## **DETAILED CONTENTS**

About the Author	xiv
Preface	xv
Acknowledgments	xx
PART I • UNDERSTANDING TERRORISM:	
A CONCEPTUAL REVIEW	1
CHAPTER 1 • Defining Terrorism	2
Learning Objectives	2
Understanding Political Extremism	3
Defining Extremism	3
The World of the Extremist	4
Common Characteristics of Violent Extremists	4
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 1.1: We the Klan Believe	5
Formal and Informal Definitions	5
A Sampling of Formal Definitions Defining Terrorism in the United States	8
Nonterrorist Mass Violence in the United States	8
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 1.2: The Problem of Labeling the Enemy	
in the New Era of Terrorism	9
Types of Terrorism	10
Objectives and Goals of Terrorism	10
Typical Objectives	10
Playing to the Audience: Objectives, Victims, and Constituencies	12
Terrorists or Freedom Fighters?	13
Perspective 1: Four Quotations	13
Perspective 2: Participants in a Terrorist Environment	15
Perspective 3: Terrorism or Freedom Fighting?	16
The Political Violence Matrix	17
Combatants, Noncombatants, and the Use of Force Combatant and Noncombatant Targets	18 18
DISCUSSION BOX: Cold War Revolutionaries	18
Chapter Summary	20
Key Terms and Concepts	21
Web Exercise	21
Recommended Readings	22
CHAPTER 2 • Historical Perspectives and Ideological Origins	23
Learning Objectives	23
Historical Perspectives on Terrorism	23

	Antiquity	24
	The Roman Age	24
	The Ancient and Medieval Middle East	24
	The Dark Ages	25
	The French Revolution: Prelude to Modern Terrorism	25
	Nineteenth-Century Europe: Two Examples From the Left	25
	<b>■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 2.1: The Gunpowder Plot of Guy Fawkes</b>	26
	The Modern Era	27
	Ideological Origins of Terrorism	27
	The Classical Ideological Continuum: The Case of the French Revolution	28
	An Ideological Analysis: From the Extreme Left to the Extreme Right	28
	Ideology in Practice: From Anarchism to Fascism	31
	<b>■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 2.2: Required Reading on the "New Left"</b>	33
	September 11, 2001, and the New Terrorism	35
	September 11, 2001	36
	<b>■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 2.3: Waging War in the Era of the New Terrorism</b>	37
	The New Terrorist Morality	38
	The New Terrorism	38
	DISCUSSION BOX: Total War	40
	Chapter Summary	41
	Key Terms and Concepts	41
	Web Exercise	42
	Recommended Readings	42
	The state of the s	
C	HAPTER 3 • Causes of Terrorist Violence	44
	Learning Objectives	44
	Political Violence as the Fruit of Injustice	45
	Sociological Explanations of Terrorism: Intergroup Conflict	
	and Collective Violence	45
	Psychological Explanations of Terrorism: Rationality and Terrorist	
	Violence	48
	Criminological Explanations of Terrorism: The Path to Political	
	Criminality	50
	<b>■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 3.1: Women as Terrorists</b>	52
	Political Violence as Strategic Choice	53
	Making Revolution: Acts of Political Will	53
	Perception and Cultural Disconnect: Adversaries in the War	
	on Terrorism	54
	Moral Justifications for Political Violence	56
	Moral Convictions of Terrorists	56
	<b>■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 3.2: A Viet Cong Directive Ordering</b>	
	Selective Terrorism	57
	Simplified Definitions of Good and Evil	58
	Seeking Utopia	58
	Codes of Self-Sacrifice	58
	<b>■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 3.3: Profiles of Violent Extremists:</b>	
	Leila Khaled and Abu Nidal	59
	DISCUSSION BOX: Bloody Sunday and Black September	61
	Chapter Summary	62
	Key Terms and Concepts	62

Web Exercise	63
Recommended Readings	63
CHAPTER 4 • Terrorist Violence and the Role of the Media	65
Learning Objectives	65
Understanding the Role of the Media	65
Mass Communications and the Terrorists' Message	66
Mass Communications and the "New Media"	68
Reporting Terrorism	68
A New Battleground: The War for the Information High Ground	70
Practical Considerations: Using the Media	71
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 4.1: WikiLeaks	72
Information Is Power: The Media as a Weapon	73
Problems on the New Battleground: The Risk of Backlash Freedom of the Press and Regulating the Media	74
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 4.2: Self-Regulation and the	74
American Media	75
■ DISCUSSION BOX: Freedom of Reporting and Security Issues	76
Chapter Summary	77
Key Terms and Concepts	78
Web Exercise	78
Recommended Readings	78
PART II • TERRORIST ENVIRONMENTS  CHAPTER 5 • Terrorism by the State	81 82
Learning Objectives	82
Perspectives on Terrorism by Governments	83
Understanding State-Sponsored Terrorism: State Patronage	
and Assistance	83
State Sponsorship: The Patronage Model	84
State Sponsorship: The Assistance Model	85
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 5.1: The State-Sponsored Janjaweed Militia Campaign in Darfur, Sudan	87
Domestic Terrorism by the State	87
Legitimizing State Authority	88
State Domestic Authority	88
Unofficial Repression: Vigilante Domestic State Terrorism	89
Repression as Policy: Official Domestic State Terrorism	89
■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 5.2: Cleansing Society	90
Mass Repression: Genocidal Domestic State Terrorism	91
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 5.3: The Anfal Campaign:	00
Genocidal State Terrorism in Iraq  CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 5.4: The Khmer Rouge:	92
Genocidal State Terrorism in Cambodia	93
Terrorism as Foreign Policy	95
Moral Support: Politically Sympathetic Sponsorship	97
Technical Support: Logistically Supportive Sponsorship	97
Selective Participation: Episode-Specific Sponsorship	97
Active Participation: Joint Operations Supportive Sponsorship	98

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 5.5: Calculation or Miscalculation?	
The Threat From Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Iraq Case	98
DISCUSSION BOX: Authoritarianism and Democracy	99
Chapter Summary	100
Key Terms and Concepts	100
Web Exercise	101
Recommended Readings	101
CHAPTER 6 • Terrorism by Dissidents	103
Learning Objectives	103
Perspectives on Violent Dissent	105
Revolutionary Dissident Terrorism: A Clear World Vision	105
Nihilist Dissident Terrorism: Revolution for the Sake of Revolution	
Nationalist Dissident Terrorism: The Aspirations of a People	107
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 6.1: Child Soldiers	107
Revolutionaries, Nihilists, and Nationalists: Freedom Fighters?	108
The Practice of Dissident Terrorism	109
Concept: Asymmetrical Warfare	109
Antistate Dissident Terrorism Intensities of Conflict: Antistate Terrorist Environments	110
Communal Terrorism	111
Defeat Is Unthinkable: The Terrorists' Faith in Victory	112 115
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 6.2: The Palestinian Movement	116
Terrorist Targets and Weapons	118
The Symbolism of Targets	118
Weapons Old and New	119
■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 6.3: The Symbolism of Targets: Terrorist	
Against the United States	120
Dissidents and the New Terrorism	124
Case: Suicide Bombers and the New Dissident Terrorist Morality	124
Terrorist Cells and Lone Wolves: New Models for a New War	125
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 6.4: Chechen Terrorism in Russia	127
■ DISCUSSION BOX: The Tamil Tigers	128
Chapter Summary	129
Key Terms and Concepts	129
Web Exercise	130
Recommended Readings	131
CHAPTER 7 • Religious Terrorism	133
Learning Objectives	133
Historical Perspectives on Religious Violence	134
Judeo-Christian Antiquity	134
Christian Crusades	135
■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 7.1: The Conquest of Canaan The Assassins	135
A Secret Cult of Murder	136
Modern Arab Islamist Extremism	137 137
Cult Case: Mysticism and Rebellion in Uganda	137
Religious Scapegoating Case: The Protocols of the Learned	130
Flders of Zion	120

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 7.2: Holocaust Denial	139
The Practice of Religious Terrorism	140
Understanding Jihad as a Primary Religious Motive:	
An Observation and Caveat	140
State-Sponsored Religious Terrorism	140
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 7.3: Jihad: Struggling in the Way of God	141
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 7.4: Assault on Mumbai	143
Dissident Religious Terrorism in the Modern Era	144
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 7.5: The San Bernardino Attack	148
Trends and Projections	151
<ul> <li>CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 7.6: Assault on Paris</li> <li>DISCUSSION BOX: The One True Faith</li> </ul>	152 153
	154
Chapter Summary	154
Key Terms and Concepts	
Web Exercise	155
Recommended Readings	155
CHAPTER 8 • International Terrorism	157
Learning Objectives	157
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 8.1: The Changing Environment	157
of International Terrorism	158
Understanding International Terrorism	159
The Spillover Effect	159
Unambiguous International Implications	160
<b>■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 8.2: The Benghazi Attack</b>	162
Reasons for International Terrorism	162
International Terrorist Networks  CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 8.3: A Remarkable Example of	166
International Terrorism: The Japanese Red Army and the Lod (Lydda)	
Airport Massacre	167
International Terrorist Environments	167
The International Dimension of the New Terrorism	169
Movement Case: The Afghan Arabs at War	169
Organization Case: Al Qaeda and International Terrorism	170
Wartime Case: Terrorist Violence in Iraq	172
■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 8.4: Beyond Al Qaeda	172
DISCUSSION BOX: Understanding Terrorist "Spillovers":	
Middle Eastern and North African Spillovers in Europe	174
Chapter Summary	174
Key Terms and Concepts	175
Web Exercise	175
Recommended Readings	175
CHAPTER 9 • Domestic Terrorism in the United States	177
Learning Objectives	177
CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 9.1: American Cults and Terrorist Violence	179
Left-Wing Extremism in the United States	180
The Rise of Black Power	180
Growth of the New Left	180

	<b>■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 9.2: Seeds of Terrorism: Radicals on the</b>	
	American Left	182
	Generational Rebellion: New Left Terrorism	183
	Civil Strife: Ethno-nationalist Terrorism on the Left	184
	The Revolution Continues: Leftist Hard Cores	187
	Single-Issue Violence on the Left	187
	Right-Wing Extremism in the United States	188
	Religious Politics and the Christian Right	188
	Rise of the Antigovernment Patriots	188
	CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 9.3: Conspiracy Theories on the	100
	American Right	189
	Racial Supremacy: An Old Problem With New Beginnings	191
	Racial Mysticism	191
	Race and the Bible: The Christian Identity Creation Myth	191
	CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 9.4: Seeds of Terrorism: Reactionaries on	
	the American Right	192
	Right-Wing Terrorism in the United States	193
	Homegrown Racism: The Legacy of the Ku Klux Klan	193
	Racial Mysticism: Neo-Nazi Terrorism	196
	Patriot Threats	196
	Case in Point: Moralist Terrorism	197
	Understanding the Persistence of Violent Ideologies in the United States	198
	DISCUSSION BOX: Domestic Terrorism in the American Context	198
	- DISCUSSION BOX. Domestic Terrorism in the American Context	
	Chapter Summary	199
		199 199
	Chapter Summary	
	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts	199
	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings	199 200 200
PA	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND	199 200
PA	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings	199 200 200
PA CH	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND	199 200 200 <b>203</b>
PA CH	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism	199 200 200 <b>203</b> <b>204</b>
PA CH	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism Learning Objectives	199 200 200 <b>203</b> <b>204</b>
PA CH	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism Learning Objectives The Use of Force	199 200 200 <b>203</b> <b>204</b> 204 206
PA CH	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism Learning Objectives The Use of Force Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns	199 200 200 <b>203</b> <b>204</b> 204 206 206
PA CH	Chapter Summary  Key Terms and Concepts  Web Exercise  Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism  Learning Objectives  The Use of Force  Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns  CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon  War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert Operations  Surgical Use of Force: Special Operations Forces	199 200 200 203 204 204 206 206 208
PA CH	Chapter Summary  Key Terms and Concepts  Web Exercise  Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism  Learning Objectives  The Use of Force  Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns  CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon  War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert Operations	199 200 200 203 204 204 206 206 208 208
PA CH	Chapter Summary  Key Terms and Concepts  Web Exercise  Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism  Learning Objectives  The Use of Force  Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns  CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon  War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert Operations  Surgical Use of Force: Special Operations Forces  CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.2: Hostage Rescues  Operations Other Than War: Repressive Options	203 204 206 206 208 208 209
PA CH	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism Learning Objectives The Use of Force Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert Operations Surgical Use of Force: Special Operations Forces CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.2: Hostage Rescues Operations Other Than War: Repressive Options War in the Shadows, Part 2: Nonviolent Covert Operations	203 204 206 208 208 209 212
PA CH	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism Learning Objectives The Use of Force Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert Operations Surgical Use of Force: Special Operations Forces CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.2: Hostage Rescues  Operations Other Than War: Repressive Options War in the Shadows, Part 2: Nonviolent Covert Operations CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.3: The Utility of Monitoring Social Media	199 200 200 203 204 204 206 208 208 209 212 214 214 215
PA CH	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism Learning Objectives The Use of Force Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert Operations Surgical Use of Force: Special Operations Forces CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.2: Hostage Rescues  Operations Other Than War: Repressive Options War in the Shadows, Part 2: Nonviolent Covert Operations CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.3: The Utility of Monitoring Social Media Knowing the Enemy: Intelligence	199 200 200 203 204 204 206 208 208 209 212 214 214 215 215
PA CH	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism Learning Objectives The Use of Force Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert Operations Surgical Use of Force: Special Operations Forces CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.2: Hostage Rescues  Operations Other Than War: Repressive Options War in the Shadows, Part 2: Nonviolent Covert Operations CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.3: The Utility of Monitoring Social Media Knowing the Enemy: Intelligence Hardening the Target: Enhanced Security	199 200 200 203 204 204 206 208 208 209 212 214 214 215 215 217
PA CH	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism Learning Objectives The Use of Force Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert Operations Surgical Use of Force: Special Operations Forces CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.2: Hostage Rescues  Operations Other Than War: Repressive Options War in the Shadows, Part 2: Nonviolent Covert Operations CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.3: The Utility of Monitoring Social Media Knowing the Enemy: Intelligence	199 200 200 203 204 204 206 208 208 209 212 214 214 215 215
РА	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism Learning Objectives The Use of Force Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert Operations Surgical Use of Force: Special Operations Forces CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.2: Hostage Rescues  Operations Other Than War: Repressive Options War in the Shadows, Part 2: Nonviolent Covert Operations War in the Shadows, Part 2: Nonviolent Covert Operations CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.3: The Utility of Monitoring Social Media Knowing the Enemy: Intelligence Hardening the Target: Enhanced Security Long-Term Coercion: Economic Sanctions Operations Other Than War: Conciliatory Options	199 200 200 203 204 204 206 208 208 209 212 214 214 215 215 217
РА	Chapter Summary  Key Terms and Concepts  Web Exercise  Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism  Learning Objectives  The Use of Force  Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns  CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon  War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert Operations  Surgical Use of Force: Special Operations Forces  CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.2: Hostage Rescues  Operations Other Than War: Repressive Options  War in the Shadows, Part 2: Nonviolent Covert Operations  CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.3: The Utility of Monitoring Social Media  Knowing the Enemy: Intelligence  Hardening the Target: Enhanced Security  Long-Term Coercion: Economic Sanctions  Operations Other Than War: Conciliatory Options  Reasoned Dialogue: Diplomatic Options	199 200 200 203 204 204 206 208 209 212 214 215 215 217 217
РА	Chapter Summary Key Terms and Concepts Web Exercise Recommended Readings  RT III • THE TERRORIST BATTLEGROUND  APTER 10 • Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism Learning Objectives The Use of Force Maximum Use of Force: Suppression Campaigns CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.1: Operation El Dorado Canyon War in the Shadows, Part 1: Coercive Covert Operations Surgical Use of Force: Special Operations Forces CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.2: Hostage Rescues  Operations Other Than War: Repressive Options War in the Shadows, Part 2: Nonviolent Covert Operations War in the Shadows, Part 2: Nonviolent Covert Operations CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 10.3: The Utility of Monitoring Social Media Knowing the Enemy: Intelligence Hardening the Target: Enhanced Security Long-Term Coercion: Economic Sanctions Operations Other Than War: Conciliatory Options	199 200 200 203 204 204 206 208 208 209 212 214 215 215 217 217 219

	Legalistic Responses	222
	Law Enforcement and Counterterrorism	222
	Domestic Laws and Counterterrorism	223
	International Law: Legalistic Responses by the World Community	223
	■ DISCUSSION BOX: The Utility of Elite Counterterrorist Units	226
	Chapter Summary	226
	Key Terms and Concepts	227
	Web Exercise	228
	Recommended Readings	228
CI	HAPTER 11 • Homeland Security	230
	Learning Objectives	230
	Homeland Security in Perspective	231
	The Threat From Homegrown Jihadists	231
	Crisis and Homeland Security	234
	■ CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 11.1: DHS Areas of Responsibility	239
	Homeland Security in the United States	239
	Counterterrorist Laws	240
	Homeland Security Agencies	242
	Law Enforcement and Bureaucracy: The Federal Context	243
	The U.S. Intelligence Community: Mission and Challenges  CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 11.2: Waging War in the Era of the New Terrorism	246 246
	Civil Liberties and Securing the Homeland	249
	Security and Liberty	249
	CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 11.3: The United Kingdom:	243
	Suspending Civil Liberties in Northern Ireland	250
	Balancing Civil Liberties and Homeland Security	251
	Achieving Security	255
	■ DISCUSSION BOX: After the Next 9/11	256
	Chapter Summary	257
	Key Terms and Concepts	257
	Web Exercise	258
	Recommended Readings	258
CH	IAPTER 12 • Future Trends and Projections	260
	Learning Objectives	260
	What Does the Future Hold?	261
	Whither the "Old" Terrorism?	262
	New Threats	263
	Terrorist Environments in the 21st Century	263
	The World in Conflict: Future Sources of Terrorism	265
	High-Tech Terrorism	268
	The Future of International Terrorism in the United States	270
	The Future of the Violent Left in the United States	270
	The Future of the Violent Right in the United States	270
	Revisiting the War on Terrorism	270
	A Theoretical Model for Ending Terrorist Campaigns	271
	Government Responses	271
	Societal Responses	272

Countering Extremism	272
New Fronts in a New War	272
Continued Utility of Force	273
Countering Terrorist Financial Operations	273
Counterterrorist Surveillance Technologies	274
The Case for International Cooperation	275
DISCUSSION BOX: Toward Big Brother?	276
Chapter Summary	276
Key Terms and Concepts	277
Recommended Readings	277
Appendix: Map References	278
Glossary	293
Notes	314
Index	322

THE PERSON NAMED IN