

Intelligence Community Definition

Terrorism is premeditated, politically motivated violence or threat of violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine state agents. *Terrorism involves a criminal act that is often symbolic in nature and is intended to influence an audience beyond the immediate victims.*

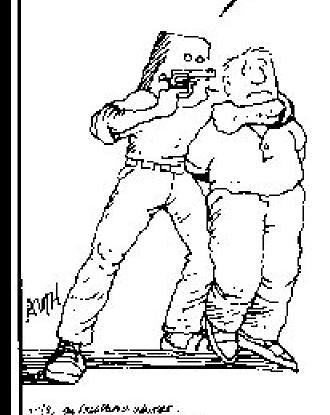
Targets of Terrorism

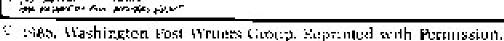
- Target of Violence
- Target of Terror
- Target of Compliance
- Target of Influence

Political Terrorism

Political terrorism can be considered Psychological warfare waged through the media

SHOOT OR I'LL STOP!







The Mind of the

Terrorist

Jerrold M. Post

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF
TERRORISM FROM
THE IRA TO AL QAEDA

MOST TERRORISTS AS INDIVIDUALS ARE PSYCHOLOGICALLY NORMAL

Terrorists do not fit into a specific diagnostic category. Cover entire diagnostic range.

The Psychological and Behavioral Bases of Terrorism: Individual Level

- #2: Explanations at the level of individual psychology are insufficient in trying to understand why people become involved in terrorism.
 - The concepts of abnormality or psychopathology are not useful in understanding terrorism.

The Psychological and Behavioral Bases of Terrorism: Group Level

#3: Group, organizational and social psychology, with a particular emphasis on "collective identity," provides the most constructive framework for understanding terrorist psychology and behavior.

"The purpose of terrorism is to terrorize."

--Lenin

"The reason for becoming a terrorist is to belong to a terrorist group."

--Post

THE CAUSEIS CAUSE

Generational Pathways To Terrorism

	Parents' Relationship to the Regime	
Youths' Relationship to Parents	oyal	isloyal amaged issident
oyal		National- Separatist Terrorism
isloyal	Social Revolutionary Terrorism	

"Social Revolutionaries"

- The goal of the group is to destroy the world of their fathers
- Their acts of terrorism are acts of retaliation for real and imagined hurts against the society of their parents
- They are symbolically dissenting against parents loyal to the regime

Social Revolutionary Terrorism

- These are the dynamics of Osama bin Laden!
 - When he criticized the Saudi ruling class from Sudan for hosting the US military in the "land of the two cities"
 - Rebelling against the generation of his family which is strongly identified with the Saudi regime which enriched his family.

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"Nationalist-Separatist"

They are carrying on the mission of their parents

 Their acts of terrorism are acts of retaliation for hurts done to their parents and grandparents by society

 They are loyal to parents damaged by the regime

"Identicide" and Nationalism

- When majority attempts to eliminate minority— "identicide"—leads to
 - defensive intensification of identity
 - Ataturk eliminationist policy towards Kurds
 - Franco attempt to obliterate Basque identity
 - Sinhala majority ignoring Tamil culture, rights in Sri Lanka

Charismatic Leader Mobilizes, Rescues Minority

- Ocalan for Kurds-PKK
- Arana for Basques-ETA
- Prabhakaran for Tamils-LTTE

• This is DEFENSIVE AGGRESSION.





SPAIN

- BASQUE FATHERLAND AND FREEDOM
 - ETA-PM
 - ETA-M



Flames of Discord Crackle in N. Ireland

Protestant Community Split Between Militants, Moderates

By T.R. Rend Fashington Post Foreign Service

BELPAST, July 11—The massive bonfires that lit the kies over every city in Nortbern Ireland tonight were set off to mark the victory of a Protestant army over Roman Catholic forces three centuries ago. But to Tom Spence, he real battle this year pits Protestants against Protesants.

Spence, who has spent the past week helping build a towering pile of tires, railroad ties, warehouse pallets and lerelict furniture that was torched late tonight in South Selfast's Sandy Row neighborhood, considers himself a real Protestant"—the kind who dominated this British province for decades.

A nuscular 20-year-old with the name of his favorite secon team—the Glasgow Rangers—lattooed on one am and that of his favorite paramilitary group—the Unter Defense Association—on the other, Spence believes hat pro-Britain Protestants should run Northern Ireland and that pro-Jerland Catholics should nove out.

"When I go over to [the Irish republic], and I see them going to the pope churches, I respect that." Spence says. But here in my country, there's no respect any more for my ways, Yeah, I'm peeved off. All me mates are preved off, too."

Such unreconstructed views make Spence part of a sanishing minority now that Northern Ireland has a Protestant-Catholic power-sharing government and a civil rights program to protect the Roman Catholic minority. And one of the things that makes him really 'peeved off' is that most of his fellow Protestants—including David Trimble, the province's First Minister, or governor—have embraced the new regime.

For Spence, the real issue is equality. "Trimble and hem talk about equality," he complains, "but where's the equality for us?" He says police restrictions on some Protestant parades during this midsummer "marching season"—organized annually to celebrate the military rictory of July 1690—show that "the law has been fid-Bet for the [pro-treland] republicans. The [police] deemd the regulation terrorists, but who's supposed to deemd our civil rights?"

[Early on Wednesday, the Reuters news agency reported the first death in nearly two weeks of violence. A man was shot dead at a bordire in the Protestant strongtold of Larne, about 20 miles north of Belfast, Reuters and, but details were sketchy.]

The past 10 days in Northern Ireland have been narked by street protests and mini-riots each night, with nost of the trouble in heavily Protestant neighborhoods. The disorder had been condemned by leaders of both rolestant and Catholic communities, and the militants



OF PAUL TATTS—ASSOCIATION

A youngeter from a British loyalist family exults in this year's Belfast bonfire, one of hundreds lit around the province annually to mark the victory of English Protestant forces over a Catholic army more than 300 years ago.





Ring Captelracyo for The New York Times

Masked teenagers stage the mock kidnapping of an Israeli official at a summer camp run by the Palestinian Authority.

Socialization

- •I belong to the generation of occupation. My family are refugees from the 1967 war. The war and my refugee status were the seminal events that formed my political consciousness, and provided the incentive for doing all I could to to help regain our legitimate rights in our occupied country.
- •As a youth, I remember seeing devastating pictures of the occupiers' conduct. For example, how a border police patrol entered the vegetable market in Nablus and deliberately turns over stalls.

Recruitment

- •My motivation in joining Fatah was both ideological and personal. It was a question of self-fulfillment, of honor and a feeling of independence...the goal of every young Palestinian was to be a fighter.
- •After recruitment my social status was greatly enhanced. I got a lot of respect from my acquaintances and from the young people in the village.
- •Anyone who didn't enlist during that period (the first intifada) would have been ostracized.

Mohammad Rezaq, Abu Nidal Terrorist Carrying on the Mission of His Family

- •At time of 1948 War of Independence, his mother, then eight, fled with family from Jaffa, to grandfathers West Bank farm
- •In 1967 war, Rezaq, eight years old with family, again fled--to Refugee camp in Jordan

•PLO teachers taught only way to become a man was to join the revolution and regain stolen lands

View of Armed attacks

• I regarded armed actions to be essential, it is the very basis of my organization and I am sure that was the case in the other Palestinian organizations. The aim was to cause as much carnage as possible. The main thing was the amount of blood. An armed action proclaims that I am here, I exist, I am strong, I am in control, I am in the field, I am on the map. An armed action against soldiers was the most admired. ...the armed actions and their results were a major tool for penetrating the public consciousness.

Religious Fundamentalist Terrorism

HOLY TERROR

"Killing in the name of God"







Religious Fundamentalist Terrorism: Fundamental Differences

- Other terrorisms interested in influencing contemporary society
- Fundamentalist religious terrorism wishes no dialogue with contemporary society--wishes to eliminate modernizing influences
 - Radical Islamist terrorism seeks to eliminate Western presence and influences
- Hierarchical and authoritarian: absence of conflict for the "true believer" over his acts of violence because sanctified by religious authority

Socialization

•At the age of 16 I developed an interest in religion. I was exposed to the Moslem Brotherhood and I began to pray in a mosque and to study Islam. The Koran and my religious studies were the tools that shaped my political consciousness. The mosques and the religious clerics in my village provided the focal point of my social life.

•In the context of these studies, the sheik used to inject some historical background in which he would tell us how we were effectively evicted from Palestine.

Socialization to Violence

• Major actions became the subject of sermons in the mosques, glorifying the attack and the attackers

•The sheik also used to explain to us the significance of the fact that there was an IDF (Israeli Defense Force) military outpost in the heart of the camp. He compared it to a cancer in the human body, which was threatening to its very existence.



Early Entrance on Path of Terrorism







Proscriptions Against Suicide and Killing Innocent Victims

- "And do not kill yourself, for God is merciful to you"
- "Whoever kills himself with an iron weapon, then the iron weapon will remain in his hand and he will continually stab himself in the belly with it in the fire of hell eternally, forever and ever; whoever kills himself by drinking poison will eternally drink poison in the hellfire, and whoever kills himself by falling off a mountain will fall forever in the fire of hell."

Justifying Suicide Terrorism

• A martyrdom operation is the highest level of jihad, and highlights the depth of our faith. The bombers are holy fighters who carry out one of the more important articles of faith. **

** Hassan Salame, responsible for the wave of suicide bombings in Israel in 1996, in which 46 were killed. He is now serving 46 consecutive life sentences.

• It is martyrdom operations which earn the most respect and elevate the bombers to the highest possible level of martyrdom.

Quote from prisoner sentenced to 26 life terms for role in several suicide-bombing campaigns

I asked Halil what it was all about and he told me that he had been on the wanted list for a long time and did not want to get caught without realizing his dream of being a martyrdom operation bomber. He was completely calm and explained to the other two bombers, Yusuf and Beshar, how to detonate the bombs, exactly the way he had explained things to the bombers in the Mahane Yehuda attack. I remember that besides the tremendous respect I had for Halil and the fact that I was jealous of him, I also felt slighted that he had not asked me to be the third bomber. I understood that my role in the movement had not come to an end and the fact that I was not on the wanted list and could operate relatively freely could be very advantageous to the movement in the future.

Palestinian Suicide Bomber Post-Mortems (Early findings)

- 17 22 y.o. young men
- (later 13-57, both men and women!)
- Uneducated
- Unemployed
- Unmarried

UNFORMED YOUTH

Kept under tight control until carries out suicidal attack

September 11 Terrorists

- Late 20s to early 30s
- Some higher education
- Comfortable Middle Class background in Egypt and Saudi Arabia

FULLY FORMED ADULTS

• On their own in the West for upwards of seven years!

"True Believers" who have subordinated their individuality to the group

Accept uncritically the world view and directions of their destructive charismatic leader, Osama bin Laden.

Al-Qaeda Training Manual Dedication

In the name of Allah, the merciful and compassionate

To those champions who avowed the truth day and night . . .

. . . And wrote with their blood and sufferings these phrases . . .

-*- The confrontation that we are calling for with the apostate regimes does not know Socratic debates . . . , Platonic ideals . . . , nor Aristotelian diplomacy. But it knows the dialogue of bullets, the ideals of assassination, bombing, and destruction, and the diplomacy of the cannon and machine-gun.

Islamic governments have never and will never be established through peaceful solutions and cooperative councils. They are established as they [always] have been

by pen and gun

by word and bullet

by tongue and teeth

Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders February 1998 Fatwa

In compliance with God's order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims:

The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies -- civilians and military -- is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty God, "and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together," and "fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God."

We -- with God's help -- call on every Muslim who believes in God and wishes to be rewarded to comply with God's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it.

Global Salafi Jihad Network

- Widely distributed and semi-autonomous
- Wide latitude to plan and execute operations.
- Maintain contact with home countries, e.g. Pakistan; *not* home grown for in touch with reconstituted al-Qaeda

The 3/11/04 Madrid train station bombing, the 7/7/05 London transit bombings and the foiled August '06 coordinated attacks on US bound airliners from Heathrow are a reflection of this emerging network. This "netwar" poses particular challenges for counter-terrorism.

Diaspora Communities

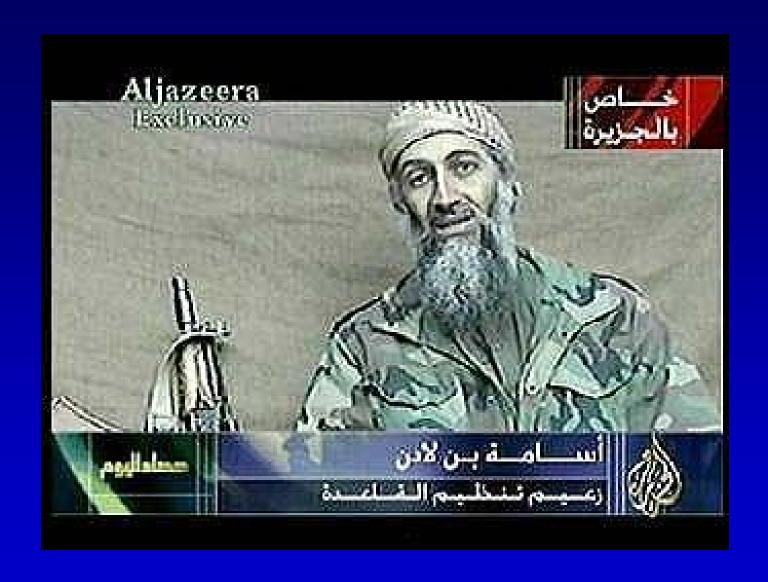
- Although most Muslim immigrants and refugees are not "stateless," many suffer from an existential sense of loss, deprivation and alienation from the countries where they live. They are often exposed to extreme ideologies that increasingly radicalize them and can foster entering the path of terrorism.
- The disapora has been identified as particularly important for the global Salafi jihad, with a large percentage (80%) of recruits joining and becoming radicalized in the diaspora.

The New Media

• New media, with the internet and 24/7 cable news, plays central role in establishing a virtual community of hatred.

• It has a strong influence on shaping terrorist identity and broadening support.

• This is a serious dilemma for counter-terrorism and represents a current and future battlefield.



Bin Laden circulates video warning to observant Muslims after 9/11

Al-Qaeda Internet Strategy

• Due to the advances of modern technology, it is easy to spread news, information, articles and other information over the Internet. We strongly urge Muslim internet professionals to spread and disseminate news and information about the Jihad through e-mail lists, discussion groups, and their own websites. If you fail to do this, and our site closes down before you have done this, you may hold you to account before Allah on the Day of Judgment

... This way, even if our sites are closed down, the material will live on with the Grace of Allah."

-- from one of Al-Qaeda's websites

Statement from al-Qaeda manual published online 4 months before Madrid bombing

• "In order to force the Spanish government to withdraw from Iraq, the resistance should deal painful blows to its forces. . . It is necessary to make the utmost use of the upcoming general election in March next year. We think that the Spanish government could not tolerate more than two, maximum three blows, after which it will have to withdraw as a result of popular pressure. If its troops remain in Iraq after these blows, the victory of the Socialist Party is almost secured, and the withdrawal of the Spanish forces will be on its electoral program."

"Jihadi Iraq: Hopes and Dangers" al Qaeda manual published Dec 2003



Revenge for the Torture at Abu Ghraib

"The Americans are dishonoring our mothers and sisters. Therefore, jihad against America has now become mandatory. We [Let] should send our mujahideen to Iraq to fight with the Iraqi mujahideen. Remember that the mujahideen are the last hope for Islam. If the mujahideen are not supported today, Islam will be erased from the map tomorrow. . . Therefore, jihad against American has now become mandatory."

From Lashkar-e-Tayba's online Urdu publication, Ghazwa

Al-Qaeda Website



Martydom Video



Implications for Countering Political Terrorism

Political terrorism can be considered:

A vicious species of Psychological warfare waged through the media, with violence as communication.

Smart bombs and missiles are *not* the the way to counter psychological warfare.

The way to counter psychological warfare with psychological warfare.

An Effective Counter Terrorism Program

- Inhibit potential terrorists from joining the group in the first place.
- Produce dissension in the group.
- Facilitate exit from the group.
- Reduce support for the group and delegitimate its leader.
- Increase societal resilience and reduce societal vulnerability to terror.

1. Inhibit Potential Recruits From Joining

- De-romanticize terrorists
- Provide alternate pathways to redress grievances
- Encourage moderate secular education
- Assist in opening up autocratic societies

2. Promote Dissension in the Group

- The underground group is an emotional pressure-cooker
- Foster paranoia by injecting rumors of traitors in the ranks
- Alienate followers from leader

3. Encourage Terrorists to Leave

- Amnesty programs
- Reduced sentences for those who cooperate
- Defector can be source of rumors to sow distrust

4. Reduce Support

- In society at large
- In the recruitment pool
- Marginalize al Qaeda
- Delegitimate bin Laden

THE ONLY WAY TO ELIMINATE Terrorism

IS TO ELIMINATE

