

Week 4

Who Are the Terrorists? And, Is Radicalization a “New” Phenomena?

Placing Recent Terrorists & Terror-Related Events in Context

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Where We Are on a Definition of Terrorism

- Using Hoffman (1998, 2006) & the consensus of most academic researchers on Terror, we arrive at this definition:
 - “ ... anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets (Hoffman, 2006:41).
 - Victims of violence chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets)... serve as message generators (Hoffman, 2006:41).
 - Communication processes between terrorist, victims, and main targets... manipulate the main target (audience(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought" (Schmid, 1988).

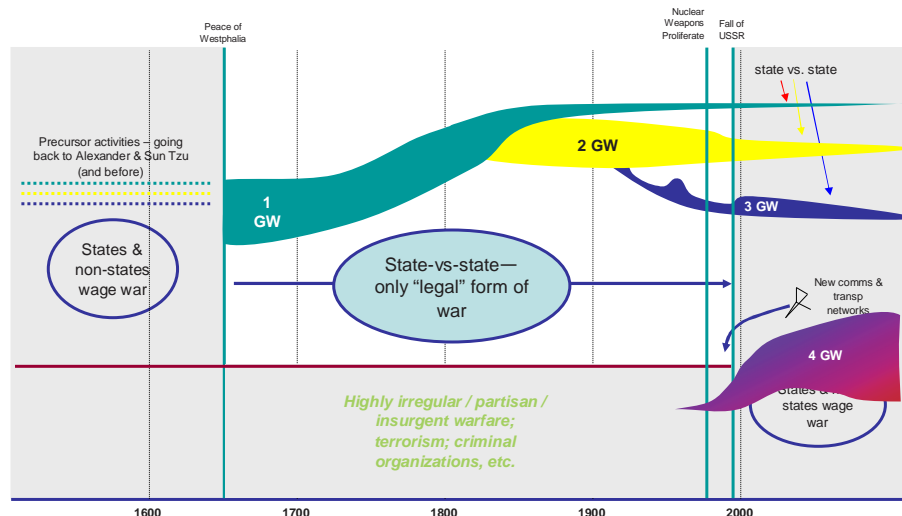
Let's Continue Thinking About Placing "Terrorism" Into Further Context

Does 9/11 signal the "Dawn of a New Era" of terror?

1. Reasons For: New type of "Asymmetrical warfare;"
2. New groups, new strategies, & new tactics adopted by terror organizations;
3. Post-Cold War period characterized with the rise of statelessness, & state failure.
4. Reasons Against: Historical periodization;
5. Antiquity;
6. Roman Era;
7. French Revolution;
8. The modern era & escalations in conflict.

***What has happened since 9/11 that also may signal the "Dawn of a New Era?"**

The "Generations of War" Model From the viewpoint of Core states and nuclear powers



Source: http://www.defense-and-society.org/fcs/4th_gen_war_gazette.htm

Perspective on Context of Conflict

- If we think back just less than a century, we see:
 - The Bolsheviks were an out of favor, fringe political party in Imperial Russia;
 - Adolf Hitler was a failed painter living in a homeless shelter in Vienna; and
 - Einstein was at least six years away from publication of his work on general relativity.
- Given that the Fall of the Wall was just 20 years ago,
 - What have we seen in Europe and throughout the world since that period?
 - What issues have persisted and continue to affect Transatlantic relations as well as broader foreign relations?

Continued

- At least two issues have persisted since the Fall of the Wall:
 - **ENERGY:** The consistent stress on economies of macro energy policies and micro energy needs; and
 - **CHANGES IN CONFLICT:** The evolution and change of conflict from 'war' to transnational conflict of a multi-dimensional nature.

Perennial Issue, ENERGY:

Since the late 1970s, the U.S. has experienced a number of events that were called “Energy Crises:”

2006-2007 Crude Barrel Price Volatility

2005 Rolling Blackouts, NW & SW

2003 N.E. Electricity Blackout

2002 Natural Gas Price “Shocks”

2000 CA & West Coast Blackouts

1991 Oil Price Runup

1986 Oil Price Collapse

1979 Oil Price Escalation

These really were most like interruptions for consumers, i.e., “*breaks in continuity*” rather than tipping points for policy change or crises = “*turning points*”?

Only One Real “Crisis” (1973 Oil Shock) in an Area of Critical, Historical Center for Energy



The 1973 Oil Embargo – A Temporary Turning Point?

1973, What Happened in the U.S.:

- Oil prices increased ~ 4.5 x (Saudi crude specifically)
- Gasoline rationed (Even/Odd days, lines for consumers)
- Gasoline lines & spot shortages
- GDP dropped two years in a row (recessionary result)
- Interest rates spiked dramatically upward
- Inflation increased sharply
- There was a huge wealth transfer to OPEC

Since 1973 & Over the Last 15 Years, Some “Emerging” Energy Concerns Have Arisen, But Many are Long-Range

- Worsening condition of U.S. & allied Energy infrastructure
- Growing dependence on natural gas imports (LNG)
- Growing dependence on petroleum product imports
- Peaking of world oil production
- Lack of consensus – global climate change & alternative fuel approaches

How CONFLICT HAS CHANGED

- This focus on ENERGY occurred during a period of global upheaval & changes with how political violence manifests itself in the world.
- Since at least 1989 through today, as well as throughout history, we have seen two variables – evolution and competition among the belligerents – define the range of war and conflict in society.

Evolution & Competition in CONFLICT

Ever since Thucydides recorded the dramatic fall of Athens' vaunted navy at Syracuse in 413 BC, war & conflict have been marked by abrupt competitive shifts.

How is CONFLICT characterized today?

Defined by some elements as a consisting of a "game" between evolution and competition.

CONFLICT Changes Affecting Int'l Cooperation, Peace, & Sovereignty

(Then) Influence of Soviet

Bloc

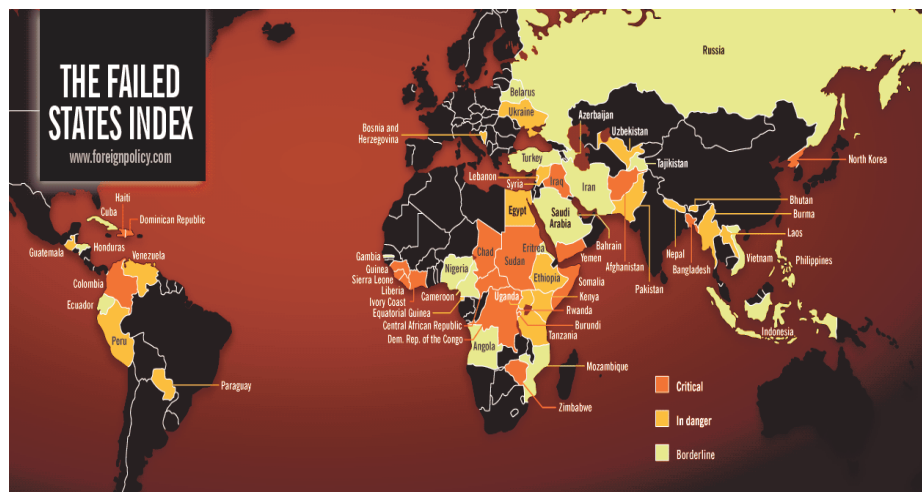
- USSR (Communist Bloc) had no distinct ideology
- Clarity of bargaining position & commitment
- Negotiations were based on:
 - Deterrence
 - Containment
 - Alliances

(Now) Influence of Radical

Islam

- Mostly religiously motivated, but not mainstream
- Radicalized totalitarian views
- Religious leaders, some interpretations of holy texts urge converts to destroy infidels, but this varies greatly and is without consistent doctrine:
 - Khomeini/Khameni Iranian Theocracy
 - Islam in Indonesia
 - Wahabbism: Most doctrinaire, subjugation of women, seeks dominance, anti-semitic, more fungible in conflict orientation

Changes in Conflict = Multiple Failures

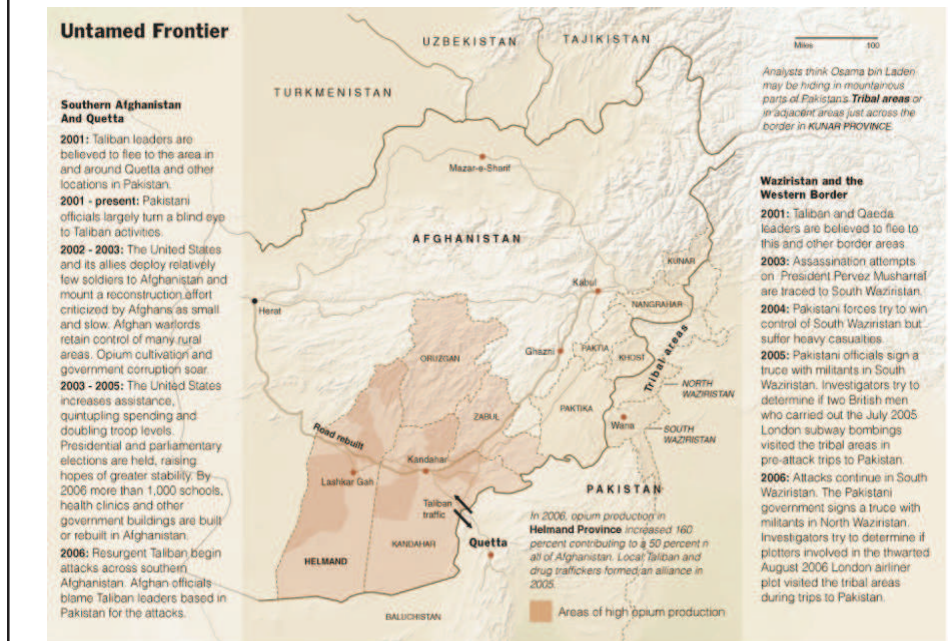


Source URL:
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/06/22/2009_failed_states_index_interactive_map_and_rankings

Joining ENERGY & CONFLICT

- “The United States strode the world like a colossus until the 1970s.”
- Worldwide security threat posed by undue strength of OPEC nations & vulnerability of Western states
- Influence of oil affects structure of Arab governments (along with their societies made up of 350-450 M people)
- Control of production and distribution of crude oil resources is handled by OPEC
- OPEC nations export little, if anything, beyond oil & natural gas

Have We Changed Our Understanding of Others?



A Change in Our Understanding?

Detainees Moved to Guantánamo

President Bush announced that 14 prominent detainees had been moved to the prison at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. He cited several instances where information obtained by C.I.A. interrogation had led to the capture of others.

Mentioned by name in President Bush's speech



Abu Zubaydah
Captured March 2002, Pakistan

A senior operative for Al Qaeda who arranged safe passage for members operating in and around Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Ramzi bin al-Shibh
Sept. 2002, Pakistan

Paymaster and primary point of contact between Qaeda leadership and the Sept. 11 hijackers.

Khalid Shaikh Mohammed
March 2003, Pakistan

Senior Qaeda operative who was the driving force behind the Sept. 11 attacks.

Majid Khan
Captured 2003, Pakistan

Pakistani national who lived in Baltimore for several years. Helped Khalid Shaikh Mohammed research possible attacks against gas stations and water reservoirs in the United States.

Zubair
2003, Thailand

Malaysian-born member of Al Qaeda and the Islamic extremist group Jemaah Islamiyah. Associate of Hambali and Lillie.

Riduan Isamuddin a k a Hambali
Aug. 2003, Thailand

Indonesian-born operations planner for Jemaah Islamiyah. Served as the main link between the group and Al Qaeda. Masterminded the 2002 Bali nightclub attack that killed more than 200 people.

Sources: White House; Office of the Director of National Intelligence; news reports

Others who were moved



Abu Faraj al-Libbi
May 2005, Pakistan

A Libyan subordinate of Osama bin Laden and general manager of Al Qaeda. Point of contact between Mr. bin Laden and top Qaeda managers.

Ahmed Khalifam Ghallani
July 2004, Pakistan

A Tanzanian who helped run Al Qaeda's document forgery office in Afghanistan. Former cook for Mr. bin Laden.

Mustafa Ahmed al-Hawsawi
March 2003, Pakistan

A Saudi financial and travel planner for Al Qaeda who, with Mr. bin al-Shibh, was a communications link between Khalid Shaikh Mohammed and the Sept. 11 hijackers.

Abd al-Rahim al Nashiri
Nov. 2002, unknown

Saudi national and Qaeda operations chief in the Arabian Peninsula. Sentenced to death in absentia by a Yemeni court for planning and organizing the bombing of the destroyer Cole.

Ali Abd al-Aziz Ali
April 2003, Pakistan

Cousin of Ramzi Yousef, who was involved in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, and nephew of Khalid Shaikh Mohammed. Assisted his uncle with various plots, including the Sept. 11 attacks and Richard Reid's attempted shoe bombing.

Lillie
Aug. 2003, Thailand

Malaysian-born member of Jemaah Islamiyah and Al Qaeda. Trained in Afghanistan and served as a lieutenant to Hambali.

Walid Ba'Attash
April 2003, Pakistan

Former bodyguard for Osama bin Laden. Assisted with the planning of the Cole bombing and helped Mr. bin Laden select operatives for the Sept. 11 attacks.

Gouled Hassan Dourad
Before 2004

Head of al-Itihad al-Islami, a group that helped support members of Al Qaeda in Somalia.

The New York Times

A "New Era" with "Old Rules?"



Around an Area of Traditional Focus for Western Policymakers



With New Challenges Into the Mix



World Order: The Promise of Past Conflicts

- Peace of Westphalia
 - Territorial Integrity
 - Political Independence
 - Equality in Law
 - Inherent Right of Self-defense
- World War I: “Sue for Peace”
- World War II: Stretch of war across a newly created “middle class”
- United Nations: Democratic visibility; smaller world; diversity of nations, numbering between 150 & approaching 200

Significance of the End of Cold War

- Loosed tensions originally confined by a bi-polar world
- Weak states foster crime and conflict
 - All conflict becomes a breeding ground for corruption, organized and transnational crime, and terrorism
 - Balkans, Iraq, former Soviet client states, African conflict areas
- The Fall of the Wall added to tensions:
 - Created additional space for OC which became increasing transnational
 - Privatization permitted corruption
 - Started the trend toward open borders

Today's Threats are Transnational

- From 1648 until Post WWII, threats to security were defined by borders
- Aggressor states no longer the primary cause of transnational problems
- Threats exist in weakened states
- Gives rise to our distinction today between:
 - State-supported/sponsored terrorism; and
 - State-sanctioned terrorism

Add'l Contemporary Threats

- International Terrorism
- "Official" Corruption
- Environment
- Natural Disaster
- WMD/Proliferation
- Genocide
- Inter-State Conflict
- Espionage
- Economic Espionage
- Transnational Organized Crime
- Supply Chain
- Front Companies
- Cyber Threats
 - Virtual Reality;
 - Uncertain Violent Impact

Thoughts on Terrorism to This
Point in Class

**“...warfare seeks to conquer territories and
capture cities;**

**...terrorism seeks to hurt a few people and
to scare a lot of people in order to make a
point”** NY Times, 1/6/2000



“Putting the horror in the minds of the audience, and
not necessarily on the screen”



Fear always springs from ignorance.

Emerson, 1837

Our Terrorism Conclusions: One Month In

Terrorism is an **ancient** tactic.

Terrorism is a mode of **communication**.

Terrorism is a special type of violence and **Asymmetrical warfare**.

Terrorism is **used in times of peace, conflicts and war**.

Terrorism is designed to make a point, through socio-psychological & media covered means in order to incite **fear**.

Terrorism is a **political act**.

Terrorism is designed to be promulgated **rationally**.

Early History of Terrorism

Terror long has been used to achieve political ends and has a long history

As early as 66 – 72 A.D., resisting Roman occupation, terrorists killed Roman soldiers and destroyed Roman property.

Terror was used to resist occupation.

Early History of Terrorism

Suicidal martyrdom represented being killed by invaders which resulted in rewards in heaven. It dates back thousands of years in most societies and religions.

Terrorism against the enemy is often viewed as a religious act.

Modern History of Terrorism

The term "terrorism" was coined in the French Revolution's *Reign of Terror* (1793 – 1794).

This was the birth of Government-Sponsored Terrorism

The line between terrorism and political violence is often blurred

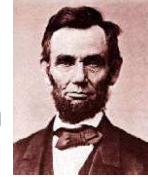
Goal: of State terrorism was to eliminate opposition, consolidate power, e.g., the *Vanished in Argentina*

Modern History of Terrorism

Anarchists were seen in the late 19th century

Individual terrorism

The use of selective terror against an individual in order to bring down a government, e.g. Lincoln assassination



Propaganda by deeds ...terrorists acts

Terrorism became tool of communication, propaganda

Modern History of Terrorism:

Middle 20th century, terrorism became a tool used by both sides of colonial conflicts.

The last 20 years of the 20th century religious based terrorism became more and more frequent.

Another format is economic terrorism, which destructs industry and agriculture system.

Why did Terrorism Draw Considerable Attention in 2001?

The risk of dying from terrorism was extremely low in 1990s, and was still relatively low compared with some diseases in 2001

But the death rate increased by 500 times in 2001 due to Sept. 11

Overall the death rate of terrorism has not been high

Despite the low risk, shock, surprise and fear engulfed the United States and world

Part II – See on the MU IS

Placing Terrorism & Political
Violence Into Context:
How Terrorism is Rational

Introduction, Part II

- Is there a common structure of modern warfare that remains more or less constant across diverse wars?
- Aside from the inherent interest of this question, the answer can have important implications for the practical conduct of war, including Counter-Terror (CT) response strategies by public health and medical professionals as well as for other planning venues.
- What is the relationship between terrorism and modern warfare?
- The distinction between the two is often blurred, e.g., in the concept of the “war on global terrorism”. But there does appear to be a real relationship there and knowledge of its nature will be very welcome.

Thinking About “Generations of Warfare”

War & large-scale conflict has emerged in a systematic manner & can be placed into stages or generations.

Modern war begins with the 1648 Peace of Westphalia in which European states claim a monopoly on waging war.

- First Generation War (1GW)** - War of the organized line and column; in use from 1648 to 1860.
- Second Generation War (2GW)** - Attrition warfare characterized by massive firepower and extensive casualties. Prototype is World War One; in use from 1860 to present. Militaries are vast, bureaucratic and slow-moving.
- Third Generation War (3GW)** - Maneuver warfare, best characterized by the German World War Two *Blitzkrieg*. Used from 1940 to present. Rapid and mobile warfare that inflicts psychological as well as physical damage.
- Fourth Generation War (4GW)** - Irregular warfare. Also called asymmetric war, guerilla war, terrorism, low-intensity conflict, etc. Often waged by non-state entities such as tribes, clans, families, criminal organizations, religious groups, ethnic/racial groups and related. In use currently, date of creation ?

Putting the Puzzle Together, Part A

- How thinkers have conceptualized “war” & “conflict:”
 - A. Sun Tzu (~400 B.C.) - Know yourself and your enemy; use deception and subversion to be enigmatic to your enemy. Shape his perceptions and manipulate him. Employ the expected and unexpected. Strive to defeat your enemy *before* fighting him.
 - B. Karl von Clausewitz ("On War" ~1832) - Obstacles to employing military force: *friction, uncertainty, and inflexibility*.
 1. Friction - errors and miscues which affect all armies.
 2. Uncertainty - What are your forces doing; what are those of the enemy doing?
 3. Inflexibility - the larger the force, the more inflexible it is; large formations have fire power but are difficult to move.
 - C. Pentagon Thinkers, Cold War Era: Von Clausewitz devoted effort to reducing these effects on his forces, but not on multiplying them in the enemy as Sun Tzu recommends.

Putting the Puzzle Together, Part B

- Revolutionary Socialism of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (mid-1800s):
 - A. Corrupt capitalist societies of 1800s: privileged elites exploit the masses; such societies can be toppled from within.
 - B. Misery of masses and unwillingness of elites to address it will lead to a precipitating event - or *crisis* - which enables the revolutionary *vanguard* to lead the masses to destruction of the old state and creation of the new.
 - C. Boyd: *Crises and Vanguard*s are the 'golden keys' to unlocking the power of insurgency, guerilla war and revolution.
 - D. Mao Zedong unites revolutionary socialism, guerilla warfare methods, conventional war and Sun Tzu into a powerful new form of guerilla warfare. Wins Chinese Civil War and drives Nationalist forces out of mainland China.

Putting the Puzzle Together, Part C

Historical practitioners of guerilla warfare: T.E. Lawrence *Lawrence of Arabia*, Allied Resistance Movements of WW2, Mao Zedong, Ho Chi Minh & Vo Nguyen Giap in Vietnam. Lawrence, in *The Twelve Pillars of Wisdom*, writes of guerilla war:

- Guerillas must operate among the people and hide among them
- He is inconspicuous, and does not afford his enemy a clear target; he is "everywhere and nowhere."
- The guerilla movement should possess a sanctuary in which to train, refit and plan operations.
- The guerilla engages the enemy at the time and place of his choosing. When the enemy is strong, retreat; when he is weak, attack.
- The guerilla can win if he outlasts a foreign invader; he is in his own country and the enemy must eventually return to his homeland.
- The guerilla does not have to win militarily; he has only to convince his opponent to abandon the fight.
- Conventional forces and guerillas can be used together in the open when both are strong enough and have the advantage.

Fourth Generation Warfare – Post-Vietnam Thinking, in Pentagonese

How could the U.S. be perceived as losing the war in Vietnam despite overwhelming military superiority?

Was it all politics back home?

We know previous contributions: T.E. Lawrence, Chairman Mao, General Giap and the others had shown him the answers. In Vietnam, America had been beaten by a sophisticated 4GW opponent, and not merely a bunch of simple peasant guerillas.

The North Vietnamese and Viet Cong had operated inside the American psyche using this knowledge to "out-spirit," according to these Pentagon thinkers, our war efforts at the moral-mental-physical levels, thereby defeating us. Moreover, they concluded:

- Western militaries focus on the strategic-operational-tactical levels of war.
- There is a "New Trinity:" people-ideas-technology, and he believed wars are fought, in order of importance, at the moral-mental-physical levels.
- Their conclusions: "Machines don't fight wars - people do. And they use their minds."
- Most western armies are focused on "breaking things and killing people," the physical side of war. This is exactly opposite of what should be emphasized - the moral, then the mental, and then the physical.

Application of this Learning to The Long War, the GWOT, & Terrorism, Part D

- Why is Fourth-Generation War so difficult to understand and defeat?

“At the heart of this phenomenon, Fourth Generation war, is not a military but a political, social and moral revolution: a crisis of legitimacy of the state. All over the world, citizens of states are transferring their primary allegiance away from the state to other things: to tribes, ethnic groups, religions, gangs, ideologies and so on. Many people who will no longer fight for their state will fight for their new primary loyalty.”

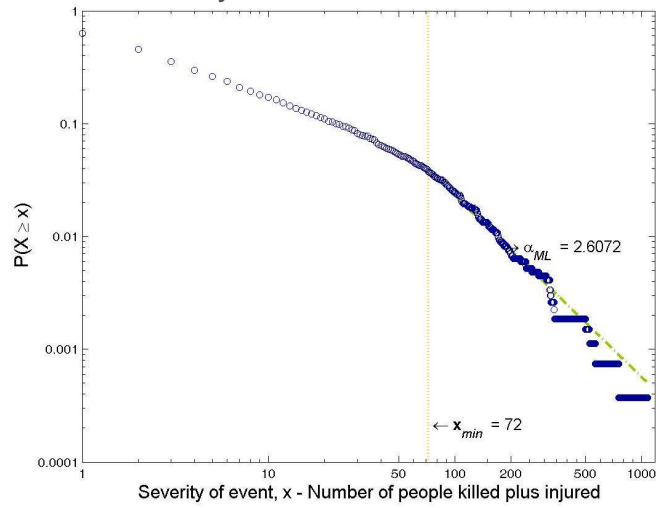
- William Lind -

- Military force alone is incapable of restoring legitimacy to a state, so there can be no purely military solution to the problem of 4GW.
- The central paradoxes of 4GW: What works at the strategic or tactical level often fails at the moral level. Moreover, weakness is actually strength much of the time in 4GW.
- Appropriate analogy of 4GW: "David vs. Goliath"

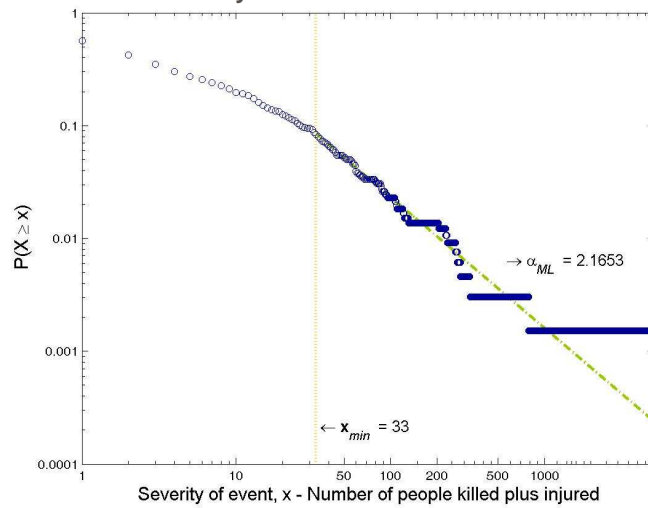
Terrorism as a Tactic: Rationality in Action

- Previous work by Clauset and Young (2005) used the MIPT database (now START database) and found “power laws” in terrorism.
- This research found coefficients of 1.7 for G7 targets and 2.5 for non-G7 targets.
- Recently, scholars used the ITERATE database & sifting through the records of major international terrorist attacks, 1968-2004, finding similar results.
- Thus, non-G7 terrorism looks much like a new war and G7 terrorism looks much like an old war.

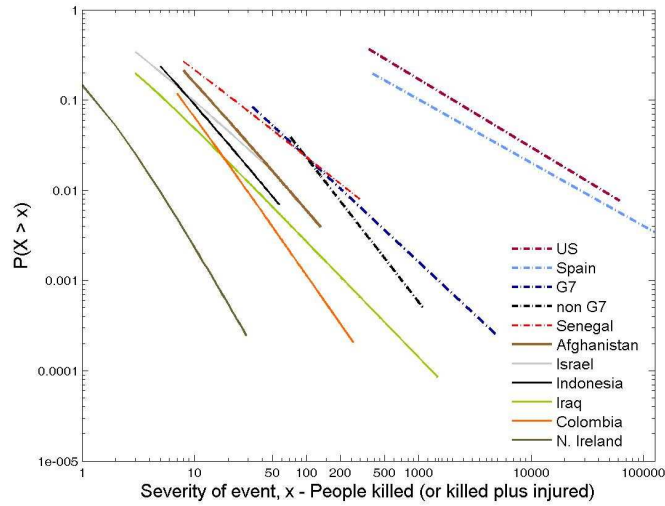
Log-Log plots of 1 – the Cumulative Distribution Function for Severity of Events for non G7 Terrorism



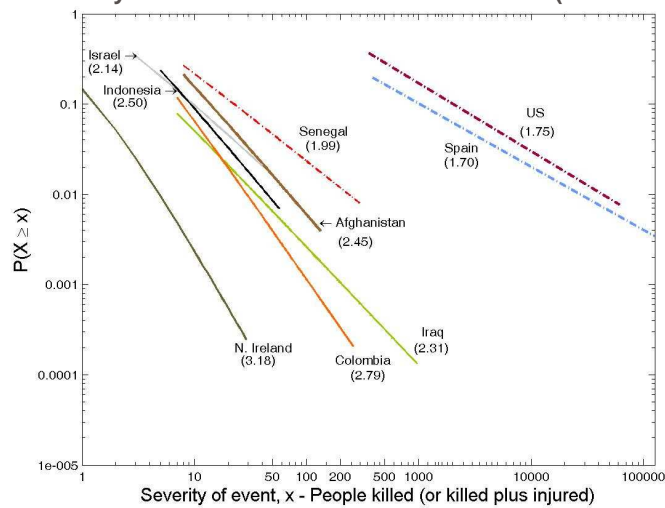
Log-Log plots of 1 – the Cumulative Distribution Function for Severity of Events for G7 Terrorism



Log-Log plots of 1 – the Theoretical Cumulative Distribution Function for Severity of Events for old wars, new wars and terrorism



Log-Log plots of 1 – the Theoretical Cumulative Distribution Function for Severity of Events for old wars and new wars (without Iterate)

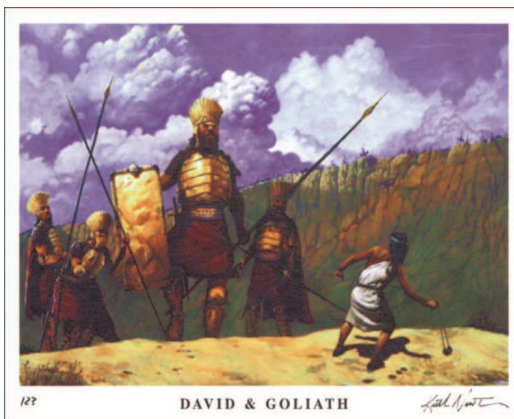


Part III

Where does this leave us?
How are we to conceptualize this moment in
history and the importance of
terrorism/political violence in this era?

An Introduction to
Asymmetric Warfare (AW), 4th Generation
Warfare (4GW), and the 5th Wave of Violence
for Today's Terrorism

Asymmetric Warfare (AW)



Sources:

<http://www.picsearch.com>

http://www.cs.cas.cz/haki/Art_Galery/Caravaggio_Michelangelo,_1573-1610

Asymmetric Warfare (AW)

- What is it? Traditional examples:
 - David and Goliath warfare
 - Unsophisticated vs the sophisticated (technologically)
 - Poor countries or entities against rich countries or rich entities
 - Threat can be internal or external (i.e. Israel, Vietnam or Afghanistan)
 - Often state sponsored/supported
 - Attacking opponent via indirect means such as
 - Terrorism
 - Critical infrastructure attacks
 - Avoids combat w/ conventional forces
 - Tends to have a purpose that focuses on a force, but not always the case
 - Misc. unconventional means i.e., poisoning water/food supplies, exploitation of media by staging scenes to sway public opinion.
 - Examples? Vietnam, Hannibal, A-bomb, *War & Peace* tactics (Tolstoy), computer hackers, deception tactics (i.e. Serb/Iraqi decoys against coalition aircraft); use of children, non-traditional combatants as soldiers.

Asymmetric Warfare (AW)

- Why is it used by actors against “superior” forces?
 - Exploits over-reliance on technology
 - Attacks “superiority” belief that homeland is an open society & belief that the US is impervious to a foreign attack. “Complacency kills”
 - Can hit anytime, anywhere, anything
 - Used to exploit greed or selfishness; legal & illegal businesses turning the blind eye to activities that could harm the security of the US i.e., immigrant smuggling, drug dealing, money laundering, illegal selling of technologies and equipment.
 - Uneducated advisors to senior government officials, or the officials themselves, who deploy forces w/out long-term considerations.
 - Superior Nation’s forces deployed for perceived “quick fix” ops forces become isolated from the local populace over a period of time, eventually becoming a soft target because of the force being perceived as an occupation force vice a helping hand. Examples: US forces in Vietnam; Somalia; Soviet forces in Afghanistan; potential exists for forces stretched out all over the current Balkans region i.e. Bosnia, Kosovo and Macedonia.

4th Generation Warfare (4GW)

- Formless and most deadly kind of war
- 4GW ops are intelligence driven (i.e. WTC attack; China's hacker attacks on US.) Countering the threat requires an intensive intelligence effort to drive counter-4GW ops.
- Requires constant preparation and resourcefulness
- Distinguishing a combatant from a non-combatant can be extremely difficult (i.e. use of mosques or churches to plan terrorist attacks - Levant/Asia; refugees/displaced persons infiltrated w/ agent provocateurs - Balkans; exploitation of fragmented cultures w/in a country for purposes of breaking down a society - al-Qa'ida vs US; exploitation of rules of engagement as in Somalia.)

4GW – Pentagon Thinking

"Fourth generation war will require much more intelligence gathering, analysis, and a greater dissemination capability to serve a highly flexible, interagency command system. At the same time, the fact that fourth generation war will include elements of earlier generations of war means our forces must be prepared to deal with these aspects as well ... therefore, it will be essential for leaders to make an accurate analysis of the war they are about to enter. The complex mix of generations of war with their overlapping political, economic, social, military, and mass media arenas makes determining the type of war we are entering more critical than ever".

-Col T.X. Hammes, USMC, "The Evolution of War: The Fourth Generation," (see <http://www.d-n-i.net/fcs/hammes.htm>)

4th Generation Warfare (4GW)

- What is it?
 - Stateless, or can be state, supported warfare w/ possible interstate spillover
 - Hides behind religion/ideologies
- Examples? WTC; anthrax attacks; EMP/FRY weaponry; US vs. Iraq
- Why dangerous?
 - Current us forces designed to fight against a nation state
 - Our over-reliance on technology
 - War and transnational crime intertwined - hard to see enemy (gangs, mercenaries, narco-traffickers, religious extremists, rogue states, and mafias)
 - Can hit anytime, anywhere, anything and anyone

Sources Of AW & 4GW Conflict

- Lack of resources
 - Growing population (4 billion early 70s; now 6 billion)
 - Lack of water
 - Lack of arable land
 - Lack of food
 - Lack of land
 - Lack of minerals
 - Information/technology i.e. China
 - Examples of all the above Israel, Syria, Jordan, Haiti, Africa and Afghanistan. Haves and have-nots
 - Especially multi-ethnic areas i.e. Liberia, Rwanda, former Yugoslavia and Somalia.
 - Nepotism - clans taking care of their own

Sources Of AW And 4GW Conflict (Cont'd)

- Major trends
 - Fragmentation - large nation breaking down into smaller states.
 - Integration - global networking in terms of international commerce, communications, and production of goods. “Blurred distinction of war and peace”
 - I.e. WTC, anthrax attack.
 - “Technology’s role - The technologies which support globalization of commerce are recognized and exploited by 4GW actors.
 - WWW and global financial networks have established “lines of communication” (LOC) for export of western culture and free markets.
 - 4GW actors with a little funding can use these LOCs as avenues of advance/attack.
 - Exploitation of websites that contain sensitive unclassified information; and
 - Exploitation of websites that contain classified information, but posted on the Internet because of a strong belief in the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA.)

Tactics Of AW / 4GW

- Ethnic cleansing
- Human shields
- Attacking C4I networks
- Exploitation of Rules of Engagement (ROEs) / Laws of War, Laws of Armed Conflict (LOW / LOAC)
- Exploitation of US laws/US Constitution and presence of vague laws to fight the GWOT, i.e. John Walker Lindh & Jose Padilla & the presses abused right to freedom of speech (see notes below).
- World Trade Center
- Employment of WMD
- Exploitation of humanitarian relief orgs i.e. Red Crescent, CAIR, etc...
- Flooding refugees into neighboring countries (regional instability)

Objectives Of AW / 4GW

- “Objectives of 4GW - varies, but includes: ideological objectives (i.e. Islam, neo-Nazis) and destabilizing states by force for gain (i.e. drug cartels)” — Major Chris Yunker, USMC, Joint Staff
 - Can be revolutionary (complete overthrow or breakdown of a government)
 - Can be sub-revolutionary (changing portions of a government to suit the groups objectives)
- Political objectives (IRA)
- Cultural/ethnic objectives (Kosovo)

Modern Terrorism: “The Four Waves” Thesis

- Put forward by Rapoport (*Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, 2004) who argues that:
 - Key catalyzing events signal a shift, uptick in terror behavior & orientations;
 - Terror activity, thus, has had historic ebbs and flows, as part of a broader “ocean” of movements signaling a struggle among independence movements, calls for colonial ties to end, etc.;
 - The level of activity for insurgent & guerrilla efforts mark this rise and fall of activity;
 - International in scope in terms of trend activities.

Modern Terrorism: “The Fifth Wave, New Tribalism” Thesis

- Argument here is that:
 - Many movements do not fit Rapoport’s “wave” thesis of conflicts;
 - There is, recently, a “new tribalism” movement where common calls and bonds, across insurgent actors, delineates how groups have allied & partner against a common enemy.
 - Recognizes a disillusionment with prevailing int’l orgs. & support networks, including NGOs.
 - Radicalization is the norm, & this norm is local, intense, and seeks in one generation, broad change in the nature of relations among nation-states & NSAs.
 - See Jeffrey Kaplan (2007), “The Fifth Wave: The New Tribalism” in *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19:545-570, 2007.

Still More Terror Research Outlets on the Web

