries that are located closer to states that harbor or sponsor terrorists, or that have active terrorist groups within their borders, all increase the ability of terrorists to reach U.S. military units and personnel based therein. This situation is best illustrated in Europe, where internal border control between European Union (EU) nations is no longer required. Once the borders of a EU member are penetrated, travel to all member countries becomes possible with minimal control. The proximity of the EU to states sponsoring terrorism is much greater than the U.S., and the smuggling and criminal trafficking routes used by terror groups pass through or close by EU nations. Additionally, several EU nations still have very capable terrorist organizations based within their borders.

The second condition is visibility. U.S. military personnel are usually highly visible in overseas environments, particularly in countries that emphasize their homogeneity, such as Japan and Korea. This not only aids in targeting U.S. personnel; but also contributes to another kind of visibility - political visibility. U.S. military presence is frequently a contentious issue in local politics in host nations. This political visibility can lead to resentment of the U.S. presence, and ultimately to attacks against visible signs of that presence, such as military personnel.

The most common threat to overseas-based units is attacks directed against off-duty personnel, either at social gatherings or at entertainment establishments. This is different from the home station situation for CONUS based units because personnel overseas tend to cluster socially, frequenting particular establishments in large numbers. This density provides sufficient military victims for the terrorist attack to achieve the desired effect. Also, significant civilian casualties can be exploited as a wedge issue, to be driven between the host nation populace and the U.S. military. To the terrorists, causing civilian casualties at a club in an American town would simply be more dead Americans. Attempting to instill negative feelings toward the military in the local community would be nearly impossible. However, dead civilians from a host nation can be "blamed" on the U.S. presence by the terrorists, and can raise the question in the host nation political system of the costs of hosting foreigners who are going to attract political violence to their communities.

Other attacks that have been conducted against units based overseas have principally involved rocket launchers, improvised mortars, and bombs directed against key leaders and on-duty personnel. These attacks have ranged from the low end of sophistication to highly technical operations. While unlikely, the possible use of chemical or biological weapons should be acknowledged. The 1995 Tokyo subway nerve agent attack was conducted by the Aum Shinrikyo cult, which was (and is) virulently anti-American. Aum had a significant interest in all forms of WMDs, and in addition to the nerve agent Sarin, had several other types of chemical and biological weapons under development.[109] Aum's central philosophy focused on the inevitability of nuclear Armageddon, and the cult occasionally considered provoking such a conflict so they could fulfill their appointed role in such a disaster. Given more time, Aum might have effectively employed some of these chemical or biological weapons against U.S. forces in Japan.

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[109] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 125.

Vandalism, sabotage and arson attacks have also been used for symbolic effects, but are usually intended to be non-lethal. These types of actions can also occur during political demonstrations against U.S. military presence as a provocation to host government police or U.S. security personnel to further polarize attitudes.

Preventative Measures

As previously mentioned in Section II, denying terrorists the target information they require is the most certain deterrent. Unlike deployed units, deployable units will have installation security measures, functioning local law enforcement activities, and other non-military security and investigation organizations operating in their environment. Therefore the unit OPSEC, force protection, and security programs are not the sole reliable resources to the unit planner.

One place where unit training and knowledge can assist in denying the terrorist target information is in access control. Because units are stationed within functioning communities, there are many interactions with non-military individuals and activities. Since there are multiple jurisdictions involved, there are various legitimate permissions to access military posts. Unit personnel should be familiar with the various types of access control documents they will encounter. If required to establish or man access control points, unit leaders should become familiar with the capabilities of common counterfeiting technologies and their effectiveness in duplicating access control and identification documents. Due to advances in digital camera and image enhancement technology, loss or theft of documents is no longer necessary for reproduction. Likewise, electro-optical zoom lenses and hidden micro-cameras can gather keypad combinations and PIN numbers for security systems.[110] Unit planners need to understand these new vulnerabilities in order to mitigate them where possible.

Deployable forces face a variety of threats, but most are relative to their role as war fighting organizations either preparing for or moving to their missions. Their value as a terrorist target is driven by policy decisions beyond their ability to affect and may be subject to attempts to expand potential conflicts to the U.S. homeland. Therefore anticipation and alertness are the most important factors in mitigating the threat.

Section IV: Terrorist Threat to Non-Deployable Forces

In this section we will discuss threats as applied to U.S. forces in the non-deployable category. Non-deployable forces consist of installations, fixed infrastructure, and training establishments. It also includes National Guard and Reserve units and facilities not currently listed for deployment. Since these activities are more or less permanently fixed, we will only consider the likely threats for the United States and its' territories. Also, since these activities provide the logistic and power projection capabilities for any deployment of U.S. forces, they are likely targets of terrorist groups.

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[110] Paul Kaihla, "Forging Terror," *Business 2.0* (December 2002): 3; available from http://www.business2.com/articles/mag/0,1640,45486%7C5,00.html; Internet; accessed 22 November 2002.

As in the previous two sections, we will again divide the threats according to likelihood, covering primary, potential, and possible threats. While deployable and deployed forces are particularly at risk during conflict or times of international tension, non-deployable forces will experience threats based upon domestic political tensions as well. These tensions could inspire action by a variety of social and single-issue domestic extremists from all sides of the political spectrum.

Primary Threats

The most probable threats to non-deployable forces of all kinds will likely be domestic groups with a variety of objectives. While the domestic terrorism landscape is cluttered with any number of ideological and religious motivations, most U.S. domestic terror groups have embraced the "leaderless resistance" model of organization. While this tends to limit the complexity and sophistication of these operations, it also reduces the effectiveness of infiltrating the group or developing informers, because of the decentralized nature of operations (See side bar).[111]

As the Oklahoma City bombing conclusively showed, "simple" attacks do not equal "ineffective" or "non-lethal" attacks.

Certainly the greatest single threat in this category is the attack intended to obtain military weaponry or equipment.

> **Leaderless Resistance**
>
> Simply put, leaderless resistance involves individuals or <u>extremely</u> small groups (two or three persons) who share common goals and values with a larger whole. They remain unaware of each other, and rely upon themselves to conduct actions against the enemy. While it bears similarities to network style organizations, the lack of communications links between nodes makes it more like a mob or riot phenomenon. Everyone in it seems to know what to do collectively, with little communication.
>
> There is usually an ideological center to such groups; an individual or cabal who sets the tone for the larger mass. This center remains unaware of the radical members and their intentions. They outline an ideal condition or future to be achieved, and then exhort their followers to obtain it, without going into specifics on the method to be employed. "You know what to do" is the mission order in this environment, allowing the "leader" to avoid incitement or conspiracy charges, while claiming credit for the work of the unknown individuals or cells.

In the 1970s alone, enough small arms were stolen from U.S. military facilities to outfit a force of approximately 8,000.[112] These operations are conducted by a variety of groups, but most recently groups associated with white supremacists, various "Christian Identity" offshoots, or the "militia" movement predominate in this area. They are conducted as "inside jobs" or theft more often than actual overt raids or attacks, but the capability and inclination for violent operations is there. If the terrorist group believes the objective warrants it, assault style robberies of military equipment will occur (See the example on the next page).

Another likely threat is that transnational or state sponsored groups could target key infrastructure or support installations to reduce the military's power projection capabilities. This

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[111] Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Threat Assessment and Warning Unit, Counterterrorism Division, *Terrorism in the United States 1999,* Report 0308, (Washington, D.C., n.d.), 18.

[112] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 111.

transnational presence was exhibited in 2002 when two suspected al Qaeda cells were neutralized; one in Portland, Oregon and another in Lackawanna, New York. Well-funded adversaries without a significant operational presence in the U.S., or who desire deniability, could instigate attacks utilizing various domestic groups as proxies. Money or common ideology or goals would provide the basis for this cooperation. This sort of attack would have slightly different objectives than those discussed in Section III. The destruction of critical logistics and transportation infrastructure such as rail lines, pipelines, and warehouses would emphasize arson and sabotage. Unfortunately, these capabilities are highly developed in most of the domestic U.S.

Domestic Threat To National Guard Armories

From "Terrorism in the United States, 1999" FBI Publication #0308, Federal Bureau of Investigation

On December 8, 1999, Donald Beauregard, Commander and Brigadier General of the Southeastern States Alliance (SSA) was arrested on six felony counts related to his plans to steal weapons and explosives from National Guard armories in central Florida, attack power lines in several states, and ambush federal law enforcement officers. The SSA was an "umbrella" organization composed of individuals from several militias in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and other southern states. The objective of the now-defunct organization was to create social and political chaos, which members believed would cause the U.S. Government to declare martial law, thus inciting a popular uprising and violent overthrow of the Federal Government. The SSA theorized that Beauregard's plan would create this chaos and further their goal of violent revolution. Beauregard was charged with violating several federal laws, including Title 18 USC Section 371, conspiracy to break into a military facility to steal weapons and explosives; Title 18 USC Section 2339, providing materials in support of a terrorist organization; and four counts relating to Title 26 USC, firearms violations–transferring a sawed-off shotgun, possession of a silencer, transfer of a firearm without a serial number, and manufacture of a sawed-off shotgun.

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groups that could act as proxies for a hostile foreign entity.

Also, "softer" installations with a high concentration of military personnel and families could be attacked with mass casualty producing weapons for the pure terror and psychological impact on the military services as a whole. The uncertainty and personal devastation this would cause would be serious enough. However, the amount of resources that would have to be directed into countermeasures in order to restore soldier confidence and morale could degrade war fighting capabilities.

Another type of target that may be selected for the sheer morale and psychological impact is the highly symbolic target. The attack on the Pentagon in 2001 is an outstanding example of an attack with this objective. Another highly symbolic military target is Arlington National Cemetery adjacent to Fort Myer. Many other posts have less famous, but still symbolically significant monuments and activities that could be subject to attacks under this scenario.

Potential Threats

Conflicts over domestic social policies have a probability of causing attacks on military installations. While not participants in these policy debates, the U.S. military services have been

the instruments of major social reform at the direction of both Congress and the Executive Branch. The military services have led the nation in implementation of social policies such as complete integration of racial minorities and women. Groups on both sides of contentious social issues in U.S. domestic politics watch various proposals regarding military implementation of policies regarding their particular causes. Decisions by Congress for or against military implementation of social policies on contentious domestic issues could very likely spark violence by the more radical elements of either side in these debates. The capabilities of groups involved in these issues, and the level of violence already displayed against other segments of society involved in a variety of contentious social issues make this a significant concern.

The emergence of a radicalized, ostensibly "anti-war" movement is also a distinct possibility. This sort of "anti-war" movement does not need an actual conflict to be initiated. "Anti-war" rhetoric and agendas have been incorporated into large protest gatherings such as "The Battle of Seattle" (Seattle World Trade Organization meetings in 1999) prior to the terror attacks on the U.S. and the subsequent military retaliation. The recent shifting and redefining of the traditional "radical left" ideological focus to an anti-capitalist, anti-globalization, and "economic and social justice" agenda has made <u>any</u> military action by U.S. forces - whether the mission is humanitarian, disaster relief, or actual combat – suspect in their eyes. Many of the left wing and single-issue organizations that espouse the anti-capitalist, anti-globalization, and anti-war rhetoric are branches or offshoots of international organizations.[113]   These groups maintain ideological linkages and copy operational techniques from foreign groups. The fact that the pace of military deployments on all missions has increased is seen by many of these groups as "proof" of U.S. "imperialism". These issues invite the targeting of U.S. military forces as the symbols and effective arms of these "imperial" policies or intended U.S. "hegemony".

There is also the possibility of attacks directed against Army installations or personnel from single-issue terrorists focused on animal rights or environmental issues. The FBI considers these groups the largest domestic terror threat in the United States.[114] Although these groups typically conduct arson, harassment, and vandalism, they have gradually increased their capabilities and rhetoric, threatening to "pick up the gun" and to target Federal offices and Federal and state law enforcement.[115] It is expected that attacks are possible on range or post construction projects that they perceive as endangering animals, animal habitat, or the earth. Military research using animals for testing chemical or biological weapon antidotes or medical treatments could also spark direct action and harassment campaigns. Initially such attacks would be arson, vandalism and other forms of "monkey wrenching" – a term for sabotage combined with general mischief - but escalation is not only possible, it is likely. While claiming non-violence, letter-bombings and beatings have occurred in the course of these campaigns. Also, as observed in Chapter 2, when

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[113] Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Threat Assessment and Warning Unit, Counterterrorism Division, *Terrorism in the United States 1999,* Report 0308, (Washington, D.C., n.d.), 27.

[114] Congress, House, Resources Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health, *The Threat of Eco-Terrorism*, Statement by the FBI's Domestic Terrorism Section Chief, James Jarboe, (Washington, D.C., 12 February 2002), 1; available from http://www.fbi.gov/congress/congress02/jarboe021202.htm; Internet; accessed 17 January 2003; and Robert Gehrke, "FBI: Earth Liberation Front Most Active Domestic Terror Group," *Associated Press Newswires*, 12 February 2002, 1; available from http://www.stopecoviolence.org/pdfs/2_12_02.pdf; Internet; accessed 17 January 2003.

[115] "From Push to Shove," *Southern Poverty Law Center Intelligence Report,* no. 107 (Fall 2002), 4; available from http://www.splcenter.org/intelligenceproject/ip-index.html; Internet; accessed 17 January 2003.

terrorist organizations fail to achieve their goals completely and rapidly, an increase in violence and lethality inevitably occur.[116] Chart 5-2 below shows the increase in criminal acts by animal activists since 1981. The data shows a 148% increase in incidents during the decade of the 1990s over the previous decade and the number of incidents just in the first 2 years of the 21st

Chart 5-2: Criminal Acts Committed by Animal Activists Against Plant and Animal Enterprises

Source: Foundation for Biomedical Research
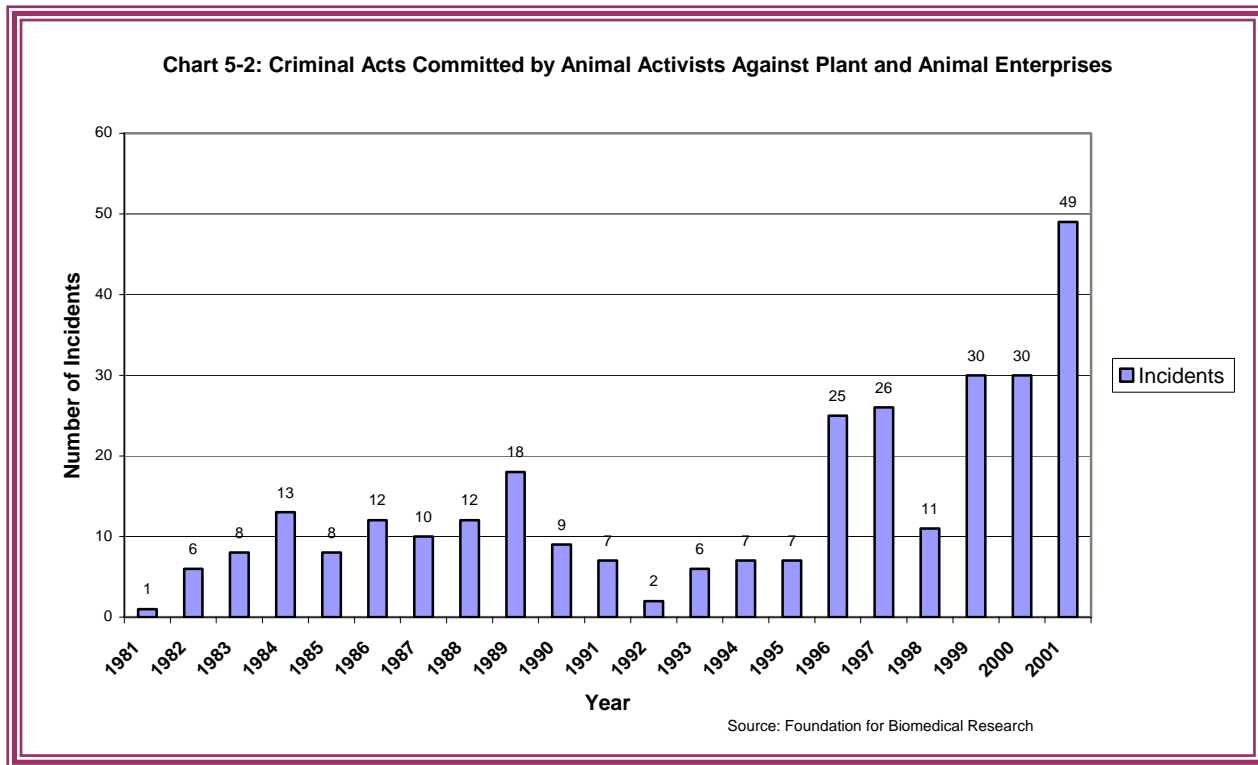
Century nearly equaled the total in the 1980s.[117]

In looking at threats that involve facilities and infrastructure, we should also consider attacks on information systems and computer networks. Attacks directed against military systems, and designed to damage, not annoy, took place during the NATO air campaign against Serbia in 1999. Physical destruction of unprotected network components, or increasingly available technology that interrupts or damages computer circuitry from a distance may emerge as the most dangerous of these threats[118], although malicious hacking and viruses will continue to be the most common.

Possible Threats

Although not as likely as attacks or thefts to obtain military equipment, direct attacks on installations by radicalized domestic groups are possible. Objectives for such attacks are based upon the groups' perception of the U.S. Government as illegitimate or oppressive. Most advocate a return to what they view as a sort of "golden age" earlier in U.S. history, or at least their

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[116] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 177.

[117] *Illegal Incidents Report* (Washington: Foundation for Biomedical Research, 2002), 1; available from; http://www.fbresearch.org/animal-activism/eventsummary.xls; Internet; accessed 4 December 2002.

[118] Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Threat Assessment and Warning Unit, Counterterrorism Division, *Terrorism in the United States 1999,* Report 0308, (Washington, D.C., n.d.), 40.

interpretation of it. This often centers around either increased states' rights or some strict, usually selective, interpretation of the U.S. Constitution. Traditionally "right-wing" groups have stepped up rhetoric and propaganda branding all government above county or state level as illegitimate. Ominously, much of the ideological material produced in this vein tends to dehumanize and advocate killing all nature of Federal Government servants, including and especially law enforcement and military personnel.

Lending credence to the possibility of these types of attacks, obvious symbols of Federal Government authority such as IRS facilities and Federal office buildings have been attacked repeatedly.[119] Despite the inherent drawbacks to terrorist targeting of military forces discussed in Sections II and III, the chances of some sort of attack occurring are increasing. Attacks have been discovered in the planning and preparation stage (see the example below). Claims that control of the U.S. military has been usurped by hostile or conspiratorial foreign "forces"

Domestic Threat To U.S. Army Installations

From "Terrorism in the United States, 1999" FBI Publication #0308, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Between July 4 and July 11, 1997, the FBI, in conjunction with state and local law enforcement agencies in Texas, Colorado, Kansas, Indiana, and Wisconsin, executed multiple arrest and search warrants for a group of individuals planning an engagement with "foreign" troops stationed at the U.S. Army base at Fort Hood, Texas. The FBI was advised by undercover law enforcement officers that Bradley Glover, a self-proclaimed militia Brigadier General with a history of advocating the arrest of local law enforcement officers and members of the judiciary in Kansas, and an accomplice, named Michael Dorsett, anticipated an "engagement" with United Nations troops whom they believed were stationed at the military base. On July 4, 1997, after tracking the illicit activities of the two men, FBI Special Agents and officers from the Texas Department of Public Safety arrested Glover and Dorsett at Colorado Bend State Park, approximately 40 miles southwest of Fort Hood. Eight additional suspects were arrested and sentenced in Colorado, Kansas, Indiana, and Wisconsin for providing support to the operation.

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encourages the targeting of military facilities and personnel.

As first discussed in Section III threats could also come from U.S. resident aliens or immigrant citizens with loyalties to ethnic, religious, or nationalist causes hostile to the U.S. or opposed to U.S. policies. As previously noted, these people may conduct operations as individuals or become operatives of existing groups. As "agents in place" – personnel already in the enemies' territory, and therefore less likely to be detected – they could be extremely dangerous and disruptive by merely working simple attacks as individuals or small cells. Modern information and telecommunications technology permits extensive linkages between immigrants and their home countries, and in some cases acts to preserve the individual's loyalty to the "homeland".

National Guard facilities and personnel are potential targets of attacks or sabotage to prevent counter-drug missions in support of local law enforcement. Since a significant amount of terrorist funding is obtained by drug manufacturing and smuggling, actions to prevent these missions or reduce their effectiveness could be in the terrorists' interests. However, these

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[119] Ibid., 52-61.

counter-drug missions would have to present a significant negative effect to the source of funds in order to provoke such attacks. Likewise, National Guard and Reserve members mobilized by their states or the Federal Government to increase security at high risk facilities in times of heightened alert may be targeted as a preemptive measure, or targeted as a statement by domestic groups against what they view as an encroaching "police state."

Preventative Measures

Again, the heart of any program of preventative measures is denying the terrorist targeting information. Surveillance detection, OPSEC and counter intelligence activities all play a role in deterring and defeating terrorist operations. For the installation, the deployment of Military Police and other security elements are a flexible and responsive tool to react to increased threats. Coordination and liaison with local and Federal law enforcement is essential, as there will never be enough assets available to a post or activity to completely secure itself. Integration of existing guard posts, surveillance cameras, and other sensors into a network of coverage for the installation is a useful addition of capability to a protection plan. The comments in Section III on access control and the ease of document counterfeiting apply to installations and activities even more than to units.

The terrorist threat to non-deployable forces is a continuous one. It is not necessarily dependent on the imminence of conflict, but can be affected by U.S. foreign or domestic policies, and political currents that are uncontrollable or unknown to the military members affected. Installations and activities may be targeted for symbolic reasons, in pursuit of social or political aims, in order to delay or destroy deployment capabilities, to destroy support and logistics infrastructure, to drain military resources into increased security versus war fighting, and to steal military equipment and weaponry. The potential attackers range from transnational terrorist organizations and state directed terror groups to individuals of no formal organization. Given the complex and pervasive nature of this threat, and the immense value of non-deployable forces to the military, terrorism is a challenge of tremendous proportions.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the terrorist threat to military forces in three categories: deployed, deployable, and non-deployable. Although not all encompassing, it reviewed specific operations that terrorists may employ against military units in these categories and utilized historical examples to demonstrate the results. Preventative measures were discussed, emphasizing the importance of denying target information to the terrorist as a key to deterring and defeating terrorist operations.

Chapter 6
Evolution and Future of Terrorism

> **"All politics is a struggle for power… the ultimate kind of power is violence"**
> **- C. Wright Mills[120]**

Terrorism is changing. While at the surface it remains "The calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear…" it is rapidly becoming the predominant strategic tool of our adversaries. As terrorism evolves into the principal irregular warfare strategy of the 21st century, it is adapting to changes in the world socio-political environment. Some of these changes facilitate the abilities of terrorists to operate, procure funding, and develop new capabilities. Other changes are gradually moving terrorism into a different relationship with the world at large. This chapter will examine the evolution of characteristics and capabilities of terrorism, particularly the merging of terrorists with other state and sub-state entities.

In order to put these changes into context, it will be necessary to look at the historical evolution of terrorism, with each succeeding evolution building upon techniques pioneered by others. While Chapter 1 provided historical milestones of terrorism, this section will explore evolutionary developments that contributed to modern terrorism. This evolution is driven by ongoing developments in the nature of conflict and international relations. It is also necessary to consider some of the possible causes of future conflicts, in order to understand the actors and their motivations. Finally, we examine how terrorism will be integrated into this evolution of conflict, and what that will mean for U.S. military forces.

When describing the evolution of terrorism and the use of terror through history, it is essential to remember that forms of society and government in the past were significantly different than they are today. Modern nation-states did not exist in their present form until 1648 (Treaty of Westphalia), and the state's monopoly on warfare, or inter-state violence, is even more recent. The lack of central governments made it impossible to use terror as a method of affecting a political change, as there was no single dominant political authority. Also, the absence of central authority meant that the game of warfare was open to many more players. Instead of national armies, a variety of non-sovereign nobility, mercenaries, leaders of religious factions, or mercantile companies participated in warfare. Their involvement in warfare was considered to be perfectly legitimate. This is in contrast to the modern era, where nations go to war, but private participation is actually illegal. The Department of State's definition of terrorism (see Chapter 1) clearly shows the concern for violence initiated by "sub-national actors" today.

Section I: The Evolution of Terrorism

Early Theories of Terrorism

Early practitioners of terrorism, such as the Zealots and the Assassins did not leave any particular philosophy or doctrine on their use of terrorism. With the exception of spectacular failures such as Guy Fawkes' religiously inspired attempt to assassinate King James I and both Houses of Parliament in England, terrorism did not separate itself or progress beyond the normal practices

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[120] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 183.

of warfare at that time. As political systems became more sophisticated, and political authority was viewed as less of a divine gift and more as a social construct, new ideas about political conflict developed.

The French and American Revolutions in the latter 1700s provided impetus to future revolutionary thought. They created precedents for the overthrow of established regimes, and introduced levels of extremism and fanaticism that had not been common to socio-political change before. Prior to this, most revolts were about replacing the specific members of a government, such as deposing a king or killing a dictator. Significant changes in social structure were rarely attempted. The fact that sweeping change of the political and social system was possible by revolution was a lesson later revolutionary theorists embraced. The power and violence of unorganized mass demonstrations planted the prototype of urban insurrection so firmly into the concepts of revolutionary theory that it still is a principal goal of most revolutionary doctrine today.

Developing Theoretical Basis for Terrorism

The period of warfare and political conflict that embroiled Europe after the French Revolution provided inspiration for political theorists during the early 1800s. Several important theories of social revolution developed during this time (see text box on the next page for summaries of the key revolutionary thinkers). The link between revolutionary violence and terror was developed early on. Revolutionary theories rejected the possibility of reforming the system and demanded its destruction. This extremism laid the groundwork for the use of unconstrained violence for political ends.

Two ideologies that embraced violent social change were Marxism, which evolved into communism, and anarchism. Both were utopian; they held that putting their theories into practice could produce ideal societies. Both advocated the complete destruction of the existing system. Both acknowledged that violence outside the accepted bounds of warfare and rebellion would be necessary. Communism focused on economic class warfare, and assumed seizure of state power by the working class (proletariat) until the state was no longer needed, and eventually disposed of. Anarchism advocated more or less immediate rejection of all forms of governance. The anarchist's belief was that after the state is completely destroyed, nothing will be required to replace it, and people could live and interact without governmental coercion. In the short term, communism's acceptance of the need for organization and an interim coercive state made it the more successful of the two ideologies. Anarchism survived into the modern era and retains attraction for violent extremists to this day.

The Russian Narodnya Volya (Peoples Will)[121] was heavily influenced by anarchist theory; it was a small group of elitists who took it upon themselves to kill government officials as a means of inspiring a mass revolution of the people. While they were successful in a terror campaign of assassination, eventually killing Tsar Alexander II in1881, they failed to inspire revolt or resistance by either the peasantry or the moderate intelligentsia.

In these evolutionary steps we see terror becoming a weapon for those out of power, a method for a small core of revolutionary activists to use violence to inspire or cow the masses. A means

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[121] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Russian Anarchist Terror."

of striking great blows against the state with limited means. Given the great world conflicts and upheavals that were just around the corner, the firm foundation of terror in revolutionary philosophy and practice guaranteed its continued employment.

Key Thinkers in the Development of Revolutionary Theory

Karl Marx – Prolific author and theorist who's "Communist Manifesto" laid out the ideas of struggle between economic classes for control of the means of production, and thus control of the state. He predicted a revolutionary force composed of a mass of urban industrial workers. A key for future terrorists was his "materialistic theory of history". It claims scientific justification for the assertion that capitalism will inevitably fail and be replaced by utopian communism. This "scientific" proof is used as justification for actions, including terrorism, that hasten the destruction of the capitalist order.

Mikhail Bakunin – Aristocrat and former officer of the Russian Imperial Guard, Bakunin developed an anarchist theory that viewed all forms of authority as ultimately oppressive, including religious concepts such as gods. Since all authority systems were inherently oppressive, they are therefore legitimate targets for destruction. Such destruction, he argued, must be prosecuted with no scruples. Exiled to Siberia, he escaped and eventually made his way to Switzerland, where he published pamphlets and works such as "God and the State".

Johann Most – A late 19th century anarchist who explicitly advocated terrorism in the pamphlet "Revolutionary War Science". Fascinated by the new technology of powerful, compact explosives such as dynamite, Most saw bombs made from these explosives as "equalizers" between the individual anarchist and the forces of the established order. Expelled from various European countries, he eventually made his way to the United States, and became a significant influence on American anarchists. Most later repudiated violence, and subsequently lost his influence over the anarchist movement.

Vladimir Lenin – Leader of the Bolshevik party that seized power in Russia after the 1917 Revolution. Lenin, unlike the Anarchists, believed that terrorism could not provoke a revolution, and organization was necessary. The small size of the industrial proletariat in Russia precluded a true Marxist class insurrection, so Lenin conceived the idea of a small disciplined political party to achieve the revolution, and then develop the conditions for the communist utopia. Many modern terrorists have used this concept to justify their lack of popular support among those they claim to represent. "**If Socialism can only be realized when the intellectual development of all the people permits it, then we shall not see Socialism for at least five hundred years**." - Lenin

Leon Trotsky – Peoples Commissar for War in the Bolshevik Revolutionary government. Conceived the internationalization of the Revolution, which meant continual efforts worldwide to initiate revolution, including terrorist activities. Eventually purged from the Party, he fled overseas, and after surviving multiple assassination attempts, was killed by a Soviet sponsored agent in Mexico in 1940.

Mao Zedong – Leader of the Chinese Communist insurgency and eventual Chairman of the Party. Mao wrote primarily on the use of guerilla warfare in the political struggle. His chief contribution to modern terrorist thought is the application of revolutionary theory to rural, rather than urban environments.

Carlos Marighella – A Brazilian politician who opposed the military government of the 1960s, he wrote the *Mini-manual of the Urban Guerilla*. This work brought guerilla war into an urban context, and because of the nature of such an urban campaign, used terrorism exclusively.

20th Century Evolution

In the early years of the 20th Century nationalism and revolutionary political ideologies were the principal developmental forces acting upon terrorism.

Nationalism

When the Treaty of Versailles redrew the map of Europe after World War I by breaking up the Austro-Hungarian Empire and creating new nations, it acknowledged the principle of self-determination for nationalities and ethnic groups. This encouraged minorities and ethnicities not receiving recognition to campaign for independence or autonomy. However, in many cases self-determination was limited to European nations and ethnic groups and denied others, especially the colonial possessions of the major European powers, creating bitterness and setting the stage for the long conflicts of the anti-colonial period.

In particular, Arab nationalists felt that they had been betrayed. Believing they were promised post-war 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.[122]

A further spur to the nationalism of the colonial possessions throughout the world was the Atlantic Charter, an agreement between the United States and Great Britain announced early in World War II. In it, the Allies agreed to forego any "territorial aggrandizement" and "respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live."[123] Strict interpretation of these points clearly meant the renunciation of the colonial empires of France and Great Britain, amongst others. Major conflicts in Algeria, Indo-China, and Palestine, with significant components of terrorist violence, resulted from the expectations that these points would be honored. These principles also influenced the approach of later institutions such as the United Nations to look more favorably on groups whose aims were "national liberation" or "anti-colonial." This eventually muddied the water between freedom fighters and terrorists in the struggles of de-colonization.

Another contribution to the development of terrorism was the loss of legitimacy of existing nations and international institutions. World War I seemed to demonstrate that the governments of the major powers were amoral, if not immoral, in their prosecution of the war. Whether German Schrecklickeit (frightfulness) policies in Belgium or British violations of the Law of the Sea in enforcing its blockade, all nations were seen as obeying conventions only when it furthered their aims. This "ends justify the means" worldview became a frequent argument in alleging moral equivalence between governments and their opponents.

Revolutionary Ideologies

The mass casualties and perceived futility of World War I fueled social violence and radicalized political action in many countries afterward. For example, 354 known political assassinations took place in post-WWI Germany in the two-year period of 1919-1921.[124] Both Communist and Fascist political systems rose to power in the political vacuum resulting from the destruction and despondency of the war. The failure of various international conventions regulating or outlawing

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[122] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "The Origins of Arab-Jewish Terrorism."

[123] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 47.

[124] William Manchester, *The Arms of Krupp* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), 303.

violence such as The Hague and Geneva Conventions caused a loss of faith in arbitration before international bodies.

As previously mentioned, the "total war" practices of all combatants of World War II provided further justification for those inclined to use terror.[125] In addition, the failure and perceived arbitrariness of international justice regarding violations of the rules of war during both World Wars (1914-1945) bred a conviction that winning a conflict permitted the imposition of "justice". Many viewed the extremely punitive nature of the post-World War I Treaty of Versailles as revenge masquerading as diplomacy. It did not establish a stable peace and set the stage for future conflict. The post-World War II trials in Nuremberg and Tokyo lacked clear legal precedent in their attempts to hold individuals responsible for the aggression of entire nations.[126] The lesson to those who were inclined to distrust the victors, or who had future goals at odds with the status quo, seemed to be "Winners make the rules, and the first rule is losers get shot."

Post World War II Evolution

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 anti-colonial insurgencies, it expanded beyond that role. In the service of various ideologies and aspirations, terrorism sometimes supplanted other forms of conflict completely. It also 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.

The seemingly quick results and shocking immediacy of terrorism made some consider it as a short cut to victory. Small revolutionary groups not willing to invest the time and resources to organize political activity would rely on the "propaganda of the deed" to energize mass action. This suggested that a tiny core of activists could topple any government through the use of terror alone. The result of this belief by revolutionaries in developed countries was the isolation of the terrorists from the population they claimed to represent, and the adoption of the Leninist concept of the "vanguard of revolution" by tiny groups of disaffected revolutionaries. In less developed countries small groups of foreign revolutionaries such as Che Guevara arrived from outside the country, expecting to immediately energize revolutionary action by their presence.

In addition to instigating mass action through terrorism, revolutionary groups of both Left- and Right-wing views hoped that the reaction of the state to terrorist attack would result in repressive actions against the population. The Left oriented groups hoped repressive actions would further increase enthusiasm for revolution. Right wing groups, such as the Italian neo-fascists, hoped for a general repression that they could then hijack for their own purposes, much as the Nazis had used street battles against the Communists in the 1930s to frighten the people into demanding order, despite the costs to civil liberties.

The record of revolutionary groups bypassing political organization or social instruction and relying solely on terrorism has been one of unrelieved failure. The "Euro-terror" groups such as
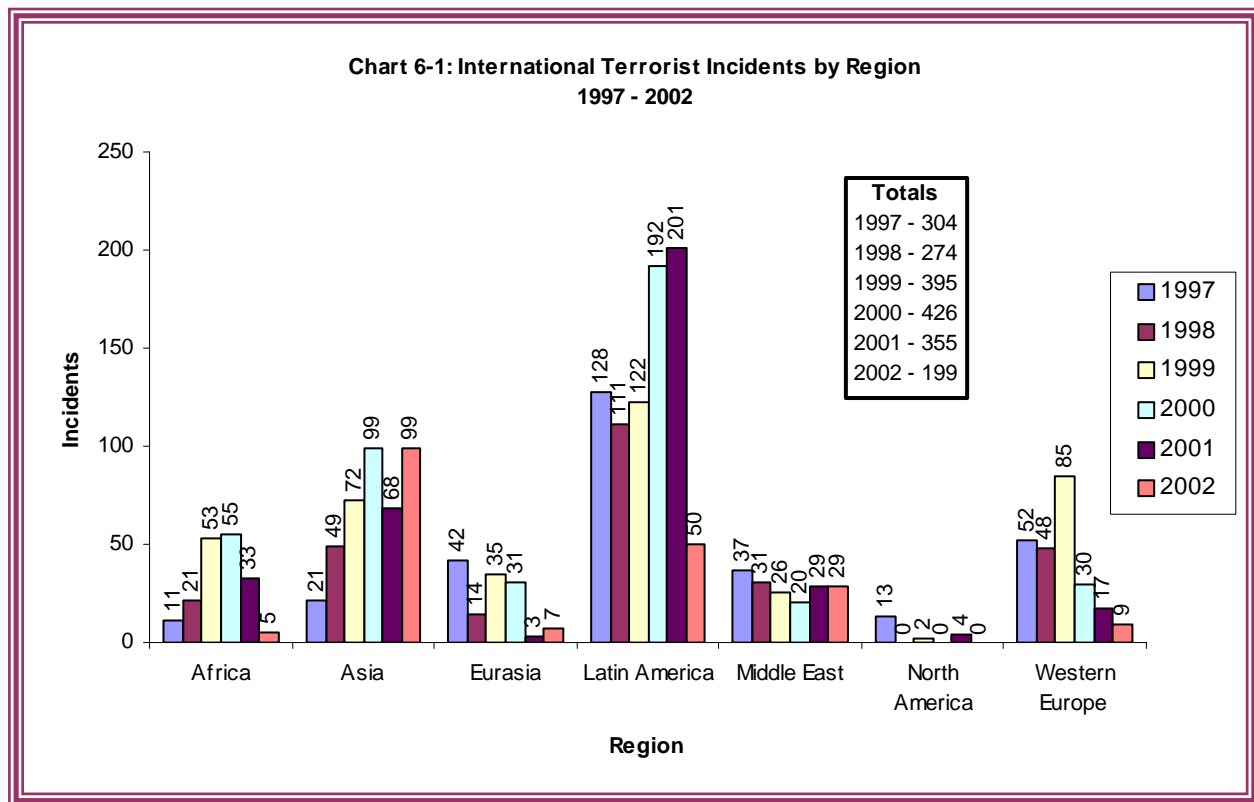
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[125] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Terror in World War II: Introduction."

[126] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "World War II War Crimes Trials."

Action Directe and the Red Army Faction were viewed more as a threat to life and limb than as a real alternative to the status quo. The Weather Underground in the U.S. lost confidence in mass action by labor or students in America, and consigned itself to terrorism in pursuit of a revolution it knew could not be realized.
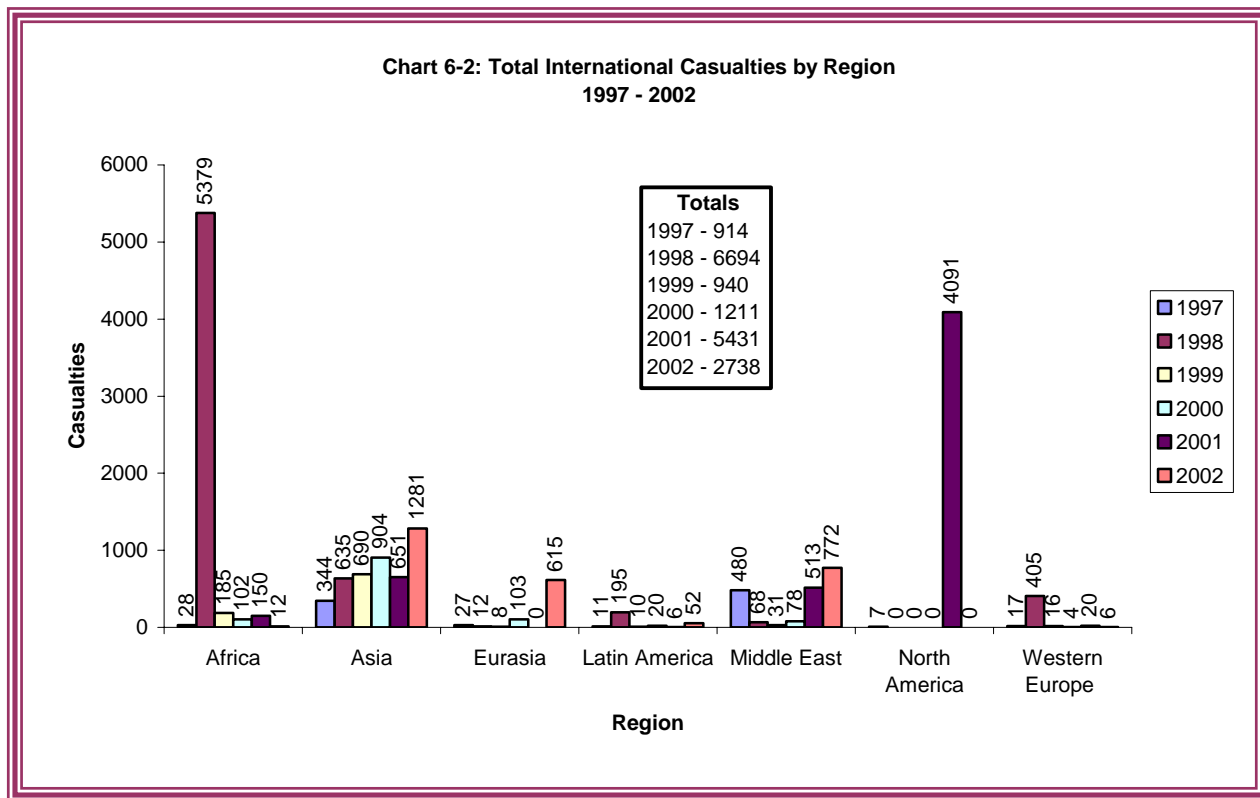
For many of the social revolutionaries, the failure of the Soviet Union, and of virtually all of the Eastern Bloc communist governments, severely discredited Marxist-Leninist ideologies. The loss of supportive governments also impacted the viability of the left-wing groups in Europe. Also, nationalist movements that might have previously turned to terrorism have had success in realizing their goals in the post Cold War world. A large number of separatist movements were accorded international recognition and acceptance as the old world order shifted. Although in some areas, such as the former Yugoslavia, this process has been anything but peaceful, it has not seen long campaigns of insurgent warfare and terrorism previously associated with nationalist struggles.

As revolutionary terrorism began to reach its limits, the next evolution was to create a larger impact by moving the campaign outside of the immediate theater of conflict. Moving terrorist operations onto the international stage made what happens in the West Bank or Kashmir of immediate concern to a much larger audience. Terrorist operations became platforms for the deliberate use of specific and effective media management. Targeting choices changed to reflect the power of international mass media. From trying to influence the perceptions of decision makers or members of ruling elites directly, targeting of mass popular opinion was used to leverage leaders' decisions.[127] Chart 6-1 shows the number of international terrorist incidents by

Chart 6-1: International Terrorist Incidents by Region 1997 - 2002

Totals
1997 - 304
1998 - 274
1999 - 395
2000 - 426
2001 - 355
2002 - 199

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[127] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "The Media and International Terrorism."

region for 1997 through 2002, and Chart 6-2 shows the number of casualties by region over the same timeframe. These charts reflect the true international nature of terrorism.[128]

Chart 6-2: Total International Casualties by Region
1997 - 2002

Totals
1997 - 914
1998 - 6694
1999 - 940
2000 - 1211
2001 - 5431
2002 - 2738

State involvement with terrorism, including sponsorship and operational direction, became more and more common during this time. While state sponsorship of terrorism to promote worldwide revolution was officially acknowledged as far back as the Third Communist International (Commintern) in 1919, its widespread use developed in the 1970s and 1980s. Deniable acts of terrorism provided flexible and effective tools to various nation-states for advancing their foreign policy goals, or pursuing and neutralizing political opponents overseas. For relatively small investments, isolated nation-states could impact world affairs. From the terrorists' point of view, the significant increase in effectiveness (especially lethality) was worth the slight loss of operational freedom.

Section II: Future Trends in Terrorism

As a conflict method that has survived and evolved through several millennia to flourish in the modern information age, terrorism continues to adapt to meet the challenges of emerging forms of conflict, and exploit developments in technology and society. Terrorism has demonstrated increasing abilities to adapt to counter-terrorism measures and political failure. Terrorists are developing new capabilities of attack and improving the efficiency of existing methods. Additionally, terrorist groups have shown significant progress in escaping from a subordinate role in nation-state conflicts, and becoming prominent as international influences in their own

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[128] Department of State, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2002* (Washington, D.C., April 2003), 162-163.

right. They are becoming more integrated with other sub-state entities, such as criminal organizations and legitimately chartered corporations, and are gradually assuming a measure of control and identity with national governments.

Adaptive Capabilities of Terror Groups

Terrorists have shown the ability to adapt to the techniques and methods of counter-terror agencies and intelligence organizations over the long term. The decentralization of the network form of organization is an example of this. Adopted to reduce the disruption caused by the loss of key links in a chain of command, a network organization also complicates the tasks of security forces, and reduces predictability of operations.

Terrorists have also been quick to use new technologies, and adapt existing ones to their uses. The debate over privacy of computer data was largely spurred by the specter of terrorists planning and communicating with encrypted data beyond law enforcement's ability to intercept or decode this data. To exchange information, terrorists have exploited disposable cellular phones, over the counter long-distance calling cards, Internet cafes, and other means of anonymous communications. Embedding information in digital pictures and graphics is another innovation employed to enable the clandestine global communication that modern terrorists require.[129]

Terrorists have also demonstrated significant resiliency after disruption by counter-terrorist action. Some groups have redefined themselves after being defeated or being forced into dormancy. The Shining Path of Peru (Sendero Luminosa) lost its leadership cadre and founding leader to counter-terrorism efforts by the Peruvian government in 1993.[130] The immediate result was severe degradation in the operational capabilities of the group. However, the Shining Path has returned to rural operations and organization in order to reconstitute itself. Although not the threat that it was, the group remains in being, and could exploit further unrest or governmental weakness in Peru to continue its renewal.

In Italy, the Red Brigades (Brigate Rossi) gradually lapsed into inactivity due to governmental action and a changing political situation. However, a decade after the supposed demise of the Red Brigades, a new group called the Anti-Capitalist Nuclei emerged exhibiting a continuity of symbols, styles of communiqués, and potentially some personnel from the original Red Brigade organization. This ability to perpetuate ideology and symbology during a significant period of dormancy, and re-emerge under favorable conditions demonstrates the durability of terrorism as a threat to modern societies.

Increasing Capabilities

> **"Between now and 2015 terrorist tactics will become increasingly sophisticated and designed to achieve mass casualties."**
>   **- National Intelligence Council's "Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue About the Future With Nongovernment Experts" Report (December 2000).**

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[129] Thomas Homer-Dixon, "The Rise of Complex Terrorism", *Foreign Policy Magazine* (15 January 2002): 2.

[130] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Terrorism in Peru."

Terrorists are improving their sophistication and abilities in virtually all aspects of their operations and support. The aggressive use of modern technology for information management, communication and intelligence has increased the efficiency of these activities. Weapons technology has become more increasingly available, and the purchasing power of terrorist organizations is on the rise. The ready availability of both technology and trained personnel to operate it for any client with sufficient cash allows the well-funded terrorist to equal or exceed the sophistication of governmental counter-measures.[131]

Likewise, due to the increase in information outlets, and competition with increasing numbers of other messages, terrorism now requires a greatly increased amount of violence or novelty to attract the attention it requires. The tendency of major media to compete for ratings and the subsequent revenue realized from increases in their audience size and share produces pressures on terrorists to increase the impact and violence of their actions to take advantage of this sensationalism.[132]

An indicator of this trend is the fact that terrorist incidents have been going down in total numbers since 1991, but the lethality per incident has gone up.[133] Chart 6-3 shows that the number of incidents began to rise in the early 1980s and peaked in 1987.[134] Since then the number of incidents has been declining. In fact, 2002 had the fewest number of attacks during the 21-year period reflected on the chart. This is probably the result of both the war on terrorism and a conscious decision on the part of terrorist groups.

Chart 6-3: International Terrorist Attacks 1981 - 2002

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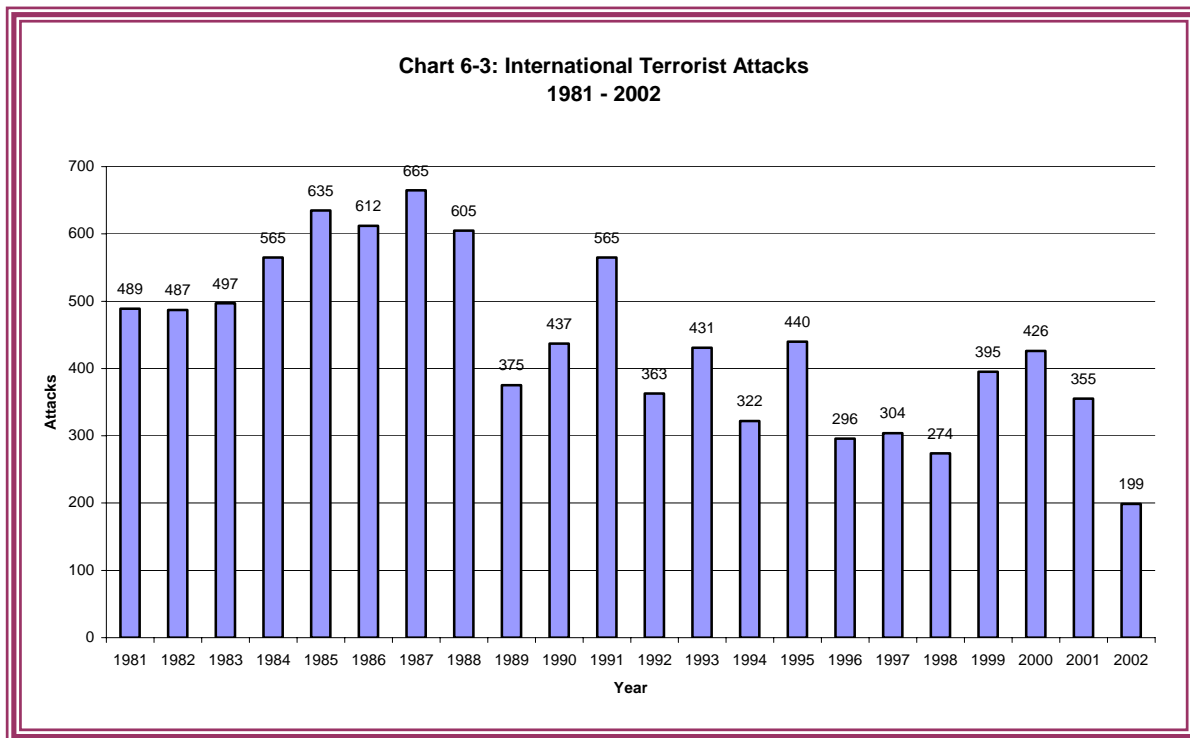
[131] Fred L. Fuller, "New Order Threat Analysis: A Literature Survey", *Marine Corps Gazette* 81 (April 1997): 46-48.

[132] *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "The Media and International Terrorism."

[133] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 200.

[134] Department of State, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2002* (Washington, D.C., April 2003), 161.

Fewer incidents with greater casualties appear to be the goal for many groups. This is not just a function of efficiency and developing skills, but also a tendency by the increasing number of religiously motivated groups to view ever-larger casualty lists as a measure of their influence and power. An ideal example of this attitude was the use of airliners as manned cruise missiles to strike the Pentagon and World Trade Center in September 2001. Using the data from Charts 6-1 and 6-2, Chart 6-4 shows the average number of casualties per incident covering the period 1997 through 2002.   As can be seen, the average number of casualties in 1997 was 3.0 per incident, whereas casualties in 2002 increased to 13.8 per incident. The years 1998 and 2001 show a large increase in the number of casualties per incident due to the embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and the 9/11 incidents in 2001, which accounted for over 8600 casualties.

Chart 6-4: Average Casualties per Incident 1997 - 2002
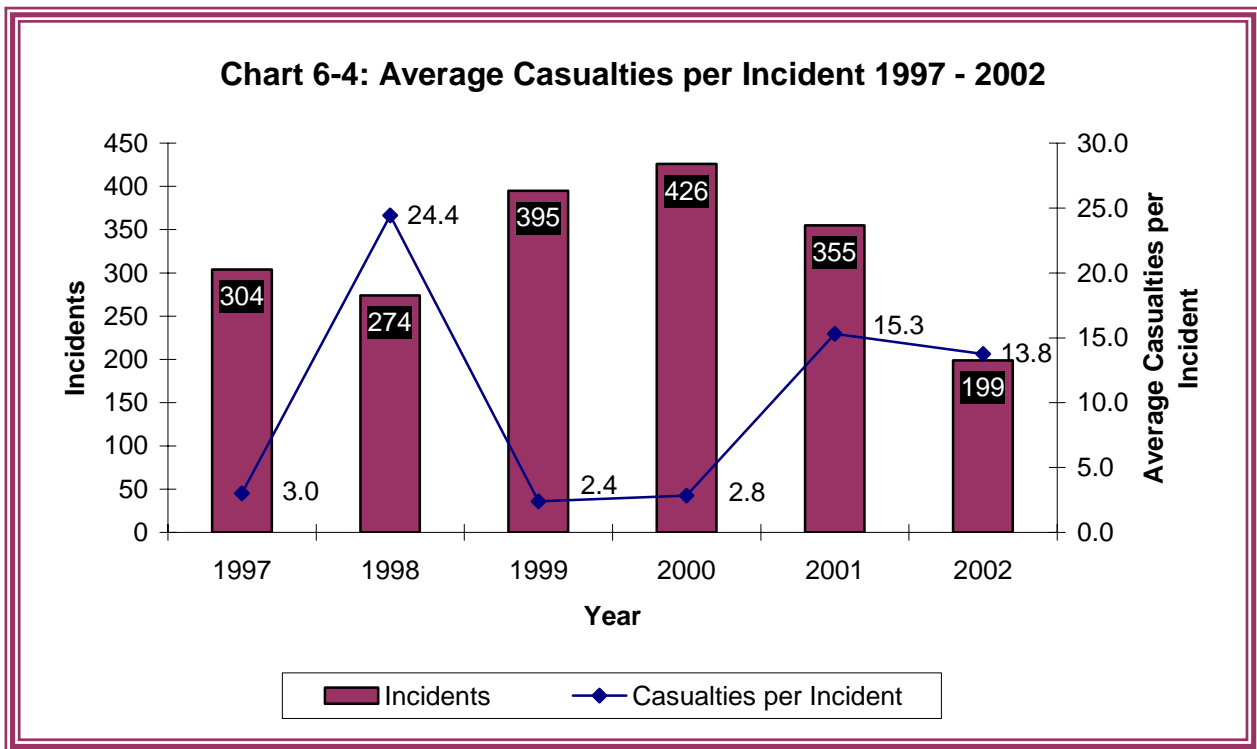
If the casualties from the embassy bombings of 1998, and the Pentagon and World Trade Center attacks in 2001 are removed from the data, as shown in Chart 6-5 on page 97, the average casualties per incident in 2002 indicates a significant increase in lethality over past years. There were no catastrophic events during the year, but of the 199 incidents, 29 resulted in casualties of 30 or more, and 6 of the 29 resulted in casualties that exceeded 100.[135]

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[135] Ibid.,83-98.

**Chart 6-5: Average Casualties per Incident 1997 - 2002
Minus 1998 Embassy Bombings and 9/11/01 Incidents**
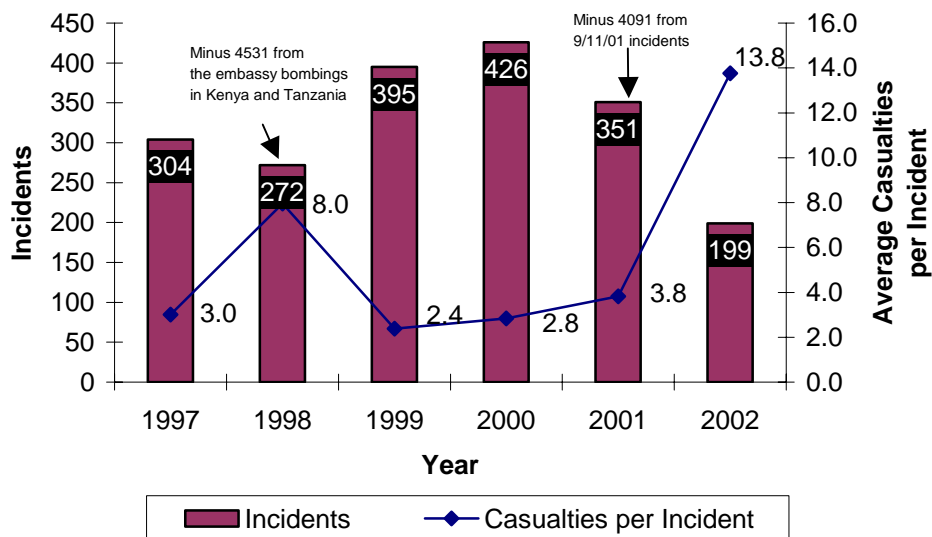
The trend to exploit available technologies and the desire for more casualties will probably accelerate the eventual employment of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) by terrorists. Documented uses of chemical (Tokyo 1995) and biological weapons (Oregon in 1984[136] and Florida and Washington D.C. in 2001) have already occurred. Several more attempts to use chemical, biological, or radiological weapons have been foiled in various stages of planning. While there has been no documented acquisition by terrorists of working nuclear devices or sufficient weapons grade material and technical expertise to readily construct one, the potential is clearly there.

Escaping Dependence

During the evolution of modern terrorism in the Cold War era, even nationalist insurgent groups sought out, indeed required, a sponsor from one of the two competing ideological blocs. These sponsors could effectively influence the policy of their clients, and exercise a limited form of control over their actions. This gradually shifted to a less rigid control as more sponsors, such as Libya, entered the field. The death of the bipolar world order removed both the motivations and capabilities of a large number of state sponsors. This loss of significant resources eliminated many terrorist groups; particularly those closely aligned with the communist bloc, and increased the costs for sanctuary and training for many others.[137]

In addition, punitive actions against "rogue states" have gradually shut down some geographical sanctuaries and sources of support for terrorists. Although this can be temporarily disruptive,

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[136] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 121.
[137] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 3.

new players will replace the old. Groups based in Libya shifted to Iraq or Syria when support was restricted due to international sanctions and U.S. military action against Libya because of their sponsorship of terrorism. Similarly, al Qaeda shifted key functions from the Sudan to Afghanistan when U.S. missile attacks and diplomatic pressure were brought to bear in that geographical area.

In response, terrorists have adjusted their financial operations to become more self-sustaining in their activities, resulting in greater independence from any external control. Terrorist operations require extensive financial support. The facility with which groups can obtain and move funds, procure secure bases, and obtain and transport weaponry determines their operational abilities and the level of threat that they pose. The international nature of finance, the integration of global economies, and the presence of terrorists in the illegal "black" economies of slaves, drugs, smuggling, counterfeiting, identity theft, and fraud have aided this new independence from traditional sources of sponsorship and support.[138]

This evolutionary development has inverted the previous relationship between terrorists and governments.[139] In the earlier relationships, the nation-state sponsor had some measure of control. Due to the ability of terrorist groups to generate tremendous income from legitimate and illegal sources, it often becomes the terrorist organization that "sponsors" and props up its weaker partner, the national government. For example, during the period it was based in Afghanistan, al Qaeda was running an annual operating budget of approximately $200 million, while their hosts, the Taliban had only $70 million annually.[140] In addition to financial supremacy, al Qaeda personnel also provided much of the technical expertise the Taliban lacked. The only asset the Taliban had to offer was sanctuary and the advantages their status as a recognized national government provided in some countries.

Although the explosion in terrorist income has been tied to the increasing involvement of terrorists in international crime, simpler support by the more traditional means of donations, extortions, and extra-legal contributions can be leveraged into significant sums through investment. The PLO is an excellent example of financing through legitimate investments. The organization managed to acquire sufficient wealth by these means in the 1980s that it was receiving an estimated 80% plus of its annual operating budget of $600 million from investments.[141] This allowed the PLO progressively greater autonomy in dealing with other nations.

Merging Identities

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[138] Kimberly L. Thachuck, "Terrorism's Financial Lifeline: Can it Be Severed," *Strategic Forum* no. 191 (May 2002): 2.

[139] Maurice R. Greenberg, Chair, William F. Wechsler and Lee S. Wolosky, Project Co-Directors, *Terrorist Financing: Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations* (New York: Publication Office, Council on Foreign Relations, 25 November 2002), 5.

[140] David Albright, "Al Qaeda's Nuclear Program: Through the Window of Seized Documents," *Policy Forum Online* Special Forum 47 (6 November 2002): 8. Available from http://www.nautilus.org/fora/Special-Policy-Forum/47_Albright.html; Internet accessed 14 February 2003

[141] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 84.

Terrorist groups and other illegal sub-state organizations are rapidly becoming indistinguishable from each other. The increasing role of criminal activity in financing terrorism, either in partnership or competition with traditional criminal activities, is making it impossible to clearly determine where one stops and the other begins. These enterprises include well-publicized activities such as drug trafficking and smuggling, which some terrorists, insurgencies, and even less reputable governments have been engaged in for decades. They also include newer, less well-known illegal activities such as welfare fraud, tax evasion and fraud, counterfeiting, and money laundering. Many of these activities are offshoots of terrorist groups' evolving capabilities of false documentation and concealment of money transactions for their operational purposes. These activities now generate a profit for additional funding.

Terrorists and criminal organizations are becoming more closely related, as terrorists utilize criminal networks and methods to operate, and as criminals become more politicized.[142] As national governments fail, their ruling elites frequently criminalize the nation itself, lending their sovereignty to smuggling, money laundering, piracy, or other illicit activities. Their security forces may retreat into terrorism to hold onto what power or authority they can, and use terrorist groups to function in place of the official arms of the government. Successful coups often generate governments that immediately resort to terror to consolidate their position.[143]

This interpenetration of a criminal element into the government while government officials are "seeping" down to the terrorists' level is the result of governments feeling that legality, in the international sense, is a luxury they cannot afford, and perhaps do not need. They lack the resources to adhere to "legalistic" notions, and thus sink into criminality. The better-funded sub-state organizations (terrorist, criminal, etc.) infiltrate or supplant the government. Eventually,
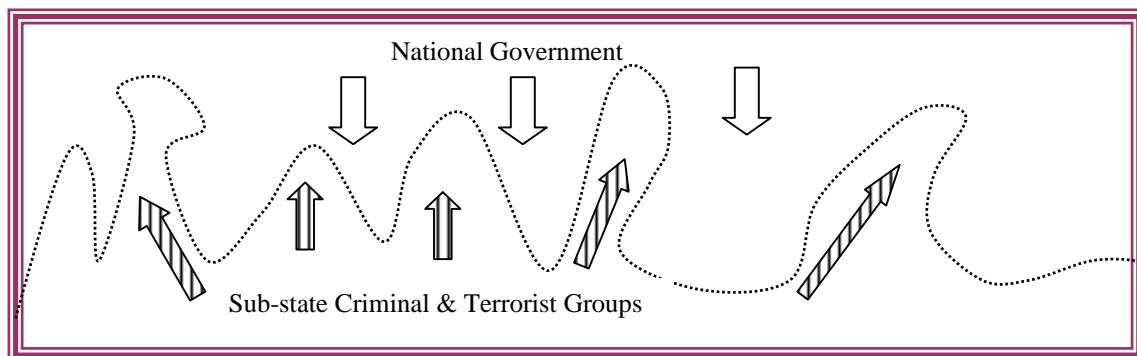

National Government

Sub-state Criminal & Terrorist Groups

Figure 6-1: Merging Identities

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[142] "The New Threat of Organized Crime and Terrorism" *Jane's Terrorism & Security Monitor* (6 June 2000): 1-5; available from http://www.janes.com/security/international_security/news/jtsm/jtsm000619_1_n.shtml; Internet; accessed 27 June 2000.

[143] Robert Kaplan, *The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post Cold War* (New York: Random House, 2000), 48.

there is no distinction between the two as they effectively merge. The situation in Liberia at the start of the 21st Century is an excellent example of this phenomenon.

A development related to this is the emergence of "gray areas"; those places where no government exercises actual control, and any order is imposed by sub-state, usually criminal organizations. Militias, traffickers, mafias, and terrorists operate their own fiefdoms, either as coalitions or in various states of coexistence ranging from truce to open hostility. These "gray areas" may be ungovernable slums or shantytowns in urban centers, or rural stretches too far away from the central government for effective control.[144]

Section III: The Future of Conflict

> **"All diplomacy is a continuation of war by other means."**
>   **- Chou En-Lai**

Whether you view the post-Cold War world with alarm or optimism, it is clear that there will be future conflicts. There are more unresolved international issues left over from the forty-plus years of the Cold War than from the conclusion of either of the two World Wars. However, now there is no "balance of power" or two-power system to regulate the conflicts that will arise from these issues. Finally, the types of issues, and the antagonists involved with them, have fundamentally shifted. The nation-state system is showing signs of erosion in many parts of the globe, and a return to the days of mercenary chieftains and small city-states is already underway in some areas of the world.

In this section we will look at what will inspire conflicts in the 21st Century, and what some of the differences from the existing pattern will be. We will then look at some of the resulting practical impacts on the use of terrorism against U.S. forces.

Future Conflicts

The world order has changed significantly. The number of new, sovereign nations that emerged from the end of the Cold War rivals the new nations created after the two World Wars and the retreat of the colonial empires in the 50s and 60s. However, not all of these nations are viable states and most of them do not have stable leadership other than that of local ethnic or tribal strongmen. Many have significant problems aside from poor leadership, especially in the developing world. The most significant of these problems include:

- Disease

- Resource Depletion

- Factionalism

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[144] Xavier Raufer, "New World Disorder, New Terrorisms: New Threats for the Western World," in *The Future of Terrorism*, ed. Max. Taylor and John Horgan (Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 32.

Disease: The incidence of newer pandemics such as HIV/AIDS and Ebola are just now beginning to equal the lethality of older scourges such as malaria and other tropical fevers. Further, both are concentrated in the developing nations of the world, where the metamorphosis of productive populations into invalids exacerbates the health-care costs these diseases inflict. Particularly in Africa and Southeast Asia, countries are seeing their populations decimated in their most productive years.

Resource Depletion: Those countries that lack a base of sufficient industrial or technological production to sustain an economic system fall back on basic agriculture and resource extraction. However, population pressure and lack of foresight encourage rapid depletion of finite resources. The result is further degradation of the economy, with nothing to show for it in the way of infrastructure improvement or alternative production. The establishment of a viable economic system to support a national government becomes impossible, and what little economic activity is possible is usually conducted illegally.

Factionalism: Many nations resulting from the post-colonial era are simply geographic "fictions". They are reminders of an earlier power system on a map, lacking any sense of national or geographic identity, and riven with tribal and ethnic divisions. Africa is a particular case in point, with national boundaries being the result of colonial influences, not indigenous tribal identities. The tensions between factions, and the attraction for a minority in one country to join with their ethnic brothers who are a majority in a nation next door, is a destabilizing influence on many nations. Lacking a cohesive identity, other pressures eventually cause weak states to splinter, or gradually pull apart.

In a related development non-state and sub-state organizations and power blocs are assuming military roles and utilizing organized forces in conflicts, and terror tactics in socio-political conflicts. Major corporations, private security companies, and well-funded transnational terror groups have all played kingmaker in failed or dysfunctional states in the last decade. In some cases parts of the world are returning to a pre-nation-state condition as non-state actors, capable of challenging or disrupting governments and nations, are emerging in the "gray areas".

Inevitability of Conflict

Because of the widespread instability resulting from these problems, a multitude of small to medium conflicts is inevitable. There are two likely models regarding the fundamental nature of these future conflicts, and while they are not mutually exclusive, they emphasize different things. The first model is strategic in nature, and holds that past conflicts have moved gradually upward in level from tribal to national to ideological struggles, culminating with World War II and the Cold War. The next conflicts will be between cultures.[145] This view predicts fighting along the parts of the world where cultures intersect, such as the Central Asian confluence of the Islamic

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[145] Samuel Huntington,"The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993): 2; available from http://www.lander.edu/atannenbaum/Tannenbaum%20courses%20folder/POLS%20103%20World%20Politics/103_huntington_clash_of_civilizations_full_text.htm#I.%20THE%20NEXT%20PATTERN%20OF%20CONFLICT; Internet; accessed 6 December 2002.

and Eastern Orthodox cultures. The assumption is that wherever there is a line of engagement between two differing cultures, there will be conflict.

In light of this view, a transnational network like al Qaeda becomes more than a fundamentalist religious terror movement, whose goal of replacing the power structures in the historical Arab world with a new Caliphate is impractical and unlikely. When viewed at this "clash of cultures" level, al Qaeda becomes a true transnational insurgency, fighting against imposed Western political ideals and alien social order across multiple countries and regions simultaneously. Stateless for the moment, much as the early Communist revolutionaries before the Russian Revolution, these cadres hope to organize the vanguard of a religious revolution whose eventual success they consider inevitable.

The second model predicts the failure of significant numbers of the current nation-states in the developing world. Unable to overcome such challenges as depleted resources, disease, and ineffective leadership, there is no way for these countries to become viable. Unable to exert authority, protect their citizens, or control their borders, they are disintegrating. Many of these countries are splintering into tribal and ethnic factions that might coalesce into a new, more stable form, or continue to devolve through violence into lawless zones of minor warlords and bandits.[146]

Regardless of which model more accurately describes the future, a most important occurrence common to both will be the blurring and blending of terrorists as we now categorize them with other groups that will resort to force and violence to achieve their aims. As discussed at the end of Section II, the expansion of "gray areas" and the criminalizing of what remains of the nation-state will render parts of the world essentially "no-man's land" in terms of our currently understood international system.

How Changes Impact Terrorism and U.S. Forces

Terrorism has generally seen success as a tactic and failure as a strategy. Many of the emerging entities that are rising to wield effective power in failing states are only concerned with the immediate tactical effects of their actions. They therefore look upon modern terrorism as an effective mode of conflict. They can point to the fact that al Qaeda invested $500,000 in an attack that is estimated to eventually cost the U.S. Government $135 billion in damages and recovery costs.[147] Considering that these figures do not reflect the costs of military and law enforcement efforts to investigate and destroy the organization responsible, the comparative return on the investment is even greater.[148]

Since these emerging and sub-state entities are not party to any established rules regarding the uses of force, terrorism and the use of terror to oppress are viewed as logical and effective methods to accomplish their objectives. The development of rules of war and the framework of

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[146] Robert Kaplan, *The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post Cold War* (New York: Random House, 2000), 7-9.

[147] Kimberly L. Thachuck, "Terrorism's Financial Lifeline: Can it Be Severed," *Strategic Forum* no. 191 (May 2002): 4.

[148] Fred L. Fuller, "New Order Threat Analysis: A Literature Survey", *Marine Corps Gazette* 81 (April 1997): 46-48.

international laws that attempt to protect the civilian from military action are irrelevant to these combatants. Thus the expansion of where and to whom violence may be applied will accelerate, and the treatment of prisoners will rely more on the provision for ransom or retribution for mistreatment than on the rulings of the Geneva Convention.[149]

This is important for the unit leader and planner because the mind set necessary to operate in a completely chaotic, unstructured environment will have to be developed. This mind set includes the sobering, and for Americans, unusual, concept that their units will likely be the only order or structure in their area of operations. There will be no "host nation government" and perhaps no local government. If there is any government at all, there very well may be several, all claiming some degree of legitimacy, and potentially all of which could be hostile.[150] U.S. forces deployed in these environments will constitute mobile capsules of order and structure, but that order will disappear after they pass through the area.

Although this sounds as if all future operations will be attempts to impose order or stability against sub-state adversaries, and implies that major conventional conflict is a thing of the past, there is another possibility. There are theories for using all of these levels of disorder, as well as economic warfare, information warfare, and conventional military force, in an orchestrated campaign against an adversary. This would be conducted as a long-term effort of undeclared conflict that might appear as amicable relations between the two adversaries, but with one pursuing the eventual defeat of the other through as many appropriate methods as possible simultaneously.[151]

The effectiveness of this approach is in the costs to the victim to defend against multiple threats with no clear foe. Operational control over the various "tools" employed by the aggressor is not required, as long as the "tools" perform their role of bleeding the adversary of resources and resolve. Deniability is maintained and diplomacy pursued to keep the conflict from becoming focused before the aggressor is ready. Although all manner of unconventional threats may be employed, terrorism is a key component of this strategy.

On the practical level, what changes to terrorist operations will concern U.S. forces? As already addressed, terrorism will continue to increase in lethality. The acquisition and eventual use of effective WMDs by terrorists is highly likely. Terrorism is merging and combining with various other state and sub-state actors, further blurring the difference between criminals, rogue governments, and terrorists.

There are several practical considerations in the evolution of terrorism that have not yet been addressed. These are concerns regarding the impacts and interactions of mass media, technological advances, urbanization, and illegal fundraising with terrorism.

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[149]Martin L. Van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York: The Free Press, 1991), 202

[150] Robert Kaplan, *The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post Cold War* (New York: Random House, 2000), 47.

[151] Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, *Unrestricted Warfare,* trans. Department of State, American Embassy Beijing Staff Translators (Washington, D.C., 1999).

There is an increasingly technological and informational nature to all conflict, and terrorism is no exception. Terrorists will continue to cultivate their ability to use new and innovative technologies, and methods of applying existing technologies to new uses. This is not to say that terrorists will go exclusively "high-tech", but they will explore the increase in capabilities that technology provides, especially the synergy between simple operations and selective technologies to ensure success.

Terrorists will attempt to exploit U.S. vulnerabilities to information dominance. Casualty avoidance and the "CNN" effect are interrelated perceptions held by many potential adversaries of the U.S. socio-political situation. Most of our adversaries believe the U.S. is extremely casualty averse, and that images and news of casualties will be easy to deliver to American living rooms. While this effect may be overemphasized, we should expect it to be a significant part of terrorist planning and targeting.

In the techniques of the "CNN war", terrorists were pioneers.[152] Since the terrorists prepare their operations around the desired media effect, they will always be out in front of the reporting. They will orchestrate supporting events and interviews to reinforce the desired message. Terrorists have well-established methods of presenting disinformation and false perspectives. The use of "spin" has become widespread, and is relatively successful. Frequently, military reluctance to comment on ongoing operations in the media for OPSEC reasons can play into the hands of the terrorist, as there will be no balancing information from official sources for hours or days after an incident, leaving the terrorist message as the only one in play.

Terrorists will exploit the vulnerabilities of new technologies to attacks or disruption. Terrorists have a great deal of flexibility in their ability to acquire new technology. The historical vignette of the Fenian Ram (see text box on page 105) shows how the application of innovative technology to a specific target eliminates the advantages held by conventional military forces. They also have the advantage of only needing to attack or neutralize specific systems or capabilities. Consequently, they can narrowly focus their expenditures on the limited counter-technology they need. Also, they can neutralize some advanced systems or capabilities through the use of innovative and unconventional techniques, such as the employment of suicide bombers.

There are potential impacts here in relation to U.S. Army transformation. As the U.S. Army increases its battlefield information capabilities, vulnerabilities peculiar to networks such as overload feedback between nodes and destruction of key concentration nodes become available for terrorists to exploit.[153] Deception techniques exploiting our reliance on technology have already been used with some success.[154] The military will not be the only, or even primary target of new strategies useful against leading edge technologies and organizations. The dispersal of key civilian infrastructure nodes into locations remote from the urban complexes they serve increases their vulnerability.

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[152] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 133-139.
[153] Thomas Homer-Dixon, "The Rise of Complex Terrorism," *Foreign Policy Magazine* (15 January 2002): 3-4.
[154] "Osama's Satellite Phone Switcheroo," *CBS News.com,* 21 January 2003, 1; available from http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2003/01/21/attack/main537258.shtml; Internet; accessed 10 February 2003.

Vignette: 19th Century Technology & Terrorism

The Fenian Ram at the New York State Marine School (1916-1927)

John Holland **(Photos Courtesy of US Navy)**

The threat of cutting edge technology in the hands of terrorists is not unique to the modern era. What was arguably the first practical modern submarine design was commissioned by the Fenian Brotherhood to sink British warships. The Brotherhood was an Irish nationalist movement active in the U.S. and Britain in the late 19th century. In addition to assassinations and bombings, they conceived several bold projects to strike at the British, not least of which were two attempted invasions of Canada, with the goal of holding the Dominion hostage for Irish independence.

A more feasible, but still daring project was the construction of a submarine capable of sinking Royal Navy warships. Designed by John Holland, and launched in 1881, the *Fenian Ram* carried a crew of three and could operate up to 45 feet beneath the surface. Holland was an Irish immigrant to the U.S. whose brother Michael was involved with the Brotherhood, and financed his design and construction efforts. The submersible would be delivered to the target area by an innocent looking merchant ship. Using a compressed air gun to launch 100-pound dynamite projectiles several hundred yards, the *Ram* would attack with complete surprise, and escape submerged.

The Fenians' selection of the Royal Navy as the target shows a keen appreciation of the psychological effects of terrorism. While Holland hoped for a military role for his invention, and later worked with the U.S. Navy, the Fenians' regarded it as a more sophisticated way to place a bomb. Britain's fleet was absolutely essential to the security and maintenance of the far-flung empire, and was also a national institution of great tradition and pride. A successful campaign using the *Ram* and others like it would have been a tremendous blow to both the security and prestige of Britain.

The Ram was stolen by the Brotherhood in 1883 in a dispute over money. Although they had the vessel, they were not familiar enough with it to operate it, and it was never used. John Holland continued with his experiments, and his eventual design became the basis for the submarines used by the U.S., Netherlands, and Japanese navies, among others. Ironically, the Royal Navy's first submarines were manufactured from Holland designs. Admiral Sir Arthur Wilson may have known about the designers' original intent when he pronounced submarines, including those of the British Royal Navy, as "…underwater, underhanded, and damned un-English".

Participation in and use of terrorism will increase. Individuals and groups that are not currently employing terrorism will adopt it as a tactic, and those that are employing terror tactics at low levels of lethality will become more violent. This is a combination of existing terrorist groups

trying to destabilize the existing order on an ever-widening basis, and the previously discussed tendency of terrorist groups to increase the level of violence when not immediately successful.[155]

Terrorist basing and operations in urban environments will increase. Terrorists have typically operated in urban environments, but the emergence of "megalopolis" cities in undeveloped or poorly developed countries, with poor services, weak governance, and rampant unemployment and dissatisfaction has created a near perfect recruiting ground-cum-operating environment for terrorists. Many of these cities have adequate international communication and transport capacities for the terrorists' purposes; yet have ineffective law enforcement and a potentially huge base of sympathizers and recruits. The inability of external counter-terror and law enforcement organizations to effectively intervene where the local government is unable to assert authority is another advantage.[156]

The advantage to terrorist organizations that use criminal activities to fund operations will continue to grow. Money is the great force multiplier for terrorists, and criminal activity produces more money than other strategies. The annual profit from criminal activity is estimated at 2-5% of the world Gross Domestic Product, or $600 billion to $1.5 trillion *in profit*.[157] Terrorists are emphasizing criminal activities for their support funding because it allows them to compete more effectively with their adversaries, and conduct larger and more lethal operations.

Cyber-Terrorism

Cyber-terrorism is a development of terrorist capabilities provided by new technologies and networked organizations. Cyber-terrorism is a new and somewhat nebulous concept, with debate as to whether it is a separate phenomenon, or just a facet of information warfare practiced by terrorists. Plus there are divergent views on whether cyber terror causes damage in "physical space" versus "cyber space".

Not every individual or group who uses information technology to further their agenda or attack their opponents are cyber terrorists. Hackers inflict damage to data or cause disruption of networks for personal motivations, such as monetary gain or status. "Hactivists" often have a political motive for their activities, and identify that motivation by their actions, such as defacing opponents' websites with counter-information or disinformation. Alone, these actions bear the same relation to cyber terrorism that theft, vandalism, or graffiti do to mundane physical terrorism; they may be an unrelated activity, or a supporting piece of a terrorist campaign.

Cyber terrorism differs from other improvements in terrorist technology because it involves offensive information technology capabilities, either alone or in combination with other forms of attack. Some examinations of cyber-terrorism focus on the physical destruction of information hardware and software, or physical damage to personnel or equipment using information technology as the medium. Examples of this approach would include the chaos and destruction

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[155] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 162-163.
[156] Xavier Raufer, "New World Disorder, New Terrorisms: New Threats for the Western World," in *The Future of Terrorism*, ed. Max. Taylor and John Horgan (Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 32.
[157] Kimberly L. Thachuck, "Terrorism's Financial Lifeline: Can it Be Severed," *Strategic Forum* no. 191 (May 2002): 2.

caused by disrupting a nations' air traffic control system, crashing two trains together by overriding the railroad signal and switching system, or the loss to the economy by blocking and falsifying commercial communications.

Other views of cyber terror stress the manipulation, modification, and destruction of non-physical items such as data, websites, or the perceptions and attitudes this information can influence. Attacks that would destroy electronic records of financial transactions, or permit large-scale electronic theft would cause significant economic damage to a country, but not truly "exist" in the physical world. Changing the information or appearance of an enemy's official web page allows the terrorist to spread negative perceptions or false information without physical intrusion.

One common aspect of both schools of thought is that organizations trying to attack using information technology will want to keep the information network up, or limit their destruction or disruptions to discrete portions of it. For a true "cyber-terrorist" the network is the method of attack. It is the weapon, or at the least, the medium through which an attack is delivered. Information warfare of this sort requires that messages are transmitted, fraudulent transactions take place, and information is available for exploitation. Defacing websites, crashing portions of a target network, accessing enemy information, denying network access to other groups, manipulating financial confidence and causing panic have all been done. Still, they require that the target network remain more or less intact. It is possible that a terrorist group could crash a network through physical destruction or technological attack, but only a group whose perceived gains would offset their loss of information, communication, and other capabilities would do this.[158]

Outside of computer networks, communications networks can also be targeted for destruction, disruption, or hijacking. Destructive and disruptive attacks upon communication networks would likely be supporting operations designed to increase the effectiveness of physical attacks. Hijacking, or taking control of a communication network might support another operation or be attempted for it's own impact. Dissident factions have already substituted their own satellite TV signals for state controlled broadcasting.[159] Terrorists could exploit such capabilities to bypass mainstream media restraint in covering particularly shocking actions, or to demonstrate their power and capability to challenge their enemies.

For U.S. military forces, likely "cyber terror" threats include attempts to overload data transmission and information processing capabilities. Physical destruction of some communications nodes, combined with decoys, false chatter, and deception to overload the remainder could significantly slow the ability to assess and respond to threats. Another threat is the use of unsecured personal information to target service members or their families for physical and electronic harassment campaigns. This technique has found widespread use amongst single-issue terrorists. Making phone numbers, addresses, and any other available personal information public via the Internet, and urging sympathizers or proxies to threaten and harass service

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[158] John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, ed., *Networks and Netwars* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2001), 5.
[159] "Chinese Satellite TV Hijacked by Falun Gong Cult" *People's Daily Online*, 9 July, 2002, available from http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200207/08/eng20020708_99347.shtml Internet, accessed 27 November 2002.

members, their families, and associates, vandalize their property, or steal their identity would aim at eroding morale and inflicting uncertainty and fear throughout the military community.

Conclusion

This final chapter examined evolving threat philosophies, with emphasis on the integration of terrorism with concepts of world disorder and new forms of conflict. The evolution of today's terrorist into a non-state "politicized criminal" is well on its way. The merging of criminals, rogue political leaders, and terrorists into one collective identity, which operates for the realization of economic and political power outside of the recognized international system of nation-states is at hand. The United States will have to adapt to modes and states of conflict we have been traditionally uncomfortable with, but can now no longer ignore.

Appendix A
Terrorist Threat to Combatant Commands

> **"US interests are spread throughout the world. So, every Muslim should carry out his real role to champion his Islamic nation and religion. Carrying out terrorism against the oppressors is one of the tenets of our religion and Shari'ah."**
>   **- Al Qaeda Statement, October 10, 2001**

General

On 17 April 2002, the Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff announced the 2002 Unified Command Plan, which established 5 Combatant Commands with geographic responsibility. These commands are:

- U.S. Northern Command (USNORTHCOM)
- U.S. Southern Command (USSOUTHCOM)
- U.S. Pacific Command (USPACOM)
- U.S. European Command (USEUCOM)
- U.S. Central Command (USCENTCOM)

Figure A-1 shows the world with the various areas of responsibility.

Figure A-1: The World with Commanders' Areas of Responsibility

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[161] Department of Defense, *Special Briefing on the Unified Command Plan*, by Donald H. Rumsfeld, (Department of Defense News Briefing Transcript presented at the Pentagon, Wednesday, 17 April 2002 – 11:30a.m); available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Apr2002/t04172002_t0417sd.html; Internet; accessed 18 November 2002.

This appendix addresses the terrorist threat facing each one of these commands. Each Combatant Command Area of Responsibility (AOR) is listed reflecting the terrorist groups that are physically based within it, plus other groups that either have a presence or have operated within the AOR. We must realize, though, that any terrorist group that has the manpower and financial resources can operate within an AOR if its objectives dictate an operational requirement to do so. Not all groups listed will profess to target U.S. interests, but all listed could easily do so.

This material should be considered suitable for general orientation. Since the information on terrorist groups is dynamic and changes frequently, actual planning and threat assessments should utilize appropriate intelligence products from the commands listed. The major input for this section comes from the United States Department of State report entitled: "Patterns of Global Terrorism 2002", dated April 2003[162] (located at http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/2002/), and the Center for Defense Information list of known terrorist organizations[163] (http://www.cdi.org/terrorism/terrorist-groups-pr.cfm). Information listed for USNORTHCOM was also obtained from the FBI publication, *Terrorism in the United States 1999*[164] (located at http://www.sas.org/Terrorist/archive/FBIterror99.pdf) and the *Historical Dictionary of Terrorism*.[165] An * indicates past history of anti-U.S. activity.

U.S. Northern Command

Groups Physically Based In AOR	Strength	Anti-U.S. Activity
Animal Liberation Front (ALF)*	Unknown	Yes
Aryan Nations*	150 – 500	Yes
Christian Identity affiliated groups*	Varies	Yes
Earth Liberation Front (ELF)*	Unknown	Yes
Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional Puertorriquena (Armed Forces for Puerto Rican National Liberation (FALN)*	< 50	Yes
Jamaat ul-Fuqra*	200	Yes
Ku Klux Klan affiliated groups*	9,000 – 20,000	Yes

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[162] Department of State, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2002* (Washington, D.C., April 2003), 99-146.

[163] Christopher Hellman and Reyko Huang, *List of Known Terrorist Organizations* (Washington: Center for Defense Information Terrorism Project, 2001), 1-31; available from http://www.cdi.org/terrorism/terrorist-groups-pr.cfm; Internet; accessed 24 October 2002.

[164] Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Threat Assessment and Warning Unit, Counterterrorism Division, *Terrorism in the United States 1999,* Report 0308, (Washington, D.C., n.d.), 50-51.

[165] Sean K. Anderson & Stephen Sloan*, Historical Dictionary of Terrorism* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc, 2002).

*Loosely affiliated ad hoc groups**	Varies	Yes
*Los Macheteros (Puerto Rico)**	< 40	Yes
*Militias/Patriot/Conspiracy affiliated groups**	Varies	Yes
*Neo-Nazi affiliated groups**	Varies	Yes
*Posse Comitatus groups**	1,000 – 3,000	Yes
*Skinhead affiliated groups**	2,500 – 3,500	Yes
*World Church of the Creator (WCOTC)**	Unknown	Yes

Table A-1: Terrorist Groups Based in USNORTHCOM

Other Groups Operating or with Presence in the AOR	
Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (IG)	*Japanese Red Army (JAR)**
*Al Qaeda**	*Kach*
Cambodian Freedom Fighters (CFF)	*Kahane Chai*
HAMAS	*Manuel Rodgriquez Patriotic Front (FPMR)**
*Hizballah**	*Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK)**

Table A-2: Terrorist Groups with Presence in USNORTHCOM

U.S. Southern Command

Groups Physically Based In AOR	Strength	Anti-U.S. Activity
*Manuel Rodriquez Patriotic Front (FPMR), (Chile)**	50 - 100	Yes
*Morzanist Patriotic Front (FPM), (Honduras)**	Unknown (Est. small)	Yes
*National Liberation Army (ELN), (Colombia)**	3,000 – 5,000	Yes
*Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), (Colombia)**	9,000 – 12,000	Yes
*Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) (SL), (Peru)**	400 – 500	Yes
Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), (Peru)	≤100	None
United Self-Defense Forces/Group of Colombia (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia) (AUC), (Colombia)	6,000 – 8,150	None

Table A-3: Terrorist Groups Based in USSOUTHCOM

Other Groups Operating or with Presence in the AOR	
Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (IG)*	Irish Republican Army (IRA)
Al Qaeda*	Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK)*
Hizballah*	

Table A-4: Terrorist Groups with Presence in USSOUTHCOM

U.S. European Command

Groups Physically Based In AOR	Strength	Anti-U.S. Activity
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade,(al-Aqsa), (Occupied Territories)*	Unknown	Yes
Al-Jama'a al-Islamiyyah al-Muqatilah bi-Libya, a.k.a.: Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, Fighting Islamic Group, Libyan Fighting Group, Libyan Islamic Group, (Libya) (Listed in the 2001 State Department Report – Deleted in 2002)	Unknown (Est. > 100)	None
Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), (Congo)	Few hundred	None
Anti-Imperialist Territorial Nuclei (NTA), a.k.a.: Anti-Imperialist Territorial Units, (Italy)*	20	Yes
Armed Islamic Group (GIA), (Algeria)	Unknown (Est. < 100)	None
Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALIR), a.k.a.: Interahamwe, Former Armed Forces of Rwanda (ex-FAR), (Rwanda)*	Est. several thousand	Yes
'Asbat al-Ansar (The League of the Followers), (Lebanon)*	300	Yes
Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA), a.k.a.: Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna, (Spain)	Unknown (Est. several hundred)	None
Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA), a.k.a.: Continuity Army Council, (Northern Ireland)	< 50	None
Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), (Occupied Territories)	500	None
First of October Antifascist Resistance Group (Grupo de Resistencia Anti-Fascista Primero de Octubre) (GRAPO), (Spain)*	Unknown (Est. < 24)	Yes

HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement), (Occupied Territories)	Unknown	None
Hizballah (Party of God), a.k.a.: Islamic Jihad, Revolutionary Justice Organization, Organization of the Oppressed on Earth, Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, (Lebanon)*	Several hundred	Yes
Irish Republican Army (IRA), a.k.a.: Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), the Provos, (Northern Ireland)	Several hundred	None
Islamic International Peacekeeping Brigade (IIPB), Chechnya	400	None
Japanese Red Army (JRA), a.k.a.: Anti-Imperialist International Brigade (AIIB), (Lebanon)∗	6	Yes
Kahane Chai (Kach), (Israel)	Unknown	None
Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), a.k.a.: Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress (KADEK), Freedom and Democracy Congress of Kurdistan, (Turkey)	4,000 – 5,000	None
Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, a.k.a.: Al-Jam'a al-Islamiyyah al-Muqatilah, Fighting Islamic Group, Libyan Fighting Group, Libyan Islamic Group, (Libya)	Unknown (Est. several hundred)	None
Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), (Uganda)	Est. 1,000	None
Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF), (Northern Ireland)	Approx. 300	None
Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (GICM), (Western Europe)	Unknown	None
New Red Brigades/Communist Combatant Party (BR/PCC), a.k.a.: Brigate Rosse/Partito Comunista Combattente, (Italy)	< 30	None
Orange Volunteers (OV), (Northern Ireland) (Listed in the 2001 State Department Report – Deleted in 2002)	Approx. 20	None
The Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ), (Syria)	Unknown	None
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), (Syria)	Unknown	None
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC), (Syria)	Several hundred	None

Qibla and People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), a.k.a.: Muslims Against Global Oppression (MAGO), Muslims Against Illegitimate Leaders (MAIL), (South Africa)	Unknown (Est. several hundred)	None
Real IRA (RIRA), a.k.a.: True IRA, (Northern Ireland)	100 – 200	None
Red Hand Defenders (RHD), (Northern Ireland)	Approx. 20	None
Revolutionary Nuclei (RN), a.k.a.: Revolutionary Cells, (Greece)∗	Unknown (Est. to be small)	Yes
Revolutionary Organization 17 November, a.k.a.: 17November, (Greece)∗	Unknown (Est. to be small)	Yes
*Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C), a.k.a.: Devrimci Sol, Revolutionary Left, Dev Sol, (Turkey)**	Unknown	Yes
*Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA), (Greece)**	Unknown	Yes
*Revolutionary Proletarian Initiative Nuclei (NIPR), (Italy)**	Approx. 12	Yes
Revolutionary United Front (RUF), (Sierra Leone)	Est. Several hundred	None
Riyadus-Salikhin Reconnaissance and Sabotage Battalion of Chechen Martyrs (RSRSBCM), (Chechnya)	< 50	None
The Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC), (Algeria)	Unknown (Est. several hundred)	None
Special Purpose Islamic Regiment (SPIR), (Chechnya)	< 100	None
*The Tunisian Combatant Group (TCG), a.k.a.: Jama'a Combattante Tunisienne, Tunisian Islamic Fighting Group, (Tunisia)**	Unknown	Yes
Turkish Hizballah, (Turkey)	Est. several hundred	None
Ulster Defense Association/Ulster Freedom Fighters (UDA/UFF), (Northern Ireland)	Est. 2,000 – 5,000	None
Zviadists, (Georgia)	Unknown	None

Table A-5: Terrorist Groups Based in USEUCOM

Other Groups Operating or with Presence in the AOR	
Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)*	Aum Supreme Truth (Aum)
Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (IG)*	Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK)*
Al-Jihad*	Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)*
Al Qaeda*	

Table A-6: Terrorist Groups with Presence in USEUCOM

U.S. Central Command

Groups Physically Based In AOR	Strength	Anti-U.S. Activity
Abu Nidal Organization (ANO), a.k.a.: Fatah Revolutionary Council, Arab Revolutionary Brigades, Black September, Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims, (Iraq)*	Few hundred	Yes
Al-Badhr Mujahidin (al-Badr), (Pakistan)	Several hundred	None
Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (IG), a.k.a.: Islamic Group, (Egypt)*	Unknown	Yes
Al-Ittihad al-Islami (AIAI), a.k.a.: Islamic Union, (Somalia)	2,000 +	None
Al-Jihad, a.k.a.: Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Jihad Group, Islamic Jihad, (Egypt)*	Unknown (Est. several hundred)	Yes
Al –Qaeda, a.k.a.: Qa'idat al-Jihad, (Afghanistan/Pakistan)*	Several thousand	Yes
Ansar al-Islam (AI), a.k.a.: Partisans of Islam, Helpers of Islam, Supporters of Islam, (Iraq)	Approx. 700	None
Harakat ul-Ansar (HUA), (Pakistan)*	Several thousand	Yes
Harakat ul-Jihad-I-Islami (Movement of Islamic Holy War) (HUJI), (Pakistan)	Unknown (Est. several hundred)	None
Harakat ul-Mujahidin (Movement of Holy Warriors) (HUM), (Pakistan)	Several thousand	None
Hizb-I Islami Gulbuddin (HIG), (Afghanistan/Pakistan)*	Several hundred	Yes
Islamic Army of Aden (IAA), a.k.a.: Aden-Abyan Islamic Army (AAIA), (Yemen)*	Unknown	Yes

*Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), (Uzbekistan)**	< 1000	Yes
Jaish-e-Mohammed (Army of Mohammed) (JEM), (Pakistan)	Several hundred	None
Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (Army of the Righteous) (LT), (Pakistan)	Several hundred	None
*Lashkar I Jhangvi (Army of Jhangvi) (LJ), (Pakistan)**	< 100	Yes
*Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK or MKO), a.k.a.: National Liberation Army of Iran (NLA), People's Mujahidin of Iran (PMOI), National Council of Resistance (NCR), National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI), Muslim Iranian Student's Society, (Iraq)**	Several thousand	Yes
*Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) (Iraq)**	Unknown	Yes
Sipah-I-Sahaba/Pakistan (SSP), (Pakistan)	Unknown	None

Table A-7: Terrorist Groups Based in USCENTCOM

Other Groups Operating or with Presence in the AOR	
Al-Jama'a al-Islamiyyah al-Muqatilah bi-Libya	*Japanese Red Army (JRA)**
*Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM)**	*Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK)*
HAMAS	*Libyan Islamic Fighting Group*
*Hizballah**	*Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (GICM)*
Hizb ul-Mujahidin (HM)	*Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ)*
*Jamaat ul-Fuqra**	*Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)*
Jamiat ul-Mujahidin (JUM)	*The Tunisian Combatant Group (TCG)**

Table A-8: Terrorist Groups with Presence in USCENTCOM

U.S. Pacific Command

Groups Physically Based In AOR	Strength	Anti-U.S. Activity
*Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) (Philippines)**	200 - 500	Yes

Alex Boncayao Brigade (ABB) (Philippines)*	Approx. 500	Yes
Al-Ummah, (India)	Unknown	None
Aum Supreme Truth (Aum), a.k.a.: Aum Shinrikyo, Aleph, (Japan)	1,500 – 2,000	None
Cambodian Freedom Fighters (CFF), a.k.a.: Cholana Kangtoap Serei Cheat Kampouchea, (Cambodia)	Unknown (Est. < 100)	None
Chukaku-Ha (Nucleus or Middle Core Faction), (Japan)	3,500	None
The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), (Nepal)*	Several thousand	Yes
Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA), (Philippines)*	> 10,000	Yes
Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM), (China)*	Unknown	Yes
Harakat ul-Jihad-I-Islami/Bangladesh (Movement of Islamic Holy War) (HUJI-B), (Bangladesh)	> Several thousand	None
Hizb ul-Mujahidin (HM), (India-Kashmir)	Unknown (Est. several hundred)	None
Jamiat ul-Mujahidin (JUM), (India-Kashmir)	Unknown	None
Jemaah Islamiya (JI), (Malaysia and Singapore)*	Unknown (Est. several hundred)	Yes
Khmer Rouge/The Party of Democratic Kampuchea, (Cambodia)	100 - 500	None
Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM), (Malaysia)*	70-80	Yes
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a.k.a.: World Tamil Association (WTA), World Tamil Movement (WTM), Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils (FACT), Ellalan Force, Sangilian Force, (Sri Lanka)	Unknown (Est. 8,000 – 10,000)	None

Table A-9: Terrorist Groups Based in USPACOM

Other Groups Operating or with Presence in the AOR	
Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)*	*Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM)*
Al-Badhr Mujahidin (al-Badr)	*Hizballah**
Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (IG)*	*Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM)*

*Al Qaeda**	*Japanese Red Army (JRA)**
*Harakat ul-Ansar (HUA)**	*Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LT)*
Harakat ul-Jihad-I-Islami (HUJI)	*Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK)**

Table A-10: Terrorist Groups with Presence in USPACOM

*Groups marked with an asterisk have conducted operations in one or more areas against U.S. targets.

Appendix B
Terrorist Planning Cycle

> **"The main point is to select targets where success is 100% assured"**
> **- Dr. George Habash, founder, PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine)**

Terrorist operations are typically meticulously prepared to minimize risk and achieve the highest probability of success. They focus on avoiding the opponents' strengths and concentrating on their weaknesses. Emphasis is on maximizing security and target effects. In practice that means the least number of personnel, and the most effective[*] weapons practicable. To accomplish this, extensive planning is conducted, with an emphasis on target surveillance and reconnaissance.

Collection against potential targets may continue for years before an operation is decided upon. While some targets may be "soft" enough for shorter periods of observation, the information gathering will still be intense. Also, operations planned or underway may be altered, delayed, or cancelled entirely due to changes to the target or local conditions.

Terrorists plan campaigns to combine successive achievements of operational objectives into accomplishing strategic goals. Even though we refer to a terrorist operation having a physical "objective", this physical objective is in reality an intermediate objective. The casualties, destruction, or threats thereof that the operation accomplishes must be properly exploited to reach the target audience. The psychological impact on that audience is the true objective of any terrorist operation. While the assassination of a troublesome police official may provide other tactical advantages, it is the psychological effect on the target audience and its ultimate support of strategic goals that is the true objective.

There is no universal "staff school" model for terrorist planning, but experience and success has shown terrorists what works. Terrorist organizations exchange personnel and training with each other, and study the methods and operational successes of groups they have no direct contact with. Innovation is a proven key component of operational success. Using new weapons or technology, or old systems in innovative, unexpected ways, allows terrorists to defeat or avoid defensive measures.

Terrorist operational planning can be analyzed according to requirements common to all operations. The planning and operation cycle below is valid for traditional hierarchically organized groups, as well as the decentralized "network" type organizations. The differences between the two organizations are the location of decision making at the various steps of the cycle, and the method of task organizing and providing support for the operation.

Phase I: Broad Target Selection

This phase is the collection of information on a large number of

> "Information gathering is a continuous operation"
> - Irish Republican Army's *Handbook for Volunteers of the Irish Republican Army,* 1956.

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[*] Note: "Effective" in this case need not mean modern or destructive, but most suitable to cause the desired target effects. Knives, machetes, and other edged weapons have been extensively used against terrorist victims in the modern era because target audiences view them as particularly bloody and barbarous.

potential targets, some of which may never be attacked, or seriously considered for attack. Personnel that are not core members of the terrorist organization, but are either sympathizers or dupes, and who may not be aware of what their information will be used for usually conduct this data collection. This phase also includes open source and general information collection. Some features of this type of collection are:

- Stories from newspapers, other media and journalistic sources often provide key information on the target.

- Potential targets are screened based on symbolic value and their potential to generate high profile media attention.

- Objectives of the terrorist group influence the selection of a person or facility as a worthy target. This includes the likely casualty rate achieved by the attack.

- The number of preliminary targets that can be screened is limited only by the capabilities of the group to collect information from sympathizers and open sources.

Targets that are considered vulnerable and which would further the terrorist organization's goals are selected for the next phase of intelligence collection.

Phase II: Intelligence Gathering and Surveillance

Targets showing potential vulnerabilities are given a higher priority of effort. This priority establishes the requirement to gather additional information on the targets' patterns over time. The type of surveillance employed depends on the target type. Elements of information typically gathered include:

- Practices/Procedures/Routines - For facilities this includes scheduled deliveries, work shift changes, identification procedures and other observable routines. For individuals, it can include regularly scheduled errands (laundry pick up every third day, etc) and appointments.
- Residence & Workplace – This category applies primarily to the physical layout and individual activities at the two places the target typically spends the most time.

- Transportation/Routes of Travel – For individuals, this is the mode of transport and common routes to any regular destination (house, work, gym, school, etc.). For facilities, it addresses ingress and egress points, types of vehicles allowed on the grounds, availability of transportation into the target site, etc.

- Security Measures – This topic includes a myriad of potential collection areas, depending on the complexity of the security around the target. Presence of a guard force; the reaction time of response units; any hardening of structures, barriers, or sensors; personnel, package, and vehicle screening procedures; and the type and frequency of emergency reaction drills are all examples of key collection objectives. This is one of the most important areas of information for attack site selection, since the intent is to bypass and avoid security measures, and be able to strike the target during any period.

118

Phase III: Specific Target Selection

Selection of a target for actual operational planning considers some of the following factors:

- Does success affect a larger audience than the immediate victim(s)?

- Will the target attract high profile media attention?

- Does success make the desired statement to the correct target audience(s)?

- Is the effect consistent with objectives of the group?

- Does the target provide an advantage to the group by demonstrating its capabilities?

- What are the costs versus benefits of conducting the operation?

A decision to proceed requires continued intelligence collection against the chosen target. Targets not receiving immediate consideration will still be collected against for future opportunities.

Phase IV: Pre-attack Surveillance and Planning

Members of the actual operational cells begin to appear during this phase. Either trained intelligence and surveillance personnel, or members of the cell organized to conduct the operation conduct this phase. Consequently, the level of intelligence tradecraft and operational competency goes up correspondingly. This phase gathers information on the target's current patterns over time, usually days to weeks. It allows the attack team to confirm the information gathered from previous surveillance and reconnaissance activities. The areas of concern are essentially the same as in Phase II, but with greater focus based upon the planning conducted thus far.

The type of surveillance employed depends on the target's activities. The information gained is then used to:

- Conduct security studies.

- Conduct detailed preparatory operations.

- Recruit specialized operatives (if needed).

- Procure a base of operations in the target area (safe houses, caches, etc.).

- Design and test escape routes.

- Decide on type of weapon or attack.

Phase V: Rehearsals

As with conventional military operations, rehearsals are conducted to improve the odds of success, confirm planning assumptions, and develop contingencies. Terrorists also rehearse to test security reactions to particular attack profiles. Terrorists use both their own operatives and unwitting people to test target reactions. Typical rehearsals include:

- Deployment into target area.

- Actions on the objective

- Escape routes

- Equipment and weapon performance.

Tests in the target area will be conducted to confirm:

- Target information gathered to date.

- Target pattern of activities.

- Physical layout of target or operation area.

- Security force reactions (state of alert, timing, size of response, equipment, routes).

Phase VI: Actions on the Objective

Once terrorists reach this stage of their program, the odds are clearly against the target. Several different analyses conclude that once operations are initiated, the success rate for the terrorist is in the ninety-percent range. Terrorists will minimize time spent conducting the actual operation to reduce their vulnerability to discovery or countermeasures. With the exception of barricade-style hostage taking operations, terrorists plan to complete their actions before even nearby security forces can react.

Terrorists conducting planned operations possess important tactical advantages. Since they are the attacker, they possess all the advantages of initiative, giving them:

- Surprise.

- Choice of time, place and conditions of attack.

- Employment of diversions and secondary or follow-up attacks.

- Employment of security and support positions to neutralize target reaction forces and security measures.

Because of the extensive preparation through surveillance and reconnaissance, enemy security measures will be planned for and neutralized. It is a fact of life that any countermeasure can be countered in turn. If security cameras are detected, they can be avoided or disabled as necessary. Guards can be overcome or killed. Hardened vehicles or buildings will result in the use of larger or more effective explosive devices or direct fire weapons. Although security measures may complicate the attackers' problems, they do not confer any guarantee against attack.

Phase VII: Escape and Exploitation

Escape plans are usually well thought-out and executed. Many terrorists want to survive the operation and escape. It further enhances the effect of fear and terror from a successful operation if the perpetrators get away "clean". The exception to this is suicide operations, where the impact is enhanced by the apparent willingness to die. Even in suicide attacks, however, there are usually support personnel and "handlers" who must deliver the suicide asset to the target, and subsequently make their escape.

Exploitation is the primary objective of the operation. The operation must be properly exploited and publicized to achieve its intended effect. Media control measures, prepared statements, and a host of other preparations are made to effectively exploit a successful operation. These will be timed to take advantage of media cycles for the selected target audiences.

Unsuccessful operations are disavowed when possible. The perception that a group has failed severely damages the organization's prestige and makes it appear vulnerable, or worse, ineffective. Once a terrorist organization is perceived as ineffective, it is very difficult to impact target audiences.

In addition to the impact on the opponent, successful attacks bring favorable attention, notoriety and support (money, recruits, etc.) to the group conducting them. If the group conducting the operation subscribes to a revolutionary ideology, they will see each success as gradually inspiring more revolutionary fervor in the population. Any success encourages the terrorists to conduct further operations, and improves their ability to do so through increased support and experience.

Appendix C
Terrorist Operations and Tactics

> **"Not believing in force is the same as not believing in gravity."**
> **- Leon Trotsky**

Terrorist Operations

The discussion below presents the most common types of terrorist operations, including notes on potential tactics. By no means is this intended to be an exhaustive discussion of this topic since the combination of methods and approaches is virtually unlimited. However, one constant regarding terror operations is the use of techniques stressing surprise, secrecy, innovation, and indirect methods of attack.

For military professionals, a key principle to keep in mind is the difference in outlook between terror operations and military operations. The terrorist will utilize tactics, forces, and weapons specifically tailored to the particular mission. Terrorist operations are individualistic, in that each is planned for a specific target and effect. Additionally, terrorists will only expose as much of their resources and personnel to capture or destruction as are absolutely necessary for mission accomplishment. A military force

Figure C-1: Khobar Towers (*Source*: DOD Photo)

would approach an operation with plans to concentrate forces and keep excess combat power on hand to meet contingencies, ensure mission success, and prepare for follow-on missions. A terrorist takes a minimal force and relies upon prior planning and reconnaissance to match the force, weapons, and methods to the target. There is no concept of "follow-on missions", so there is no need for redundant capability. If changes to the target, or unexpected conditions render success unlikely, he will cancel the operation and return later with a better weapon, an updated plan, more personnel, or whatever it may require to ensure a successful operation. Mission accomplishment will in all likelihood mean the disbanding of the force, personnel returning to their cells and covers, or forming new task groups for other operations.

In addition to adaptive and flexible organizations, terrorists also employ specific equipment built or procured for a particular operation. Because of the lag time between development of a new technology and military acquisition and fielding, terrorists can sometimes procure equipment superior to standardized military models. As an example, instead of purchasing hundreds of identical radios constructed to meet all likely uses, a terrorist will only procure the quantity he needs of the newest, most capable radio appropriate for the operation. The only real limitation is funding and availability of the equipment when it is needed.

Weapons will also be tailored to the particular operation. If a directional explosive is needed, the terrorist could make use of available military models of anti-tank and anti-personnel mines. Conversely, the terrorist may determine that a mine would be detected by the target's security force en route to the attack, and he therefore needs to build or obtain an alternative device. To illustrate, even counting the warheads of anti-ship cruise missiles, there was not a readily available weapon for the attack on the USS Cole. No one manufactures a half-ton C-4 platter charge configured to fit in a small boat[166], but that was exactly what the terrorist's plan required. Therefore it was exactly what the terrorist group built.

Objectives of the group(s) conducting the operation are key to predicting likely targets. Is the intent to cause loss of faith in the authorities, a provocation to inspire resistance, or to promote fear amongst the population, etc? Although several different types of operations may satisfy a particular objective, terror groups often develop expertise in one or more types of operations, and less specialization in others.

Assassination

An assassination is a deliberate action to kill specific individuals, usually VIPs (political leaders, notable citizens, collaborators, particularly effective officials, etc.), versus the killing of common people, which is considered murder. The terrorist group assassinates or murders people it cannot intimidate, people who have left the group, or people who have some symbolic significance for the enemy or world community. Terrorist groups refer to these killings as "punishment" or "justice" as a way of legitimizing them. Many targets of assassination are symbolic and are intended to have great psychological impact on the enemy. For example, assassinating an enemy government official or successful businessperson can demonstrate the enemy's inability to protect its own people. Assassinating local representatives of social or civic order, such as teachers, contributes to disorder while demoralizing other members of the local government and discouraging cooperation with them.

Assassination methods include remotely detonated bombing, the use of firearms, heavy weaponry such as anti-tank rocket launchers, and poisoning to name just a few. Extensive target surveillance and reconnaissance of engagement areas are required to select the optimum mode of attack. Although many factors play into the decision, the target's vulnerabilities ultimately determine the method of assassination. For example, a target driving to work along the same route each day may be vulnerable to an emplaced explosive device.[167] Such action requires detailed planning, similar to that for a kidnapping. The main difference is that a kidnapping seeks to keep the target alive (at least, initially), while an assassination or murder does not.

Two examples of notable assassination attempts include the Red Army Faction attempting to assassinate General Alexander Haig in 1979 when he was the SACEUR in Europe. This attempt failed. However, in 1981, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt was assassinated by fundamentalist Islamics for his support of peace in the Middle East and his relationship with the West.

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[166] John McWethy et al., no title, *ABCNews.Com,*18 October 2000; available from http://www.abcnews.go.com/sections/world/ DailyNews/cole001018b.html; Internet; accessed 9 January 2003.
[167] *Encyclopedia of World Terror*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Assassination."

Hostage Taking and Barricade Situations

Hostage taking is typically an overt seizure of people to gain publicity, political concessions, or ransom. Unlike kidnapping where a prominent individual is taken, the hostages are usually not well known figures in the enemy's society. While dramatic, hostage situations are frequently risky for the terrorist group, especially when conducted in enemy territory. They expose the terrorists to hostile military or police operations, and carry significant possibility of both mission failure and capture. Therefore, terrorists will usually attempt to hold hostages in a neutral or friendly area, rather than in enemy territory. Since hostage taking is risky, the benefits must warrant conducting this type operation. For example, if the enemy captures the leader or principal members of the terrorist group, the group may take hostages to exchange for its key personnel.

An excellent example of a hostage situation was the Moscow theater siege in October 2002. Thirty-four Chechen terrorists seized a movie theater, threatening to kill all of the hostages if the Russians did not meet their demands. The rebels were demanding that Russian forces end the war in the breakaway republic of Chechnya. Following a long stalemate, Russian forces assaulted the theater. Sixty-seven hostages died as well as the 34 terrorists. However, 750 hostages were released.

Kidnapping

Kidnapping is usually an action taken against a prominent enemy individual for a specific reason. The most common reasons for kidnapping are ransom, release of a fellow terrorist, or the desire to publicize a demand or an issue. The terrorist group conducts detailed planning, especially regarding movement of the kidnapped individual. The risk in kidnapping is relatively lower than in hostage taking primarily because the kidnapped victim is moved to a location controlled by the group. The group makes demands and is willing to hold a victim for a significant time, if necessary.

The success of kidnapping relies upon balancing the cost to the government represented by the threat of harm to the victim, with the costs of meeting the kidnappers' demands. Some kidnapping operations are actually assassinations, as the death of the victim is intended from the start. The terrorists intended objective in this case being the intermediate concessions and publicity obtained during the negotiation process that they would not receive from a simple assassination.

Kidnapping (and hostage taking) can also be used as a means of financing the organization. Ransom from seized individuals or groups are a significant slice of income for groups in several regions of the world. Latin America has long been a victim of terrorist kidnapping, especially by the FARC and ELN in Colombia. The Abu Sayyaf Group in the Philippines also uses this method to finance their operations.

An example of the military's vulnerability to kidnapping is the case of USMC Col. William R. (Rich) Higgins. He disappeared on Feb. 17, 1988, while serving as the Chief, Observer Group Lebanon and Senior Military Observer, United States Military Observer Group, United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. He was kidnapped and held by Iranian-backed Hizbollah terrorists and later murdered, a picture of his body hanging from a noose

released to the news media in July 1989. His remains continued to be held until they were released in December 1991.

Raid

A terrorist raid is similar in concept to a conventional operation, but is usually conducted with smaller forces against targets marked for destruction, hijacking, or hostage/barricade operations. In these cases, the raid permits control of the target for the execution of some other action. The kidnapping or assassination of a target that has a security force can often require a raid to overcome the defenses.

Extortion

Extortion is the act of obtaining money, materiel, information, or support by force or intimidation. Extortion is often used during the formative period of a group or by groups that fail to develop more sophisticated financial skills. The opportunity to engage in more lucrative money making activities, such as drug trafficking, may eventually replace the need to extort. Extortion takes the form of "war taxes" or protection money. The logistics and support cells of organizations extort money from local businesses in exchange for protection, which means not harming or bothering the business or its members. Members of the intelligence cells may also extort to collect required information.

Another form of extortion is intimidation. Intelligence cells or a specialized team intimidates people to obtain information on the group's enemy or to provide resources. Death threats against an individual or his family cause him to provide information or resources to a group with which he has no interest. A terrorist group also intimidates people not to take action. For example, enemy security personnel may not implement required security measures because of intimidation. The information cell of a terrorist group helps create and maintain the fear caused by extortion through its propaganda and deception actions.

The power of extortion and blackmail as a means of coercing individuals should not be underestimated. Several terrorist groups have successfully used these techniques to force individuals to carry out suicide bombing missions.

Ambush

An ambush is a surprise attack characterized by violence of execution and speed of action. Terrorists' use of this tactic is similar in concept to conventional military operations. The intended objective may be to cause mass casualties, assassinate an individual, or disrupt hostile security operations. Explosives, such as bombs and directional mines, are a common weapon used in terrorist ambushes. They are powerful and can be remotely detonated. Other weapons frequently used are rocket launchers, automatic weapons, and pistols.

Terrorist ambushes are frequently conducted from a variety of mobile platforms. Cars, vans and motorcycles have been used to conceal the attackers, isolate or immobilize the target, and then allow the attackers to escape. Ambushes from mobile platforms can be conducted while moving, or can be designed to bring the target to a halt in order to allow the attack team to physically close with and destroy the target.

<u>Hijacking</u>

Hijacking is stealing or commandeering a conveyance. There are many purposes to hijacking, such as hostage taking activities, procuring a means of escape, or as a means of destruction. While hijacking of aircraft for hostage taking has declined in frequency since the implementation of improved security measures, the use of hijacked aircraft for escape or as destructive devices continues. The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in September 2001 are vivid reminders of the destructive power of hijacked airliners.

The use of hijacked vehicles for destructive devices is not restricted to aircraft. Trucks carrying cargoes of explosive or flammable materials have also been seized to use as delivery devices. The possibility of such a technique being used with a ship carrying oil, refined petroleum products, or liquefied natural gas (LNG) is of great concern. The horrific results of several accidental explosions and fires from mishaps in handling such vessels in port show the catastrophic potential of this technique.[168] Ships exploding in the harbors of Texas City, Texas in 1947 and Halifax, Nova Scotia in 1917 destroyed significant portions of these towns, and had a combined death toll of over 2500.

<u>Sabotage</u>

Sabotage is the planned destruction of the enemy's equipment or infrastructure. The purpose of sabotage is to inflict both psychological and physical damage. Sabotage demonstrates how vulnerable the enemy is to the terrorist group's actions. Destroying or disrupting key services or facilities impresses the power of the saboteur on the public consciousness, and either increases their frustration with the ineffectiveness of the government, or inspires others to resist.

A terrorist group normally aims its sabotage actions at elements of infrastructure, in order to reinforce the perception that nothing is safe. The action can have significant economic impacts, as well as the additional effects of creating mass casualties. Water purification plants, sewage treatment facilities, air traffic control hubs, and medical treatment or research facilities are just a few examples of potential targets. Terrorist groups use many techniques, such as bombing, arson, or use of contaminates, to conduct sabotage.

Tactics and Techniques

<u>Bombing</u>

Bombs are the favored weapon for terrorists[169] for a variety of reasons. They are highly destructive, are flexible enough to be tailored to the mission, do not require the operator to be present, and have a significant psychological impact. They have a significant historical record, and a particular place in early anarchist and revolutionary thought, where dynamite was viewed as the equalizing force between the state and the individual.[170]

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[168] Gerald Pawle, *Secret Weapons of World War II* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967), 53-54.
[169] *Encyclopedia of World Terror*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Bombing."
[170] Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, rev. ed. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 264-265.

Bombings may be used as a technique to conduct other operations, such as sabotage or assassination, or can simply be a tactic to cause terror through the destruction and casualties produced by an explosion. Bombing is clearly the favored method of terrorist attack (for example; 321 out of 457 total incidents in the U.S. 1980-1999 were bombings).[171]
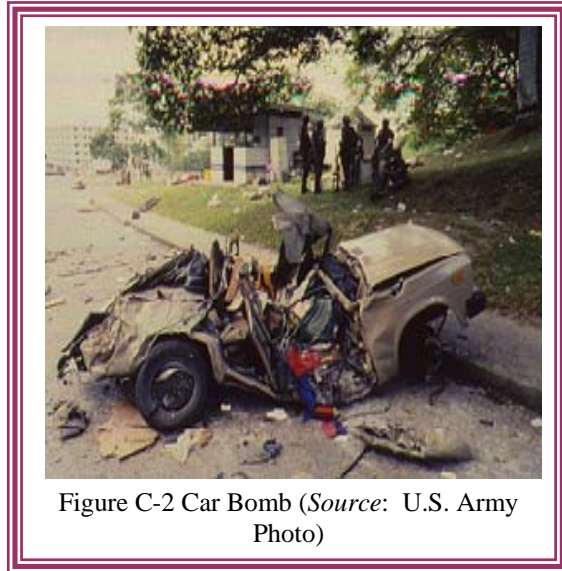

Figure C-2 Car Bomb (*Source*: U.S. Army Photo)

Methods of delivering bombs are only limited by the imagination of the group planning the attack, and the capabilities of the individual bomb manufacturer. Directional bombs disguised as bricks in roadside walls and radio command detonated are not uncommon in the Israeli-occupied territories. The IRA has developed methods of remote detonation using police laser speed detection devices that can detonate a bomb programmed to respond to a particular laser pulse within line of sight, and that is immune to the usual electronic countermeasures for radio controlled bombs.[172]

Appendix E contains descriptions of a variety of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) that may be built by minimally competent terrorist groups. Appendix F discusses conventional weapons and UXOs that can be adapted to use by terrorist organizations.

Arson

Arson is a destructive technique using fire, usually in sabotage operations against property. It permits a significant destructive effect with simple equipment and little training. It is one of the most commonly used methods of terrorist attack, ranking only behind bombing and assassination in total numbers.[173] Since arson is primarily used against property, it is not normally considered as a casualty producer. Arson is most often used for symbolic attacks and economic effects. Single-issue groups, such as the Earth Liberation Front, particularly favor it for these purposes. However, it can still result in fatalities, whether intentional or not.

Hoaxes, Misdirection and Compound Attacks

At the less lethal end of the spectrum, hoaxes can simply be methods to annoy and wear down security forces, and keep the population constantly agitated. Fake bomb threats, leaving suspicious items in public places, and talcum powder "anthrax" attacks bleed time and effort from other security operations, and contribute to uncertainty and fear.

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[171] Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Threat Assessment and Warning Unit, Counterterrorism Division, *Terrorism in the United States 1999,* Report 0308, (Washington, D.C., n.d.), 41.

[172]Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 181.

[173] Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Threat Assessment and Warning Unit, Counterterrorism Division, *Terrorism in the United States 1999,* Report 0308, (Washington, D.C., n.d.), 41.

Worse, such activities can be used to gain information about the target's response to a potential attack. Where the occupants go during the evacuation of a building, and how long it takes them to exit are useful elements of information in operational planning, and can be obtained through simply making an anonymous phone call or activating a fire alarm. Observation of regularly scheduled exercises or drills of emergency response procedures can provide similar information.

This technique can also be combined with an actual attack to circumvent fixed security measures. For example, the occupants of a bomb-resistant building with controlled access and a guard force could be forced to evacuate by a plausible, but false, threat. Many security plans would respect the potential danger such a threat represented, and evacuate the building. Unless properly secured, the evacuation has made the occupants more vulnerable to such weapons as a car bomb or other mass casualty technique placed near the exits, or at a designated assembly point.

This tactic is taken one step further in a compound attack. If the unconfirmed threat of a bomb or arson will not generate the desired evacuation, an actual attack can be substituted. Using a standoff weapon such as a rocket launcher or mortar, the attack would be of short duration and need only be effective enough to force an evacuation to the more vulnerable area. If it can be obtained, knowledge of the targets' standard response to various types of attack permits the terrorist to craft a devastating two-step assault.

Suicide Tactics

Suicide tactics are particular methods of delivering a bomb or conducting an assassination. They are defined as "An act of terror, employing an explosive or incendiary device that requires the death of the perpetrator for successful implementation."[174] Suicide attacks are different in concept and execution from "high-risk" operations. In a high-risk mission, the *likely* outcome is the death of the terrorist(s), but mission success does not *require* that the participants die. The plan will allow for possible escape or survival of the participants, no matter how slim the chances. Using suicide as a tactic *requires* the death of the participant(s) in order to succeed.

A suicide bomber constitutes a highly effective precision-guided munition in the immediate tactical sense, but has a much greater impact from psychological considerations and the seemingly unstoppable nature of the weapon/tactic. Use of suicide terrorism as a tactic is a conscious decision on the part of the leaders of terrorist organizations. It is frequently conducted as a campaign for a specific objective (e.g. withdrawal of foreign troops, interrupting peace negotiations).[175] It can often be a sign that a terror group has failed to meet it's goals through less extreme measures, and requires the tactical edge, as well as the

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[174] Martha Crenshaw, "Suicide Terrorism in Comparative Perspective," in *Countering Suicide Terrorism* (Herzilya, Israel: The International Policy Institute for Counter Terrorism, The Interdisciplinary Center, 2002), 21.
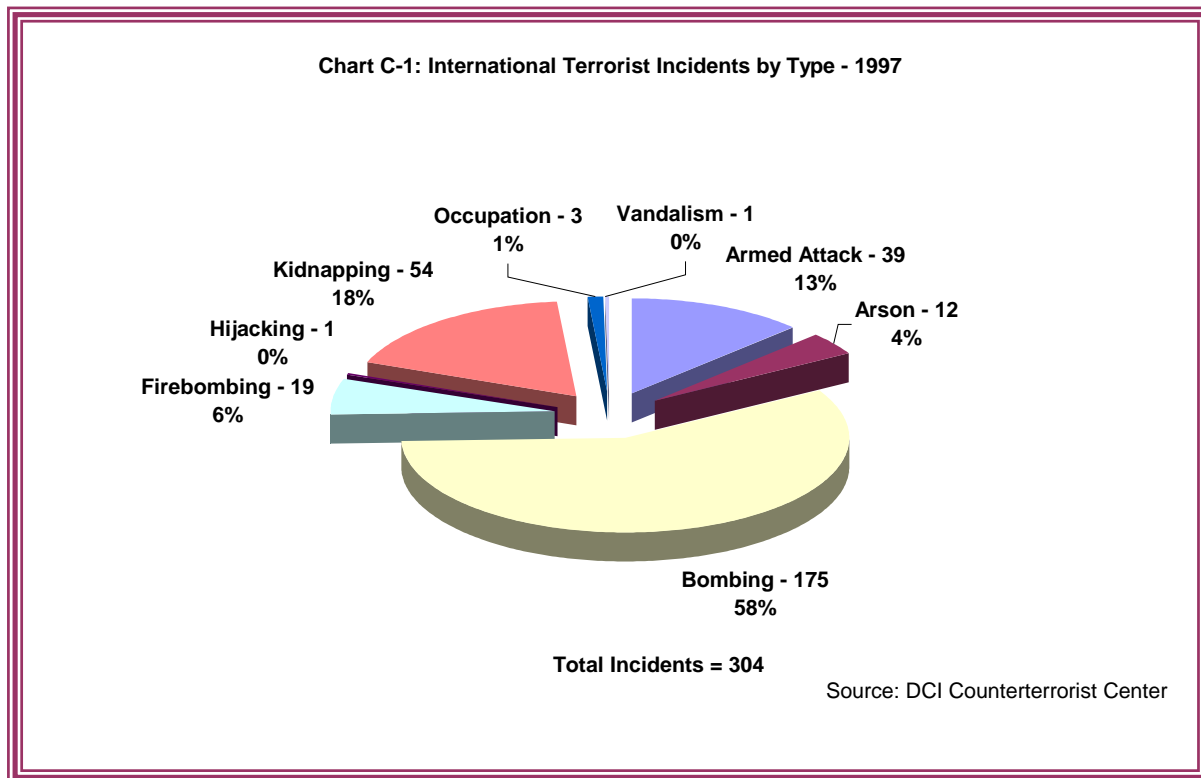[175] Yoram Schweitzer, "Suicide Terrorism: Development and Main Characteristics," in *Countering Suicide Terrorism* (Herzilya, Israel: The International Policy Institute for Counter Terrorism, The Interdisciplinary Center, 2002), 85.

potential inspiration to it's rank and file, that suicide bombing provides.[176] It can also indicate a specific operational requirement that can be met in no other way.

Suicide attacks are not unique to religious terrorist organizations. Both religiously motivated and secular groups have employed this tactic. Individual motivations on the part of the suicide assets themselves include religious or political convictions, hatred, and being coerced by the terrorist group into the attack.

As in any other terrorist operation, extensive pre-operational surveillance and reconnaissance, exhaustive planning, and sufficient resources will be devoted to an operation employing suicide as a tactic.[177] A typical operation involving suicide can require 6-10 personnel in support, some for extensive periods of time. A specialized suicide operation, such as assassination, might require 60 or more personnel, and sophisticated agent handling techniques.

International Incidents – 1997

Chart C-1 below, based on data from the DCI Counterterrorist Center, shows the various types of international terrorist incidents recorded during 1997.[178]   Although the DCI categorizes incidents somewhat different from this guide, it does provide a real world

Chart C-1: International Terrorist Incidents by Type - 1997

Occupation - 3
1%

Vandalism - 1
0%

Armed Attack - 39
13%

Arson - 12
4%

Kidnapping - 54
18%

Hijacking - 1
0%

Firebombing - 19
6%

Bombing - 175
58%

Total Incidents = 304

Source: DCI Counterterrorist Center

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[176] Ehud Sprinzak, "Rational Fanatics," *Foreign Policy,* no. 120 (September/October 2000): 66-73.

[177] Rohan Gunaratna, "Suicide Terrorism: a Global Threat," *Jane's Intelligence Review* (20 October 2000): 1-7; available from http://www.janes.com/security/international_security/news/usscole/jir001020_1_n.shtml; Internet; accessed 7 September 2002.

[178] Director of Central Intelligence, DCI Counterterrorist Center*, International Terrorism in 1997: A Statistical View* (Washington, D.C., 1998), 1; available from http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/terror97cia/event.jpg; Internet; accessed 3 February 2003.

representation of the various operations and tactics conducted by terrorists. As stated above, bombs are the favorite weapon of terrorists, which is supported by the fact that 58% of the incidents in 1997 were bombings.

Appendix D
Firearms

"…an international cabal of terrorists has the firepower to outgun the police of almost every western nation."
- How Terrorists Kill: The Complete Terrorist Arsenal **by J. David Truby**

Terrorists use a variety of weapons to inflict their damage. As explained in the IRA General Headquarters pamphlet, they use explosives and almost any small arms weapon. These weapons can include submachine guns, grenades, pistols, automatic rifles, rifles, mortars, and rocket launchers.[179] Although some of these appear to be quite sophisticated for terrorists, they have become increasingly more available due to state sponsorship of many terrorist groups, regional conflicts, and a widespread illegal arms trade. In fact, many of the U.S. weapons captured from terrorists have been traced back to Vietnam.

When selecting weapons, terrorists look for 3 major factors: availability, simplicity, and efficiency. They like automatic weapons that can kill from a distance and have stopping power. They also want to be able to conceal the weapon, especially in urban terrain.[180]

As much as possible, terrorists do try to standardize calibers of their weapons for ease of ammunition resupply and they favor easily available military and semi-military weapons.[181] Most international terrorist groups like full automatic weapons, such as the AK47 and the M16. However, nearly any weapon can be found in use, especially in smaller groups. A favorite weapon by small groups in the United States is the 12-gauge shotgun.

Given the availability of weapons on the black market and the ever-changing technology, there is no way to develop a manual that would show every weapon a terrorist might use. This appendix is organized to review a representative example of various firearms used by terrorists today. It covers five basic types: pistols, submachine guns, assault rifles, sniper rifles, and shotguns.

Pistols are standard weapons for terrorists. They are small so they can be easily concealed. Most of them are lightweight and many modern pistols provide good firepower. Since their effective range is generally limited to about 50 meters, they do limit the distance to engage a target. However, they can be very effective at close range. They are more effective for personal security or victim control than for sustained firefights. Although the revolver is often considered more reliable, the semi-automatic provides more ammunition than a revolver that only holds 6 rounds. Additionally, replacing a magazine is much faster than reloading a revolver's cylinder.

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[179] Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000; reprint, Portland: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 111.

[180] Christopher Dobson and Ronald Payne, *The Terrorist: Their Weapons, Leaders, and Tactics* (New York: Facts on File, Inc, Revised Edition, 1982), 104.

[181] J. David Truby, *How Terrorists Kill: The Complete Terrorist Arsenal* (Boulder: Paladin Press, 1978), 7-8.

Submachine guns are basically short rifles that have a full automatic fire capability. They use pistol-caliber ammunition and typically have large magazine capacities. Their range, accuracy and penetration are better than pistols due to the longer barrel and sight radius. Submachine guns are a favorite with terrorist groups because they are small, light and easily concealed. They provide a large amount of firepower and are deadly at close range.

Assault rifles are the primary offensive weapons of modern militaries and are used extensively by terrorist organizations. In April of 2002, the Israeli Defense Forces seized a number of weapons in the West Bank. In that operation, 1,335 Kalashnikov rifles were recovered.[182] Assault rifles have calibers ranging from 5.45mm to 7.62mm and magazine capacities often in excess of 30 rounds. They normally have selective firing capability to allow single shot, 2 or 3 round bursts, or full automatic mode. Their effective ranges often exceed 600 meters and have effective rates of fire up to 400 rounds per minute in full automatic mode. When used by terrorists, they have the same firepower that a modern soldier has on the battlefield.

Since one of the major terror tactics is assassination, sniper weapons are often used to attack targets that are difficult to get close enough for other weapons. Additionally, with the development of large caliber sniper weapons, such as the Armalite AR-50 in .50 Caliber BMG, terrorists can also effectively engage light armored vehicles.

Although limited in range and penetration capability, shotguns are excellent weapons, especially for close-range assassinations. There is no requirement for precise aim since the dispersion effect of the large number of pellets will cover a wide area. They are readily available and relatively inexpensive compared to other weapons. Additionally, the barrels can be sawed off to permit easy concealment.

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[182] "Weapons of Terror," *ADL* (8 April 2002):1; available from http://www.adl.org/israel/weapons_list.asp; Internet; accessed 8 January 2003.

CZ 75 (Czechoslovakia)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
 (*Source:* MCIA-1110-001-93, *Infantry Weapons Identification Guide,* September 1992, 94)	9mm Parabellum	Magazine Capacity: 16

SYSTEM

A double-action semi-automatic pistol modeled after the Browning P-35. It can be carried cocked and locked and is considered a very accurate handgun. Its design has been copied frequently to produce such guns as the TZ75, EAA Witness, TA90, Springfield Armory P9, ITM AT84, ITM AT88, and Baby Eagle.

Weight (kg): 0.98
Length (mm): 203
Operation: Recoil operated double action.
Fire Mode: Semi-automatic

SIGHTS

Iron sights.

VARIANTS

CZ 75B, 75BD, 75DAO, 75 Police: available in 9mm Luger, 9x21mm, .40 S&W

CZ 75 Compact, 75D Compact, 75 Semi Compact: Available in 9mm Luger.

AMMUNITION

Name: 9mm Parabellum
Caliber/length: 9 x 19 mm
Effective Range (m): 50
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 381

Glock 17 (Austria)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
(*Source*: Photograph Courtesy of GLOCK, Inc.)	9mm Parabellum	Magazine Capacity: 10, 17, 19, 31

SYSTEM

A semiautomatic handgun originally adopted by the Austrian Army and Police. It has a unique safe action striker-fired trigger mechanism that sets the striker in the half-cocked position after each round. When firing, the shooter pulls the trigger, which disengages the trigger safety, then cocks the striker to the full cock position prior to firing. The Glock has a polymer frame and steel slides.

Weight (kg): .905
Length (mm): 186
Operation: Recoil operated double action.
Fire Mode: Semiautomatic

SIGHTS

Iron sights. Adjustable on competition models.

VARIANTS

Glock 17L: Competition version
Glock 18: 3 round burst version
Glock 19: Compact version
Glock 34: Competition version
Numerous other models in a variety of calibers.

AMMUNITION

Name: 9 mm Parabellum
Caliber/length: 9 x 19mm
Effective Range (m): 50
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 350

Makarov Pistol (USSR/Russia)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
(*Source*: *U.S. Army Special Forces Foreign Weapons Handbook*, January 1967, I-13)	9mm Makarov	Magazine Capacity: 8

SYSTEM

A blowback operated, double action semiautomatic handgun that is extremely sturdy, simple to operate and maintain, and very reliable. It was designed for Soviet army officers and Soviet police. It is a Walther PP style weapon and provides good defense at short and medium distances. There are some disadvantages with this weapon, specifically the 9mm Makarov is considered to be underpowered. Additionally, the magazine capacity of 8 is low compared to other handguns available.

Weight (kg): .66
Length (mm): 160
Operation: Double action
Fire Mode: Semiautomatic

SIGHTS

Iron sites.

VARIANTS

PMM: 9x18mm
Izh 71: 9x17mm short/.380 ACP
Baikal IJ 70: 9mm Makarov/.380 ACP

AMMUNITION

Name: 9mm Makarov
Caliber/length: 9 x 18mm
Effective Range (m): 50
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 315

Ruger GP100 (United States)

Figure 13. (U) Ruger GP100 .357 Magnum Revolver

(*Source*: (S/NF/WN/NC) DST-2660H-481-89, *Terrorist Weapons Handbook – Worldwide* (U), 15 December 1989, 13. Unclassified Extract.)

Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
.357 Magnum .38 Special	Cylinder Capacity: 6

SYSTEM

The Ruger GP100 is a rugged double-action revolver, available in fixed and adjustable sight models. It was designed specifically for the law enforcement and security communities. It can be field stripped very quickly for easy maintenance. Although it is chambered for the .357 Magnum, it can also fire the .38 Special cartridge.

Weight (kg): 1.28
Length (mm): 238
Operation: Double action
Fire Mode: Single shot

SIGHTS
Adjustable iron sights.

VARIANTS

GP-141
KGP-141
GP-160
KGP-160
GP-161
KGP-161

AMMUNITION

Name: .357 Magnum
Caliber/length: .357 Cal/33 mm
Effective Range (m): 60
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 442

Heckler & Koch MP-5 (Germany)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
Neg. 510058 (UNCLASSIFIED) Figure 21. (U) MP5A2 and MP5A3 9-mm Submachinegun (*Source*: (S/NF/WN/NC) DST-2660H-481-89, *Terrorist Weapons Handbook – Worldwide* (U), 15 December 1989, 19. Unclassified Extract.)	9 mm Parabellum	Magazine Capacity: 10, 15, 30

SYSTEM

A submachine gun with a recoil operated roller-locked bolt that fires from a closed position. Very accurate and reliable under adverse conditions with only a minimum requirement for maintenance.   The smooth recoil characteristics provide optimum control when firing bursts or when firing full automatic. It is very conducive for concealed carrying or for use in confined areas.

Weight (kg): 3.07 loaded
Length (mm): 490/660
Cyclic Rate of fire (rd/min): 800
Operation: Blowback
Fire Mode: Semi-automatic, Full automatic

SIGHTS

Post front, select range peep rear.

Night sights, scopes, laser aiming devices available.

VARIANTS

MP5A1 – w/o stock
MP5A2 – fixed polymer stock
MP5A3 – telescopic metal stock
SD1 – SD3 – same as above with internal silencers
MP5N – US Navy model with 3 round burst capability

AMMUNITION

Name: 9 mm Parabellum
Caliber/length: 9 x 19 mm
Effective Range (m): 200
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 400

PM 63 (Poland)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
(*Source*: USAREUR Pam 30-60-1, *Identification Guide, Part One: Weapons and Equipment, East European Communist Armies, Volume 1: General, Ammunition and Infantry Weapons*, September 1972, 70)	9 mm Makarov	Magazine Capacity: 15, 25

SYSTEM

The PM 63 is a blowback operated SMG that fires from the open bolt position. Although it is capable of both semi-automatic and full automatic modes, there is no selector switch. The semi-automatic mode is achieved by a short pull of the trigger, whereas full automatic requires pulling the trigger completely. It was designed with Special Forces in mind and was one of the lightest SMGs when it was introduced. It has been used by Polish Special Forces, police and by military personnel requiring a compact weapon. Iranian terrorists used it during the siege of the Iranian embassy in London in 1980. It has been a very prolific weapon, with tens of thousands being produced.

Weight (kg): 2.0 Loaded
Length (mm): 333/583
Cyclic Rate of fire (rd/min): 650
Operation: Blowback, firing from open bolt position
Fire Mode: Semi-automatic, Full automatic

SIGHTS

Iron sights that can be set on 75 or 150 meters.

VARIANTS

9mm Parabellum developed in 1971.

Unlicensed copy by NORINCO of China.

AMMUNITION

Name: 9mm Makarov
Caliber/length: 9 x 18 mm
Effective Range (m): 75
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 320

SUBMACHINE GUNS

Uzi (Israel)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
(*Source*: (S/NF/WN/NC) DST-2660H-481-89, *Terrorist Weapons Handbook – Worldwide* (U), 15 December 1989, 20. Unclassified Extract.)	9mm Parabellum	Magazine Capacity: 20, 25, 32

SYSTEM

The Uzi is a recoil operated, select fire submachine gun that fires from the open bolt position. It has a folding stock and can be equipped with silencers. The Uzi submachine gun is manufactured by IMI and has been adopted by more than 90 countries for their police and military. Special operations and security units to include the US Secret Service and the Israeli Sayeret (Special Forces) use the compact variants. It is considered one of the most popular SMGs in the world, with more than 10 million manufactured around the world.

Weight (kg): 4.0 loaded
Length (mm): 470/650
Cyclic Rate of fire (rd/min): 600
Operation: Blowback, firing from open bolt position
Fire Mode: Semi-automatic, Full automatic

SIGHTS

Front – Post; Rear – Aperture "L" Flip.
Tactical flashlights and laser aiming modules are available.

VARIANTS

Mini Uzi
Micro Uzi

AMMUNITION

Name: 9 mm Parabellum
Caliber/length: 9 x 19mm
Effective Range (m): 200
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 400

AK 47 (Russia)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
(*Source*: *OPFOR Worldwide Equipment Guide*, TRADOC ADCSINT-Threats, September 2001, 1-4.1)	7.62 x 39 mm	Magazine Capacity: 30

SYSTEM

A gas operated, selective fire assault weapon adopted by the Soviet Army in 1949. It came with both a fixed wooden stock and a folding metal stock, the AKS, which was issued to paratroopers and armor units. All of the Kalashnikov assault rifles are very dependable and produce a high volume of fire. They are one of the most prevalent weapons used by terror groups today.

Weight (kg): 4.876 loaded
Length (mm): 870
Cyclic Rate of fire (rd/min): 600
Operation: Gas operated
Fire Mode: Semi-automatic, Full automatic

SIGHTS

Iron sites.

VARIANTS

AKS: short stock
AKM: updated version of the AK 47
Clones:
 Sako/Valmet: Finland
 Galil: Israel
 R-4/R-4C: South Africa

AMMUNITION

Name: 7.62
Caliber/length: 7.62 x 39 mm
Effective Range (m): 300
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 710

AK 74 (Russia)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
	5.45 mm	Magazine Capacity: 30
(*Source*: *OPFOR Worldwide Equipment Guide,* TRADOC ADCSINT-Threats, September 2001, 1-3)		

SYSTEM

A gas operated assault weapon used by the Soviet Army. It is basically an AKM rechambered to fire a 5.45mm round. It has a higher muzzle velocity than the AK 47/AKM, which gives it a longer effective range. It does not have the accuracy of the M16, but reportedly has better reliability in a combat situation and less maintenance requirements than the M16.

Weight (kg): 3.6 loaded
Length (mm): 933
Cyclic Rate of fire (rd/min): 600
Operation: Gas operated
Fire Mode: Semi-automatic, Full automatic

SIGHTS

Front: Post, Rear: U-notch

Night sights are available.

VARIANTS

AKS 74: Folding stock version

AMMUNITION

Name: 5.45mm
Caliber/length: 5.45 x 39 mm
Effective Range (m): 500
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 900

Colt M16 (United States)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
(*Source*: US Army File Photo)	5.56mm (.223 Rem)	Magazine Capacity: 20, 30

SYSTEM

A gas operated automatic assault rifle used by the US military as its primary weapon. Originally developed by Armalite as the AR 15, this was a scaled down version of the AR 10 redesigned to use the .223 Remington cartridge.
It has been modified numerous times and is used by nearly 30 different militaries and is very popular with law enforcement agencies.

Weight (kg): 2.89 empty
Length (mm): 986
Cyclic Rate of fire (rd/min): 800
Operation: Gas operated
Fire Mode: Semi-automatic, Full automatic

SIGHTS

Iron sites. Scope capable.

VARIANTS

M16A1, A2, A3: Various upgrades.

Civilian clones by Bushmaster, Armalite, Professional Ordnance, and many others.

AMMUNITION

Name: 5.56 NATO
Caliber/length: 5.56 x 45mm
Effective Range (m): 460
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 991

ArmaLite AR 50 (United States)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
(*Source*: Photo courtesy of ArmaLite*)	.50BMG	Single Shot

SYSTEM	VARIANTS
A single shot bolt action rifle that uses the.50 Cal Browning Machine Gun ammunition. It has a unique octagonal receiver bedded into a sectional aluminum stock and has a modified M-16 type pistol grip. The butt stock is fully adjustable and is removable for transport.	
Weight (kg): 19.24 with scope Length (mm): 1499 Operation: Bolt Action Fire Mode: Single shot	AMMUNITION Name: .50BMG Caliber/length: 12.7x99mm Effective Range (m): 1200 Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 865-890
SIGHTS ArmaLite sells this with a Leupold Mk4 10-power scope.	
* ArmaLite is a registered trademark of ArmaLite.	

Remington Model 700 (United States)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
 (*Source*: US Army File Photo)	.223 Rem .308 Win	Magazine. Capacity: 5

SYSTEM	VARIANTS
A bolt action, magazine fed rifle that is basically a re-stocked Remington Model 700 VS varmint rifle. This is one of the most widely used tactical rifles in the United States. The police, the US Army and the US Marine Corps, use it.	M24 Sniper Weapon System (US Army) M40A1 Sniper Rifle (USMC)
Weight (kg): 4.08 empty without scope Length (mm): 1662 Operation: Bolt Action Fire Mode: Single Shot	**AMMUNITION** Name: .223 Rem/.308 Win Caliber/length: 5.56x45mm / 7.62x51mm Effective Range (m): 800 Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 1005 / 780-840
SIGHTS Variable telescopic scopes. No iron sights.	

Steyr-Mannlicher SSG-69 (Austria)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
(UNCLASSIFIED) Neg. 529276 Figure 44. (U) Steyr SSG-69 7.62-mm Sniper Rifle (UNCLASSIFIED) (*Source*: (S/NF/WN/NC) DST-2660H-481-89, *Terrorist Weapons Handbook – Worldwide* (U), 15 December 1989, 32-33. Unclassified Extract.)	7.62 x 51mm (.308 Win)	Magazine. Capacity: 5

SYSTEM	VARIANTS
A bolt action, magazine fed rifle, which has been used as a sniper rifle by the Austrian forces, as well as many police agencies. The rifle is extremely accurate and has been used to win a number of international competitions.	
Weight (kg): 4.6 with scope. Length (mm): 1130 Operation: Bolt Action Fire Mode: Single shot	AMMUNITION Name: .308 Win Caliber/length: 7.62 x 51mm Effective Range (m): 800 Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 799 - 860
SIGHTS Scope	

Franchi SPAS 12 (Italy)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
 Figure 46. (U) Franchi SPAS 12-Gauge Shotgun (*Source*: (S/NF/WN/NC) DST-2660H-481-89, *Terrorist Weapons Handbook – Worldwide* (U), 15 December 1989, 34. Unclassified Extract.)	12 Ga. Shot 12 Ga. Buckshot 12 Ga. Slug	Tubular Magazine capacity: 8

SYSTEM

This is a dual mode shotgun, which can be operated both as a pump-action style shotgun and as a semi-auto shotgun. It can rapidly fire full power loads such as buckshot set on semi-auto, and can be switched to pump to handle low power rounds -- or if auto functioning fails to function properly. It has a relatively short barrel, which makes it suitable for operation in tight quarters. Both military and the police use it.

Weight (kg): 4.0
Length (mm): 1070
Operation: Pump or gas operated
Fire Mode: Semi-automatic

SIGHTS

Iron Blade

VARIANTS

AMMUNITION

Name: 12 Gauge
Caliber/length: 12 Ga/ 2 ¾ inch
Effective Range (m): 60
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 393 (00 Buckshot)

SHOTGUNS

Mossberg Model 500 (United States)

	Ammunition Types	Typical Combat Load
(UNCLASSIFIED) Figure 47. (U) Mossberg Model 500 12-Gauge Shotgun (*Source*: (S/NF/WN/NC) DST-2660H-481-89, *Terrorist Weapons Handbook – Worldwide* (U), 15 December 1989, 34. Unclassified Extract.)	12 Ga. Shot 12 Ga. Buckshot 12 Ga. Slug	Tubular Magazine capacity: 6, 8, 9

SYSTEM	VARIANTS
This is a pump action shotgun that is common with the military and police departments, and is sold widely on the commercial market. It is available with both a traditional wood stock and with the pistol grip, as shown above.	Numerous variations of this model exist.

SYSTEM

This is a pump action shotgun that is common with the military and police departments, and is sold widely on the commercial market. It is available with both a traditional wood stock and with the pistol grip, as shown above.

Weight (kg): 2.6
Length (mm): 711
Operation: Pump Action
Fire Mode: Single shot

SIGHTS

Fixed iron sights

VARIANTS

Numerous variations of this model exist.

AMMUNITION

Name: 12 Gauge
Caliber/length: 12 Ga/ 2 ¾ inch and 3 inch
Effective Range (m): 60
Muzzle Velocity (m/s): 393 (00 Buckshot)

Appendix E
Improvised Explosive Devices

> **"Shampoo bottles, bicycle seats, tiffins. A plastic container or an LPG cylinder. A parcel of books. A clock, a teddy bear. In the Kashmir Valley, any one of these innocuous objects can be fatal. They are all commonly used by militants to fashion bombs and improvised explosive devices (IEDs). But the most lethal of all is the remote controlled explosive device, hidden in a ditch, a drainpipe or a parked vehicle."**
>
> **- "Lethal Weapons",** *Indian Express Newspaper* **(Bombay), August 24, 2000**

General

While terrorists will use conventional weapons, such as rocket-propelled grenades and assault rifles to achieve their goals, they also have the ability to assemble and employ a wide variety of lethal improvised explosive devices (IEDs). Explosives are a popular weapon with terrorists and are covered in the al Qaeda training manual. The manual states, "Explosives are believed to be the safest weapon for the Mujahideen. Using explosives allows them to get away from enemy personnel and to avoid being arrested." It goes on to say that, "In addition, explosives strike the enemy with sheer terror and fright." [183]

IEDs are a common tool of terror used by non-state actors. These devices have been fabricated in an improvised manner and incorporate highly destructive lethal and dangerous explosives or incendiary chemicals, which are designed to kill or destroy the target. The materials required for these devices are often stolen or misappropriated from military or commercial blasting supplies, or made from fertilizer and other readily available household ingredients.[184] IEDs basically include some type of explosive, fuse, detonators and wires, shrapnel and pieces of metal, and a container to pack the explosives and shrapnel.

The use of IEDs by terrorists is a constant threat. Terrorist groups are continuously developing new techniques and tactics in response to defenses and countermeasures established by their opponents. They will disguise IEDs to hinder recognition and will often booby-trap the devices to detonate if disturbed.

The most simple of the IEDs used is the one initiated by closing of a battery circuit, similar to turning on a battery operated light. When turning on the switch closes the circuit, electricity flows to the light so it can be illuminated. As shown in Figure E-1, a clothespin-triggering device in this IED replaces the light switch and when it is activated, the electricity flows to the charge, thus detonating the explosive.

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[183] Ben N. Venzke and Aimee Ibrahim, *Al Qaeda Tactic/Target Brief* (Alexandria: IntelCenter/Tempest Publishing, 2002), 11.

[184] *Conventional Terrorist Weapons* (New York: United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, 2002)*,* 4*;* available from http://www.undcp.org/odccp/terrorism_weapons_conventional.html; Internet; accessed 12 November 2002.
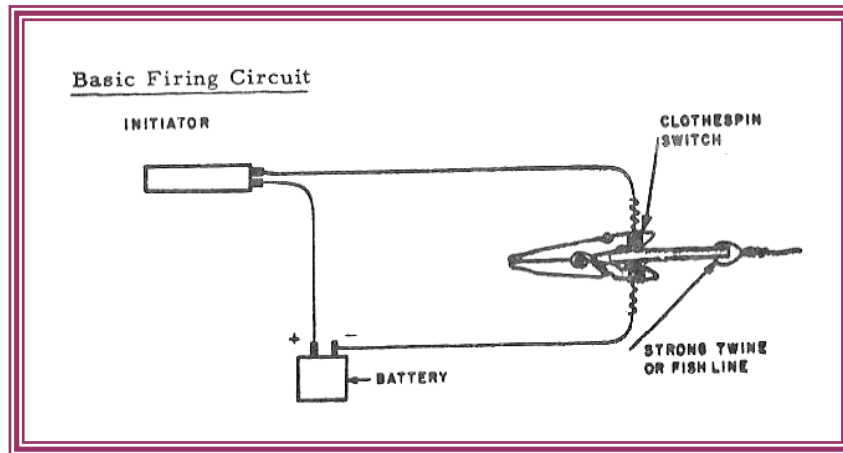
Figure E-1: Basic Firing Circuit (*Source*: TM 31-210)

The IED can be detonated using a number of triggering devices. These can be mechanical, electrical, or remote controlled type devices. For instance, after emplacing the IED, such as in a natural culvert or under a road by digging and then camouflaging the spot, the person waits some distance for the target to arrive. Once the target is within the damage area, the IED is initiated. The damage caused can be phenomenal as even a small amount of explosive can cause an explosion that dislodges a vehicle up to 50 feet in the air, or damage a bridge totally. This same scenario can be applied to a passenger train. More sophisticated assemblies of IEDs can be even more devastating and cause much damage.

Explosive Charges

Although terrorists use manufactured explosive material, it is easy for them to obtain the ingredients required to make improvised explosive material as well. The ingredients can be purchased at local stores with relative ease. Additionally, the instructions for making these type explosives have been published in a wide variety of literature, such as The Anarchists Cookbook[185], for years. They are also available on the Internet. One such site has the recipes to make 27 different low and high order explosives[186] and another site gives instructions for both producing explosives and making the bombs.[187] The following are examples of common types of explosive charges found in IEDs.

- Improvised explosive mixtures: Although there are recipes to make virtually any explosive, the following are some common improvised ones that are used.
  - Ammonium nitrate fertilizer

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[185] William Powell, *The Anarchist Cookbook* (Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, Inc., 1971), 111.
[186] *Improvised Explosives;* available from
http://members.odinsrage.com/white88/18_ImprovisedExplosives.htm; Internet; accessed 11 December 2002.
[187] *Improvised Explosives*, vol. I, version 2.0 (15 May 1990); available from
http://www.logicsouth.com/~lcoble/password/firearms.html; Internet; accessed 11 December 2002.

- Black powder
- Gasoline
- Match heads
- Smokeless powder
- Sodium Chlorate and sugar

- Chemical reactions:
  - Acid bombs, such as nitric and sulfuric acid
  - Caustic bombs, such as Drano toilet bowl cleaner
  - Dry ice

- Plastic Explosives: This has become the explosive of choice for various international terrorist groups.   There are 2 main types used by terrorists:
  - C-4: a white, RDX based explosive produced by the United States. This is the common plastic explosive used by the U.S. military.
  - SEMTEX: an orange, RDX and PETN based explosive produced in the Czech Republic. Intelligence experts estimated the bomb that destroyed Pan Am 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988 contained about two-thirds of a pound of Semtex.[188]
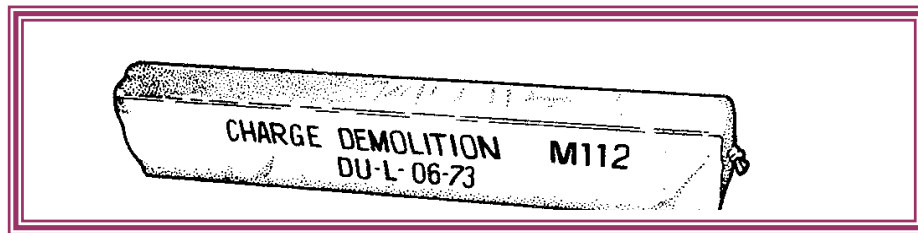
Figure E-2: U.S. Army M112 Block Demolition Charge of C4 (*Source*: FM 5-25)

- TNT: TNT is the most common military explosive and is used alone or as part of a composite explosive. It is also used as the standard against which other military high explosives are rated.
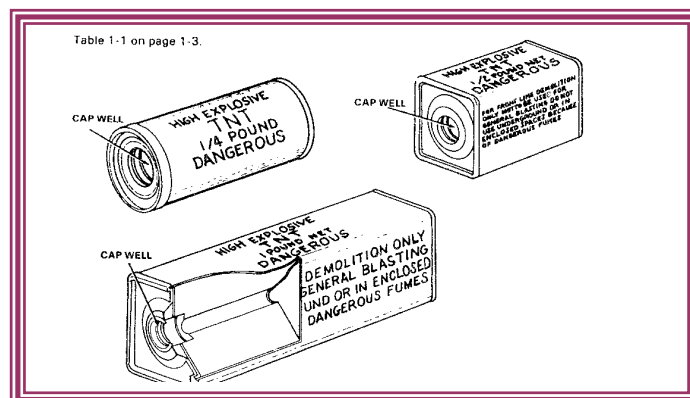

Figure E-3: TNT Block Demolition Charges (*Source*: FM 5-25)

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[188] Earl Lane, "Plastic Explosives Difficult to Detect," *Newsday.com,* 23 July 1996, 1; available from http://www.newsday.com/news/nytwa96-jet3bomb,0,2501618.story; Internet; accessed 12 December 2002.

- Dynamite: The most widely used explosive in the world for blasting operations. It has been fairly easy to obtain by both theft and legal purchases in the past.
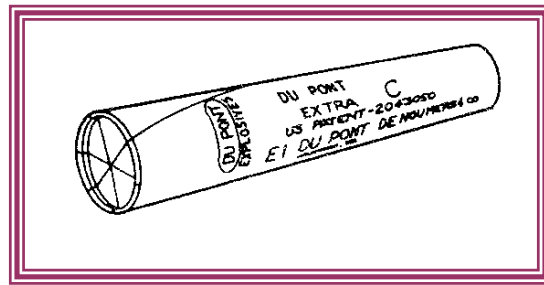

Figure E-4: Commercial Dynamite (*Source*: FM 5-25)

Common Trigger Devices

As mentioned earlier, some form of trigger is used to detonate the explosive device. These range from very simple homemade devices to highly technical devices. Although not all-inclusive, some examples are listed below.

- Manual wind-up alarm clocks and wristwatches. Delay can be up to 24 hours.
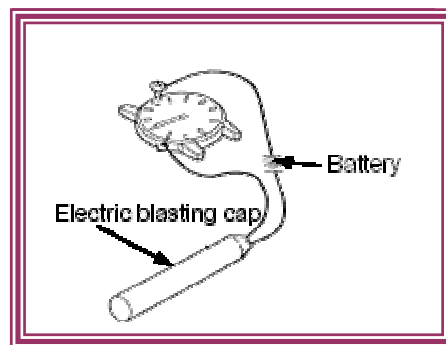
Figure E-5: Wristwatch Device (*Source*: FM 20-32)

- Pressure release switch that is spring-loaded. These can be as simple as a mousetrap or a commercially produced switch.
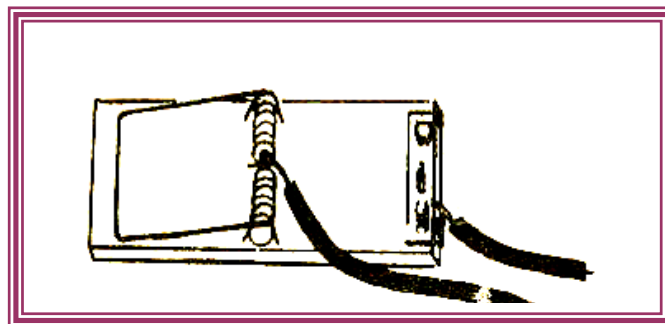

Figure E-6: Mousetrap Switch (*Source*: TM 31-210)

- Pull switches that actuate when a trip wire is pulled. There are many different forms of these triggers. They can be made easily by stripping the insulation off of wire and looping them together or by inserting a piece of wood between the contact wires on a clothespin.

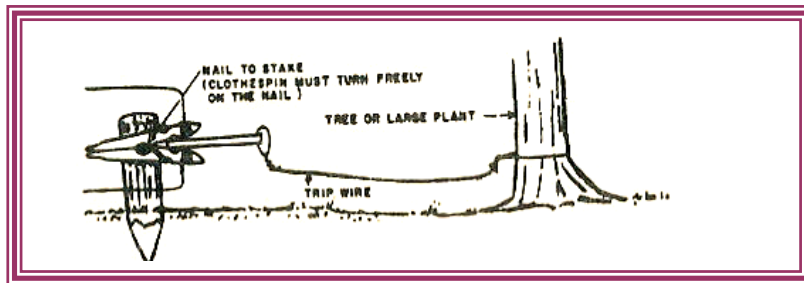Figure E-7: Pull-Loop Switch (*Source*: TM 31-210)

Figure E-8: Clothespin Switch (*Source*: TM 31-210)

- Pressure switches that actuate when weight is applied.
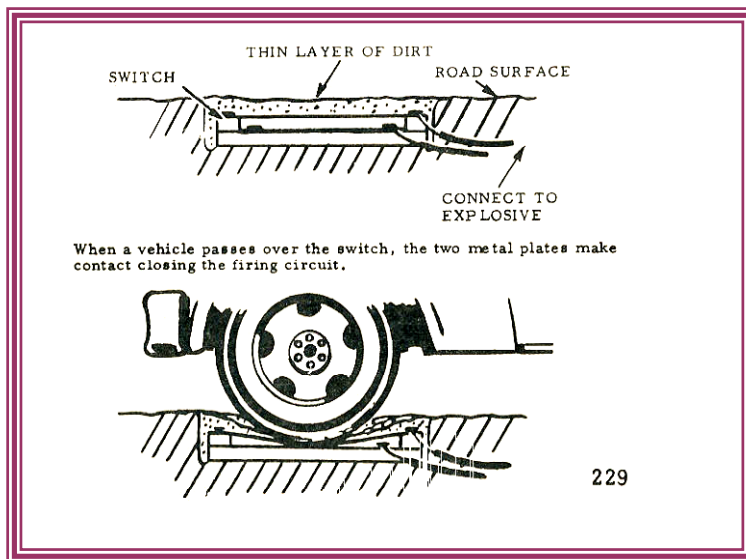

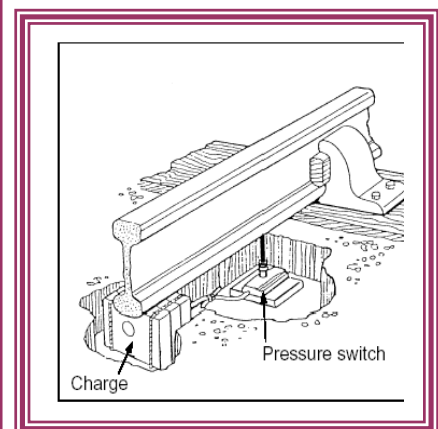Figure E-9: Pressure Switch (*Source*: TM 31-210)

Figure E-10: Pressure Switch
(*Source*: FM 20-32)

- Metal Ball Switch: This switch will activate the device when it is tipped. It also can be used as an anti-disturbance type system that actuates the explosive device when it is disturbed.
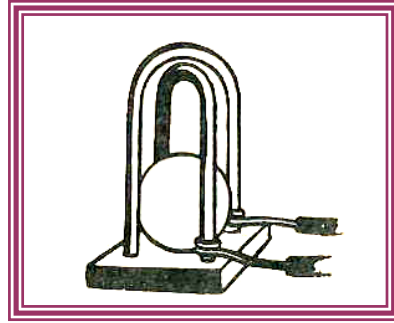

Figure E-11: Metal Ball Switch (*Source* TM 31-210)
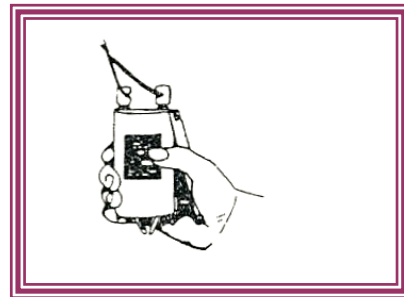
- Wire command detonation.

Figure E-12: Hand-held Detonation Device (*Source*: FM 20-32)

- Barometric Sensor: Bombs can be triggered using a barometric sensor that detonates once it reaches a specific altitude. The bomb on Pan Am Flight 103 had a detonator with a barometric sensor with a timer delay and triggered only after the aircraft had reached a specific altitude and flew at that altitude for a set length of time.[189]

- Alarm equipment, such as motion detectors, infrared detectors, and heat detectors. Trigger devices were found in Chechnya that could discern the body heat of a person from background clutter over 20 feet away.[190]

- LED digital wristwatch.[191]

- Radio control systems similar to those used for models. These have been used by the IRA to detonate bombs against the British.[192]

- Hand-held radar guns. [193]

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[189] Christopher Wain, "Lessons from Lockerbie," *BBC News,* 21 December 1998, 1; available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/special_report/1998/12/98/lockerbie/235632.stm; Internet; accessed 12 December 2002.

[190] Ed Wagamon, "Tactical Combat in Chechnya: Mines & Booby Traps: The Number One Killer" (Part 1 of 2), *How They Fight: Armies of the World,* NGIC-1122-0062-01, vol 4-01 (August 2001): 35.

[191] Ibid, 35.

[192] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 180.

[193] Ibid, 181.

- Radio command detonation, such as battery-powered garage door openers, cell phones, and paging systems.[194]

Types of IEDs

The different types of IEDs vary based on the type explosive used, method of assembly, and also the method of detonation. As this is restricted only by human ingenuity, the types of IEDs are infinite. The Technical Support Working Group, which is an interagency group focusing on counter terrorism, categorizes IEDs based on their size and explosive capacity. The following table from *Jane's Unconventional Weapons Response Handbook* shows the categories.

Threat	*Explosives Capacity (TNT Equivalent)*
Firebomb or incendiary device	Less than 1 lb (0.5 kg)
Postal explosive device	1-5 lb (0.5 – 2.5 kg)
Pipe bomb	1-5 lb (0.5 – 2.5 kg)
Man-portable explosive device	5-50 lb (2.5 - 25 kg)
Compact sedan	500 lb (225 kg)
Full-size sedan	1,000 lb (455 kg)
Passenger or cargo van	4,000 lb (1,815 kg)
Small moving van or delivery truck	10,000 lb (4,535 kg)
Large moving van or water truck	30,000 lb (13,605 kg)
Semi-trailer	60,000 lb (27,210 kg)
Source: John P. Sullivan, et al., *Jane's Unconventional Weapons Response Handbook* (Alexandria, VA: Jane's Information Group, 2002), 53.	

Table E-1: Explosive Capacity

Although not all inclusive, some of the common IEDs a military organization will encounter are shown below:

- Pipe Bombs. This is the most common type of terrorist bomb. Steel, iron, aluminum or copper pipes that are widely available in the market are used and low-velocity explosives are tightly capped inside. These are often wrapped with nails to cause more damage.
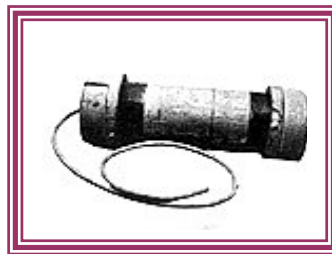

Figure E-13: Pipe Bomb
(*Source*: BATF)

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[194] Ed Wagamon, "Tactical Combat in Chechnya: Mines & Booby Traps: The Number One Killer" (Part 1 of 2), *How They Fight: Armies of the World,* NGIC-1122-0062-01, vol 4-01 (August 2001): 34.

- Incendiary Devices. The Molotov cocktail was initially used by the Russian resistance against German armored vehicles in WWII. They are very easy to make, yet cause sever damage. The device normally consists of a glass bottle, which contains a very volatile fuel, such as gasoline or diesel. A cloth fuse is inserted through the bottle opening and is ignited before the bottle is thrown at the target.
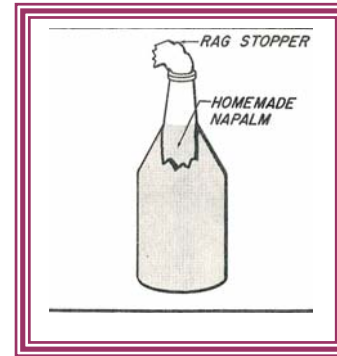

Figure E-14: Molotov Cocktail (*Source*: TM 31-201-1)

- Vehicle Devices. In addition to the IEDs, a vehicle can be modified to conceal and deliver large quantities of explosives to a target. The motive behind such incidents is to cause many casualties and gross property damage. This type of weapon is termed a VBIED (vehicle borne improvised explosive device). Factors encouraging VBIED use include:
    - Mobility.
    - Benign, non-threatening means of delivery and concealment.
    - Capacity to conceal large quantities of explosives.
    - Fragmentation and blast enhancement.
    - Penetration of target's perimeter not required (within reason).
    - Minimal technology, logistics, and financing are needed to assemble a large explosive device proven to cause major personnel casualties and gross property damage.
    - Suicide driver is nearly impossible to stop.

Such devices can also be remotely controlled for detonation. The near-simultaneous use of multiple VBIEDs against geographically dispersed targets has the potential to create mass casualties and panic.

- Other devices: The design of IEDs is only limited to the ingenuity of the person making them. A few examples of other type devices are shown below.

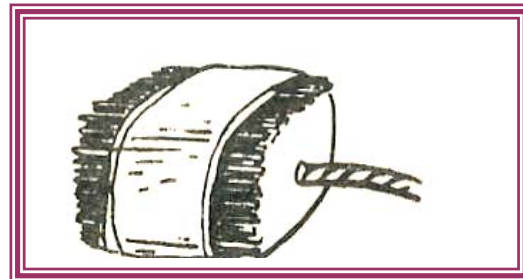Figure E-15: Dynamite/Nail Bomb (*Source*: BATF)

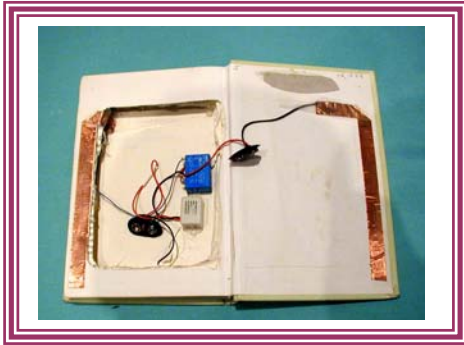Figure E-16: Nail Grenade (*Source*: TM 31-210)

Figure E-17: Bomb Book (*Source*: File Photo)

Figure E-18: Plastic milk containers filled with explosives (*Source*: File Photo)

- Projected IEDs. These are improvised devices that launch some form of projectile at the intended target. These fall into 3 categories: Explosively formed projectiles (commonly called platter charges or disk charges); shoulder fired rocket launchers; and improvised mortars.

    - Platter charges. These are designed with some form of explosive material placed on one side of a flat metal plate. When the device is detonated, the metal plate is launched at the target and can penetrate armor and concrete.

Red Army Brigade Ambush
Alfred Herrhausen, 30 November 1989

The Red Army Brigade, primarily a German domestic terrorist group, targeted politicians and influential businessmen for murder. As head of Deutsche Bank, Germany's largest bank, Alfred Herrhausen was the most influential businessman in the country. The Red Army Brigade vowed to kill Herrhausen by the end of November 1989

Herrhausen was chauffeured to work each morning in an armored Mercedes, with bodyguards in a lead and a follow car. The Red Army Brigade learned his routine, which was to take substantially the same route to and from work at approximately the same time each day. That route went through a park, which made for an excellent surveillance and attack site. RAB members, in workers' clothes, dug a small hole across the road, set up an infrared beam on one side and a reflector on the other.

On 30 November 1989, Alfred Herrhausen headed for work in his usual motorcade, along his usual route, at his usual time. A RAB lookout signaled the triggerman that Herrhausen's motorcade was approaching the kill zone. The triggerman allowed the first car through, then activated the infrared beam. When Herrhausen's car broke the beam, a timer delay caused a plate charge hidden on the back of a bicycle to detonate, sending it through the rear door of Herrhausen's armored car. It severed his legs and he bled to death.

159

- Shoulder fired rockets. These are very similar to military rocket launchers, such as the RPG. However, they are less accurate and have a shorter range.

- Improvised mortars. A mortar system can be built using propane cylinders as the launch tube. Add a simple elevation system and detonator and a complete improvised mortar system can be obtained.

Figure E-19: Improvised Mortar System (*Source*: File Photo)
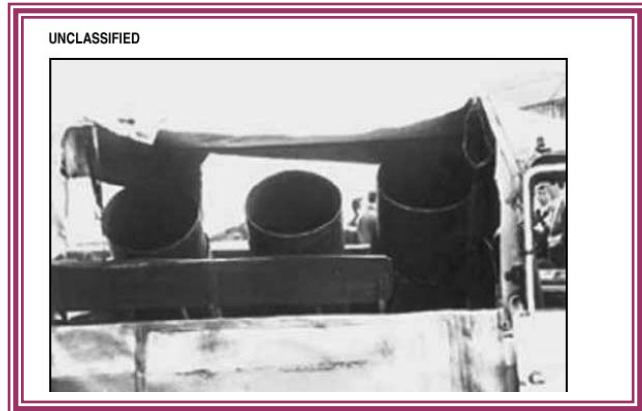
Figure E-20: Multi-tube Battery Mounted in Truck (*Source*: File Photo)

Commercial Product Modification

Terrorists also show great skill and creativity in their ability to weaponize commercial off the shelf products. Given the right components, something as benign as a cell phone can be turned into a weapon that becomes easy to conceal and to employ. In Figure E-21, the cell phone has been converted to a four-barreled gun.

(U) Four-barreled Cell Phone Gun.

Figure E-21: Four-barreled Cell Phone Gun *(Source*: File Photo)

Covert Firearms

(U) US manufactured covert firearms [Clockwise from bottom] 7/8-inch Bolt gun; Flashlight gun; Pen gun [All are .22 caliber]; Double-barrel .32 caliber key chain gun.
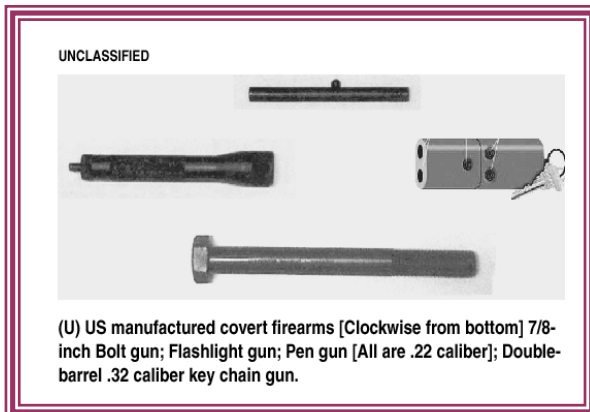
Figure E-22: US Manufactured Firearms (*Source*: File Photo)

Covert firearms can be developed or secretly obtained through black market channels. With the right amount of cash and good connections a terrorist can find or produce many dangerous and unexpected weapons for their arsenals of terror.

Evacuation Distance Tables

There is no question that U.S. forces are susceptible to the threat posed by IEDs. When confronted with these type devices, trained personnel should only disable them. Friendly personnel should be evacuated to a safe distance to preclude casualties in case the IED is detonated. The table below is representative of a card distributed by the Department of Defense that provides recommended evacuation distances based on the type IED.

Terrorist Bomb Threat Stand-Off

THREAT	THREAT DESCRIPTION	EXPLOSIVES CAPACITY[1] (TNT EQUIVALENT)	BUILDING EVACUATION DISTANCE[2]	OUTDOOR EVACUATION DISTANCE[3]
	PIPE BOMB	5 LBS/ 2.3 KG	70 FT/ 21 M	850 FT/ 259 M
	BRIEFCASE/ SUITCASE BOMB	50 LBS/ 23 KG	150 FT/ 46 M	1,850 FT/ 564 M
	COMPACT SEDAN	500 LBS/ 227 KG	320 FT/ 98 M	1,500 FT/ 457 M
	SEDAN	1,000 LBS/ 454 KG	400 FT/ 122 M	1,750 FT/ 534 M
	PASSENGER/ CARGO VAN	4,000 LBS/ 1,814 KG	640 FT/ 195 M	2,750 FT/ 838 M
	SMALL MOVING VAN/DELIVERY TRUCK	10,000 LBS/ 4,536 KG	860 FT/ 263 M	3,750 FT/ 1,143 M

This card supersedes any previous undated versions 11/99

THREAT	THREAT DESCRIPTION	EXPLOSIVES CAPACITY[1] (TNT EQUIVALENT)	BUILDING EVACUATION DISTANCE[2]	OUTDOOR EVACUATION DISTANCE[3]
	MOVING VAN/ WATER TRUCK	30,000 LBS/ 13,608 KG	1,240 FT/ 375M	6,500 FT/ 1,982 M
	SEMI-TRAILER	60,000 LBS/ 27,216 KG	1,570 FT/ 475 M	7,000 FT/ 2,134 M

All personnel must either seek shelter inside a building (with some risk) away from windows and exterior walls, or move beyond the Outdoor Evacuation Distance.

Preferred area (beyond this line) for evacuation of people in buildings and mandatory for people outdoors.

All personnel must evacuate (both inside of buildings and out).

Threat — Building Evacuation Distance — Outdoor Evacuation Distance

[1] Based on maximum volume or weight of explosive (TNT equivalent) that could reasonably fit in a suitcase or vehicle.
[2] Governed by the ability of an unstrengthened building to withstand severe damage or collapse.
[3] Governed by the greater of fragment throw distance or glass breakage/ falling glass hazard distance. Note that pipe and briefcase bombs assume cased charges which throw fragments farther than vehicle bombs.

Table E-2: Explosive Device Evacuation Distances (*Source*: DOD)

Appendix F
Conventional Military Munitions

> **"The regional operational headquarters further disclosed that over the past 24 hours, 19 items of small arms, 9 grenade launchers, 3 machine guns and a large amount of ammunition, including 10 artillery shells and 18 landmines, have been found and seized in Chechnya. Also, over 83 kg of TNT has been found.**
>
> **- "ARMS CACHE FOUND IN GROZNY CEMETERY",** *On-Line Pravda*, **August 10, 2002**

General

Although terrorists are known for using fabricated improvised explosive devices, they also use a wide variety of military conventional weapons. These weapons range all the way from highly sophisticated Stinger Missiles to booby-trapped unexploded ordnance. This appendix will review many of the weapons the military may encounter when dealing with the terrorist threat.

Fragmentation Grenades

Grenades are a common weapon used by terrorists. In fact, in the annual report published by HAMAS on terrorist activities in 1998, they stated that a combination of time delayed bombs coupled with commando attacks using hand grenades were the major part of effective operations and caused the most casualties.[195] Although terrorists will use any grenade they can acquire, some of the common grenades available are listed below. These figures are courtesy of the Naval Explosive Ordnance Disposal Technology Division. [196]

- Figure F-1: U.S. Grenade, Fragmentation, M2A1, M2A2, U.S. Army

Characteristics	
Color:	Olive drab
Length:	114mm
Width:	57mm
Weight:	453.6g
Filler:	TNT

- Figure F-2: U.S. Grenade, Fragmentation, M26, M26A1, M61

Characteristics	
Color:	Olive drab with yellow markings
Length:	99mm
Width:	57mm
Weight:	453.6g
Filler:	Composition B

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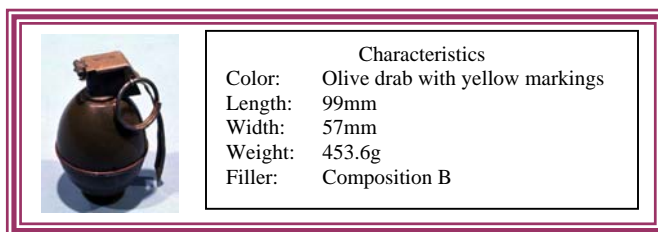
[195] Reuven Paz, *Hamas Publishes Annual Report on Terrorist Activity for 1998* (Herzliya, Israel: International Policy Institute for Counterterrorism, May 3, 1999), 1; available from http://www.ict.org.il/spotlight/det.cfm?id=259;Internet; accessed 6 December 2002.

[196] Department of Defense, Naval Explosive Ordnance Disposal Technology Division, *ORDATA II - Enhanced Deminers' Guide to UXO Identification, Recovery, and Disposal,* Version 1.0, [CD-ROM], (Indian Head, MD: Naval Explosive Ordnance Disposal Technology Division, 1999).

- Figure F-3: French Grenade, Fragmentation, TN 733

Characteristics
Color: Olive drab with yellow markings
Length: 94mm
Width: 52mm
Weight: 265g
Filler: Composition B
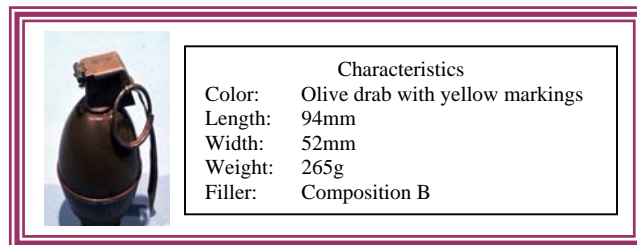
- Figure F-4: U.K. Grenade, Fragmentation, No. 36M MK1

Characteristics
Color: Black or varnished brown
Length: 102mm
Width: 61mm
Weight: 773g
Filler: Amatol

- Figure F-5: Spanish Grenade, Fragmentation, POM 1

Characteristics
Color: Black and unmarked
Length: 107mm
Width: 54mm
Weight: 475g
Filler: TNT

- Figure F-6: U.S.S.R. Grenade, Hand, Defensive, RGD-5

Characteristics
Color: Olive drab with black markings
Length: 117mm
Width: 58mm
Weight: 320g
Filler: TNT

- Figure F-7: U.S.S.R. Grenade, Hand, Defensive, F1

Characteristics
Color: Gray, olive drab, or unpainted
Length: 117mm
Width: 55mm
Weight: 699g
Filler: TNT

164
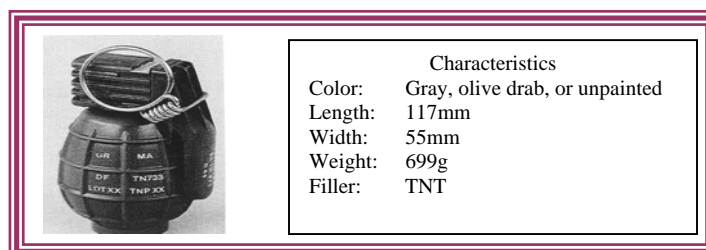
- Figure F-8: North Korean Fragmentary Grenade, Model Unknown

Characteristics	
Color:	Olive drab
Length:	84mm
Width:	55mm
Weight:	Unknown
Filler:	Unknown

- Figure F-9: Chinese (P.R.) Grenade, Fragmentation, Type 86P

Characteristics	
Color:	Olive green
Length:	90mm
Width:	52mm
Weight:	260g
Filler:	PETN
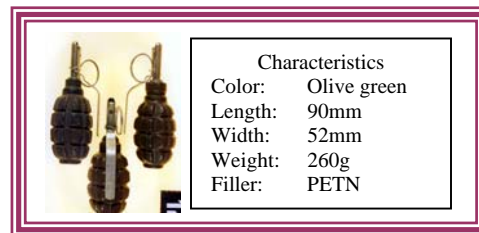
Rocket Propelled Grenade

This weapon fires a motorized grenade from a tube-like launcher. Although it is an unguided weapon, a trained operator can negotiate targets at a long distance. Even though it was originally developed for an anti-tank weapon system, many terrorists use them as anti-aircraft weapons. RPGs were used to bring down two MH-47 Chinook helicopters in the Shah-e-Kot area of Afghanistan in 2002 and the same system was used in 1993 in Mogadishu, Somalia, when Somalis firing RPGs brought down a pair of UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters. Many armies use these systems and they are widely available on the weapons black market.

- Russian 40mm Anti-tank Grenade Launcher RPG-7V. The RPG-7V is abundant throughout the terrorist world and is being used extensively by terrorist organizations in the Middle East and Latin America and is thought to be in the inventory of many insurgent groups. The RPG-7V is a relatively simple and functional weapon, with an effective range of approximately 500 meters when used against a fixed target, and about 300 meters when fired at a moving target. [197] It can penetrate 330mm of armor. Photo is from the TRADOC *Worldwide Equipment Guide* (WEG).
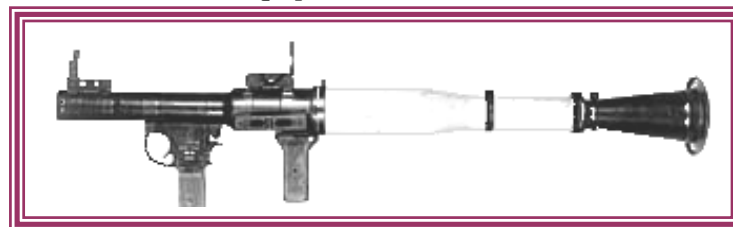
Figure F-10: RPG-7V Anti-tank Grenade Launcher (*Source*: WEG)

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[197] *Conventional Terrorist Weapons* (New York: United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, 2002), 3; available from http://www.undcp.org/odccp/terrorism_weapons_conventional.html; Internet; accessed 12 November 2002.

- U.S. 66mm Light Anti-tank Weapon M72 LAW. Although the M72-series LAW was mainly used as an anti-armor weapon, it may be used with limited success against other targets such as buildings and light vehicles. It's effective range is not as good as the RPG-7V, since it's only effective to 200 meters for stationary targets, and 165 meters for moving targets. It can penetrate 350mm of armor.
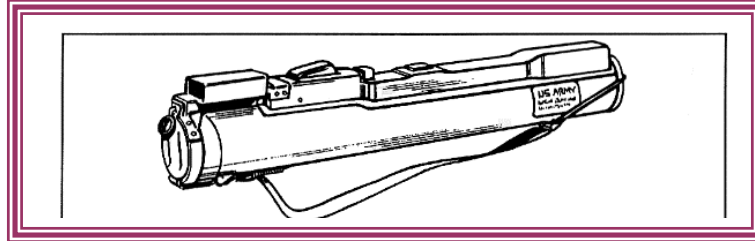
Figure F-11: M72 Series Light Antitank Weapon (*Source*: FM 23-25)

Air Defense Weapons

Although there are a myriad of Air Defense weapon systems, the man portable systems are the ones that will be covered in this section. As the name indicates, these systems are portable and can be employed by terrorists very quickly. Due to excellent performance and the large number of these air defense systems throughout the world, the two systems discussed below represent some of the most formidable threats to aircraft of all types. The fact that terrorists will use these weapons was demonstrated in November 2002 when two surface-to-air missiles were fired at a Tel Aviv bound Arkia airlines Boeing 757 as it departed Mombasa, Kenya. Fortunately the missiles missed their target, but it is an indication of possible employment of the systems in the future.

- U.S. FIM92A Stinger. The US-made Stinger is a man-portable infrared-guided shoulder-launched Surface-To-Air Missile (SAM). It proved to be highly effective in the hands of Afghan Mujahedeen guerrillas during their insurgency against the Soviets. Its maximum effective range is approximately 4,000+ meters. Its maximum effective altitude is approximately 3,500 meters. It has been used to target high-speed jets, helicopters and commercial airliners.
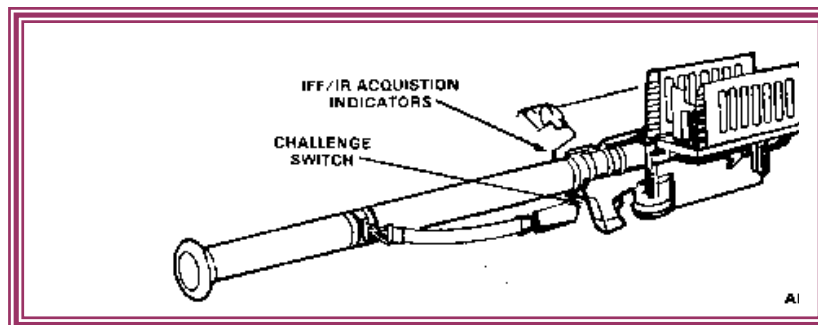
Figure F-12: U.S. FIM92A Stinger (*Source*: FM 44-18-1)

- Russian SA 7b/Grail. Sold by the thousands after the demise of the former Soviet Union, the SA-7 "Grail" uses an optical sight and tracking device with an infrared seeking mechanism to strike flying targets with great force. Its maximum effective range is

approximately 5,500 meters and maximum effective altitude is approximately 4,500 meters. It is known to be in the stockpiles of several terrorist and guerrilla groups.
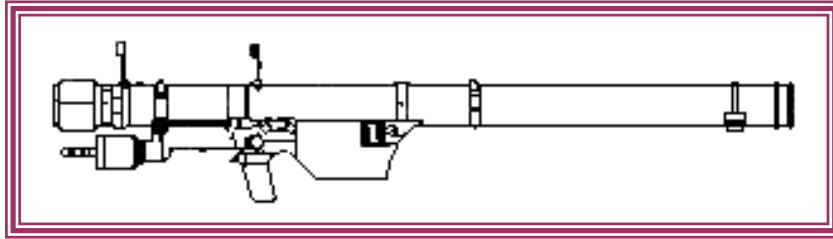
Figure F-13: Russian SA 7b/Grail (*Source:* WEG)

Bombs and Artillery

Although most bombs used by terrorists are fabricated devices, they do use some conventional munitions, especially as booby traps. They often use unexploded ordnance and modify it for their purposes. A 2001 report from the United Nations Mine Action Coordination Center on the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia indicates a plethora of unexploded munitions, to include 122 mm artillery rounds, 100 mm tank rounds, 82 mm and 120 mm mortar rounds, 20 mm and 30 mm cannon rounds, and 50 mm rocket rounds.[198] The following reflects some common munitions used by terrorist organizations. These figures are courtesy of the Naval Explosive Ordnance Disposal Technology Division.[199]

- Figure F-14: U.S. Artillery Projectile, 105mm, HE, M1

	Characteristics
Color:	Olive drab with yellow markings
Length:	404mm
Width:	105mm
Weight:	18.11kg
Filler:	Composition B

- Figure F-15: U.S. Artillery Projectile, 155mm, HE, M107

	Characteristics
Color:	Olive drab with yellow markings
Length:	605mm
Width:	155mm
Weight:	42.91kg
Filler:	Composition B

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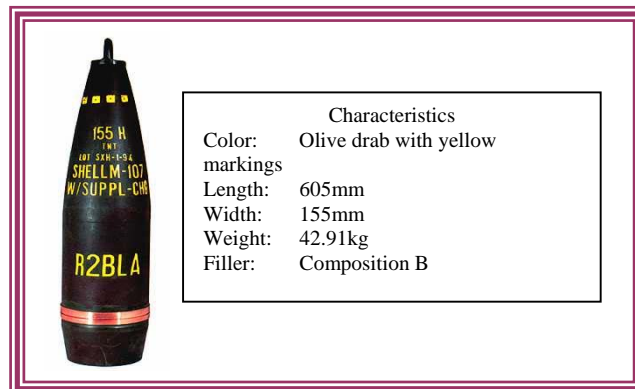
[198]C.J. Clark, *Mine/UXO Assessment: Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia* (New York: United Nations Mine Action Coordination Center, 8 October 2001), 2; available from http://www.mineaction.org/sp/mine_awareness/_refdocs.cfm?doc_ID=707; Internet; accessed 13 December 2002.

[199] Department of Defense, Naval Explosive Ordnance Disposal Technology Division, *ORDATA II - Enhanced Deminers' Guide to UXO Identification, Recovery, and Disposal,* Version 1.0, [CD-ROM], (Indian Head, MD: Naval Explosive Ordnance Disposal Technology Division, 1999).

- Figure F-16: U.S.S.R. Artillery Projectile, 122mm, HE, FRAG, Model OF-472

Characteristics
Color: Dark gray with black markings
Length: 564mm
Width: 122mm
Weight: Not available
Filler: TNT

- Figure F-17: U.S.S.R. Projectile, 100 mm, HEAT-FS, Model ZBK-5M

Characteristics
Color: Steel with copper rotating bands
Length: 649 mm
Width: 100 mm
Weight: 12.40 kg
Filler: RDX
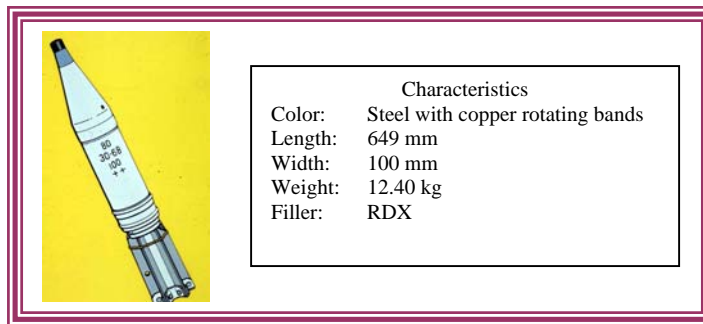
- Figure F-18: U.S.S.R. Projectile, 120 mm, Mortar, HE-FRAG, Model OF-843A

Characteristics
Color: Silver painted body with black markings
Length: 615 mm
Width: 120 mm
Weight: Unknown
Filler: Amatol
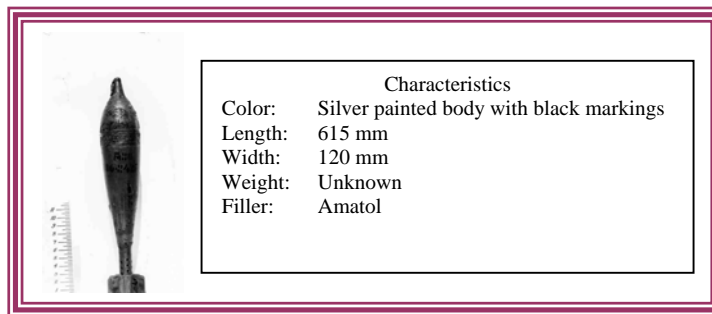
- Figure F-19: U.S. Bomb, 220 lb, Fragmentary, AN-M88

Characteristics
Color: Olive drab with yellow band
Length: 1.1m
Width: 206mm
Weight: 99.79kg
Filler: Composition B
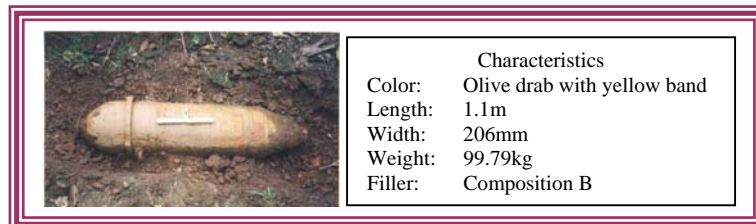
- Figure F-20: U.S. Bomb, 250 lb, GP, AN-M57 & AN-M57A1

	Characteristics
Color:	Olive drab with yellow band
Length:	1.15m
Width:	276.86mm
Weight:	117.94kg
Filler:	Amatol

- Figure F-21: U.S. Bomb, 500 lb, GP, MK3, MOD 1

	Characteristics
Color:	Gray overall with yellow disc between lugs
Length:	1.51m
Width:	355.6mm
Weight:	228.61kg
Filler:	TNT
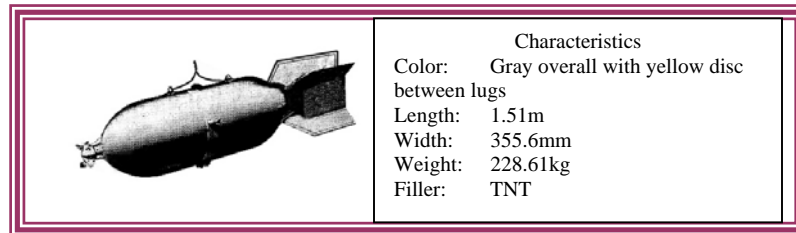
Mines

Similar to the homemade bombs used by terrorists, mines are another means used to inflict damage by terrorist organizations. They use both anti-personnel and anti-tank mines. Unlike conventional military forces that use mines against an opposing military force, terrorists use mines to disrupt social, economic, and political operations. Consequently, mines are often placed around schools, on walking paths, around wells, etc., in order to gain the full terror effects.[200] When you examine the proliferation of these type weapons throughout the world, it becomes readily apparent that it will be a true threat to U.S. forces.

The information in Table F-1 is from the 2001 Landmine Monitor Report and shows the various countries of the world that are affected by landmines and unexploded ordnance. Many of these mines have been emplaced by terrorist organizations.

Africa	Americas	Asia-Pacific	Europe/Central Asia	Middle East/North Africa
Angola	Chile	Afghanistan	Albania	Algeria
Burundi	Colombia	Bangladesh	Armenia	Egypt
Chad	Costa Rica	Burma	Azerbaijan	Iran
Congo-Brazz.	Cuba	Cambodia	Belarus	Iraq
DR Congo	Ecuador	China	Bosnia & Herz.	Israel
Djibouti	El Salvador	India	Croatia	Jordan
Eritrea	Guatemala	North Korea	Cyprus	Kuwait
Ethiopia	Honduras	South Korea	Czech Republic	Lebanon

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[200] Margaret Buse, "Non-State Actors and Their Significance," *Journal of Mine Action* (December 2002): 2; available from http://maic.jmu.edu/journal/5.3/features/maggie_buse_nsa/maggie_buse.htm; Internet; accessed 13 December 2002.

Guinea-Bissau	Nicaragua	Laos	Denmark	Libya
Kenya	Peru	Mongolia	Estonia	Morocco
Liberia	Falkland / Malvinas	Nepal	Georgia	Oman
Malawi		Pakistan	Greece	Syria
Mauritania		Philippines	Kyrgyzstan	Tunisia
Mozambique		Sri Lanka	Latvia	Yemen
Namibia		Thailand	Lithuania	Golan Heights
Niger		Vietnam	FYR Macedonia	Northern Iraq
Rwanda		Taiwan	Moldova	Palestine
Senegal			Poland	Western Sahara
Sierra Leone			Russia	
Somalia			Tajikistan	
Sudan			Turkey	
Swaziland			Ukraine	
Tanzania			Uzbekistan	
Uganda			Yugoslavia	
Zambia			Abkhazia	
Zimbabwe			Chechnya	
Somaliland			Kosovo	
			Nagorno-Karabakh	
Source: "Humanitarian Mine Action", *Landmine Monitor Report – 2001*; available from http://www.icbl.org/lm/2001/exec/hma.html#Heading514;Internet; accessed 13 December 2002.				

Table F-1: Landmine/UXO Problem in the World Today

There are hundreds of different types of mines that can be employed against our troops. As Robert Williscroft stated in *Defense Watch*, "At least 800 different mine types populate the world's minefields. These range from homemade coffee can bombs to sophisticated "smart" non-metallic devices that can distinguish between potential targets."[201] Homemade bombs were discussed in Appendix E on IEDs, so they will not be addressed again. Manufactured mines used by terrorists originate from many of the former Warsaw Pact countries, the United States, China, Britain, and Iran, to name just a few sources.[202] Some common mines are shown below. These can be detonated through the use of trip wires, pressure, or

[201]Robert G. Williscroft, "The Economics of Demining Defines Success and Failure," *Defense Watch* (13 February 2002): 4; available from http://www.sftt.org/dw02132002.html; Internet; accessed 13 December 2002.
[202] C.J. Clark, *Mine/UXO Assessment: Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia* (New York: United Nations Mine Action Coordination Center, 8 October 2001), 2; available from http://www.mineaction.org/sp/mine_awareness/_refdocs.cfm?doc_ID=707; Internet; accessed 13 December 2002; and Jerry White, "Ridding the World of Land Mines," *Union-Tribune* (24 January 2002): 4; available at http://www.wand.org/9-11/discuss6.html; Internet; accessed 13 December 2002.

command detonation. These figures are courtesy of the Naval Explosive Ordnance Disposal Technology Division.[203]

- Figure F-22: Chinese (P.R.) Landmine, APERS, Type 59

Characteristics	
Color:	OD Green
Length:	96 mm
Width:	60 mm
Weight:	1.17 kg
Fuse:	Pull actuated
Body:	Cast Iron
Filler:	TNT
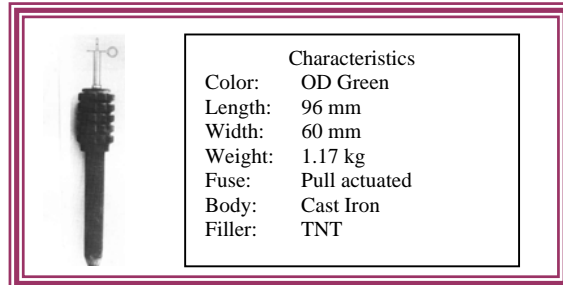
- Figure F-23: Chinese (P.R.) Landmine, APERS, Type 66

Characteristics	
Color:	Green
Length:	218 mm
Width:	Unavailable
Weight:	1.60 kg
Fuse:	Command or trip wire
Body:	Plastic with steel spheres
Filler:	P.E. 4 plastic explosive
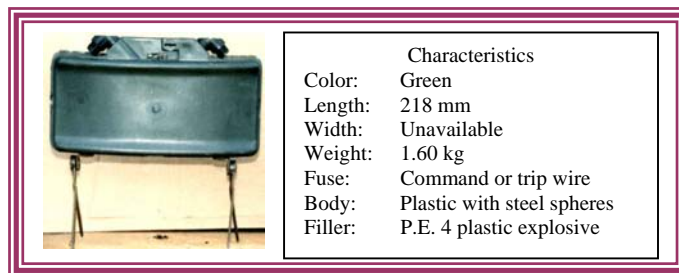
- Figure F-24: Chinese (P.R.) Landmine, AT, Type 72

Characteristics	
Color:	Green
Depth:	100 mm
Diameter:	270 mm
Weight:	6.5 kg
Fuse:	Pressure
Body:	Plastic
Filler:	RDX/TNT

- Figure F-25: U.S. Landmine, APERS, HE, M14

Characteristics	
Color:	Olive drab with black markings
Depth:	38 mm
Diameter:	58 mm
Weight:	85 g
Fuse:	Pressure activated
Body:	Plastic
Filler:	Tetryl

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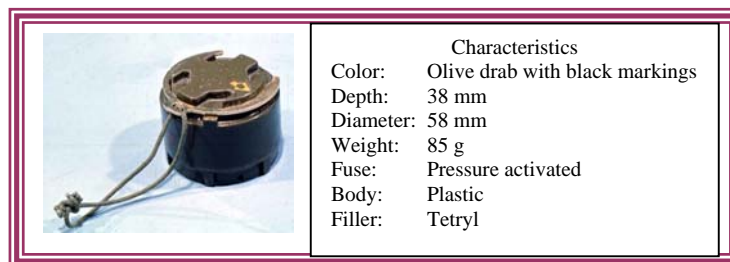
[203]Department of Defense, Naval Explosive Ordnance Disposal Technology Division, *ORDATA II - Enhanced Deminers' Guide to UXO Identification, Recovery, and Disposal,* Version 1.0, [CD-ROM], (Indian Head, MD: Naval Explosive Ordnance Disposal Technology Division, 1999).

- Figure F-26: U.S. Landmine, APERS, HE, M18A1

	Characteristics
Color:	Olive drab
Length:	216 mm
Width:	83 mm
Weight:	1.6 kg
Fuse:	Tripwire or command detonated
Body:	Plastic with steel ball bearings
Filler:	Composition C4

- Figure F-27: U.S. Landmine, AT, HE, M21

	Characteristics
Color:	Olive drab with yellow markings
Depth:	114 mm
Diameter:	229 mm
Weight:	8.20 kg
Fuse:	Pressure activated
Body:	Steel
Filler:	Composition B

- Figure F-28: U.S.S.R. Landmine, APERS, Directional, MON-50

	Characteristics
Color:	Green
Length:	220 mm
Width:	45 mm
Weight:	2 kg
Fuse:	Tripwire, break wire, or command detonated
Body:	Plastic with steel ball bearings
Filler:	PVV-5A
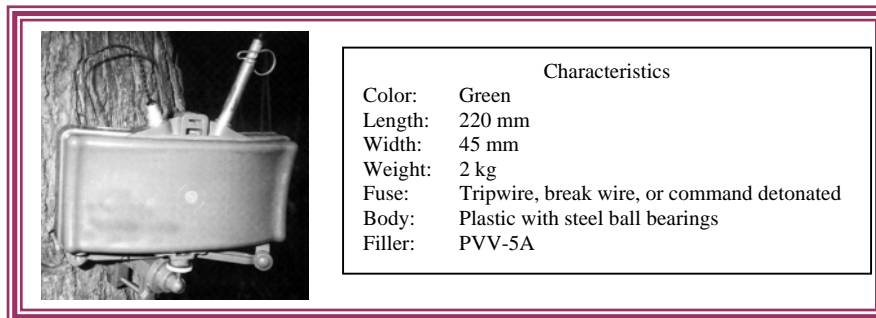
- Figure F-29: U.S.S.R. Landmine, APERS, PMN-2

	Characteristics
Color:	Green or black
Depth:	Unavailable
Diameter:	121.6 mm
Weight:	420 g
Fuse:	Pressure activated
Body:	Plastic
Filler:	TNT – RDX – A1
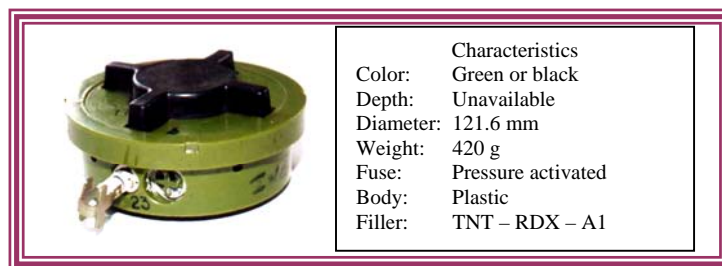
- Figure F-30: U.S.S.R. Landmine, AT, TM-62M

	Characteristics
Color:	Olive drab, green, brown, khaki, or sand
Depth:	102 mm
Diameter:	316 mm
Weight:	8.5 kg
Fuse:	Pressure activated
Body:	Metal
Filler:	Trotyl / Ammonite 80
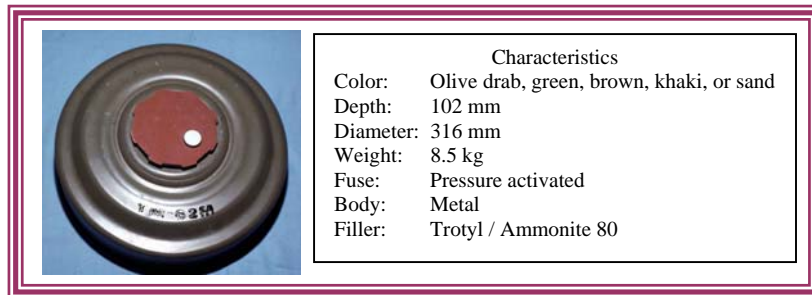
- Figure F-31: Yugoslav Landmine, APERS, PMA-2

	Characteristics
Color:	Green with black fuse body
Depth:	62 mm
Diameter:	66 mm
Weight:	133 g
Fuse:	Pressure actuated
Body:	Plastic
Filler:	TNT
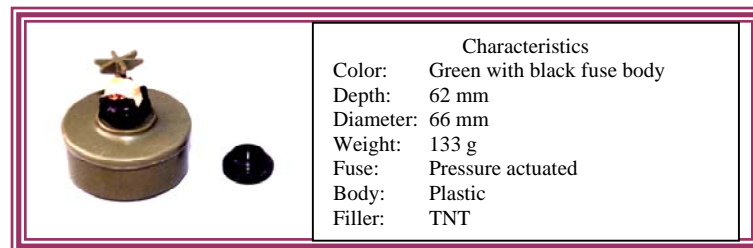
- Figure F-32: Yugoslav Landmine, APERS, PMR-2A

	Characteristics
Color:	Green
Length:	132 mm
Width:	66 mm
Weight:	1.70 kg
Fuse:	Pull actuated
Body:	Steel
Filler:	TNT
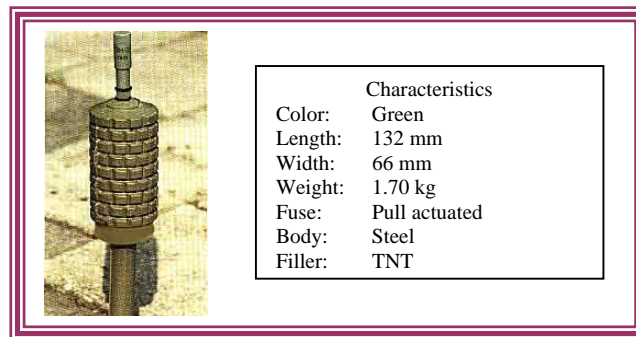
- Figure F-33: Yugoslav Landmine, AT, TMA-4

	Characteristics
Color:	Light green with yellow markings
Depth:	64 mm
Diameter:	285 mm
Weight:	5.50 kg
Fuse:	Pressure actuated
Body:	Plastic
Filler:	TNT
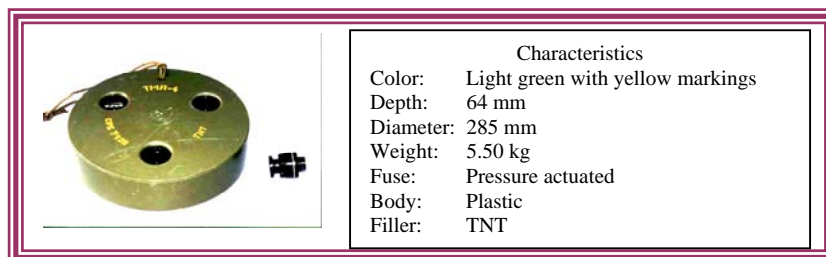
Appendix G
Weapons of Mass Destruction

> "The future may see a time when such a [nuclear] weapon may be constructed in secret and used suddenly and effectively with devastating power by a willful nation or group against an unsuspecting nation or group of much greater size and material power."
> - US Secretary of War Henry Stimson to Harry Truman 25 April 1945

Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons

The threat of terrorists using weapons of mass destruction appears to be rising, especially since the attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. As noted by the State Department in the 2001 terrorism report, this demonstrated the capability of terrorists to plan, organize, and execute attacks to produce mass casualties.[204] In an unclassified report to Congress, the CIA stated that several of the 30 designated foreign terrorist organizations have expressed interest in WMD. Additionally, Usama bin Laden and groups aligned with him have shown interest in conducting unconventional attacks and they make public statements about unconventional weapons.[205] In fact, Usama bin Laden has professed the acquisition of WMD to be a religious duty and he has threatened to use them.[206]

Terrorist groups that acquire NBC weapons pose significant dangers to foreign interests they oppose. Terrorists armed with these weapons can gain leverage for their demands because of the weapons' nature. They are the ultimate terror weapons, since the actual or threat of use of NBC weapons is real and very feasible. Terrorists obtain these weapons for a variety of motives. Such groups might threaten the use of these weapons as "saber rattlers" to raise the ante in response to foreign political or military actions or to achieve a specific objective. Likewise, some groups simply want to employ them to create large numbers of casualties, both military and civilian, and capitalize on the effects of these events.

A real-world example of the threat has been voiced by the al Qaeda organization. In an interview with ABC News in May 1998, Usama bin Laden stated, "We do not have to differentiate between military or civilian. As far as we are concerned, they are all targets, and this is what the fatwa says."[207]Additionally, al Qaeda spokesman Suleiman abu Ghaith has stated: "We have the right to kill four million Americans – two million of them children – and to exile twice as many and injure and cripple hundreds of thousands. We have the right to fight them by chemical and biological weapons, so they catch the fatal and unusual diseases that Muslims have caught due to their (US) chemical and biological weapons."[208]

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[204] Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001* (Washington, D.C., May 2002), 66.

[205] Director of Central Intelligence, DCI Weapons Intelligence, Nonproliferation, and Arms Control Center, *Unclassified Report to Congress on the Acquisition of Technology Relating to Weapons of Mass Destruction and Advanced Conventional Munitions, 1 January Through 30 June 2001* (Washington, D.C., January 2002), 8-9.

[206] Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001* (Washington, D.C., May 2002), 66.

[207] Ben N. Venzke and Aimee Ibrahim, *al Qaeda Tactic/Target Brief*, Version 1.5 (Alexandria, VA: IntelCenter, 2002), 8.

[208] Ibid., 10.

These statements by al Qaeda should leave no doubt in your mind that terrorists are committed to using weapons of mass destruction if they can acquire them.

This raises the question concerning where terrorists would acquire weapons of mass destruction. With the poor economy of Russia, they do not have the money to provide adequate security for the vast amount of WMD they possessed during the cold war. There is a concern that the scientists and soldiers, who once were the elite of the Soviet Union and are now underpaid, will sell these weapons to terrorists. Additionally, there is the concern that some of the unemployed scientists from the former Soviet Union will be willing to sell their knowledge and services to other countries, such as Iran, Iraq, and Libya, who are known state sponsors of terrorism. However, the former Soviet Union is not the only source. There are many other sources available, to include the United States. Chemical plants, biological labs, food irradiation plants, medical x-ray labs, and nuclear reactors and waste repositories are all possible sources for terrorists to acquire material to make WMDs.

Weapons of Mass Destruction Categories

Weapons of mass destruction are normally categorized into 3 categories: nuclear, biological, and chemical.

Nuclear

For the present, the use of a fully developed nuclear weapon is the least likely terrorist scenario because most groups do not have the financial and technical resources to acquire nuclear weapons. The most likely scenario

> "Acquiring weapons for the defense of Muslims is a religious duty. If I have indeed acquired these weapons (WMD), then I thank God for enabling me to do so. And if I seek to acquire these weapons, I am carrying out a duty. It would be a sin for Muslims not to try to possess the weapons that would prevent the infidels from inflicting harm on Muslims."
>
> - Usama Bin Laden interview with *Time Magazine*, December 23, 1998

dealing with nuclear material is sabotage or a siege-hostage situation at a nuclear facility.[209] They could; however, gather materials to make radiological dispersion devices (aka "dirty bomb"). These weapons are constructed with conventional explosives, which are used to scatter radioactive debris, such as spent fuel rods. This eliminates the problem of obtaining fissile material and the complexity of developing an actual nuclear device.

Although these type weapons are unlikely to cause mass casualties, they would present a significant radiation contamination effect on the target.[210] Radiation casualties would be low initially, but would increase over time. However, just the fact that a "nuclear" type weapon was employed would have a significant psychological impact on the populace where it is detonated. From the terrorists' viewpoint, though, one down side of these weapons is that they also pose a significant health risk to those building and employing them.

Some groups may have state sponsors that possess or can obtain nuclear weapons, but the CIA has no credible reporting at this time on terrorists successfully acquiring nuclear

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[209] *Encyclopedia of World Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Nuclear."
[210] Steve Bowman, *Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Terrorist Threat* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, 7 March 2002), 4; available from http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/RL31332.pdf; Internet; accessed 23 December 2002.

weapons or sufficient material to make them.[211] However, since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, there has been a growth in nuclear trafficking. It's believed that three shipments of Plutonium 239 intercepted by the German police in 1994 came from Russia.[212] Since 1991, Russian authorities say there have been 23 attempts to steal fissile material, some of which have been successful. In fact, intelligence officials believe enough nuclear material has left Russia to make a bomb.[213] Table G-1 reflects the quantities of material required to build a crude atomic bomb.[214] As demonstrated in the al Qaeda statements earlier, when and if a terrorist group does obtain a nuclear weapon, there should be no doubt that they will use it.

Type Fissile Material	Required for a Weapon
Plutonium (Pu)	7 kg
Plutonium oxide (PuO2)	10 kg
Metallic uranium (U-235)	25 kg
Highly enriched uranium oxide (UO2)	35 kg
Intermediate enriched uranium oxide (UO2)	200 kg

Table G-1: Fissile Material

Biological

Biological weapons consist of pathogenic microbes, toxins, and bioregulator compounds. Depending on the specific type, these weapons can incapacitate or kill people and animals; and destroy plants, food supplies, or materiel. The type of targets being attacked determines the choice of agents and dissemination systems.

Biological warfare agents are virtually undetectable while they are in transit and evidence of a biological attack may not show up for days after the actual release has occurred. These agents are easier and cheaper to produce than either chemical or nuclear weapons, and the technology is readily available on the Internet. In fact, any nation with a modestly sophisticated pharmaceutical industry is capable of producing these type agents.[215] Biological agents are also very lethal. Whereas about 1800 pounds of sarin is required to inflict a large number of casualties over a square mile area, only a quarter ounce of anthrax spores is required to achieve the same effect.[216]

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[211] Director of Central Intelligence, DCI Weapons Intelligence, Nonproliferation, and Arms Control Center, *Unclassified Report to Congress on the Acquisition of Technology Relating to Weapons of Mass Destruction and Advanced Conventional Munitions, 1 January Through 30 June 2001* (Washington, D.C., January 2002), 9.
[212] *Encyclopedia of World Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Nuclear."
[213]Lewis M. Simons, "Weapons of Mass Destruction: An Ominous New Chapter Opens on the Twentieth Century's Ugliest Legacy," *National Geographic* 202, no. 5 (November 2002): 16.
[214] *Weapons of Mass Destruction* (New York: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, December 2002), 6; available from http://www.undcp.org/odccp/terrorism_weapons_mass_destruction_page006.html; Internet; accessed 19 December 2002.
[215] Canadian Security Intelligence Service, "Report 2000/05 Biological Weapons Proliferation," *Perspectives* (9 June 2000): 2; available from http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/eng/miscdocs/200005_e.html; Internet; accessed 6 February 2003.
[216] *Encyclopedia of World Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Biological."

The Fall 2001 anthrax attacks in the United States following the World Trade Center and Pentagon bombings show that terrorists will use biological weapons. Although the attacks were originally suspected to be linked to al Qaeda or Iraq, there is no evidence that a known terrorist organization was involved. Current views indicate that the attacks were probably domestically initiated or that a lone terrorist with previous access to weapon quality anthrax conducted them.[217] Although the outcome of these attacks resulted in few casualties, the attacks did show the psychological and economic disruption such attacks could cause. Washington, D.C. and other East Coast cities were in a panic dealing with these attacks. Additionally, the numerous hoaxes using talcum powder showed the psychological and economic impact of the potential use of these type weapons.

Although the anthrax attacks from 2001 are more recognizable events, biological attacks in the United States are not new. Another example of biological terrorism was the food tampering attack in Dalles, Oregon in 1984. Followers of the Bagwan Shree Rajneessh cult sprayed salmonella on salad bars in several restaurants, causing over 700 people to become ill.[218]

Biological warfare agents include three basic categories: pathogens, toxins, and bioregulators. Table G-2 lists some examples of each.

Pathogens	Toxins	Bioregulators
Anthrax	Mycotoxins	Neurotransmitters
Cholera	Venoms	Hormones
Plague	Shell fish	Enzymes
Smallpox	Botulinum	
Tularemia	Ricin	
Influenza		
Fevers		

Table G-2: Examples of Biological Warfare Agents

Some of the characteristics of biological weapons are shown below[219]:

Agent	Contagious	Mortality if Untreated	Incubation Period (Days)	Illness Duration (Days)
Anthrax	No	90-100%	1-7	3-5
Plague	Yes	100%	1-6	Fatal within 6
Tularemia	No	30-40%	1-14	14 or more

[217] Steve Bowman, *Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Terrorist Threat* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, 7 March 2002), 3; available from http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/ RL31332.pdf; Internet; accessed 23 December 2002.
[218] Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Threat Assessment and Warning Unit, Counterterrorism Division, *Terrorism in the United States 1999,* Report 0308, (Washington, D.C., n.d.), 39.
[219] Lewis M. Simons, "Weapons of Mass Destruction: An Ominous New Chapter Opens on the Twentieth Century's Ugliest Legacy," *National Geographic* 202, no. 5 (November 2002): 22-23.

Smallpox	Yes	30%	7-17	10-28
Botulinum	No	60-100%	1-5	Days to weeks
Ricin	No	Variable	18-24 hours	Days

Table G-3: Characteristics of Biological Weapons

Pathogens cause diseases such as anthrax, cholera, plague, smallpox, tularemia, or various types of fever. These weapons would be used against targets such as food supplies, port facilities, and population centers. Of particular concern is the threat of contagious diseases, such as smallpox. Since it has an incubation period that can last over 2 weeks without any symptoms, the release of smallpox could easily infect a large number of people in a short period of time.

Living organisms, such as snakes, spiders, sea creatures, and plants, produce toxins. Toxins are faster acting and more stable than live pathogens. Most toxins are easily produced through genetic engineering.

Bioregulators are chemical compounds that are essential for the normal psychological and physiological functions. A wide variety of bioregulators are normally present in the human body in extremely minute concentrations. These compounds can produce a wide range of harmful effects if introduced into the body at higher than normal concentrations or if they have been altered. Psychological effects could include exaggerated fear and pain. In addition, bioregulators can cause severe physiological effects such as rapid unconsciousness, and, depending on such factors as dose and route of administration, they could also be lethal. Unlike pathogens that take hours or days to act, bioregulators could act in only minutes.

Another way to categorize biological warfare agents is by their effects. The four categories and effects of biological agents are shown in Table G-4.

Agent Type	Agent Effects
Antipersonnel	Disease or death causing microorganisms and toxins.
Antiplant	Living micro-organisms that cause disease or death
Antianimal	Agents that can be used to incapacitate or destroy domestic animals through disease. Used to limit wool, hide, or fur production.
Antimaterial	Agents used to deteriorate critical materiel needed for the war effort such as leather, canvas, fuels, or electronics.

Table G-4: Effects of Biological Agents

As shown in Table G-4, there is a threat of agro-terrorism, which affects plants and animals. The outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease and mad cow disease in Europe are recent examples of the economic impact of such diseases. Additionally, this type terrorism allows a terrorist group to inflict significant economic and social disruption without the stigma of inflicting large numbers of human casualties.[220] Based on statements from al Qaeda that they intend to target key sectors of the U.S. economy, agro-terrorism is a likely threat.

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[220]Steve Bowman, *Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Terrorist Threat* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, 7 March 2002), 6; available from http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/ RL31332.pdf; Internet; accessed 23 December 2002.

Chemical

Chemical weapons contain substances intended to kill or incapacitate personnel and to deny use of areas, materiel, or facilities. These agents can be both lethal and non-lethal, and can be either persistent or non-persistent. As with biological weapons, terrorists have already exhibited the capability to use chemical weapons.   This was demonstrated in 1978 when a group of Palestinians injected oranges with cyanide to damage Israel's citrus exports.[221] Additionally, in 1995 the Japanese cult, Aum Shinrikyo, released sarin gas in the Tokyo subway network killing 12 people and injuring 5,500.[222] This attack, however, shows the unpredictable nature of chemical weapons and associated dissemination problems. Although the Japanese cult was able to produce sarin and release it in a closed environment, there was a problem with dissemination. Consequently, the attack resulted in a very small number of fatalities even though agents like sarin nerve gas require infinitesimal amounts to kill a human being.

The attacks on September 11, 2001 raised the chemical industry's awareness of possible terrorist sabotage of facilities that store toxic industrial chemicals. These type attacks could provide the mass casualty effects of a chemical weapons attack, yet would not present the terrorist group with the problem of developing or acquiring chemical agents. This scenario occurred in Bhopal, India in 1984 when a disgruntled pesticide plant employee is believed to have released 40 metric tons of methyl isocyonate into the atmosphere. The resulting casualties were 2,000 killed and 100,000 injured.[223]

Chemical agents are categorized by the effects they have on the target organism. Lethal agents include nerve, blood, blister, and choking agents.   Nonlethal agents include incapacitants and irritants. Table G-5 lists characteristic effects of various chemical agents.

Agent	Lethal	Symbol/Name	Symptoms in Man	Effects on Man	Rate of Action
Nerve	Yes	G Series GB/Sarin GD/Soman (VR 55)	Difficult breathing, sweating, drooling, nausea, vomiting convulsions, and dim or blurred vision.	At low concentrations, incapacitates; kills if inhaled or absorbed through the skin.	Very rapid by inhalation; slower through skin (5-10 minutes).

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[221] *Encyclopedia of World Terrorism*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Chemical."

[222] Walter Laqueur, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 54.

[223] Steve Bowman, *Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Terrorist Threat* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, 7 March 2002), 7; available from http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/ RL31332.pdf; Internet; accessed 23 December 2002.

	Yes	V Agent	Same as above.	Incapacitates; kills if skin is not rapidly decontaminated	Delayed through skin; more rapid through eyes.
Blood	Yes	AC/Hydrogen cyanide	Rapid breathing, convulsions, coma, and death.	Incapacitates; kills if high concentration is inhaled.	Rapid
Blister	Yes	HD/Mustard HN/Nitrogen Mustard L/Lewisite HL/Mustard and Lewisite CX/Phosgene Oxime	Mustard, nitrogen mustard: no early symptoms. Lewisite and mustard: searing eyes and stinging skin. Phosgene oxime: powerful irritation of eyes, nose, and skin.	Blisters skin and respiratory tract; can cause temporary blindness. Some agents sting and form wheals on skin.	Blister delayed hours to days; eye effects more rapid.
Choking	Yes	CG/Phosgene DP/Diphosgene	Eye and throat irritation, fatigue, tears, coughing, chest tightness, nausea, vomiting.	Damages the lungs.	Delayed, variable.
Incapa-citant	No	BZ	Slowing of mental and physical activity, disorientation and sleep.	Temporarily incapacitates.	30-60 minutes.
Irritant	No	DA/Diphenylchloroarsine DM/Adamsite CN/Chloroacetophenone CS/O-Chlorobenzylidene-malononitrile PS/Chloropicrin	Causes tears, irritates skin and respiratory tract.	Incapacitates, non-lethal.	Very rapid.

Table G-5: Effects of Example Chemical Agents.

Nerve agents are fast-acting chemical agents. Practically odorless and colorless, they attack the body's nervous system causing convulsions and eventually death. Nerve agents are further classified as either G- or V-agents. At low concentrations, the GB series incapacitates; it kills if inhaled or absorbed through the skin. The rate of action is very rapid if inhaled, but slower if absorbed through the skin. The V-agents are quicker acting and more persistent than the G-agents.

Blood agents are absorbed by breathing and block the oxygen transferal mechanisms in the body, leading to death by suffocation. A common blood agent is hydrogen cyanide. It kills quickly and dissipates rapidly.

Blister agents, such as mustard (H) or lewisite (L), and combinations of the two compounds, can disable or kill. These type agents burn the skin and produce large water blisters. They also cause damage to the eyes, blood cells, and lungs. These agents are especially lethal when inhaled.

Choking agents, such as phosgene and diphosgene, attack the respiratory system and make the membranes swell so the lungs fill with fluid, which can be fatal. As with blood agents, poisoning from choking agents comes through inhalation, since both types of agents are nonpersistent. Signs and symptoms of toxicity may be delayed up to 24 hours.

Incapacitants include psychochemical agents and paralyzants. These agents can disrupt a victim's mental and physical capabilities. The victim may not lose consciousness, and the effects usually wear off without leaving permanent physical injuries.

Irritants, also known as riot-control agents, cause a strong burning sensation in the eyes, mouth, skin, and respiratory tract. The effects of these agents, the best known being tear gas (CS), are also temporary. Victims recover completely without having any serious aftereffects.

Chemical agents are also classified according to their persistency. Persistency is the length of time an agent remains effective on the battlefield or other target area after dissemination. The two basic classifications are persistent or nonpersistent.

Persistent nerve agents, such as V-agents, thickened G-agents, and the blister agent mustard, can retain their disabling or lethal characteristics for days to weeks (depending on environmental conditions). Persistent agents produce either immediate or delayed casualties. Immediate casualties occur when an individual inhales a chemical vapor. Delayed casualties occur when the chemical agent is absorbed through the skin, thus demonstrating the need for protective equipment.

Non-persistent agents generally last a shorter period of time, depending on the weather conditions. For example, the nerve agent sarin (GB) forms clouds that dissipate within minutes after dissemination. However, some liquid GB could remain for periods of time varying from hours to days, depending on the weather conditions and method of delivery.

Delivery

It is possible to disseminate NBC weapons and agents in a number of ways. Groups execute any or all of these delivery means as required to achieve the desired effects on the target.

Nuclear

The size of most nuclear weapons makes them hard to clandestinely transport. The most likely means of transporting them would be via commercial shipping, such as trucks, vehicles, and boats.[224] Backpacks and "suitcases" can be covertly used to deliver small nuclear weapons or dangerous radiological dispersion devices. Of the two, the latter is the most likely to be seen in the near-term.

Biological

The objective of biological weapon delivery is to expose humans to an agent in the form of a suspended cloud of very fine agent particles. Airborne particles are the most effective because, once inhaled, particles of this size tend to lodge deep in the lungs close to vulnerable body tissues and the bloodstream. Dissemination through aerosols, either as droplets from liquid or by particles from powders, is by far the most efficient method. This method does create a challenge, though, since aerosol disseminators need to be properly designed for the agent used, and proper meteorological conditions must exist to conduct the attack.[225]

Terrorist groups or civilian sympathizers deliver biological weapons by unconventional dissemination means. These include commercially available or specially designed sprayers or other forms of aerosol generators mounted in automobiles, trucks, or boats. Backpack and "suitcase" devices also can be used to effectively disseminate biological agent aerosols. Devices resembling insecticide spray cans can be used to introduce an agent into heating, ventilating, and air conditioning systems. Drinking water can be contaminated by means of high-pressure agent injectors attached to plumbing system components. Another way to disseminate infectious agents is by the use of insects, rodents, or other arthropod vectors. Methods of dissemination are varied and limited only by the perpetrators' imagination.

Chemical

The real difficulty using chemical weapons is not the manufacturing, but the dissemination. Vapors are affected by the direction of the wind as well as temperature. Additionally, there are biological activities that diminish the toxicity of the agent, therefore, the amount of chemical needed in the open air or in water to have its intended effect is much larger than what is successful in the laboratory.[226] Numerous means to include mortars and bombs can be used to deliver chemical warfare agents. Chemical munitions are fitted with different burst capabilities, according to the agent properties and the intended effect. For example, a chemical munitions fitted with a long burst fuse releases the agent as a vapor or fine aerosol.

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[224] Ibid., 4.
[225]Ibid., 5.
[226]Walter Laqueur, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 60.

This creates an immediate inhalation hazard with some of the fragmentation effect of conventional munitions. Theoretically, terrorists could obtain these munitions, modify them and emplace them by hand. Other delivery means could be by vehicle, backpack, canisters or sprayers, similar to those used for biological agents.

Accessibility

> **"Our enemies have openly declared that they are seeking weapons of mass destruction, and evidence indicates that they are doing so with determination."**
> **- President Bush, The National Security Strategy of the United State of America, 17 September 2002**

As stated earlier in this appendix, the poor security in the former Soviet Union for their weapons of mass destruction provides a possible resource for terrorists to acquire these weapons. Additionally, radioactive materials or waste can be easily purchased legally, or on the black market. They can be obtained from governmental or civilian research and medical facilities such as power plants, construction sites, laboratories, or hospitals, or from military facilities concerned with the storage, production, and weaponization of these materials.

Biological agents are naturally occurring and relatively easy to obtain as compared to nuclear material. In addition to the above sources, they can be easily obtained from universities or medical schools. Chemical agents and their precursors can be obtained from civilian agriculture sites, textile, plastic, or civilian chemical production facilities, or the above mentioned military research and military facilities. Terrorist access to these weapons can also be through a state sponsor or, given the increasing sophistication of terrorist groups, manufactured in laboratories they have established and financed.

Production

Biological weapons are extremely potent and the most rudimentary program will likely have lethal agents that have been a threat for some time. Botulism and anthrax are high-probability candidates that are difficult to reckon with. In addition, the revolution in biotechnology may produce other agents that are even more toxic and resilient.

Chemical and biological agents can be produced in small laboratories with little or no signature to identify the facility or their production. Normal biological warfare research facilities resemble completely legitimate bio-technical and medical research facilities. The same production facilities that can produce biological warfare agents may also produce wine and beer, dried milk, food and agricultural products. It is therefore difficult to distinguish legitimate production plants from illicit ones.

The basic knowledge needed to produce an effective NBC terrorist weapon can be found in college and medical school textbooks, advanced engineering books, magazines and periodicals, and on the Internet. With minimal training, individuals can produce NBC weapons in a relatively short period of time in any home, school, or university laboratory, medical production or research facility, or commercial production facility. Minimal special equipment is needed to produce biological or chemical weapons, and it can be easily purchased on the open market. These weapons can be produced at a relatively low cost, as

compared to other types of weaponry. Some precursor agents for biological and chemical production are dual use, therefore they are not illegal to acquire or posses and are not expensive to purchase. Some can be easily stolen from production facilities. Widespread effects of these weapons can be obtained from small-scale production lots, reducing the total production costs to achieve the desired effects.

Toxic Industrial Chemicals

There is a near-universal availability of large quantities of highly toxic stored materials. Exposure to some industrial chemicals can have a lethal or debilitating effect on humans, which, in combination with their ready availability, their proximity to urban areas, their low cost, and the low security associated with storage facilities, makes them an attractive option for terrorist use as weapons of opportunity or of mass destruction.

The most important factors to consider when assessing the potential for adverse human health impacts from a chemical release are acute toxicity, physical properties (volatility, reactivity, flammability), and likelihood that large quantities will be available for exploitation. Foremost among these factors is acute toxicity; thus, the highest concern for human health is associated with a subgroup of industrial chemicals known as toxic industrial chemicals (TICs). TICs are commercial chemical substances with acute toxicity that are produced in large quantities for industrial purposes.

Table G-6 lists high- and moderate-risk TICs based on acute toxicity by inhalation, worldwide availability (number of producers and number of continents on which the substance is available), and physical state (gas, liquid, or solid) at standard temperature and pressure. In addition, the current definition of TICs does not include all chemicals with high toxicity and availability. Specifically, chemicals with low volatility are not included. These low-vapor-pressure chemicals include some of the most highly toxic chemicals widely available, including most pesticides.

High Risk	Moderate Risk	
Ammonia	Acetone cyanohydrin	Methyl chloroformate
Arsine	Acrolein	Methyl chlorosilane
Boron trichloride	Acrylonitarile	Methyl hydrazine
Boron trifluoride	Allyl alcohol	Methyl isocyanate
Carbon disulfide	Allyl amine	Methyl mercaptan
Chlorine	Allyl chlorocarbonate	n-Butyl isocyanate
Diborane	Boron tribromide	Nitrogen dioxide
Ethylene oxide	Carbon monoxide	Phosphine
Fluorine	Carbonyl sulfide	Phosphorus oxychloride
Formaldehyde	Chloroacetone	Phosphorus pentafluoride
Hydrogen bromide	Chloroacetonitrile	Selenium hexafluoride
Hydrogen chloride	Chlorosulfonic acid	Silicon tetrafluoride
Hydrogen cyanide	Crotonaldehyde	Stibine
Hydrogen fluoride	Diketene	Sulfur trioxide

Hydrogen sulfide	1,2-Dimethyl hydrazine	Sulfuryl chloride
Nitric acid, fuming	Dimethyl sulfate	Tellurium hexafluoride
Phosgene	Ethylene dibromide	Tert-Octyl mercaptan
Phosphorus trichloride	Hydrogen selenide	Titanium tetrachloride
Sulfur dioxide	Iron pentacarbonyl	Trichloroacetyl chloride
Sulfuric acid	Methanesulfonyl chloride	Trifluoroacetyl chloride
Tungsten hexafluoride	Methyl bromide	

Table G-6: High- and Moderate-Risk Toxic Industrial Chemicals

Glossary

17 November: Revolutionary Organization 17 November based in Greece

AAIA: Aden-Abyan Islamic Army, a.k.a. Islamic Army of Aden based in Yemen

ABB: Alex Boncayao Brigade based in the Philippines

ADF: Allied Democratic Forces based in Uganda and the Congo

AI: Ansar al-Islam, a.k.a. Partisans of Islam, Helpers of Islam, Supporters of Islam based in Iraq

AIAI: Al-Ittihad al-Islami, a.k.a. Islamic Union based in Somalia

Al-Badhr: Al-Badhr Mujahidin based in Pakistan

ALF: Animal Liberation Front

ALIR: Army of the Liberation of Rwanda

anarchism: A political theory holding all forms of governmental authority to be unnecessary and undesirable and advocating a society based on voluntary cooperation and free association of individuals and groups (Websters).

ANO: Abu Nidal Organization, a.k.a. Fatah Revolutionary Council, Arab Revolutionary Brigades, Black September, and Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Muslims based in Iraq

anti-terrorism: (AT) (JP 1-02) — Defensive measures used to reduce the vulnerability of individuals and property to terrorist acts, to include limited response and containment by local military forces. See FMs 31-20 and 100-20.

ASG: Abu Sayyaf Group based in the Philippines

asset (terrorist): A resource — person, group, relationship, instrument, installation, or supply — at the disposition of an terrorist organization for use in an operational or support role. Often used with a qualifying term such as suicide asset or surveillance asset. Based upon JP 1-02 **asset (intelligence)**.

AUC: Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia, a.k.a. United Self-Defense Forces/Group of Colombia

AUM: Aum Supreme Truth, a.k.a. Aum Shinrikyo and Aleph based in Japan

biological agent: (JP 1-02) — A microorganism that causes disease in personnel, plants, or animals or causes the deterioration of materiel.

biological weapon: (JP 1-02) — An item of materiel, which projects, disperses, or disseminates a biological agent including arthropod vectors.

bioregulators: (CBRN Handbook) Biochemicals that regulate bodily functions. Bioregulators that are produced by the body are termed "endogenous." Some of these same bioregulators can be chemically synthesized.

blister agents: (CBRN Handbook) Substances that cause blistering of the skin. Exposure is through liquid or vapor contact with any exposed tissue (eyes, skin, lungs).

blood agents: (CBRN Handbook) Substances that injure a person by interfering with cell respiration (the exchange of oxygen and carbon dioxide between blood and tissues).

BR/PCC: New Red Brigades/Communist Combatant Party, a.k.a. Brigate Rosse/Partito Comunista Combattente based in Italy

CFF: Cambodian Freedom Fighters, a.k.a. Cholana Kantoap Serei Cheat Kampouchea based in Cambodia

chemical weapon: (JP 1-02) — Together or separately, (a) a toxic chemical and its precursors, except when intended for a purpose not prohibited under the Chemical Weapons Convention; (b) a munition or device, specifically designed to cause death or other harm through toxic properties of those chemicals specified in (a), above, which would be released as a result of the employment of such munition or device; (c) any equipment specifically designed for use directly in connection with the employment of munitions or devices specified in (b), above.

chemical agent: (CBRN Handbook) A chemical substance that is intended for use in military operations to kill, seriously injure, or incapacitate people through its physiological effects. Excluded from consideration are riot control agents, and smoke and flame materials. The agent may appear as a vapor, aerosol, or liquid; it can be either a casualty/toxic agent or an incapacitating agent.

choking agents: (CBRN Handbook) Substances that cause physical injury to the lungs. Exposure is through inhalation. In extreme cases, membranes swell and lungs become filled with liquid. Death results from lack of oxygen; hence, the victim is "choked".

CIRA: Continuity Irish Republican Army based in Northern Ireland

conflict: (Army) — A political-military situation between peace and war, distinguished from peace by the introduction of organized political violence and from war by its reliance on political methods. It shares many of the goals and characteristics of war, including the destruction of governments and the control of territory. See FM 100-20.

CONUS: Continental United States

counter-terrorism: (CT) (JP 1-02) — Offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, and respond to terrorism. See FMs 19-1, 34-1, and 100-20.

Designated Foreign Terrorist Organization (DFTO); A political designation determined by the U.S. Department of State. Listing as a DFTO imposes legal penalties for membership, prevents travel into the U.S., and proscribes assistance and funding activities within the U.S. or by U.S. citizens. From Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001, U.S. Department of State

DFLP: Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine based in the Occupied Territories

DHKP/C: Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front, a.k.a. Devrimci Sol or Dev Sol based in Turkey

dysfunctional state: Used in this circular to mean a nation or state whose declared government cannot fulfill one or more of the core functions of governance, such as defense, internal security, revenue collection, resource allocation, etc. Examples are

ELA: Revolutionary People's Struggle based in Greece

ELF: Earth Liberation Front

ELN: National Liberation Army based in Colombia

ETA: Basque Fatherland and Liberty based in Spain

ETIM: Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement based in China

failed state: For the purposes of this circular, a dysfunctional state which also has multiple competing political factions in conflict within its borders, or has no functioning governance above the local level. This does not imply that a central government facing an insurgency is automatically a failed state. If essential functions of government continue in areas controlled by the central authority, it has not "failed". Examples of failed states are Somalia and

FALN: Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional Puertorriquena, a.k.a. Armed Forces for Puerto Rican National Liberation

FARC: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia

FPM: Morzanist Patriotic Front based in Honduras

FPMR: Manuel Rodriquez Patriotic Front based in Chile

GIA: Armed Islamic Group based in Algeria

GICM: Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group based in Western Europe

GRAPO: Grupo de Resistencia Anti-Fascista Premero de Octubre, a.k.a. First of October Antifascist Resistance Group based in Spain

GSPC: The Salafist Group for Call and Combat based in Algeria

guerilla warfare: (JP 1-02, NATO) — Military and paramilitary operations conducted in enemy-held or hostile territory by irregular, predominantly indigenous forces. (See also unconventional warfare (UW). See FMs 90-8, 100-12, and 100-20.

HIG: Hizb-I Islami Gulbuddin based in Afghanistan and Pakistan

HM: Hizb ul-Mujahidin based in Kashmir, India

HUA: Harakat ul-Ansar based in Pakistan

HUJI: Harakat ul-Jihad-I-Islami, a.k.a. Movement of Islamic Holy War based in Pakistan

HUJI-B: Harakat ul-Jihad-I-Islami/Bangladesh, a.k.a. Movement of Islamic Holy War based in Bangladesh

HUM: Harakat ul-Mujahidin, a.k.a. Movement of Holy Warriors based in Pakistan

IAA: Islamic Army of Aden, a.k.a. Aden-Abyan Islamic Army based in Yemen

IED: Improvised Explosive Device. Devices that have been fabricated in an improvised manner and that incorporate explosives or destructive, lethal, noxious, pyrotechnic, or incendiary chemicals in their design.

IG: Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya, a.k.a. Islamic Group based in Egypt.

IIPB: Islamic International Peacekeeping Brigade based in Chechnya

incapacitating agent: (CBRN Handbook) Produce temporary physiological and/or mental effects via action on the central nervous system. Effects may persist for hours or days, but victims usually do not require medical treatment. However, such treatment speeds recovery.

industrial agent: (CBRN Handbook) Chemicals developed or manufactured for use in industrial operations or research by industry, government, or academia. These chemicals are not primarily manufactured for the specific purpose of producing human casualties or rendering equipment, facilities, or areas dangerous for use by man. Hydrogen cyanide, cyanogen chloride, phosgene, chloropicrin and many herbicides and pesticides are industrial chemicals that also can be chemical agents.

insurgency: (JP 1-02, NATO) — An organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. See FMs 90-8 and 100-20.

international: of, relating to, or affecting two or more nations (Webster's). For our purposes, affecting two or more nations.

IRA: Irish Republican Army based in Northern Ireland

IMU: Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan

JEM: Jaish-e-Mohammed, a.k.a. Army of Mohammed based in Pakistan

JI: Jemaah Islamiya based in Malaysia and Singapore

JRA: Japanese Red Army based in Lebanon and Japan

JUM: Jamiat ul-Mujahidin based in Kashmir, India

KMM: Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia based in Malaysia

LJ: Lashkar I Jhangvi, a.k.a. Army of Jhangvi based in Pakistan

LRA: Lord's Resistance Army based in Uganda

LT: Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, a.k.a. Army of the Righteous based in Pakistan

LTTE: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, a.k.a. World Tamil Association, World Tamil Movement, Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils, Ellalan Force, and Sangilian Force based in Sri Lanka

LVF: Loyalist Volunteer Force based in Northern Ireland

MEK: Mujahidin-e Khalq Organization, a.k.a. Holy Warriors of the People, National Liberation Army of Iran, Peoples Mujahidin of Iran, National Council of Resistance, and Muslim Iranian Student's Society based in Iraq

millenarian: Apocalyptic; forecasting the ultimate destiny of the world; foreboding imminent disaster or final doom; wildly unrestrained; ultimately decisive. From Merriam –Webster's

MRTA: Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement based in Peru.

narco-terrorism: (JP 3-07.4) Terrorism conducted to further the aims of drug traffickers. It may include assassinations, extortion, hijackings, bombings, and kidnappings directed against judges, prosecutors, elected officials, or law enforcement agents, and general disruption of a legitimate government to divert attention from drug operations.

nation: A community of people composed of one or more nationalities and possessing a more or less defined territory and government or a territorial division containing a body of people of one or more nationalities and usually characterized by relatively large size and independent status.

nation-state: A form of political organization under which a relatively homogeneous people inhabits a sovereign state; especially a state containing one as opposed to several nationalities.

nerve agents: (CBRN Handbook) Substances that interfere with the central nervous system. Exposure is primarily through contact with the liquid (skin and eyes) and secondarily through inhalation of the vapor. Three distinct symptoms associated with nerve agents are: pin-point pupils, an extreme headache, and severe tightness in the chest.

NIPR: Revolutionary Proletarian Initiative Nuclei based in Italy

NPA: New People's Army based in the Philippines

NTA: Anti-Imperialist Territorial Nuclei based in Italy

nuclear weapon: (JP 1-02) — A complete assembly (i.e., implosion type, gun type, or thermonuclear type), in its intended ultimate configuration which, upon completion of the prescribed arming, fusing, and firing sequence, is capable of producing the intended nuclear reaction and release of energy.

OV: Orange Volunteers based in Northern Ireland

PAGAD: People Against Gangsterism and Drugs based in South Africa

Pathogen: (CBRN Handbook) Any organism (usually living) capable of producing serious disease or death, such as bacteria, fungi, and viruses.

PFLP: The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine based in Syria

PFLP-GC: The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – General Command based in Syria

PIJ: The Palestine Islamic Jihad based in Syria

PIRA: Provisional Irish Republican Army based in Northern Ireland

PKK: Kurdistan Workers' Party based in Turkey

PLF: Palestine Liberation Front based in Iraq

radiological dispersal device: (RDD) (CBRN Handbook) A device (weapon or equipment), other than a nuclear explosive device, designed to disseminate radioactive material in order to cause destruction, damage, or injury by means of the radiation produced by the decay of such material.

radiological operation: (JP 1-02) — The employment of radioactive materials or radiation producing devices to cause casualties or restrict the use of terrain. It includes the intentional employment of fallout from nuclear weapons.

RIRA: Real IRA based in Northern Ireland

RHD: Red Hand Defenders based in Northern Ireland

RN: Revolutionary Nuclei based in Greece

RSRSBCM: Riyadus-Salikhin Reconnaissance and Sabotage Battalion of Chechen Martyrs based in Chechnya

RUF: Revolutionary Untied Front based in Sierra Leone

setback: Distance between outer perimeter and nearest point of buildings or structures within. Generally referred to in terms of explosive blast mitigation.

SL: Sendero Luminoso, a.k.a. Shining Path based in Peru

SPIR: Special Purpose Islamic Regiment based in Chechnya

SSP: Sipah-I-Sahaba/Pakistan based in Pakistan

state: A politically organized body of people usually occupying a definite territory; especially one that is sovereign.

TACON: Tactical control

TCG: The Tunisian Combatant Group, a.k.a. The Tunisian Islamic Fighting Group

terror tactics: Given that the Army defines **Tactics** as **"**the art and science of employing available means to win battles and engagements", then terror tactics should be considered "the art and science of employing violence, terror and intimidation to inculcate fear in the pursuit of political, religious, or ideological goals".

terrorism: (JP 1-02) — The calculated use of violence or threat of 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. See FM 100-20.

terrorist: (JP 1-02) — An individual who uses violence, terror, and intimidation to achieve a result. See FM 100-20.

terrorist goals: The term *goals* will refer to the strategic end or end state that the terrorist objectives are intended to obtain. Terrorist organization goals equate to the strategic level of war as described in FM 101-5-1.

terrorist group: Any group practicing, or that has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism (U.S. Dept of State).

terrorist objectives: The standard definition of *objective* is – "The clearly defined, decisive, and attainable aims which every military operation should be directed towards" (JP 1-02). For the purposes of this work, terrorist objectives will refer to the intended outcome or result of one or a series of terrorist operations or actions. It is analogous to the tactical or operational levels of war as described in FM 101-5-1.

toxic chemical agent: (CBRN Handbook) Produce incapacitation, serious injury, or death. They can be used to incapacitate or kill victims. These agents are the choking, blister, nerve, and blood agents.

toxin agent: (JP 1-02) — A poison formed as a specific secretion product in the metabolism of a vegetable or animal organism, as distinguished from inorganic poisons. Such poisons can also be manufactured by synthetic processes.

transnational: Extending or going beyond national boundaries (Websters). In this context, not limited to or centered within a single nation.

underground: A covert unconventional warfare organization established to operate in areas denied to the guerrilla forces or conduct operations not suitable for guerrilla forces.

UXO: Unexploded ordnance

VBIED: Vehicle borne improvised explosive devices.

WCOTC: World Church of the Creator

WEG: Worldwide Equipment Guide. A document produced by the TRADOC ADCSINT – Threats that provides the basic characteristics of selected equipment and weapons systems readily available for use by the OPFOR.

WMD: (JP 1-02) — Weapons of Mass Destruction. Weapons that are capable of a high order of destruction and/or of being used in such a manner as to destroy large numbers of people. Weapons of mass destruction can be high explosives or nuclear, biological, chemical, and radiological weapons, but exclude the means of transporting or propelling the weapon where such means is a separable and divisible part of the weapon.

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