

TERRORISM AND COUNTERTERRORISM

UNDERSTANDING THE
NEW SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

READINGS & INTERPRETATIONS

RUSSELL D. HOWARD

COLONEL USA

REID L. SAWYER

CAPTAIN USA

FOREWORD BY
BARRY R. McCAFFREY
GENERAL USA (RET.)



TERRORISM AND COUNTERTERRORISM

**UNDERSTANDING THE
NEW SECURITY ENVIRONMENT**

READINGS & INTERPRETATIONS

About the Authors

Colonel Russ Howard, a career Special Forces officer, is now a professor and department head at the United States Military Academy. As a Special Forces officer, Colonel Howard served at every level of command, including: A Detachment Commander in the 7th Special Forces Group to Group, B Detachment Commander in the 1st Special Forces Group, Battalion Commander in the Special Warfare Center and School, and Commander of the 1st Special Forces Group. In preparation for his academic position, Colonel Howard earned degrees from San Jose State University, the University of Maryland, the Monterey Institute of International Studies, and Harvard University. Presently, he is finishing a Ph.D. in international security studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. During the course of his career Colonel Howard has had antiterror and counterterror responsibilities, and has taught and published articles on terrorism subjects.

Captain Reid Sawyer, a career Military Intelligence officer, is an instructor of political science at the United States Military Academy. As an Intelligence officer, Captain Sawyer served in counter-narcotics and special operations assignments. Captain Sawyer earned his undergraduate degree from the United States Military Academy and holds a masters degree from Columbia University. Captain Sawyer has lectured on terrorism to various groups and is currently working on a research project for the Institute of National Security Studies on the efficacy of counterterrorism measures. Captain Sawyer is the current director of terrorism studies at West Point.

(7)

TERRORISM AND COUNTERTERRORISM

**UNDERSTANDING THE
NEW SECURITY ENVIRONMENT**

READINGS & INTERPRETATIONS

RUSSELL D. HOWARD

COLONEL USA

REID L. SAWYER

CAPTAIN USA

FOREWORD BY

BARRY R. MCCAFFREY

GENERAL USA (RET.)

The McGraw-Hill Companies

Book Team

Vice President and Publisher *Jeffrey L. Hahn*
List Manager *Theodore Knight*
Director of Production *Brenda S. Filley*
Director of Technology *Jonathan Stowe*
Developmental Editor *Ava Suntoke*
Copy Editor *Robin N. Charney, Cynthia Goss*
Designer *Charles Vitelli*
Typesetting Supervisor *Juliana Arbo*
Typesetting *Cynthia Powers*
Proofreader *Diane Barker*
Permissions Editor *Rose Gleich*

McGraw-Hill/Dushkin 
A Division of The McGraw-Hill Companies

530 Old Whitfield Street, Guilford, Connecticut 06437

Copyright © 2003 by McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, a division of the McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. Except as permitted under the United States Copyright Act of 1976, no part of this publication may be reproduced in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Cover © 2002 AFP/CORBIS

Cover Design *Michael Campbell*

The credit section for this book begins on page 625 and is considered an extension of the copyright page.

Library of Congress Control Number 2002106286

ISBN 0-07-283778-0



Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3

<http://www.mhhe.com>



Online
LearningCenter
with POWERWEB

Visit the Online Learning Center With PowerWeb at

<http://www.dushkin.com/terrorism/>

Contents in Brief

Foreword Barry R. McCaffrey xiii
Preface Russell D. Howard xv

Part I

Defining the Threat 1

- Chapter 1 Terrorism Defined 2*
- Chapter 2 Why Terrorism? 54*
- Chapter 3 The New Terrorism Model 74*
- Chapter 4 Religion 120*
- Chapter 5 Weapons of Mass Destruction 156*
- Chapter 6 The Threat of Other Forms of Terrorism 204*

Part II

Countering the Terrorist Threat 272

- Chapter 7 The Challenges of Terrorism 273*
- Chapter 8 Strategies and Approaches to Combating Terrorism 336*
- Chapter 9 Organizing to Fight Terrorism 426*
- Chapter 10 Instruments of Counterterrorism 493*

Appendices 551

- Appendix A Background Information on Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations 553*
- Appendix B Significant Terrorist Incidents, 1961–2001 579*
- Appendix C Chemical and Biological Weapons: Possession and Programs Past and Present 593*
- Appendix D Statement by the President in His Address to the Nation, September 11, 2001 621*
- Appendix E Terrorist Incidents, 1981–2001 623*

Contents

Foreword Barry R. McCaffrey xiii

Preface Russell D. Howard xv

Part I

Defining the Threat 1

Chapter 1 Terrorism Defined 2

- 1.1 Bruce Hoffman, from "Defining Terrorism," *Inside Terrorism* (Columbia University Press, 1998) 3
- 1.2 Paul R. Pillar, from "The Dimensions of Terrorism and Counterterrorism," *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Brookings Institution Press, 2001) 24
- 1.3 Eqbal Ahmad and David Barsamian, from *Terrorism: Theirs and Ours*, (Seven Stories Press, 2001) 46

Chapter 2 Why Terrorism? 54

- 2.1 Martha Crenshaw, from "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice," in Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998) 55
- 2.2 Louise Richardson, from "Global Rebels: Terrorist Organizations as Trans-National Actors," *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Fall 1998) 67

Chapter 3 The New Terrorism Model 74

- 3.1 Bruce Hoffman, from "The Modern Terrorist Mindset: Tactics, Targets and Technologies," *Columbia International Affairs Online Working Paper* (October 1997) 75
- 3.2 John Arquilla, David Ronfeldt, and Michele Zanini, from "Networks, Netwar, and Information-Age Terrorism," in Ian O. Lesser, John Arquilla, Bruce Hoffman, David Ronfeldt, Michele Zanini, and Brian Jenkins, *Countering the New Terrorism* (RAND Corporation, 1999) 96

Part II

Countering the Terrorist Threat 272

Chapter 7 The Challenges of Terrorism 273

- 7.1** Laura K. Donohue, adapted from "Fear Itself: Counterterrorism, Individual Rights, and U.S. Foreign Relations Post 9-11," a Paper presented at the International Studies Association Convention, New Orleans (March 25, 2002). 275
- 7.2** Bruce Hoffman, from "A Nasty Business," *The Atlantic Monthly* (January 2002) 301
- 7.3** Anthony Clark Arend, from "Terrorism and Just War Doctrine," in Elliott Abrams, ed., *Close Calls: Intervention, Terrorism, Missile Defense, and 'Just War' Today* (Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1998) 306
- 7.4** Brad Roberts, from "NBC-Armed Rogues: Is There a Moral Case for Preemption?" in Elliott Abrams, ed., *Close Calls: Intervention, Terrorism, Missile Defense and 'Just War' Today* (Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1998) 317

Chapter 8 Strategies and Approaches for Combating Terrorism 336

- 8.1** Richard K. Betts, from "The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror," *Political Science Quarterly* (2002) 338
- 8.2** James S. Robbins, from "Bin Laden's War," An Original Essay Written for This Volume (2002) 354
- 8.3** Richard H. Shultz and Andreas Vogt, from "The Real Intelligence Failure on 9/11 and the Case for a Doctrine of Striking First," An Original Essay Written for This Volume, 2002 367
- 8.4** Barry R. Posen, from "The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics," *International Security* (Winter 2001/02) 391
- 8.5** Michele L. Malvesti, "Explaining the United States' Decision to Strike Back at Terrorists," *Terrorism and Violence*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Summer 2001) 404

Chapter 4 Religion 120

- 4.1** Magnus Ranstorp, from "Terrorism in the Name of Religion," *Journal of International Affairs* (Summer 1996) 121
- 4.2** Mark Juergensmeyer, from "The Logic of Religious Violence," in David C. Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations* (Columbia University Press, 1988) 136

Chapter 5 Weapons of Mass Destruction 156

- 5.1** Jessica Stern, from "Getting and Using the Weapons," *The Ultimate Terrorists* (Harvard University Press, 1999) 158
- 5.2** Christopher F. Chyba, from "Toward Biological Security," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2002) 174
- 5.3** Michael L. Moodie, from "The Chemical Weapons Threat," in Sidney D. Drell, Abraham D. Sofaer, George D. Wilson, eds., *The New Terror: Facing the Threat of Biological and Chemical Weapons* (Hoover Institution Press, 1999) 185

Chapter 6 The Threat of Other Forms of Terrorism 204

- 6.1** Barry R. McCaffrey and John A. Basso, from "Narcotics, Terrorism, and International Crime: The Convergence Phenomenon," An Original Essay Written for This Volume (2002) 206
- 6.2** Gregory J. Rattray, from "The Cyberterrorism Threat," in James M. Smith and William C. Thomas, eds., *The Terrorism Threat and U.S. Government Response: Operational and Organizational Factors* (USAF Institute for National Security Studies, March 2001) 221
- 6.3** Jason Pate and Gavin Cameron, from "Covert Biological Weapons Attacks Against Agricultural Targets: Assessing the Impact Against U.S. Agriculture," *BCSIA Discussion Paper 2001-9, ESDP Discussion Paper ESDP-2001-05* (John F. Kennedy School of Government, 2001) 245
- 6.4** G. Davidson Smith, from "Single Issue Terrorism," *Commentary*, No. 74, a Canadian Security Intelligence Service Publication (Winter 1998) 263

Chapter 9 Organizing to Fight Terrorism 426

- 9.1** Ashton B. Carter, from "The Architecture of Government in the Face of Terrorism," *International Security* (Winter 2001/02) 428
- 9.2** Russell D. Howard, from "The National Security Act of 1947 and Biological and Chemical Weapons: A Mid-Century Mechanism For End-of-Millennium Threats," *An Original Essay* (2000) 442
- 9.3** Richard K. Betts, from "Fixing Intelligence," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2002) 473
- 9.4** Martha Crenshaw, from "Counterterrorism Policy and the Political Process," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2001) 483

Chapter 10 Instruments of Counterterrorism 493

- 10.1** Sam C. Sarkesian, from "The New Protracted Conflict: The U.S. Army Special Forces Then and Now," *Orbis* (Spring 2002) 495
- 10.2** Rob de Wijk, from "The Limits of Military Power," *The Washington Quarterly* (Winter 2002) 505
- 10.3** Daniel B. Pickard, from "Legalizing Assassination? Terrorism, the Central Intelligence Agency, and International Law," *The Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* (Fall 2001) 518
- 10.4** David J. Rothkopf, from "Business Versus Terror," *Foreign Policy* (May/June 2002) 543

Appendices 551

- Appendix A** Background Information on Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations 553
- Appendix B** Significant Terrorist Incidents, 1961–2001 579
- Appendix C** Chemical and Biological Weapons: Possession and Programs Past and Present 593
- Appendix D** Statement by the President in His Address to the Nation, September 11, 2001 621
- Appendix E** Terrorist Incidents, 1981–2001 623