

TERRORISM

KEY TERMS

Air America
 black bag job
 fatwah
 narcoterrorism
 French connection
 Iran-Contra affair
 Operation Cyclone

Operation Mockingbird
 political crimes
 Project Paperclip
 state-based terrorism
 state organized crime
 state white-collar crime
 terrorism

OUTLINE

When White-Collar Crime Becomes Political Crime
 Terrorism Defined
 Extent and Trends in Terrorism
 Types of Terrorists
 Profiling Terrorists

Theories of Terrorism
 Measurement of Terrorism
 Testing the Theories
 Prevention and Control of Terrorism
 Country Profile: Turkey
 USA PATRIOT Act

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Define terrorism and distinguish between terrorism and resistance to occupation by a foreign country
2. Describe the extent and trends in victimization by terrorism of U.S. citizens in foreign countries
3. Recount various types of terrorists and explain the increased lethality of the "new terrorism"
4. Discuss various theories of terrorism and, in terms of correlations discussed in this chapter, assess the theories
5. Compare two countries with the same number of resident terrorist organizations (Turkey and the United States) and, despite its high amount of heroin trafficking, explain why Turkey does not have *more* terrorist organizations

INTRODUCTION

CASE STUDY: Ismail Abu Shanab, Terrorist¹

[NOTE: The interview with Ismail Abu Shanab was actually drawn from two interviews, one by Abeja Hummel in 2000 and another by Paul Hilder in 2002]

I feel it is good to present our case to Americans . . . in the United States that there is a lot of misunderstanding and ignorance about the Middle East. The Israeli press . . . brainwashes Americans by the media they own and control, telling them that they are the victims and Palestinians are the terrorists, while the real truth is vice versa . . . we can solve the refugee problems, and they withdraw to the 67 borders and release all prisoners, I think these are acceptable to the Palestinians to start living together . . .

Hamas began in 1987 as a popular organization to resist the occupation. . . . The people themselves developed their own means of struggle. First, they were without anything in their hands. Then they developed stones, then a knife, like the ones in the kitchen. Then they developed a gas bomb. Fourth, they started to get guns, as far as they can, because they are not easy to get. Until they found that, in all circumstances, they die. So the best way to face death is to make your enemy suffer like you are suffering . . . and it started the car bombs and bombs in bags around the body. This is the utmost we can do to face people with tanks, to face people with all military means. . . . [Whether or not the bombings will continue] will all depend on the Israelis. . . . I cannot imagine how Palestinians can sit with Israelis while, at the same time, the Israelis are expanding their settlements on Palestinian land.

[The Israelis] are like a nail in the wood. The nail in the wood will not withdraw by itself. You cannot talk to the nail: "Just, please, get out." . . . This nail will never be drawn without resistance, without force. This is the conviction of Hamas . . .

When President Clinton tried to put the parties together and bring pressure to bear on them, we thought there was an American effort toward a solution. But . . . the Bush administration . . . tends toward securing the Israelis and giving them a green light to attack. [As to the September 11 attacks] It was a plot by some Zionist lobbyists outside, handed to bin Laden. I'm totally sure about this. What happened was much bigger than what bin Laden could do. . . . The creation of Israel was a tool of colonialism to get rid of Jews from the community of Europe. They disturbed its unity: Christians hated them. . . . The colonialists consider the Israelis part of the colonial strategy. But if they suffer, they will suffer alone. The Europeans will not suffer with them. They will give them money, they will give them support. If



Trying to remove the "nail in the wood" (as Hamas leader Ismail Abu Shanab refers to the Israelis), blasts are set off by Muslim militant suicide bombers, exploded back to back in a bus in downtown Jerusalem and at a bus stop in Ashkelon, killing at least 25 and wounding scores. The wreckage of the bus in downtown Jerusalem is being inspected by Israeli police officers, soldiers, medics, and burial society members.

Source: Eyal Warshavsky/AP Wide World Photo.

they succeed, give them money. If they fail, let them go to hell.

But the Zionist lobbyists in the United States are still in control of the administration of Bush. . . . They want to attack Iraq. They want to control the whole region. So they want a strong Israel, not a stable Israel. But the Americans will pay money for this, and they consider everything by dollars.

Ismail Abu Shanab, a founder of the Islamic militant group Hamas, was interviewed by Abeja Hummel on February 2, 2000 in the Gaza Strip. At that time she described Ismail as the spokesman for the Hamas political wing, a description similar to that of Paul Hilder in the 2002 interview also quoted earlier. Himmel interviewed Shanab in what she described as an almost empty office in a dreary building in downtown Gaza City. She said that she had a hard time reconciling her image of a terrorist with the man she had in front of her whom she described as wearing a suit and tie. Ismail, she said, turned out to

be an engineer who went to college in Colorado. She also described Ismail as “a really nice guy.”

In the interview done by Paul Hilder in 2002 (which begins [The Israelis] are like a nail in the wood), Hilder said that just three days before the meeting, Salah Shehadeh, leader of Hamas’s military wing and formerly Abu Shanab’s cellmate, was assassinated with a one-ton bomb. It demolished a refugee-camp block and killed 14 civilians. But Hilder said he felt no fear. Abu Shanab was the most moderate leader of

Hamas’s political wing, not at that time a target. This was Hamas’s ceasefire negotiator, a man who advocated engagement in parliamentary process, who was openly prepared to entertain the two-state solution.

On August 21, 2003, “five Israeli missiles incinerated Ismail Abu Shanab in Gaza City, killing one of the most powerful voices for peace in Hamas and destroying the ceasefire that Palestinian leaders believed would avert civil war.”²

This chapter might be viewed as an extension of the chapter on murder, although **terrorism** is shown to be multidimensional, including the whole array of crimes discussed in this text. A separate chapter on terrorism and political crime is provided here primarily because of the significance of recent events, and, in particular, the mass murder that occurred on September 11, 2001. Terrorism has been prevalent since the turn of the 21st century, and of growing concern is a brand of terrorism that has been labeled “the new terrorism,” which has arisen since the 1970s. The name Osama bin Laden is widely known now, a name almost synonymous with terrorism today. He tops the FBI’s list of “most wanted, not only for the Twin Towers attacks, but also for other terrorist acts.” A brief list of these events is provided here:

- On September 11, 2001, 19 terrorists hijacked four passenger planes, two from American Airlines and two from United Airlines. In an unprecedented act of terrorism, the hijackers crashed two planes into New York City’s 110-story twin towers of the World Trade Center, killing over 3,000 civilians. One American Airlines plane crashed into the Pentagon, killing more than 100 people. The fourth plane crashed in a rural area in Pennsylvania. The passengers probably prevented the hijackers from attacking another building in Washington. Osama bin Laden is suspected to be the key financier and instigator of these terrorist attacks.³

While the events of September 11 captured the attention of the whole world, Osama bin Laden is also held responsible for numerous other “spectacular” acts of terrorism during the past decade including the:

- 1993 World Trade Center bombing
- 1993 ambush in Somalia that killed 18 U.S. troops
- 1996 truck bomb attack on Kobar Towers, a U.S. military residence in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
- 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania
- 2000 bombing of the USS Cole in Yemen

Osama bin Laden also has issued religious edicts declaring war on America and calling 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.”⁴

Terrorism generally pertains to acts of murder or attempted murder, thus meriting inclusion in Chapter 6. However, terrorism also includes other crimes that were covered in this text, including assault, robbery, extortion, abduction, counterfeiting, and even drug trafficking (narcoterrorism). Furthermore, there is substantial literature on the topic to provide the basis of a chapter on terrorism.

After the September 11 terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon, many Americans wondered why such unprovoked attacks should be directed at the United States. Their reactions were expressed in a patriotic Website:

America is the most benign super power that has ever existed on the face of the earth. We rebuilt Europe and Japan after WWII, pouring billions into their war ravaged lands, leaving them to self-determination, and then removing their debts. No other power in the history of the world has shown this kind of compassion to its vanquished. Today, we pour billions into impoverished, third world countries.⁵

Although these statements about American altruism are true, there is another, darker side to American foreign involvement. During the Cold War era that commenced after WWII, it has been alleged that agencies of the American government carried out secret wars, election rigging, and other foreign interventions without the knowledge of the American people. A lot of these activities involved American corporate interests abroad, so the next section is entitled "When White-Collar Crime becomes Political Crime."

WHEN WHITE-COLLAR CRIME BECOMES POLITICAL CRIME

Political crimes are generally defined as "those crimes or prohibited acts directed at the established political order, its laws, and institutions."⁶ Beirne and Messerschmidt argued that the concept should be broadened. They said the state and its representatives often initiate illegal attacks upon legally functioning subordinate groups. They developed a four-fold typology of political crime that includes:

1. Violent political crimes against the state
2. Nonviolent political crimes against the state
3. Domestic political crimes by the state
4. International political crimes by the state

We have given many examples of each category throughout this text. However, the fourth category has been of greater emphasis in this text because of the comparative emphasis. This approach pertains to how international activities of one nation can influence crime in another nation or group of nations.⁷

In regard to the United States in its dealing with foreign countries, there has been much analysis of the role that the United States has played in pursuing its free trade and business agenda in countries outside the United States. A great deal of interest has been focused, in particular, upon the role that the CIA has played in the affairs of foreign countries. Chambliss characterized the activities of the CIA with the term **state organized crime**. We prefer to refer to such foreign policy endeavors as **state white-collar crime**, essentially because they are carried out in pursuit of American business interests. While the CIA, at times, has formed alliances with organized crime groups to carry out its agenda, the activities of the CIA have more typically benefited American business interests abroad. The white-collar criminality comes into play when politicians violate the public trust, or even accept bribes, in return for their support of particular business interests. We show that such foreign activities on

the part of the CIA have been unsavory, to put it mildly, often leaving a legacy of hatred and resentment of the United States in countries where these activities have been conducted. A brief profile of CIA operations abroad may be insightful in showing the extent of the problem. An excellent chronicle of the CIA's involvement in clandestine activities at home and abroad is provided by whistleblower Steve Kangas. His essay, *Timeline of CIA Atrocities*, was published online prior to his 1999 unsolved killing outside the office of billionaire Richard Mellon Scaife, who was said to be Kangas' nemesis. Steve Kangas (1961-1999) was found dead, shot twice in the head, on the 39th floor in the bathroom of the offices of Richard Mellon Scaife.⁸ Kangas, known as an "Internet warrior," had served in U.S. Army intelligence. After serving in the army he became a Doctoral Candidate at the University of California at Santa Cruz (UCSC) in economics and political science. He characterized this transition in the following sentence: "Going from the Army to UCSC was like going from conservative heaven to liberal heaven at warp speed."⁹

Kangas' "tell all" analysis of the role of the CIA in foreign policy begins his *Timeline* article:

CIA operations follow the same recurring script. First, American business interests abroad are threatened by a popular or democratically elected leader. The people support their leader because he intends to conduct land reform, strengthen unions, redistribute wealth, nationalize foreign-owned industry, and regulate business to protect workers, consumers and the environment.

So, on behalf of American business, and often with their help, the CIA mobilizes the opposition. First, it identifies right-wing groups within the country (usually the military), and offers them a deal: "We'll put you in power if you maintain a favorable business climate for us." The Agency then hires, trains and works with them to overthrow the existing government (usually a democracy). It uses every trick in the book: propaganda, stuffed ballot boxes, purchased elections, extortion, blackmail, sexual intrigue, false stories about opponents in the local media, infiltration and disruption of opposing political parties, kidnapping, beating, torture, intimidation, economic sabotage, death squads and even assassination.

These efforts culminate in a military coup, which installs a right-wing dictator. The CIA trains the dictator's security apparatus to crack down on the traditional enemies of big business, using interrogation, torture and murder. The victims are said to be "communists," but almost always they are just peasants, liberals, moderates, labor union leaders, political opponents and advocates of free speech and democracy. Widespread human rights abuses follow.¹⁰

Kangas goes on to add that the CIA actually teaches this scenario in a special school at the "School of the Americas," in Fort Benning, Georgia, where Latin American military officers are taught how to conduct coups, including the use of interrogation, torture, and murder. He alleges that by 1987, six million people had died as a result of CIA covert operations,¹¹ and quotes former State Department official William Blum in calling this an *American Holocaust*. He states further that, although the CIA justifies these actions as part of its war against communism, the nations that are targeted often are instituting only liberal or moderate social reforms that threaten U.S. business interests.

Ironically, Kangas pointed out that the dictators installed by the CIA often become arrogant and defiant of Washington's will, leaving the United States the

choice of "impotence or war." Examples of the United States having to resort to the war option now include General Noriega of Panama and Saddam Hussein of Iraq. The United States is now facing the "impotence option" with regard to Iran after the Islamic overthrow of the CIA installed Shaw of Iran. A chronicle of CIA initiatives is instructive in terms of explaining the present threat of terrorism that America faces. The September 11 attack was not the only terrorist attack on the United States. Also, the majority of terrorist attacks abroad have targeted U.S. companies, officials, and/or individuals.

Many if not most Americans were incredulous after the September 11 attacks and wondered why anybody would want to perform such an atrocity against a country that supports freedom and democracy around the world. However, they may be surprised to find that the opposite has often been the case. Agents of the U.S. government have, in fact, supported tyranny and oppression throughout the world when they felt it was in the national interest of the United States to do so. The American people have not been informed of this support for tyranny because CIA operations were typically "covert operations." However, Kangas also argued that the CIA recruited American news organizations and journalists to become spies and disseminators of propaganda. Kangas assembled a list of historical events (timeline), the occurrence of which we have attempted to verify and expand to include information from other sources. Some of these occurrences have been reported previously in this text.

- 1942, Office of Strategic Services (OSS) created: President Franklin D. Roosevelt asks New York Lawyer William J. Donovan to draft a plan for an intelligence service. The OSS was established in June, 1942, with a mandate to collect and analyze strategic information required by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The OSS was also authorized to conduct special operations not assigned to other agencies. Because the FBI had been responsible for intelligence work in Latin America, the OSS received complete jurisdiction over all other foreign intelligence activities.¹²
- 1943, Italy: Donovan (head of the OSS) recruits the Roman Catholic Church to serve as a center for the spy operations in Fascist Italy.
- 1945, OSS is abolished: In October, 1945, the OSS was abolished and its functions were transferred to the State and War Departments. Donovan had proposed the development of a civilian agency that would have authority to conduct "subversive operations abroad."
- 1946, Central Intelligence Group: In response to the post-WWII debate between agencies regarding who should handle foreign operations, in January, 1946, President Harry S. Truman established the Central Intelligence Group, whose purpose was to coordinate existing departmental intelligence between the State Department, FBI, and other agencies. It was during this period that the U.S. intelligence community developed **Project Paperclip**, a program that brought selected German scientists to work for America during the "Cold War." Truman ordered the exclusion of anyone who had been a member of the Nazi Party. However, dossiers were rewritten, at the direction of Allen Dulles (who became the CIA Director in 1947). As a result, a number of Nazi scientists were admitted to the United States. These included Arthur Rudolph (who later designed the Saturn 5 rocket used in the Apollo moon landings) and Wernher von Braun (who became director of the National Aeronautic and Space Administration's Marshall Space Flight Center). Also recruited was General Reinhard Gehlen, one of Hitler's

chief intelligence officers, who had built an intelligence network in the Soviet Union. After the war, Gehlen was employed by Dulles, who provided Gehlen with a private intelligence facility in West Germany called the Gehlen Organization. The Gehlen Organization supplied the United States with major intelligence on the Soviet Union and served as a bridge between the abolishment of the OSS and the creation of the CIA. Gehlen also set up "rat lines" to get Nazi war criminals out of Europe so that they wouldn't be prosecuted. One of these was Klaus Barbie (the butcher of Lyons) who helped governments set up death squads in Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, and elsewhere.¹³

- 1947, Greece: President Truman requests military aid to Greece to support anti-communist right-wing forces. This action puts in place a policy that will prevail for the rest of the Cold War, whereby Washington and the CIA will back notorious Greek leaders with deplorable human rights records.
- CIA created: The CIA and the National Security Council are created under the provisions of the National Security Act of 1947. The charter allows the CIA to perform "other functions and duties" that may be requested by the National Security Council, opening the door to covert action. The two principle operating divisions of the CIA were the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) and the Office of Special Operations (OSO). The OPC was responsible for directing political subversion, and the OSO was responsible for espionage and intelligence collection.¹⁴
- 1948, Italian election: In its first covert political action, the CIA offset Soviet funding of the communist party of Italy through a **black bag job** of its own, passing money to candidates for the Christian Democratic Party.¹⁵ The Christian Democratic Party went on to win its greatest election victory in April, 1948.¹⁶
- Late 1940s, Operation Mockingbird: Headed by Frank Wisner, Allan Dulles, Richard Helms, and Philip Graham (publisher of the *Washington Post*), the CIA recruited American news organizations and journalists to serve as informants and disseminate propaganda. The early **Operation Mockingbird** influenced 25 newspapers and wire agencies that consented to serve as organs of CIA propaganda. Many of these were already run by men with conservative views, including William Paley (CBS), C. D. Jackson (*Fortune*), Henry Luce (*Time*), and Arthur Hays Sulzberger (*New York Times*). Eventually, the CIA's media assets included ABC, NBC, CBS, *Time*, *Newsweek*, Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, Hearst Newspapers, Scripps-Howard, and Copley News Service.¹⁷
- 1953, Iran: The CIA overthrows the democratically elected Prime Minister of Iran, Mohammed Mossadegh, after he nationalized several foreign-owned oil companies (despite his government's offer to compensate the oil companies). The CIA replaces the Mossadegh government with the monarchy of Shah Reza Pahlavi, who promises that U.S. oil companies will have control over 50% of Iran's oil production. The CIA helps create, train, and finance SAVAK, a brutal secret police force loyal to the Shah that on June 5, 1953 murdered 6,000 Iranian citizens in one day. The ultimate cost of the coup was the revolution of 1979 that installed the virulently anti-American government of the Ayatollah Khomeini. This new government was heavily engaged in sponsoring terrorism, as well as seizing of hostages as part of a bizarre conspiracy involving U.S. intelligence during the Reagan administration, the **Iran-Contra Affair** (see text box).¹⁸

Iran-Contra Affair

The Contras were the armed opponents of the Left-wing Sandinista government in Nicaragua. The Reagan

Administration supported the Contras covertly through various measures, one of which was the diversion of some \$18 million from a \$30 million sale of arms to Iran.¹⁹

- Operation MK-ULTRA: After reports of North Korea's brainwashing program, the CIA began experiments in mind control. The most notorious experimentation involved using LSD on unwitting subjects, most often prisoners or patrons of brothels set up and run by the agency. Two-way mirrors were installed in the establishments to allow observation of the drug's effects, and agents referred to this branch of MK-ULTRA as "Operation Midnight Climax." Besides LSD, the research included parapsychological phenomenon, hypnosis, telepathy, precognition, photokinesis, and "remote viewing."²⁰
- 1954, Operation "Success" in Guatemala: After its early 1950 successful coup and installation of the Shah in Iran, the CIA turned its attentions to Guatemala, and its leader, Jacobo Arbenz, democratically elected with 65% of the vote. Arbenz's fatal flaw was that he favored land reform in a country in which 3% of the landowners held 70% of the agricultural land, and he nationalized 1.5 million acres of arable land, including land owned by the U.S.-based and Rockefeller-owned United Fruit Company, in which CIA Director Allen Dulles owned stock. The CIA financed a rebel "army" in neighboring Honduras, and Arbenz fled the country. The U.S.-sponsored dictator, Castillo Armas, who replaced Arbenz, canceled the land reform program and broke up the peasants' agricultural cooperatives. Hundreds of Guatemalans were rounded up and killed, and during the next 30 years repressive operatives of successive military regimes murdered more than 100,000 civilians.²¹
- 1961, The Bay of Pigs and Operation Mongoose: The CIA launched an invasion of 1,500 Cuban exiles to overthrow Castro. However, the invasion failed due to poor planning, security, and backing. The expected popular uprising against Castro never happened and a promised air strike never occurred. However, fearing another attack, Castro sought and obtained a Soviet missile defense system, provoking the "Cuban missile crisis."
- 1963, Kennedy Assassination: After Kennedy was assassinated, the CIA backed military coups/or assassinations occurred in countries with democratically elected leaders, including the Dominican Republic (1963), Ecuador (1963), Brazil (1964), Indonesia (1965), Greece (1967), Cambodia (1970), Bolivia (1971), Chile (1973), Panama (1989), and Haiti (1990). The CIA has also participated in the form of *black bag jobs* (black bags filled with money for candidates) in elections in various countries, including Jamaica (1980) and even Australia (1970). In Jamaica, CIA involvement led to election-related violence, as discussed in Chapter 9.

Human rights advocates may view the CIA covert operations over the years as wrong; however, on the other side are those who would argue that the CIA intervention in these foreign countries has been in the "national interest" of the United States.

After reading about all of these CIA exploits in foreign countries, some may wonder, "What does all this have to do with crime?" which, after all is the subject of this text. Previously in this text, we saw the effects of the "blowback" from the Jamaican posses who had previously served as political henchmen in Jamaica. The posses may have been a major factor in the crack epidemic of the 1980s, not to mention the epidemic of "drive-by-shootings" that erupted during that time. Yet some may counter that "blowback" is the price we must pay for our high standard of living (i.e., we must use whatever muscle we have to access the resources and/or services of the people who live in the developing world). In reply, we can only argue that the predatory policy on the part of the CIA makes for a continuing crime problem in a variety of ways:

1. Forcing countries to accept our terms under brutal dictatorships often results in political instability and civil disorder in those countries, and rebel groups may fund their insurgency through illicit traffic in drugs and other illicit commodities, with the United States as a major marketplace for the illicit traffic.
2. Brutal dictatorships create a refugee problem of people escaping from such oppression, and the United States is often a target destination for human traffic.
3. To fund clandestine wars, the CIA has often found it necessary to fund its activities through illicit means—most particularly, through the drug trade and money laundering (as discussed later).

The drug trade and money laundering have both been a source of crime problems for the United States. Insofar as the wisdom of interfering in the internal affairs of developing nations to benefit U.S. business interests, it seems that this strategy is a "double-edged sword." Citizens of countries angered by our participation in their oppression and exploitation may ultimately install a democratically based government. When they do, it seems likely that U.S. interests will be excluded from these countries altogether. Furthermore, the bitterness that the citizens feel as former members of our "colonies" makes them more likely to join the ranks of international terrorists, thus contributing to the present major problem facing our nation.

The CIA is sometimes referred to as a "shadow government" organization and a carry-over from WWII. During WWII, its predecessor, the OSS, carried on a number of clandestine covert operations that were enabled by the War Powers Act, which allowed the Executive Branch to carry on spy-type activity, based upon a national emergency. Normally in peacetime, such organizations are suspended; however, after WWII the threat of the Cold War justified a continuation of such functions by the CIA and other organizations that report directly to the President. According to a watchdog organization (*AboveTopSecret.com*), the functions of the CIA are that it:

commands, often controls, and sometimes coordinates, the gathering of secret overseas information gathered by spies (HUMINT), electronic surveillance (SIGINT), and other means; carries out covert unconstitutional paramilitary counterinsurgency operations and preemptive political pacification projects in violation of international law, as well as counter-intelligence sting

"Drugs for Guns"

operations against foreign agents; engages in domestic surveillance, and manipulation of the U.S. political process, "in the national interest" in direct violation of its congressional charter; operates proprietary "false front" companies for profit; [and] conducts a major share of international trans-shipment of illegal drugs, using National Security cover and immunity.²²

In regard to the issue of CIA drug trafficking, false front companies, and money laundering, the following instances have been cited:

- **Military Intelligence Operations WWII:** The help of mob boss Lucky Luciano was utilized by having his network of pimps, prostitutes, and dockworkers prevent the sabotage of New York docks during the war.²³ In Italy, Vito Genovese, who was living in self-imposed exile, served as an "unofficial advisor to the American military government" after the invasion of Sicily. He also found and installed right-wing politicians loyal to OC who served to offset potential gains by socialists and communists in Italy. The right wing politicians also gave OC a "free ride" for almost four decades.²⁴
- **The French Connection:** Corsican OC figures were recruited by U.S. intelligence during the 1950s to help deal with dockworkers in France. The socialist dockworkers were opposed to the French war with Vietnam, which was seeking independence from France. The Corsicans created "goon squads" that attacked union picket lines and harassed and even assassinated union leaders, breaking the union. While the French were allowed to resume their war in Vietnam, the Corsicans were granted the right to use Marseilles as a heroin trafficking center, creating the infamous "French Connection." The latter would supply U.S. heroin needs for the next 20 years.²⁵
- **Air America:** In the 1950s, the CIA provided direct support to Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist) opium growers in Thailand and Burma in hopes that their armies would someday attack Communist China, setting up front air transport companies that flew opium out of the Golden Triangle to Thailand or Taiwan. This support largely accounted for the explosion of heroin addiction in the United States in the 1960s. During the 1960s, the number of known addicts grew from 65,000 to over 500,000.²⁶ Later, during the Vietnam War, the CIA financed a renegade 36,000-man secret Laotian army of Hmong (or Meo) tribe members, commanded by Vang Pao. The tribesmen were traditionally opium poppy farmers, whose trade was disrupted by the war, so the CIA supplied them with a fleet of aircraft called Air America to transport their opium from the Laotian hills to a CIA base at Long Tieng, Laos, where it was refined into heroin, and then transported to South Vietnam, where it was sold to U.S. troops, 20% of whom became heroin addicts.²⁷
- **Operation Cyclone:** Zbigniew Brzezinsky, National Security Adviser to President Jimmy Carter, in 2002 revealed that President Carter secretly authorized \$500 million to create an international terrorist movement that would spread Islamic fundamentalism in Central Asia and "destabilize" the Soviet Union. They called this plan Operation Cyclone and poured \$4 billion into setting up Islamic training schools in Pakistan. Young zealots were also sent to the CIA's spy training camp in Virginia, where future members of al-Qaeda were taught

"sabotage skills."²⁸ The Mujahadeen financed their war through drug trafficking, in this case heroin, while the CIA had reopened trade routes through Pakistan to supply the Mujahadeen with weapons. The Afghani rebels smuggled the drug into the world market, making the areas they controlled the world's leading source of heroin exports in the United States and Europe.²⁹

- **Iran-Contra Affair:** During the 1980s, the Reagan administration backed a coalition of paramilitary groups known as the "contras" who were trying to overthrow the left-wing Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Some of the contras were trained in Honduras by CIA operatives. After the Democratic Congress refused to fund the war in Nicaragua by passing the Bolland Amendment, drug money became involved in funding the insurgency. The Reagan administration, which launched a War on Drugs in America, actually facilitated the drug trade to fund the contras in three ways:

1. Direct funding from major cocaine traffickers
2. "Guns-for-drugs" scheme involving the cocaine cartels
3. Direct drug trafficking by some of the contra leadership³⁰

TERRORISM DEFINED

The term *terrorism* is difficult to define, because the definition depends upon one's point of view. The old adage, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter," clearly indicates the problem in forming a definition. In fact, it has been suggested that the American Revolution was the result of the actions of war-seeking groups of American men who used weapons of terrorism against all who opposed them.³¹

The issue of definition in the case of terrorism is crucial, as is discussed later, particularly after the events of September 11. At this writing, the national government has passed significant legislation to combat terrorism, and, in fact, has declared a "war on terrorism." Under the "rule of law" in our society, there can be no crime without first a law; however, if the law is unclear as to the definition of a particular crime, then the government, as represented by the police, can engage in arbitrary action and individual liberty can be threatened. The following are definitions of terrorism that have been used by the FBI:

- Terrorism is defined in the Code of Federal Regulation as "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."³²
- The FBI defines a terrorist incident as "a violent act or an act dangerous to human life, in violation of the criminal laws of the United States, or any state, to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."³³

In terms of law enforcement in the United States, the definitions given by the FBI are important because the FBI is the prosecuting authority at the national level. Thus, any ambiguities in these definitions can have consequences in terms of the arrest of potentially massive numbers of persons in or

outside of the United States. Note that the first definition includes force and violence against property as well as persons. Thus, tearing down a sign or spray painting graffiti could be construed as an act of terrorism by the FBI. The second definition is even more vague, including not only violent acts, but any act dangerous to human life. Thus, if a group, staging a protest demonstration, blocks a public highway, and someone has an accident with injury, the protesters could be charged with terrorism. The danger in such vague definitions is that the FBI might be locking up persons who are simply opposed to the current government in power, potentially facilitating a tyrannical government. The USA PATRIOT Act of 2001, to be discussed later, augmented the existing definitions of terrorism to include definitions of terrorist acts against mass transportation systems and harboring or concealing terrorists. If a person willfully “wrecks, derails, sets fire to, or disables a mass transportation vehicle or ferry” and does a variety of acts affecting mass transport, or “attempts, threatens or conspires to do any of the aforesaid acts,” he may be fined or imprisoned under the USA PATRIOT Act. Although this delineation helps to clarify the definition of terrorism through indicating specific acts, there is still vagueness in the latter clause involving threats and conspiracies. More work is needed on the definition of terrorism to prevent arbitrary use and to make prosecution less subject to challenge in court.

A definition that combines the elements of many definitions of terrorism is given by the Terrorism Research Center, an independent institute that has assembled an excellent database on international terrorism:

Terrorism (is) the systematic use of physical violence—actual or threatened—against non-combatants but with an audience broader than the immediate victims in mind, to create a general climate of fear in a target population, in order to effect some kind of political and/or social change.³⁴

In addition to being inclusive, this definition is consistent with data produced by the Terrorism Research Center that is discussed later in this chapter. This definition overcomes limitations of the FBI’s definitions in that it does not include “violence against property” (which could include minor acts of vandalism) and it specifies “noncombatants” as the target (a point not made clear in the FBI definitions).

Reflecting upon this definition, it can be seen that terrorism probably is as old as mankind. In ancient times, warring armies raped, pillaged, and plundered civilians and their property during the middle ages and before. During the American Civil War, William Tecumseh Sherman utilized a total-war strategy that targeted soldiers as well as all civilians, man, woman and child, in the American South.³⁵ Similarly, the Allies used a strategy of “total war” against the Nazi Regime in Germany to break the will of the enemy during World War II. Even bioterrorism is ages old. The ancient Scythe dipped their arrow heads in putrefied blood, and the Mongols won against the Genovese in 1344 by catapulting corpses infested with the plague.³⁶

While terrorism, loosely construed, has occurred throughout history, there have been attempts in the literature to more specifically characterize terrorism today. Hazelip studied the works of 12 advocates of terrorism, from Yassir Arafat to Leon Trotsky, and deduced 12 tenets or principles of terrorism from their writings:³⁷

1. Violence is necessary to overthrow oppression.
2. There is no limit to the extent of violence justified.

3. Actions should clearly convey their purpose.
4. Reprisal killings are counter-productive.
5. Ruthlessness and extraordinary violence are essential to terrorist success.
6. Government failures can be used to gain popular support.
7. Terrorism exposes the repressive side of government.
8. Terrorists aim to incapacitate government directly or indirectly.
9. Secrecy is important to terrorist operations.
10. Systematic planning and execution is critical to terrorist success.
11. Small-scale, persistent attacks are the most effective.
12. Terrorists are dedicated to destruction for the sake of their cause.

A more simplified version of these characteristics was published by Gwynn Nettler.³⁸ He said that there are six characteristics in all forms of terrorism:

1. There are no moral limitations upon the degree or type of violence that terrorists can use (no rules).
2. No distinctions are made in killing between children and adults, soldiers and civilians (no innocents).
3. Kill one, frighten 10,000 (economy).
4. Terrorists pursue publicity, and publicity encourages terrorism (publicity).
5. Terrorism gives meaning and significance to the lives of terrorists (meaning).
6. Beyond the immediate goal of destructive acts, the long-term goals of terrorists are often poorly conceived or impossible to implement (no clarity).

Obviously, volumes could be and have been written about the topic, because terrorism is a subject that has a wide variety of definitions and is done all over the world. However, the thrust of this chapter concerns terrorist acts directed at United States citizens. This does not mean that the study is parochial. This limitation is simply to keep the definition consistent with the other topics of the text. This text focuses upon criminal acts (murder, rape, robbery, etc.) done against citizens of this country. The discussion is not limited to this focus, however. A country profile is included in this chapter pertaining to terrorism done against citizens of other countries. By analyzing the factors involved with terrorism in other countries, insights are obtained that are relevant to the study of terrorism with regard to citizens of the United States.

EXTENT AND TRENDS IN TERRORISM

The Twin Towers/Pentagon attacks of September 11 constitute the popular connotation of terrorism in America today. However, the number of terrorism incidents involving Americans during the period from 1970 until today has been great. Most of the incidents were experienced by diplomats, government officials, and persons doing business in countries outside of the United States. Also, a plurality of international terrorism attacks in the world has been against United States citizens or property. In 1980, there were 760 incidents involving

terrorist attacks. Of these, 1.8% (90) were in North America, but worldwide 36.6% (278) were against United States citizens or property. The forms of attack were explosive bombs, bomb threats, hijacking, and skyjacking. The countries in which attacks occurred against U.S. citizens were, in rank order, Turkey (36), West Germany (19), El Salvador (19), Philippines (18), Colombia (13), Greece (13), Uganda (13), and Guatemala (11).³⁹ A Rand report published in 1979 found that terrorist attacks on the American business community increased 400% since 1970.⁴⁰ From 1970 to 1978, United States businesses were the victims of 2,427 out of 5,529 terrorist attacks worldwide. Thousands of business executives and other personnel were held hostage, wounded, or killed.⁴¹

A congressional hearing in 1984 noted that terrorist activity against United States had increased 60% in 1982, and that more people were killed or injured by terrorists in 1983 than any year since countries began keeping records. The committee's concern was a possible link between terrorism and drugs, or **narcoterrorism**.⁴²

In the mid-1980s, Mueller and Adler called attention to the threat of another form of terrorism—piracy.⁴³ They pointed to the attacks on refugees fleeing Southeast Asia, particularly off the coast of Singapore and to the disappearance of hundreds of vessels in the Caribbean. They said that an average of one substantial vessel per week had been disappearing, with a total of 23,000 vessels lost in 1985, compared to 800 in 1975.

The Rand Corporation has been monitoring international terrorism events since 1968. Findings are that international terrorism incidents increased from 121 in 1968 to 345 in 1985, then falling to 239 in 1990, rising again to 380 in 1991 (the year of the first Gulf War). After that, international terrorist acts fell gradually to a low total of 11 in 1997, but rose in 1998 to 1,256, followed by a decline to 988 in 2000, rising to 1,705 in 2001, 2,642 in 2002, and 1,355 in 2003.⁴⁴ Hoffman analyzed these trends and found that there has been a change not only in the incidence of terrorism but in the orientation and lethality.⁴⁵ He argued that traditional terrorism was radical leftist and secular in nature (i.e., Marxist, Leninist/Maoist/Stalinist movements). The purpose was to victimize targets (through kidnapping, assassination, bombing, etc.) that were blamed for economic exploitation or political repression to attract attention to themselves and their causes. The traditional groups generally issued communiqués taking credit for, as well as explaining in considerable detail, their actions. The “new terrorists” have been evident since the early 1990s (coincidental with the emergence of some 25 new Muslim nations). These new terrorist groups are religious in nature, with a less-cohesive and more diffuse organizational structure. It is rare for these new terrorists to claim credit for their acts of terrorism, and the acts have been progressively more lethal in nature. Hoffman characterized their acts of terror as typically in the form of “spectaculars”—dramatic, attention-riveting, and highly lethal. The reason for this increasing lethality is the need to get the attention of the jaded media and the increasing adeptness of terrorists at killing. Also involved is the terrorists' desire to get the backing and support of rogue states for which the terrorists secretly play the role of “surrogate warriors.” The new terrorists are frequently of Shiite Islamic faith and have access to inexpensive lethal means of terrorism. Also a factor is the increasing sophistication and operational competence of professional terrorists.

Hoffman provided a list of terrorist incidents that were examples of the new terrorism. He prophetically indicated that the (then, in 1999) most recent embassy bombings were financed by millionaire Saudi Arabian dissident, Osama bin Laden, who was leading a worldwide campaign against the United States. Bin Laden's opposition to the United States was based upon its support

for Israel and the continued presence of American military forces in Saudi Arabia. Bin Laden's influence added a new dimension to the lethality, imparting a religious fervor to his war on America as a *fatwa*, or Islamic religious edict. He also was able to augment the size of a terrorist organization (usually 20–400) to an estimated 4000–5000 well-trained fighters.

TYPES OF TERRORISTS

The FBI distinguishes between domestic terrorism and international terrorism. Domestic terrorism is terrorism by a group or individual based and operating entirely within the United States or its territories, whereas international terrorism occurs outside the United States or transcends national boundaries in terms of the means with which it is accomplished.⁴⁶ However, criminological literature offers many other typologies. Possibly as a reflection of the varying definitions of terrorism, there are a significant number of typologies in the literature. In 1977, Rayne identified five types of terrorists: (a) the politically motivated, (b) the minority group, (c) the purely criminal, (d) the religiously motivated, and (e) the mentally deranged.⁴⁷ It should be observed that political motivation is now included in the definition of terrorism, but that Rayne was providing an early preview of religiously motivated terrorists that Hoffman has found to be the trend today. Another very insightful early typology (in light of Hoffman's findings) was published by H. H. A. Cooper in 1978.⁴⁸ Cooper indicated that organized terrorists are generally highly disciplined and dedicated to the pursuit of specific objectives, and they limit their violence in the pursuit of those objectives. However, groups that serve as surrogate agents for nation states may escalate their violence because of the restrictions they must respect, and the most dangerous include three groups: (a) maverick terrorists, mercenary groups with a nihilistic creed and no expectation of attaining political power, (b) splinter groups forced into a position of desperation, and (c) solitary psychotic or psychopathic imitators. The religious terrorists described by Hoffman could fit any of these categories.

BOX 15-2

Police Terrorism in Sri Lanka

In countries with high murder rates, police are not passive investigators who merely respond to an offense reported to them. They are often part of the process. Sri Lanka is an Asian country which had a murder rate of 10.22 per 100,000 inhabitants in 1998, right by Asian standards and for a country with an otherwise very low crime rate. In recent years in Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), the police representing the Sinhalese majority have abused Tamil rights in that country. Tamils are a Muslim minority whose forebears were brought to India in the late 19th century to work on the tea and rubber plantations. The Tamils have their own language. The Sinhalese are the largest ethnic group. They have their own language, and over 90% of the Sinhalese are Buddhists. The Sri Lankan National Police have been battling a Tamil terrorist organization, the Tigers of Tamil Eelam ("LTTE" or "Tigers"), with conflict escalating in the 1990s. In 1993 the Tigers assassinated

the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa. This conflict has led to participation in extrajudicial killings on the part of the police (similar to Wolf's enforcement terrorism). In October 2000, while police allegedly looked on, 27 young Tamil males held at the Bindunuwewa rehabilitation camp for former child soldiers were hacked and clubbed to death by local villagers; 15 others were injured. Police allegedly took part in the killings and did nothing to prevent the villagers from entering the detention camp. At his sentencing for the 1998 rape and murder of Krishanthi Kumaraswamy, a Tamil schoolgirl, former Lance Corporal Somaratne Rajapakse, claimed knowledge of mass graves at Chemmani in Jaffna containing the bodies of up to 400 persons killed by Sri Lankan security forces in 1996. The other five defendants convicted in the Kumaraswamy killing also later claimed knowledge of mass graves in the Chemmani area, where they allegedly had buried between 120 and 140 bodies on the orders of their superiors.⁴⁹

Several authors have distinguished between government-sponsored terrorism and that done by nongovernment groups; however, a typology especially relevant to criminal justice was developed by John Wolf in 1981.⁵⁰ Wolf referred to government terrorism as enforcement terrorism, used by nations to maintain social control. Examples included the "white terror" of Chile's military intelligence services, the Death Squads in Brazil, the White Warriors Union in El Salvador, and the KGB in the USSR. As discussed in the text box and later in this chapter, many countries that report extremely low crime rates may be characterized by enforcement terrorism. Nongovernment terrorism, which Wolf characterized as agitational terrorism, is done by small groups of individuals who want to alter the country's status quo, but must do so within restricted time and space perimeters and must restrict their organizational membership to a handful of persons. It should be observed that agitational terrorism is more prevalent today, because it may be supported by the majority of the civilian population in a country, or a nearby country in which the terrorists are given refuge.

Harvey Kushner provided a similar discussion of the "new terrorism," but with a broader reach than that of Hoffman.⁵¹ He said the new terrorist, often a freelancer or someone involved with a loosely affiliated group, is more difficult to spot, track, intercept, and combat than the traditional terrorist. The "new domestic terrorist" movement (in the U.S.) includes Christian Identity advocates, Ku Klux Klan members, militias, Freemen, skinheads, survivalists, Populists, gun enthusiasts, militant anti-abortionists, tax protesters, and neo-Nazis. In some countries, such right-wing groups work in concert with the government and police as a covert means of supporting the status quo. It is probably not beyond credibility to assert that such organizations have served as surrogates for the police in the United States in the not too distant past.

As suggested earlier, much of the "new terrorism" in other nations has been the product of the emerging independence of Islamic countries. Pluchinsky suggested that on the horizon is another type of terrorism, blood feud terrorism, which entails retaliatory acts of violence to satisfy the vengeance code of a clan.⁵² Blood feud terrorism seems likely in the 15 newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. These include Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, North Ossetia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Tajikistan. These areas may replace the Middle East as the primary generator of international terrorism, according to Pluchinsky.

Siegel has condensed many of the aforementioned typologies into a seven-fold typology including revolutionary, political, nationalist, cause-based,

BOX 15-3

When Rape Is Terrorism

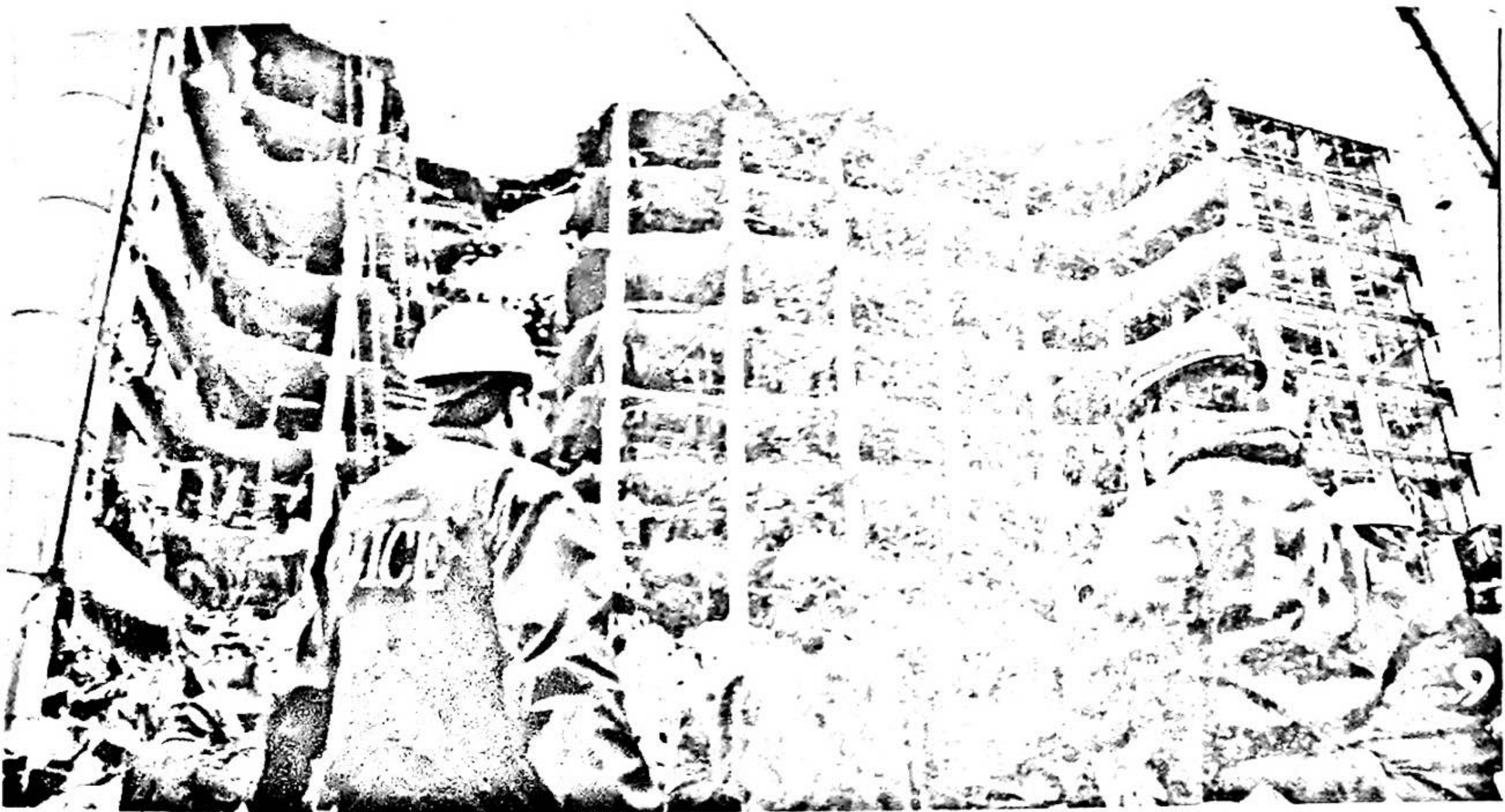
A study based upon 250 interviews with Bosnian refugees in Croatia and Austria determined that there were four distinct types of rape during wartime: (a) rape as bounty, (b) rape as a formally forbidden but de facto tolerated outlet for soldiers, (c) rape as a breakdown of the command structure and the morale

of the troops, and (d) rape as part of a deliberate assault strategy.⁵³ Another study found that the Serbs had adopted an official policy that not only permitted but also recommended "genocidal rape" to further military and political goals. This policy involved a strategy of systematic terror based upon raping and murdering women as well as impregnating them to provide a new source of Serbian citizens.⁵⁴

environmental, state-sponsored, and criminal terrorists.⁵⁵ Revolutionary terrorism uses violence to replace the existing government through frightening and inciting the government to use repressive measures that can be exposed by the terrorists as oppressive. Political terrorists seek to shape the existing government so that it accepts its views. Timothy McVeigh's Oklahoma City bombing was an instance of political terrorism. Nationalist terrorism is directed at promoting the interests of a minority ethnic or religious group that believes it has been mistreated by majority rule and seeks to form its own independent homeland. The Palestinians and the Kurds represent groups who have engaged in terrorist acts for this purpose. Cause-based terrorism is directed at individuals or governments that are objectionable to the terrorists. Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda organization is an example that seeks to impose its own religious code on the world or certain regions of the world. Environmental terrorism typically involves arson or vandalism to promote the cause of environmentalism (and thus is a form of cause-based terrorism). State-sponsored terrorism is that done by a repressive government regime to force its citizens into obedience. Criminal terrorism involves the use of terrorist acts, such as kidnapping, for profit or gain. Criminal terrorism can be done by other types of terrorists.

Aside from the general typologies discussed earlier, terrorism has been characterized by the various forms it takes. The forms include bombings, kidnappings, assassinations, facility attacks, lock-ins, robberies, extortion, hijacking, skyjacking, hostage-taking, and rape.

It should be added that mentioned in criminological literature are some forms of terrorism that stretch to its limits the definition of terrorism, including workplace terrorism, patriarchal terrorism (by husbands to wives), and agricultural terrorism.



Shown here is the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, bombed on April 19, 1995, an instance of political as well as domestic terrorism. It was the deadliest terrorist attack on United States soil prior to the events of September 11, 2001, killing 168 people. Timothy McVeigh, a decorated Gulf War veteran, was convicted and executed for the crime. McVeigh used a truck, loaded with 5,000 pounds of fertilizer, as a bomb. McVeigh's motivation, in his words, was "necessity," arguing that his bombing was a justifiable response to what he believed were the crimes of the U.S. government at Waco, Texas, where 76 Branch Davidian members died in a confrontation with U.S. federal agents on April 19, 1993.

Source: Paul Moseley/Fort Worth Star Telegram. SIPA Press.

PROFILING TERRORISTS

There have been some attempts to develop a psychological and/or sociological profile of the typical terrorist. These attempts may be useful in regard to the goal of developing theories of terrorism, discussed later in this chapter. Osama bin Laden is probably the number one terrorist being profiled today. Although bin Laden's background does not resemble that of common criminals that have been described in this text, there are elements in his biography that are similar to those found in the profiles of other terrorists.

Osama bin Laden was born in the city of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, probably in 1957. . . . His father, Muhammad bin Laden, was a small-time builder and contractor. . . . His father had more than 50 children from several wives. The oil boom of the 1970s changed Muhammad bin Laden's fortunes . . . he soon developed a special relationship with the upper-most echelons of the House of al-Saud as both a superior builder and the provider of discreet services, such as the laundering of payments to "causes." . . . the House of al-Saud contracted with the bin Laden company to refurbish and rebuild the two holy mosques in Mecca and Medina. Osama . . . went to high school in Jeddah and then studied management and economics at King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah. . . . While in high school and college, Osama often visited Beirut [Lebanon], frequenting flashy nightclubs, casinos, and bars. He was a drinker and womanizer, which often got him into bar brawls. Ultimately, however, Osama bin Laden was not an ordinary Saudi youth having a good time in Beirut. In 1973 Muhammad bin Laden was deeply affected spiritually when he rebuilt and refurbished the two holy mosques, and his father's renewed spirituality greatly affected Osama. Even during his brief trips to Beirut, Osama began to show an interest in Islam. He started reading Islamic literature and soon began his interaction with local Islamists. In 1975 the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war prevented further visits to Beirut. The Saudi Islamists claimed that the agony of the Lebanese was a punishment from God for their sins and destructive influence on young Muslims. Osama bin Laden was strongly influenced by these arguments.⁵⁶

Although Osama bin Laden's childhood could hardly be described as deprived or impoverished, the family situation would certainly draw comment by profilers had Osama been raised in the West. As the Gluecks' study⁵⁷ and many other studies pointed out, children raised in large families are prone to delinquent behavior. One reason given is that there is a breakdown in control in such families because the amount of attention given to each child declines proportionately to the number of children. Sibling rivalry may erupt into violent behavior that cannot be effectively contained, particularly if the father figure is absent. Such a childhood could pave the path for violence in adult years.

In gang neighborhoods, large families can form the nexus of delinquent gangs. A family of 50 siblings could form the core not just of a gang, but of a social movement. However, other factors led to Osama bin Laden's lethality as a terrorist in his subsequent career, first as a freedom fighter, and later as a terrorist, as well. While his early work was in support of the Saudi

royal family, it is shown that his increasing radicalism led to his isolation and alienation and ultimate expulsion from his home country as a social pariah, thus driving his terrorism to the desperation of a "maverick" or "splinter" group, as previously described by Cooper.

In college, Osama adopted the main trend of many educated Muslims at the time, Muslim Brotherhood. Through Hajj visits to Mecca and at King Abdul-Aziz University in Jeddah, Osama was mentored by two distinguished teachers in Islamic studies. Starting in the early 1980s, Osama visited Pakistan secretly during the Soviet invasion. There he was taken to see the refugee camps and to meet some Islamic leaders whom he had already encountered at various Hajj meetings. Upon returning to Saudi Arabia, Osama collected a huge amount of money and material that he subsequently supplied to his connections in Pakistan. In 1982, Osama decided to go to Afghanistan, bringing with him plenty of construction machinery, which he put at the disposal of the local mujahedeen. In 1984, he set up a guesthouse in Peshawar, Afghanistan, which was to serve as a way station for Arab mujahedeen on their way to training camps or the front to fight the Soviets. In 1986, he set up his own camps inside Afghanistan, building more than six camps within two years. Ultimately he was to establish more than 50 camps in that country. The whole complex (guesthouse and camps) was termed Al-Qa'edah, which in Arabic means "The Base." After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, Osama experienced his first chastisement by the Saudi government. Upon his return to the kingdom, he was banned from travel. The reasons for the ban were, perhaps, his intentions to start a new "front" of jihad in South Yemen, his lectures and speeches warning of impending invasion by Saddam Hussein (at a time when the Saudi regime was on very good terms with Saddam). Osama felt vindicated when Saddam invaded Kuwait, and recommended the development of an all-Arab force of mujahedeen to defend the kingdom. Instead, he was shocked to learn that the Americans had been invited to defend Saudi Arabia. In response to this, Osama obtained a **fatwah** (in Islam, a legal opinion or ruling issued by an Islamic scholar⁵⁸) from one of the senior scholars to the effect that training and readiness is a religious duty. He circulated the fatwah and convinced some 4,000 people to obtain training in Afghanistan. The Saudi regime, displeased with Osama's activities, limited his movement to Jeddah only and raided his farm in the suburb of Jeddah, further alienating bin Laden. In 1991, Osama was able to obtain permission to leave the country through connections of one of his brothers with the Saudi royal family, and he left for Pakistan. There he notified his brother that he was not coming back and apologized for letting his brother down with the royal family. He left immediately for Afghanistan where more than once, the Saudis tried to kidnap or kill him in collaboration with the Pakistani intelligence service. He managed to escape these attempts by virtue of leaks from friends connected with the Saudi royal family and Pakistani government, but eventually departed from Afghanistan for Sudan in a private jet, wearing a disguise. In Sudan, Osama found a safe refuge and was treated as a welcome guest by the Islamic government. He provided aid in construction as well as financing for that government through his Saudi connections. While in Sudan, he once again escaped a Saudi-based assassination attempt. During his stay in Sudan, between 1992 and 1994, the Saudi government

froze his assets and in 1994 publicly withdrew his citizenship. Sudan subsequently was exposed to considerable international pressure for hosting bin Laden and bin Laden fled in 1996 to Jalalabad in Eastern Afghanistan. There he issued his first anti-American message, a Declaration of War, limited to expelling American forces from the Arabian Peninsula. He was given refuge in Afghanistan, personally sponsored by Mullah Omer, the leader of the Taliban. This did not stop assassination attempts by the Saudis, one of which took place in early 1997 prompting bin Laden's move to Qandahar, the stronghold of the Taliban, after news of the latest assassination attempt was leaked to him. In 1997, a commando attempted kidnapping of bin Laden by the Americans was foiled after information was again leaked to bin Laden, and he went public, causing the Americans to cancel their plans. Bin Laden enjoyed sanctuary in Afghanistan up until the Americans invaded the country after the destruction of the World Trade Center. The Taliban protected him because they saw him as a saint. Providing bin Laden sanctuary performed the functions of protecting a distinguished Muslim who gave up wealth to help his brother Muslims in Afghanistan, as well as performing the tribal duty of protecting a decent [sic] refugee. Contrary to speculation, bin Laden has never had any relation with America, the CIA, or other American departments.⁵⁹ (For another version of the latter statement, see text box.)

BOX 15-4

The CIA's "Operation Cyclone" and Osama bin Laden

Although Osama bin Laden has been implicated in the 2001 terrorist destruction of the World Trade Center in New York City, various news articles have also implicated the United States CIA (indirectly) in the development of his terrorist network. One author, Norm Dixon, alleged that bin Laden's terrorist network was more or less a direct product of a covert CIA operation called "Operation Cyclone." Dixon maintained that between 1978 and 1992, the U.S. government provided between \$6 billion and \$20 billion worth of arms, training, and funds to support the mujaheddin in Afghanistan in their efforts to oust the Pro-Soviet People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Soviet occupying forces. The strategic plan, authored by U.S. President Jimmy Carter's national security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, was to foster an international movement to spread Islamic fanaticism into the Central Asian Soviet republics to destabilize the Soviet Union. The CIA funneled its support through Pakistan's CIA, the Inter-Service Intelligence Directorate (ISI), which in turn distributed money, recruits, and equipment to the mujaheddin factions through an organization known as Maktab al Khidamar

(MAK; Office of Services). According to bin Laden's CIA biography, bin Laden was running the MAK in 1984. One faction favored by Washington was headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, an Islamic extremist and close associate of Osama bin Laden. In 1992, Hekmatyar became prime minister of the new Taliban government in Kabul after his forces gained U.S.-supplied missiles and rockets on that day. Hekmatyar was also well known for his participation in the trafficking in opium in Afghanistan, resulting in a boom in opium production in the Afghanistan-Pakistan border region. Brzezinski's plan coincided with desires of then Pakistan military dictator General Zia ul-Haq's to develop an Islamic domination of the region, and the CIA lent support to a longstanding ISI proposal to recruit from around the world to join the Afghan jihad. Some 100,000 Islamic militants flocked to Pakistan between 1982 and 1992, with some 60,000 attending fundamentalist schools in Pakistan. At the same time, Muslims were recruited in the United States for the mujaheddin and were sent to Camp Peary, the CIA's training camp in Virginia. There, young Afghans, Arabs from Egypt and Jordan, and even some African American "black muslims" were taught "sabotage skills."⁶⁰

Regardless of which version of Osama bin Laden's biography is true, it can be seen that there are considerable differences between the background of this man and that of ordinary criminals discussed throughout this text. One of the earliest studies profiling terrorists closely captured bin Laden's personality. The study was based upon an analysis of 350 terrorists during the years 1966 to 1976. The typical terrorist was found to be a single male, age 22 to 24, with at least a partial university education, employed in law, medicine, teaching, engineering, or technical occupations. The terrorists came from middle or upper class families, but gained an anarchist or Marxist world view and were recruited into terrorist operations while attending a university.⁶¹ In a subsequent analysis, Kampf suggested that the artificial environment of universities contributes to the appeal of terrorism for youths going through adolescence in the modern world.⁶²

From the psychodynamic point of view, terrorists have been characterized in terms of narcissistic personality disturbances.⁶³ While narcissism may describe the personality of terrorist leaders, the "logic of religious violence" in which images of cosmic war are related to political battles may appeal to marginalized, alienated, and unempowered groups of individuals, particularly youth.⁶⁴ Religious terrorist organizations can offer special appeal to youth in that they offer community, camaraderie, simplicity, and a mutual feeling of the righteousness of cause.⁶⁵

The attempts at profiling that have been done indicate that there are both similarities and differences between terrorists and ordinary criminals. In the opening interview with Hamas spokesman Ismail Abu Shanab, he was revealed to be a college-educated, "really nice guy," and it was said that most of what he said "made sense." That very concisely indicates why terrorism is very difficult to explain, and, as is discussed later, defies conventional explanations of crime that are presented in this text—including inequality, poverty, unemployment, drug and alcohol addiction, an ineffective criminal justice system, and the like. Some attempts at correlation analysis using the CCDB are done near the end of this chapter.



Exiled Saudi dissident Osama bin Laden, the prime suspect behind the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States, holds a Kalashnikov assault rifle in 1998 at a meeting in an undisclosed location in Afghanistan. In the background is a banner with a verse from the Koran, Islam's holy book. This photo was offered to The Associated Press on September 22, 2001, by a Pakistani photographer who wished to remain anonymous.

Source: AP Wide World Photos.

THEORIES OF TERRORISM

Searching for the sources of terrorism is a challenge for criminological theory. A common view is that terrorism is caused by poverty, and that to rid the world of terrorism, we must first proceed to eradicate poverty. Klaus Teopfer, executive director of the United Nations Environment Program, was quoted shortly after the collapse of the World Trade Center as saying that although poverty wasn't a factor on its own, "it can fan the flames of hate and ignite a belief that terrorism is the only solution to a community's or nation's ills."⁶⁶ Along the same lines of argument, Jeffrey Nedoroscik observed that the presence of a large, dissatisfied, underemployed, or unemployed segment of the population in Egypt made that sector easily susceptible to the ideas of Islamic fundamentalist groups, some of which were empowered by Osama bin Laden.⁶⁷ Thus, based upon views drawn from these "economic strain theories," it may be hypothesized that terrorism is positively correlated with poverty and unemployment.

While it may be true that terrorists may utilize poverty and other sources of grievance to inflame potential followers, it has been argued that poverty by itself is no predictor of terrorism. Albert Parry held that while it is common for sociologists to suggest that terrorism would abate if we put an end to oppression, history is our witness that not all revolutions come on empty stomachs but often on full ones. He said that people who are subjected to starvation have no energy and no time for revolt.⁶⁸

Related to the oppression of poverty is a perspective that terrorism arises from social inequality, that terrorism is a response by frustrated, powerless people to oppression, and that powerful people are the targets of that terrorism.⁶⁹ It can be hypothesized, then, based upon this view drawn from "critical criminology," that terrorism is positively correlated with social inequality.

Yet another theory is that social injustice is the root of terrorism, and that the attainment of social justice is a necessary prelude to world peace and advancement.⁷⁰ According to this view, countries in which there is greatest oppression by the criminal justice system should experience the greatest amount of terrorism. On the other hand, many researchers contend that terrorism is most prevalent within Western liberal democracies, or liberal states. In these nation-states, force is strictly governed by the doctrine of "minimal force," applied as proscribed by the "rule of law."⁷¹ It may be hypothesized, based upon the first view drawn from "social justice theory," that "lack of freedom" in terms of civil and political liberties is positively correlated with terrorism. However, based upon the opposing viewpoint that liberal democracy supports the

BOX 15-5

The Drug Trade and al-Qaeda

Adam Robinson wrote a biography of Osama bin Laden, based upon interviews with bin Laden's family

and research conducted in Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Bahrain, Oman, and other countries. He concluded that the burgeoning opium drug trade financed al-Qaeda's decade-long war against the United States.⁷²

Terrorism in Lebanon

The definition of terrorism is fraught with controversy, particularly in the Middle Eastern context. But by almost any definition, Lebanon is an epicenter of terrorist activity. Assassination is an occupational hazard for politicians. The slaying of Prime Minister Karami on June 1, 1987, when a bomb exploded aboard his helicopter, was but another in a long string of political murders. Car bombings, known in the Lebanese lexicon as "canned death," were occurring almost on a daily basis. The United States embassy had twice been attacked by suicide truck-bombers. And the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 in June 1985 was only the most brazen of a long series of airliner hijackings originating in Beirut. Over the years, literally hundreds of groups have claimed responsibility for various acts of terrorism committed against civilian targets. Most of the names, however, were merely code words meant to conceal the true identity of the organization behind the attack. In the judgment of most informed observers,

a few men or families have been responsible for masterminding the majority of terrorist operations. For example, the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction, a terrorist organization that assassinated United States and Israeli officials in Western Europe in 1982 and 1984 and staged numerous other attacks, was eventually revealed to be run by a single Maronite extended family, the Abdallah clan from the northern Lebanese town of Al Qubayyat. In March 1987, ringleader George Ibrahim Abdallah was sentenced by a French court to life imprisonment. Likewise, virtually all of the Shia terrorist attacks against Western interests in Lebanon since 1982, claimed in the name of the Islamic Jihad Organization and a dozen other groups, have been attributed by intelligence experts to two related Shia families—the Mughniyyahs and the Musawis. Two leaders of these families—Imad Mughniyyah and Husayn al Musawi—were widely believed to be responsible for holding 23 Westerners hostage in 1987.⁷³

development of terrorist organizations, the number of terrorist organizations in a country would be inversely correlated with the lack of freedom.

Another interesting theory relates the War on Drugs to terrorism. According to Steven Wisotsky, the War on Drugs creates a black market in illegal drugs, making them highly profitable for traffickers, and that same black market promotes and finances—among other things—terrorism.⁷⁴ According to Richard Clutterbuck, 30,000 Colombians have died violent deaths from terrorism financed by the drug trade.⁷⁵ Based upon these views regarding the link between the drug trade and terrorism, one could hypothesize that the greater the trafficking in illegal drugs in a country, the greater the terrorism.

Beyond the black market in drugs as a funding source for terrorism, some authors have suggested that terrorism may be state sponsored. One theory states that the former Soviet Union sponsored (with direct and indirect support) some of the groups that have used terrorist tactics.⁷⁶ This theory can no longer be tested with current data, because of the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Since that event, the major **state-based terrorism** has been linked with the newly emerging Islamic nation-states. It is alleged that Islamic states such as Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and so forth have secretly sponsored terrorist organizations that act as their surrogates in combating the economic and political dominance of the West, and the United States in particular.⁷⁷ It may be hypothesized that if the Islamic state support theory is correct, then there should be a positive correlation between the percentage of people of Islamic faith in the population of a country and terrorism.

MEASUREMENT OF TERRORISM

Using international data sources, an attempt is made to assess hypotheses drawn from the various theories stated earlier. For purposes of this study, the independent variables poverty, unemployment, inequality, lack of freedom, percentage Islamic, and heroin seized are derived from data available on the World Wide Web. Data by country for population below the poverty line, unemployment, inequality, and percentage Islamic were retrieved from the CIA World Factbook 2002.⁷⁸ Data on "lack of freedom" were based upon an index developed by Freedom House combining ratings for political rights and civil liberties for the countries of the world.⁷⁹ The measure used for inequality, published in *The World Factbook*, was the "Gini Index."⁸⁰ Data on heroin seizures were derived from a publication entitled *Global Illicit Drug Trends 2003*.⁸¹

However, to be developed here is a measure of terrorism. One measure of terrorism that is available is the number of terrorist organizations in a particular country. Data for this variable are given on The Terrorism Research Center's Website.⁸² This measure has the advantage of being a current index consisting of groups active today. The measure would also seem to provide an intuitively reasonable operational definition of terrorism.

TESTING THE THEORIES

In searching for an understanding of the causes of terrorism, Table 15-1 provides some interesting data. Internationally, the number of terrorist organizations in a country appears to be negatively associated with the percentage of people living in poverty. This means, in essence, the less the poverty the more the terrorism, although this is a very low minus correlation ($r = -0.13$). This correlation runs contrary to the explanation that poverty incites terrorism. Seemingly, there are slightly more terrorist organizations in affluent countries than in poorer countries. There appears to be no correlation between percentage unemployed and the number of terrorist organizations by country, evidence also contrary to the unemployment/terrorism link. Furthermore, there is no correlation between inequality (as measured by the Gini Index) and the number of terrorist organizations. Thus, reduction of world poverty, unemployment, and inequality would not curtail the problem of terrorism, according to these findings. Critical theories, as well as strain theories, do not seem to serve well in dealing with the problem of terrorism.

There is some evidence for the social justice theory in the aforementioned data. The "lack of freedom" index, which measures lack of civil and political liberties, is positively correlated with the number of terrorist organizations ($r = .11$), although the correlation is low.

There does seem to be some evidence for the "Islamic conspiracy theory" in the correlation between percent Islamic by country and number of terrorist organizations ($r = .27$).

However, the strongest correlation in Table 15-1 is that between the number of kilograms of heroin seized by country and the number of terrorist organizations, supporting the theory that the illicit traffic in heroin, though not a "cause" of terrorism, may provide a funding source for terrorist organizations ($r = .39$).

Table 15-1 **Number of Terrorist Organizations per Country by Selected Independent Variables**

Percentage living in poverty	-0.13
Percentage unemployed	-0.06
Gini Index	-0.08
Lack of freedom	0.11
Percentage Islamic	0.27
Kilograms of heroin seized	0.39

PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF TERRORISM

After the World Trade Center and Pentagon terrorist attacks on September 11, President George W. Bush declared that a "War on Terrorism" would be the theme of his administration. Toward that goal, the United States launched an offensive against Afghanistan with the objective of killing or capturing Osama bin Laden and wiping out al-Qaeda, his terrorist organization. Subsequently, the United States invaded Iraq, capturing its President, Saddam Hussein, and killing his two sons, as well as countless numbers of military personnel and civilians in that country. During the period from 2001 to 2003, as discussed earlier, terrorist attacks actually increased. Still to be answered is whether America's military means of "counter-terrorism" have succeeded in lessening the threat of international terrorism to United States citizens. In this section, attention is directed to "what works" and what doesn't work in regard to programs to prevent and/or control terrorism.

Victims often suffer posttraumatic stress whenever they are the subject of crime, particularly a violent crime, and in a sense many Americans have suffered from a kind of posttraumatic stress after the events of September 11. First, they experienced the shocking loss of thousands of lives in a single act of mass murder. This was quickly followed by a sense of extreme vulnerability (to terrorism), not previously known to United States citizens. How could a group of only 19 individuals commit such atrocities, armed only with a determined will and box cutters as weapons? The September 11 killings were almost immediately followed by an Anthrax scare in which several people working for the government were victimized through exposure to powdered Anthrax, which was delivered anonymously via the U.S. mail.

The U.S. government response to both of these threats was swift and decisive. At 9:26 a.m. on September 11, all civilian air traffic was grounded as a deterrent to further attacks. Post office security measures were implemented. The Government Printing Office that produces the FBI's UCR and thousands of other government documents ceased doing any business by mail.

In addition, Congress very quickly put together the PATRIOT Act and the President developed a Department of Homeland Security to better coordinate law enforcement activities at the federal level.

Since the implementation of these reforms, international terrorist attacks have declined on U.S. soil. It is difficult to objectively assess the efficacy of these recent efforts in the long term, however. A look at terrorism control efforts in other countries may be insightful because those accounts can be viewed by us, as objective outsiders, more or less neutrally. The effort to evaluate

Belgium: The Epicenter of Terrorism in Europe

Since 2001, a significant number of terrorist plots in Europe were disrupted. Many of these plots had their roots in Belgium, with nearly every major thwarted terrorist plot within Europe traced in some fashion to Belgium. Because of Belgium's role in the diamond trade, as well as having one of the three busiest ports in Europe, funding for terrorism is seen as easily accessible. For a number of years, a major concern has been the proliferation of fraudulent Belgian identity documents. There have been entire criminal enterprises dedicated to handling stolen blank Belgian passports.

Stolen Belgian passports have been found in al-Qaeda safehouses all over Europe. Terrorist cells in Belgium have been able to grow due to the weaknesses in Belgium's bilingual criminal justice system and the manipulation of the pan-European trend of immigration by al-Qaeda cells. It is known that those engaging in terrorism have little to fear from an ill-equipped police force, and they know that if apprehended they will not be tortured, executed, or deported. The Belgium legal system is viewed as mild and meek. However, Belgium has undertaken successful programs to catalogue all the missing Belgium passports and issue new documents designed to reduce tampering, and Brussels has begun a tightening of its antiterror laws.⁸³

efficacy of control procedures begins with a review of such procedures in foreign countries.

Improvements in the efficiency of a country's criminal justice system seem to have been a good starting point for terrorism control efforts. It should be pointed out that many European countries have centralized civil law systems (which America does not) making them in some ways more efficient criminal justice systems than the American system, even before reform measures were taken. The decentralization of American criminal justice, both in law enforcement and adjudication, is an issue that needs to be addressed.

West Germany, which has a civil law system, responded to terrorism in the mid 1970s with three levels of antiterrorist legislation. First, legislation was enacted in 1975 that improved and sped up the trial process and prevented the sabotage of trial proceedings by defendants or defense attorneys. In 1976, statutes were enacted making it a crime for anyone to organize so as to threaten the West German Constitution, and specific acts were identified as related to this crime. In 1978 legislation was enacted concerning search warrants, police checkpoints, apprehending suspects, and defense attorneys' conduct.⁸⁴ Similar reforms were instituted in Italy.⁸⁵ Subsequent research (done in 1980) indicated that terrorism was nearly under control in West Germany and Italy. Terrorists had been reduced to a fugitive status and the terrorist acts that occurred were aimed solely at freeing or improving the lot of already imprisoned terrorists. Particularly noteworthy for West Germany was the effectiveness of certain police and investigative techniques and strategies, particularly the use of small antiterrorist squads and detailed investigative patterns. Also mentioned was the successful West German coordination of state, federal, and international functions during a terrorist attack.⁸⁶ Terrorist activities were said to decline in Italy largely because of public disapproval; preventive action; emergency legislation that provided for harsher punishments and greater investigative powers for the police, prosecution, and judiciary; and collaboration on an international level between the police organizations and jurisdictional authorities of several countries.⁸⁷ A report critical of the American response to terrorism indicated that the United States suffered from Balkanization, meaning that responsibility for managing terrorism attacks is so divided among federal, state, and local agencies that it is frequently difficult to determine who is in charge.⁸⁸ By contrast, an international

coordinating group known as TREVI (Terrorism, Radicalism, Extremism, International) dedicated to coordinating police action to combat terrorism was set up by the 12 member states of that organization back in 1975.⁸⁹

A theme in the earlier analysis, particularly of effective antiterrorism measures in West Germany and Italy, has been the need for increasing effectiveness of the criminal justice system, as well as interagency and international cooperation and coordination. What seems to be suggested is the need for a "two-track" system of justice, one for common criminals and the other for terrorists. Thus, emergency legislation would apply to terrorists, providing swift justice, but with less regard to constitutional or due process concerns. In fact, Wolf indicated specifically that the vulnerability of democratic nations is that they lend credibility to terrorists' claim as legitimate political forces by not implementing legislation to eradicate the terrorists, fearing that rigid control measures would be viewed as a threat to civil liberties.⁹⁰

Although our usual method of analysis is to profile a country that is high in its rate of a particular crime, we already did that in Chapter 12, with the topic of terrorism. Pakistan, the country profiled in Chapter 12, has the highest rate in the world in both heroin trafficking and the number of terrorist organizations in a single country. However, another country, Turkey, is worthy of study in terms of terrorism. Turkey is third in the world for heroin seized, below China and Pakistan. However, Turkey hosts only six terrorist organizations compared to over 10 times that many for Pakistan (67). Turkey has the same number of terrorist organizations as the United States (6). Turkey borders both Iraq and Iran, another reason to expect it might have a large number of terrorist organizations. Turkey provides a good contrast with the United States in terms of legal systems, because Turkey has a civil law system, and the United States has a common law system. Another factor to consider is that Turkey has been dealing with terrorism for a longer period of time than the United States.

In regard to the "nice guys finish last" critique of Western democracy, it might be valuable to compare the efficacy of antiterrorism efforts in Turkey with the United States. Turkey is a country that is struggling to be a democracy, while contending with a preponderantly Islamic population and at least six terrorist organizations within its territory. The United States is a country with a democratic tradition of over 200 years, a preponderant Christian population, but also a country that is contending with at least six terrorist organizations within its borders. Turkey developed an Anti-Terrorism Act in 1991, 10 years before the USA PATRIOT Act was developed by the United States Congress after the September 11 attacks in 2001. Thus, Turkey has some 10 years of experience utilizing an act similar to the USA PATRIOT Act in combating terrorism. Turkey's experience may be useful in the development of America's terrorism control efforts.

COUNTRY PROFILE: TURKEY

In many ways, terrorism has been a much greater problem in Turkey, and over a longer period of time, than it has been in the United States. There are as many terrorist organizations in Turkey as in the United States, and yet Turkey has a population one fourth that of the United States. Most important, Turkey has, since the 1920s, been struggling to become a parliamentary democracy and to be admitted to the European Union (EU).

Westerners may think of Turkey as an Islamic country where the women all wear veils and the men wear turbans. They may also think of

Turkey as a country in which travelers caught with drugs will be subject to barbaric punishments in prison, as dramatized in the movie *Midnight Express*. Though 99.8% of the population are of Muslim faith (mostly Sunni), religious head coverings were banned by law 50 years ago, and the government continues to enforce this ban at universities and in public buildings. Although torture may continue to be used by the police in Turkey today, beatings and other severe punishment in prison have decreased considerably in Turkey in recent years.

Ataturk and "Kemalism"

Before World War I, Istanbul, formerly Constantinople, a city in northwestern Turkey, was the capital of the Byzantine Empire, and subsequently the Ottoman Empire, which controlled vast stretches of North Africa, southeastern Europe, and Western Asia, including Iraq, Syria, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Algeria. The Ottoman Empire sided with Germany during WWI and lost territories as a result of the loss to the allies. After the war, a nationalist movement headed by Mustafa Kemal, a Turkish WWI hero later known as "Ataturk," founded the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Ataturk ousted the Greek forces and abolished the temporal and religious ruling institutions of the old Ottoman Empire. He instigated many reforms, known as "Kemalism," favoring secularism, nationalism, and modernism, turning to the West for inspiration and support. Kemalism resulted in abolishment of Sharia law and in 1925 veils and turbans were banned in public places. A civil legal system, based upon the Swiss Civil Code, the Italian Penal Code, and the Swiss Code of Civil Procedure, was instituted in 1926. Women were given the right to vote in 1930. Turkey sided with the allies near the end of WWII and became a charter member of the United Nations. Under the Truman Doctrine of 1947, Turkey received guarantees of security by the United States and large-scale U.S. military and economic aid. Turkey joined the North Atlantic



Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881-1938), a Turkish general, nationalist leader, and the first President of Turkey. In the 1920s, Ataturk emerged as a charismatic military commander who crushed the Greek invaders of his country, leading the nation to full independence. As President, he put an end to the six-century-old Ottoman dynasty and created the Republic of Turkey in 1923. He then transformed the country's legal system whereby religious laws were abolished and a secular system of jurisprudence (Kemalism) was introduced.

Source: Getty Images, Inc.-Hulton Archive Photos.

Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952 and is currently an EU candidate. Today Turkey is a constitutional republic with a multiparty parliament.

From 1984 to 1999, the Turkish government engaged in armed conflict with the terrorist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), whose goal was the formation of a separate state (Kurdistan) in southeastern Turkey. Despite the end of the war, a state of emergency, declared in 1987, continued in the four southeastern provinces that faced substantial PKK terrorist violence. Under this state of emergency, the regional governor may exercise certain quasi-martial law powers. It is in exercising these powers that the police in Turkey have allegedly committed human rights abuses, including torture.

Although incommunicado detention facilitated the use of torture in the past, its use has declined along with the decline in PKK violence. Recurrent terrorist incidents, however, have helped to perpetuate the practice of torture. During 2001, the European Court of Human Rights ruled against Turkey in eight cases in which 18 persons had been killed in detention or taken into custody and then disappeared. Commonly employed methods of torture include: systematic beatings; stripping and blindfolding; exposure to extreme cold or high-pressure cold water hoses; electric shocks; beatings on the soles of feet and genitalia; hanging by the arms; food and sleep deprivation; heavy weights hung on the body; water dripped onto the head; near-suffocation by placing bags over the head; vaginal and anal rape with truncheons and, in some instances, gun barrels; squeezing and twisting of the testicles; and other form of sexual abuse.

Terrorism in Turkey

Official statistics in Turkey indicated a doubling of prison admissions between 1984 and 1991. This increase was due almost entirely to a rapid rise in the number of persons jailed "according to special laws," meaning those convicted of terrorism or illegal political activity. While the number of prison admissions in numerous categories of ordinary crime, actually fell from 1984 to 1991 the number entering prisons under special laws rose rapidly, from 7,514 in 1985 to 32,645 in 1991. This period corresponded to the spiraling Kurdish dissidence and the strict laws then in effect dealing with "thought crimes." This period of rising terrorism culminated in the Anti-Terror Law of 1991. Although this law formally ended capital punishment and nullified the "thought crimes" articles of the penal code, it introduced a broad and ambiguous definition of terrorism. This enabled the government to use the law not only to combat alleged terrorism but also to impose sentences of two to five years on ordinary citizens for written and oral propaganda, as well as meetings and demonstrations aimed at "damaging the indivisible unity of the state." This law also gave legal sanction to incognito detention. Although persons detained for individual crimes under the Anti-Terror Law must be brought before a judge within 48 hours, anyone charged with crimes of a collective political or conspiratorial nature may be detained for up to 15 days (and up to 30 days in the 10 southeastern provinces) under a state of emergency declared in early 1995. The law does not guarantee access to counsel and leaves the decision to prosecutors, who routinely deny access. Persons accused of terrorism are tried in one of eight state security courts, each composed of five members—two civilian judges, one military judge, and two prosecutors. There is no jury, the hearings can be closed, and testimony gathered during police interrogation in absence of counsel may be admitted.

Anti-Terror Law of 1991

Narcoterrorism

It is believed that funding for insurgency activity by the PKK is supported by the narcotics trade. Turkey plays a major role in moving heroin and hashish from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran to destinations in Europe. In spite of Turkey's efforts, it is believed that little of the heroin passing through the country is seized because of insufficient staff to screen cargoes adequately, particularly at the key transfer point of Istanbul. As much as 75% of the heroin seized in Europe has a "Turkish connection," having either passed through Turkey, been processed there, or been seized in connection with Turkish criminal syndicates.

Thus, the cycle of terrorism funded by the illicit drug trade (which leads to torture by the police and other oppressive aspects of the criminal justice system) will continue to challenge Turkey's desire to be accepted as a democratic nation-state.⁹¹

Commentary on Turkey

Looking at the numbers, Turkey, although it has six active terrorist organizations within its borders, seems to have avoided the proliferation of terrorist cells that has occurred in Pakistan. It may be remembered that, during the 1970s, in Pakistan the right-wing government of Muhammad Zia ul-Haq attempted to move the country in the direction of "Islamization." Zia's plan had the unintended effect of fomenting factionalism and increasing the number of terrorist organizations, many of which evolved as religious sects within that country. However, since Ataturk's Kemalism movement toward modernism and a secular state, religion and the state remain separate in Turkey. While tough legislation and punitive treatment may have been a factor in suppressing the violence of terrorist groups, the separation of religion and state may have been the major reason that terrorist groups did not proliferate in Turkey.

The previous paragraph is a description of modern Turkey. Turkey has been routinely criticized by developed nations, including those in the EU, and the United States in its Human Rights Reports, for its treatment of prisoners. But consider the behavior of officers from a developed nation who took suspects into custody in a Mideast country (see Text Box 15-8).

As may have been guessed, these are quotes from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on the treatment by U.S. and Coalition forces of prisoners of war in Iraq. Much of the abuse took place at the "Abu Ghraib Correctional Facility." The report indicated that coalition military intelligence officials estimated that 70% to 90% of prisoners detained had been arrested by mistake. Thus, they were neither "enemy combatants" nor "prisoners of war." The behavior of coalition interrogators and guards was reported, with photos and videotapes, by CBS News on April 28, 2004. It is evident from this report that even officials from a developed country such as the United States could engage in the barbarous behavior that has long been associated with Turkish prisons.

Although it may be true that these activities occurred during a military campaign in Iraq, what is illustrated is that these behaviors may very well be "normal" or at least routine responses in dealing with terrorists (or perceived terrorists). Because the terrorists use "any means necessary" to achieve their goals, then counter-terrorism often involves "fighting fire with fire," in essence using terrorism to counter terrorism. Evidence for the view that torture may be defined by the public as normal, or at least justifiable, is given in a Fox News opinion poll taken in March 2003. Respondents were asked whether they favored or opposed allowing the government to use any means necessary, including torture, to obtain information from prisoners to protect the United States from terrorist

International Red Cross Report on Torture

Reportedly, "arresting authorities entered houses after dark, breaking down doors, waking up residents roughly, yelling orders, forcing family members into one room under military guard. . . . Sometimes they arrested all adult males present in a house, including elderly, handicapped or sick people." Subsequently, when the suspects were taken to detention centers, "the methods of ill-treatment exhibited most frequently during interrogation included:

- Hooding, used to prevent people from seeing and to disorient them, and also to prevent from breathing freely;
- Beatings with hard objects (including pistols and rifles), slapping, punching, kicking with knees or feet on various parts of the body (legs, sides, lower back, groin);
- Pressing the face into the ground with boots;

- Being stripped naked for several days while held in solitary confinement in an empty and completely dark cell that included a latrine;
- Being paraded naked outside cells in front of other persons deprived of their liberty, and guards, sometimes hooded or with women's underwear over the head;
- Being attached repeatedly over several days, for several hours each time, with handcuffs to the bars of their cell door in humiliating (i.e., naked or in underwear) and/or uncomfortable position causing physical pain;
- Exposure while hooded to loud noise or music, prolonged exposure while hooded to sun over several hours, including the hottest time of the day when temperatures could reach 122 degrees Fahrenheit or higher.
- Being forced to remain for prolonged periods in stress positions such as squatting or standing with or without the arms lifted."⁹²

attack.⁹³ The largest percentage (44%) favored the use of torture, whereas 42% opposed it. Of the remainder, 5% said it depends, and 9% were unsure.

It may be useful to examine the responses that have been taken by the United States government since the September 11 attacks. The skyjacking of passenger airlines and subsequent destruction of the World Trade Center Twin Towers and part of the Pentagon Building led to a state of fear in America, as well as a frenzy of legislation, both at the state and federal level, to combat terrorism. Probably the most significant piece of legislation was the USA PATRIOT Act. Some analysis of that legislation and its consequences would be useful in more fully understanding the control measures that have been taken in the United States.

BOX 15-9

Does Terrorism Work?

A hero to modern Algerian nationalists, Abd al-Qadar was an Islamic holy man who, from 1823 to 1847, used hit-and-run tactics to oppose the French, who annexed Algeria in 1834. It was not until after al-Qadar was subdued in 1847 that France colonized Algeria. The French colonists, though a numerical minority, became elites in Algeria. They developed a modern economy, producing wine and citrus fruit crops for export to France. The Muslims were a growing numerical majority and suffered subjugation by the French. During the 1950s, the National Liberation Front (FLN) sought Algerian independence through coordinated attacks on public buildings, military and police posts, and communications installations. The FLN strategy combined Abd al-Qadir's guerrilla tactics

with deliberate use of terrorism, immobilizing superior French forces and, with murders and kidnappings, creating a climate of fear. The French responded by bringing in reinforcements of 400,000 French troops to wage counterterrorism by raiding Muslim villages and slaughtering the civilian population. Ultimately, the French government and General Charles De Gaulle, the wartime leader of the Free French, faced with international criticism of the brutal counter-terrorist tactics, realized that the war with terrorists was unwinnable. In 1962 a cease-fire was arranged between government and FLN representatives, and a referendum was held in Algeria in which the vote was overwhelmingly for independence. The French citizens began a mass evacuation, and most had left the country before the end of the year.⁹⁴

The USA PATRIOT Act actually refers to an acronym for its full name, the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act. This bill was passed on October 24, 2001, only five weeks after the terrorist attacks on September 11. This was emergency legislation with sunset provisions that became inactive on December 31, 2005. The bill was 342 pages long and was difficult to read because it consisted largely of amendments of more than 15 different federal statutes, which the reader would also need to have access to in order to make sense of the bill. The bill essentially strengthened the FBI's ability to pursue terrorists and augmented that agency's technical and tactical operations support by \$200 million for each of the fiscal years 2002, 2003, and 2004. It also augmented the President's emergency powers, such that any person, including citizens of the United States, can be identified by the President as an "enemy combatant," subject to indefinite preventive detention. Persons so identified by the President can be held without representation by an attorney and without their identities being made public for the duration of the war on terror. Since the war on terror may go on for a long time, such individuals could be detained for an indefinite period of time, conceivably for life.

The USA PATRIOT Act strengthened the FBI's ability to engage in surveillance to identify terrorists and to gather more complete evidence against them. It also increased the likelihood of gaining a conviction against them.

The USA PATRIOT Act is broad in its scope. The bill allows preventive detention of noncitizen terrorist suspects, it permits nationwide execution of warrants in terrorism cases, it outlaws money-laundering in the United States of proceeds from cybercrime, and it prohibits individuals from supporting terrorist organizations and from participating in foreign crimes of violence or political corruption.

Most controversial of the bill's provisions are those having to do with surveillance. Under the bill, "sneak and peek" search warrants allow officers to search the home of suspected criminals, plant listening devices, and seize physical objects or electronic communications without telling the target of the investigation until an unspecified later time. It permits "roving" surveillance of persons rather than particular telephones, allowing investigators to listen to any phone the target might use. Lastly, it expands the government's ability to look at records of an individual's activity being held by a third party, such as doctors, bookstores, universities, and even Internet service providers.⁹⁵

Arguments in Favor of the USA PATRIOT Act

Since its passage, the USA PATRIOT Act has been the subject of debate, both pro and con. A Department of Justice Website has compiled a comprehensive list of arguments favorable to the Act, as follows.

Congress enacted the USA PATRIOT Act by overwhelming, bipartisan margins, arming law enforcement with new tools to detect and prevent terrorism: The USA PATRIOT Act was passed nearly unanimously by the Senate 98-1, and 357-66 in the House, with the support of legislators from across the political spectrum.

The Act improves our counter-terrorism efforts in several significant ways:

1. The PATRIOT Act allows investigators to use the tools that were already available to investigate organized crime and drug trafficking. The act

- (a) allows law enforcement to use surveillance against more crimes of terror; (b) allows federal agents to follow sophisticated terrorists trained to evade detection . . . able to use “roving wiretaps”; (c) allows law enforcement to conduct investigations without tipping off terrorists, using delayed notification search warrants; (d) allows federal agents to ask a court for an order to obtain business records in national security terrorism cases.
2. The PATRIOT Act facilitates information sharing and cooperation among government agencies so that they can better “connect the dots” . . . enabling the law enforcement, intelligence, and national defense communities to talk and coordinating their work
 3. The PATRIOT Act updated the law to reflect new technologies and new threats. . . . Allows law enforcement officials to obtain a search warrant anywhere a terrorist-related activity occurred. . . . Allows victims of computer hacking to request law enforcement assistance in monitoring the “trespassers” on their computers.
 4. The PATRIOT Act increased the penalties for those who commit terrorist crimes. The act prohibits the harboring of terrorists. It enhanced the maximum penalties for various crimes likely to be committed by terrorists, including arson, destruction of energy facilities, providing material support to terrorists and terrorist organizations, and destruction of national defense materials. It enhanced a number of conspiracy penalties, including for arson, killings in federal facilities, attacking communications systems, material support to terrorists, sabotage of nuclear facilities, and interference with [airline] flight crew members. The act punishes terrorist attacks on mass transit systems. It punishes bioterrorists. It eliminates the statutes of limitations for certain terrorism crimes and lengthens them for other terrorist crimes.⁹⁶

The major criticism of the USA PATRIOT Act, as well as its successor, PATRIOT Act II, has been from organizations and individuals concerned with civil liberties for citizens of the United States. They have expressed concern about the potential erosion of civil liberties that the acts invite. There has also been concern about human rights losses for noncitizens of the United States. In some cases, actual examples of the loss of civil liberties by U.S. citizens and/or human rights for noncitizens have been alleged. The following is a partial list of such arguments and allegations:

Arguments against the USA PATRIOT Act

- According to Human Rights Watch, “the country has witnessed a persistent, deliberate, and unwarranted erosion of basic rights against abusive governmental power that are guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution and international rights law . . . government practices including the secret incarceration of post-September 11 detainees and immigration proceedings closed to the public; custodial interrogations without access to counsel; arbitrary prolonged confinement including detention without charge; as well as the deplorable conditions—including solitary confinement—as well as the physical abuse to which some detainees have been subjected . . . questioning led to the arrest and incarceration of as many as 1,200 non-citizens although the exact number remains uncertain. Of those arrested, 752 were charged with immigration violations. Arresting persons of interest in the September 11 investigation on

immigration charges, such as overstaying a visa, enabled the Department of Justice to keep them jailed while it continued investigating and interrogating them about possible criminal activities—a form of preventive detention not permissible under U.S. criminal law. . . . While the alleged visa violations provided a lawful basis for seeking to deport these non-citizens, the Justice Department's actions constituted an end run around constitutional and international legal requirements governing criminal investigations. . . . While an immigration law violation may justify deportation, it does not in itself justify detention after arrest . . . only if there is evidence of the individual's dangerousness or risk of flight. In effect, 'special interest' detainees have been presumed guilty until law enforcement agents concluded otherwise."⁹⁷ The report further stated that "The U.S. government has not charged a single one of the thousand-plus individuals detained after September 11 for crimes related to terrorism."⁹⁸

- In specific rebuttal to the arguments given in the Department of Justice Website cited earlier, Jim Dempsey of The Center for Democracy and Technology made several points.⁹⁹ First, he said that Congress acted under intense pressure and without serious debate and deliberation when it passed the PATRIOT Act. "leaving members and their staff with literally not enough time to read what was in the lengthy bill." Second, that the Justice Department "had the ability to use wiretaps, including roving traps, in criminal investigations of terrorism, just as in other criminal investigations, long before the PATRIOT Act." However, Dempsey said that he objected to the standard for sneak and peek searches in the PATRIOT Act because "the standard is so loose that it could arguably be used in almost every criminal case." Further, Section 215 of the USA PATRIOT Act "permits the FBI to obtain a side range of business records—including library, bookstore, medical, travel and other records—in any intelligence investigation, under a legal standard so low that it essentially results in a judicial rubber stamp. The FBI doesn't even have to name the person whose records it is seeking, but rather it can sweep up entire data bases indiscriminately." In regard to the facilitation of information sharing and cooperation among government agencies, the Center indicated, "In fact, there was never a legal bar to intelligence agencies sharing information with prosecutors. Intelligence and law enforcement officials weren't sharing information and using their existing powers not because of legal barriers, but because of their overly strict interpretation of then-existing law, cultural problems, and turf wars among agencies."
- In July, 2003, the American Civil Liberties Union filed the first lawsuit against the USA PATRIOT Act, claiming that Section 215 of the law is unconstitutional because it "vastly expands the power of the FBI to obtain records and other 'tangible things' of people not suspected of criminal activity." "To obtain a Section 214 order, the FBI needs only assert that the records or personal belongings are 'sought for' an ongoing foreign intelligence, counterintelligence, or international terrorism investigation." "The FBI is not required to show probable cause—or any reason—to believe that the target of the order is a criminal suspect or foreign agent." Although the results of the lawsuit are pending, "the House of Representatives voted to bar the Justice Department from executing such searches under the act."¹⁰⁰

- Columnist Wayne Madsen of *The Miami Herald* argued that, because of its vagueness, the PATRIOT Act could be used to deprive citizens who engage in “eco-terrorism” of their constitutional rights.¹⁰¹ He said that “Congress hastily passed the anti-terrorist PATRIOT Act in October 2001 during a time when it was under siege by a real bio-terror anthrax attack. . . . Following an arson attack against a condominium under construction in San Diego, the vandalism of sport utility vehicles in four Los Angeles area auto dealerships and the freeing of 10,000 minks from a farm near Seattle, the Justice Department is labeling such attacks ‘eco-terrorism.’ ” He added that “It is a hallmark of totalitarian regimes around the world to elevate simple crimes to ‘crimes against the state.’ . . . But to argue that these groups pose the same level of threat as al-Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiya is ludicrous. The environmental vandals are not in the category of worldwide networks that aim to kill thousands by setting off bombs and releasing dangerous toxins. . . . If Ashcroft and his friends get their way and pass new anti-terrorist legislation, American citizens who support environmental causes could find themselves declared as ‘enemy combatants,’ thrown into the brig without having the right to see a lawyer and, according to one provision in a version of the proposed Patriot II, could have their U.S. citizenship taken away, even if they are native born.” Lastly, Madsen argued that, “Those who spray-paint cars are not terrorists. There are state and local laws on the books to deal with vandalism. Setting buildings on fire is arson, and we have plenty of laws to deal with arsonists. Freeing minks that then go about eating parakeets and chickens, although abhorrent, does not constitute terrorism.”
- It has been further argued with regard to the unanimity with which Congress passed the USA PATRIOT Act, that three states and a large number of cities and counties (including Los Angeles and New York City) have approved resolutions calling for a repeal of the act.¹⁰²
- Professor of Law Patricia Williams maintained that the USA PATRIOT Act would enable spying on citizens and noncitizens alike, and that it would enable profiling based on books and ethnicity, detention without charges, searches without warrants, and even torture and assassination. Further, she argued that preventing surprise attacks of such sophistication may never be possible anyway.¹⁰³
- While many Americans may be comfortable with the fact that the USA PATRIOT Act has predominantly been used in regard to noncitizens, there have been cases in which innocent American citizens have become subject to its provisions. These are the subject of the text box.

In remarks before a Town Hall meeting in Austin, Texas on Tuesday, September 16, 2003, William Rivers Pitt made the following comments on the USA PATRIOT Act: “If you murder the idea that is America, you have murdered America itself. You can keep all of our roads, our cities, our crops, our people, our armies—you can keep all that, but if you murder the fundamental idea that is America, you have murdered America itself in a way that ten thousand September 11ths could never do. No terrorist can end this country. No terrorist can destroy the ideals we hold dear. Only we can do that, we who are most comforted by that blanket of freedom, and I fear that we have begun to do so with the passage of this thing they call the PATRIOT Act. There are

Worst Case Scenario

Waking up with his wife dead was only the beginning of Steve Kurtz's troubles. Within a few days of her untimely passing, the FBI had raided his Buffalo home. Health workers dressed in hazmat moon suits had turned the place into a quarantine zone. Now, Kurtz's livelihood may be in jeopardy, too. Kurtz is a University of Buffalo professor and artist specializing in biotechnology-inspired works: "subversive remixes" of big pharma corporate materials, and kits to see if food is genetically modified. Chicago's Museum of Contemporary Art, New York's New Museum, and the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, DC, displayed his art. . . . Earlier this month [May 2004], Kurtz woke up to find his wife, Hope, dead of apparent heart failure. In

shock, he called the police. But when the officers came over, they saw strange things: test tubes, Bunsen burners, Petri dishes, and the like. So they brought in the local counter-terror task force and the FBI. Kurtz was detained on the way to the funeral home. His house was cordoned off, while the county health department searched for chemical or biological agents. . . . And Kurtz's equipment was all confiscated, for further testing and investigation. The artist was planning to use some of that gear in a new show at the Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art, slated to open Sunday. . . . Other works—including a book in progress—are also on hold. And Kurtz has a \$10,000 mountain of legal bills; he's retained celebrity lawyer Paul Cambria (Larry Flynt and DMX's defender) to represent him.¹⁰⁴

hundreds and hundreds of sections to the PATRIOT Act. My personal favorite is Section 213. Legal scholars have dubbed this the "Sneak and Peek" provision. Section 213 of the PATRIOT Act gives authority to agents of the Federal government to enter your home, search your belongings, tap your phone, tap your computer so every keystroke and Website and email is recorded. They can do this without getting a warrant, and without ever letting you know they were there."¹⁰⁵

BOX 15-11

How the Drug Trade Sponsored Terrorism in Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan

There is evidence of a direct link between the drug trade and terrorist activities of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) in Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. In 1991, some unemployed young Muslims seized the Communist Party headquarters in the eastern Uzbekistan city of Namangan, in retaliation for the mayor's refusal to give them land on which to build a mosque. The leaders of this group were Tohir Yuldeshev and Jumaboi Khojaev. Yuldeshev was a 24-year-old college dropout and well-known mullah (religious cleric) in the Islamic underground movement. Khojaev was a former Soviet paratrooper who had fought against the mujahidin in Afghanistan and gained a high regard for them during that experience. Khojaev later adopted the alias Juma Naman-gani and eventually fled to Tajikistan after the splinter

movement, Adolat, founded by Yuldeshev and Khojaev, was banned by Uzbekistan's President Karimov. In Tajikistan, Namangani fought in the civil war, and after the civil war, settled with his family and some 50 of his supporters at a farm in the village of Hoit. There he allegedly became involved in the transportations of heroin as a way of feeding his growing camp of followers, which included many of Central Asia's Islamic radicals. Proceeds from drug smuggling were used to finance the group which, in 1998, became known as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU). The organization reportedly handles 70% of the heroin and opium traffic through Central Asia. The IMU's creation was announced from Kabul by Naman-gani and Yuldeshev, where Yuldeshev met Osama bin Laden. Osama bin Laden is believed by the United States to have provided most of the funding for setting up the IMU. During the years 1999, 2000, and 2001, the IMU carried on various punitive terrorist campaigns in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan including car bombings and kidnappings.¹⁰⁶

On March 9, 2006, President Bush signed the USA PATRIOT Improvement and Reauthorization Act of 2005. The Senate had rejected attempts to reauthorize the key surveillance provisions of the USA PATRIOT Act. The 16 provisions in question included those authorizing secret searches of records and roving wire-taps. These provisions (including sections 201, 202, 203(b), 206, 207, 209, 212, 214, 215, 217, 218, 220, 223, 224, and 225) are set to expire December 31, 2006.¹⁰⁷ However, the Reauthorization Act has been criticized for a new provision—*SEC. 605. THE UNIFORMED DIVISION, UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE*—that actually creates a “secret police.”¹⁰⁸ Section 605 reads as follows:

USA PATRIOT Improvement and Reauthorization Act of 2006

There is hereby created and established a permanent police force, to be known as the “United States Secret Service Uniformed Division.” Subject to the supervision of the Secretary of Homeland Security, the United States Secret Service Uniformed Division shall perform such duties as the Director, United States Secret Service, may prescribe. . . .¹⁰⁹

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The chapter opened with an interview with a terrorist—Ismail Abu Shanab—who was described as a “really nice guy,” an engineer who went to college in Colorado. This case study included statements made in interviews done in 2000 and 2002. Ismail, described as a “moderate” Hamas leader, advocated co-existence between Israel and Palestine. Ismail maintained that “human bomb” terrorism was done out of a fatalistic sense that the bomber is going to die anyway. He maintained that the Israelis had invaded, and continue to occupy, Palestine with support of colonial powers, including the United States. Most significant, he believed the September 11 World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks were backed by the Israelis to get the United States to help fight enemies of the Israelis—including Saddam Hussein. Ismail was killed by an Israeli missile attack in 2003.

One problem with terrorism is that it is ambiguously defined, even in definitions used by the FBI. A definition of terrorism used by the Terrorism Research Center narrows the definition to “the systematic use of violence against non-combatants to instill a climate of fear.” This definition is, in a sense, both delimiting and more general—delimiting in the sense that it excludes property crimes and acts of war, but more general in the sense that it can include age-old tactics such as the deliberate bombing of civilians used even by the United States and its allies during WWII. Thus, it does not denote merely Islamic terrorism.

Terrorist attacks have increased sizably since the 1970s, and the plurality have been directed against United States citizens abroad—especially diplomats and persons doing business. While “traditional terrorism” was Marxist-Leninist in ideology, since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the “new terrorism” has been inspired by the Islamic faith. Along with this trend has been increasing lethality, as exemplified by the September 11 attacks. However, Islamic terrorism is still only one of countless forms of terrorism today, including revolutionary, political, nationalist, cause-based, environmental, criminal, religious, enforcement, maverick, splinter, and even psychotic terrorism. The United States must confront not just Islamic terrorism, but terrorism done by the “unibomber,” Theodore Kaczynski, the unsolved anthrax distribution killings that took place immediately after the September 11 attacks, and potential terrorism by the United States government itself (counter-terrorism).

Profiling studies reveal that “typical terrorists” differ from “common criminals” in being single males, from a college or university background, and in professions such as engineering or medicine. They are described as narcissistic, marginalized, alienated, and imbued with a radical belief system, frequently acquired during university years. The profile seems to fit Osama bin Laden. The significance of bin Laden is that he personally has organized terrorist groups, normally consisting of small isolated cells, into a worldwide multinational organization, thousands strong.

Explanations of terrorism, including poverty, unemployment, inequality, social injustice, Islamic fundamentalism, and the War on Drugs are examined through use of correlation analysis. Poverty, unemployment, and inequality were not correlated with the number of terrorist organizations in a country. However, measures of social injustice, percentage of Islamic population of a country, and kilograms of heroin seized were positively correlated with the number of terrorist organizations, with the last measure being the strongest ($r = .39$). To prevent and control terrorism in the United States, the literature seems to point to streamlining and centralizing the criminal justice system in dealing with terrorism, goals being sought in the USA PATRIOT Act and the development of the Department of Homeland Security. However, critics of these measures have cautioned that authoritarian state tactics may be the outcome, as exemplified by the abusive interrogation and detention procedures used at Abu Graib Correctional Facility by Coalition forces in Iraq. It is not known what abuses have occurred with some 1,200 persons detained under the USA PATRIOT Act because their detention is shrouded in secrecy.

The United States can benefit from the experience of other countries in fighting terrorism, namely Turkey. Turkey has been a parliamentary democracy since the 1920s, but has had to combat terrorism within its borders, particularly that of a Kurdish separatist organization, the PKK. The use of torture and incommunicado detention by Turkish authorities has drawn disapproval of Turkey by human rights organizations. PKK terrorism in Turkey appears to draw financial support from the

drug trade, particularly in heroin and hashish, which are trafficked through Turkey with European destinations. The drug trade appears to fund not only Turkish terrorism, but also terrorism in the South Asian countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iran, where al-Qaeda is most active.

Thus, for both Turkey and the United States, efforts to combat terrorism invite a re-examination of policy regarding the War on Drugs. Some of the goals of the War on Drugs have been incompatible with the goals of the War on Terrorism. Drug interdiction efforts, it would seem, have in reality resulted in higher prices on the international drug market for the contraband trafficked in the drug trade, particularly heroin. It might be appropriate, comparing the magnitude of the threat of international terrorism with that offered by heroin abuse, to consider a reorientation of policy in regard to heroin trafficking. To cut the profit from the heroin trade that can be used to fund terrorism, it might be worthwhile to consider approaches to the problem of heroin abuse other than interdiction efforts. An example of such alternative procedures is broadening the use of heroin prescription programs for registered heroin addicts. Such programs have been the favorable subject of experimentation in Switzerland and a growing number of European countries.¹¹⁰

Cutting off the funding for terrorist organizations is just the first step in reducing the threat of terrorism. It is also the first step in reducing the "siege mentality" that has led to antidemocratic counterterrorism measures in democratic countries like the United States, as well as countries that are aspiring to have democratic governments, such as Turkey.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What do you think of (terrorist case study) Ismail Abu Shanab's characterization of Israel and his characterization of Hamas members as "freedom fighters" rather than terrorists?
2. Were you surprised at Steve Kangas's allegations that the CIA has used covert measures in foreign countries to install right-wing dictators who would support American business interests? If you don't believe Kangas's allegations, explain why. If you do, how do you relate his allegations to terrorism in the world today?
3. How can terrorism be distinguished from "acts of resistance" or "freedom fighting" during occupation by a foreign country?
4. In terms of extent of victimization, how do U.S. citizens traveling in foreign countries compare with citizens of other countries? Please explain why you think this is so.
5. What have been the trends in terrorism during the last two decades of the 20th century? How do you account for these trends?