

Terrorism, Intelligence, and Homeland Security





To the one person in this world that greets me every morning with a smile, is my constant and steady companion during the day, and keeps me warm at night ... my wife, Mary.

With love and affection always.

Bob

My wife is the light that helps sustain me with her faith, compassion, caring, wisdom, and quick wit. Our journey through this life is an adventure. Paige, for these and so many other reasons, this book is lovingly dedicated to you.

Mike





Terrorism, Intelligence, and Homeland Security

Second Edition

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Brief Contents

PART I Understanding Terrorism

CHAPTER 1	Defining, Conceptualizing, and Understanding Terrorism 1
CHAPTER 2	Political Ideology and the Historica Roots of Terrorism 38
CHAPTER 3	Understanding the Middle East and Islam 70
CHAPTER 4	The Rise of Radical Islam 89

PART II Typologies, Organizational Structures, Tactics, and Critical Processes of Terrorism

CHAPTER 5	Terrorist Organizations and Structures 119
CHAPTER 6	Critical Processes of Terrorist Organizations 152
CHAPTER 7	Typologies of Terrorism: State- Involved and Single or Special Issue Movements 180
CHAPTER 8	Typologies of Terrorism: The Right and Left Wings and Separatist or Nationalist Movements 213

PART III Responding to the Challenges of Terrorism

CHAPTER 9	Intelligence and Terrorism 246
CHAPTER 10	Intelligence, Terrorism, and the U.S.
	Constitution 269



vi Brief Contents

CHAPTER 11	Homeland Security						29	298
	_							

CHAPTER 12 America's Vulnerability to

Terrorism 334

CHAPTER 13 **Emergency Management** 355

PART IV Combatting Terrorism and the Future

CHAPTER 14 Combatting Terrorism 387

CHAPTER 15 Terrorism, Intelligence, and Homeland

Security: The Future 423







Contents

Preface xix Acknowledgments xxxii About the Authors xxxiii

PART I Understanding Terrorism

CHAPTER 1 **Defining, Conceptualizing, and Understanding Terrorism** 1

Learning Objectives 1

Introduction 2

Understanding Terrorism 2

Quick Facts The Beginning of the Arab Spring 4

Quick Facts Who Are the Kurds? 5

Quick Facts Ex-Girlfriends Testify Against Skinhead 8

The Concept of Terrorism 8

Quick Facts The Assassination of Rabbi Meir Kahane 10

Box 1-1 Black Swan Events 11

Quick Facts The French Revolution, Royalty, and the Guillotine 12

Terrorism: Individual Perspective and Culture 13

Quick Facts The European Union's Framework for Terrorism 14

 ${\bf Individual\ Perspective\ \ 14}$

Cultural Perspective 16

Box 1-2 The Old and New Terrorism 17

Issues in Conceptualizing, Defining, and Understanding Terrorism 17

Quick Facts Not all Muslims are Arabs 17

Box 1-3 Anwar al-Awlaki 18

Box 1-4 al-Awlaki's Daughter Killed in Yemen Raid 18

Definitions Have Proliferated 18

The Evidence Base for Terrorism Is Insufficient 18

Terrorism Is a Contested Concept 19

Quick Facts "Paper Terrorism" 19

Terrorism Is Evocative—It Appeals to Emotion and Not Intellect 20

Box 1-5 The United States' View of Hezbollah 20

Political Power Determines Who Are Terrorists 22

Box 1-6 Drone Use Attracts Sharp Criticism 22

Quick Facts Weaponized Drones 23

Past Prosecutorial Decisions Confuse Us 23

Box 1-7 Could the Fort Hood Shootings Have Been Prevented? 25

Box 1-8 Title 18, United States Code, Section 249, The Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr., Hate Crimes Prevention Act (HCPA, 2009) 25

Traditional and Irregular War and War Crimes 26

Traditional and Irregular War 26

War Crimes 27

A01_TAYL8146_02_SE_FM.indd 7 02/12/17 1:12 AM



vii



The Syrian War 27

Quick Facts Nazi Reprisals Later Tried as War Crimes 27

Chapter Summary 29

Review Questions 30

Critical Thinking Exercises 30

Notes 31

CHAPTER 2 Political Ideology and the Historical Roots of Terrorism 38

Learning Objectives 38

Introduction 39

Revolutionary Ideology and Terror 39

Anarchism 40

Quick Facts The Anarchist Cookbook 41

Marxism 41

Quick Facts The Invention of Dynamite 42

The Vanguard 43

Ouick Facts Guerrilla Warfare in Vietnam 44

"Che" Guevara and the Promotion of World Revolution 44

Quick Facts Che Guevara's Death and Legacy 45

Latin American Leftist Groups 45

European Leftist Groups 47

Historical Roots of Terrorism in the Middle East 49

Box 2-1 Characteristics of the Far Left and the Right 50

 ${\rm Colonialism\ and\ the\ Mandate\ System\ \ 50}$

Box 2-2 Frantz Fanon 52

The Impact of World War II and the Establishment of Israel 53

The Palestinian Resistance Movement 55

Box 2-3 A New Era in U.S.-Israeli Relations Impacting the Palestinian Conflict 56

 ${\it Quick\ Facts}$ Jewish and Arab Palestinians in Palestine 56

Box 2-4 Yasser Arafat 58

Box 2-5 The Siege at OPEC: A Collaboration of Terror 59

Quick Facts Revolutionary Physicians 61

Politics, Oil, and Terrorism in the Modern Era 61

Quick Facts The Discovery of Oil in the Middle East 62

Chapter Summary 64

Review Questions 65

Critical Thinking Exercises 65

Notes 66

CHAPTER 3 Understanding the Middle East and Islam 70

Learning Objectives 70

Introduction 71

The Middle East: Strife, Misunderstandings, and Turmoil 71

Quick Facts Soldier Sentenced to Life in Prison with No Possibility of

Parole 72

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \textbf{Quick Facts} The Decline of al-Qaeda? 73 \end{tabular}$

The Middle East: Geography, History, and Culture 73

Americans Ask: "Why Attack Us?" 73







Box 3-1 Who Was Usama Bin Laden? 75

The Prophet Muhammad and the Beginning of Islam 76

Box 3-2 Women's Rights in Saudi Arabia and Iran 77

Quick Facts Hashimite 78

The Emergence of Two Muslim Traditions: Sunni and Shi'a 78

Quick Facts Islam's Ummah and Caliphate 79

The Concept of "Jihad" 80

Islam and Terrorism 81

Quick Facts Eric Rudolph, David Koresh, and Jim Jones 82

The Five Pillars of Islam 82

Pillar 1: Testimony of Faith (Shahada) 82

Pillar 2: Prayer (Salat) 83

Pillar 3: Giving Alms (Zakat) 83

Pillar 4: Fasting (Sawm) 84

Pillar 5: Pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj) 84

Quick Facts The Hajj 84

Chapter Summary 85

Review Questions 86

Critical Thinking Questions 86

Notes 87

CHAPTER 4 The Rise of Radical Islam 89

Learning Objectives 89

Introduction 90

Fundamentalism 90

Selective Interpretation of Scripture and Doctrine 90

Box 4-1 Memphis and the Three Parks 90

Misinterpretation of Symbolic Words 91

The Justification and Use of Violence Called by God 91

Charismatic Leadership 92

The Political Dimension of Islamic Fundamentalism 93

The Arab Revolution 93

The Historical Roots of Islamic Fundamentalism 94

Box 4-2 The Evolution of "Arab Spring": Chaos in Syria 94

Quick Facts The Arab Spring (Timeline) 95

Islamic Ideologies 95

Quick Facts Mustafa Kemal Ataturk 96

The Ideologies of Islamic Fundamentalists 96

The Wahhabi Movement 97

Box 4-3 The Founding of the House of Saud: The Holy Alliance of Abd al-Wahhab and Muhammad Ibn Saud 98

The Muslim Brotherhood and the Beginning of the Salafi Movement 99

The Great Philosopher: Sayyid Qutb 101

Quick Facts Sayyid Qutb 101

The Rise of Palestinian "Jihad" 102

Salafism 104

Quick Facts The Evolution of Terrorist Groups 105

Jihadist Salafism: The Ideology of al-Qaeda 106

The Islamic State Today 108







Quick Facts How Big Is the Islamic State? 109

A New Caliphate 109

Box 4-4 The Leadership of Caliph Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi 110

Box 4-5 Ruthless Violence and the Islamic State 111

Khomeinism 112

Hezbollah 113

Chapter Summary 113

Review Questions 115

Critical Thinking Exercises 115

Notes 116

PART II Typologies, Organizational Structures, Tactics, and Critical Processes of Terrorism

CHAPTER 5 Terrorist Organizations and Structures 119

Learning Objectives 119

Introduction 120

Dilemmas of Terrorist Organization 120

Action versus Secrecy 120

Growth versus Control 120

Recruitment versus Retention 121

Box 5-1 Retention in IS 122

Success versus Longevity 122

Resource Acquisition versus Constituencies 123

Quick Facts The Islamic State and Recruiting 123

Terrorist Organizational Models 124

Lone Wolf Organizational Model 124

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} \textbf{Quick Facts} The Lone Wolf Attack on Canada's Parliament & \textbf{124} \end{tabular}$

Quick Facts The White Supremacist and the Sikhs 127

Box 5-2 The Carnage of "Loners" 128

Quick Facts How Alone Is a Lone Wolf? 129

Cell Organizational Models 130

Quick Facts A Homegrown Jihadist Cell's Activities 130

Box 5-3 Terrorism and Passport Fraud 131

Quick Facts A Hezbollah Fund-Raising Cell 131

Network Organizational Models 132

The Wheel Network 133

Hierarchical Organizational Model 133

Umbrella Organizational Model 134

Virtual Organizational Model 135

Target Selection and Attacks 136

Quick Facts Center of Gravity, System Disruption, and Terrorist Selection of Targets 137

Quick Facts Why Do Terrorists Attack Tourists? 138

Suicide Bombing Attacks 138

Quick Facts The Changing Face of Suicide Bombers 139







Quick Facts A Donkey and Dogs Used as Suicide Bombers 140

Box 5-4 Suicide Bombing and the Shahid: Of Islamic Martyrdom 141

Quick Facts Beyond the Six Bounties: Payments to the Family of Suicide Bombers 141

How Do Terrorist Organizations End? 141

Chapter Summary 143

Review Questions 143

Critical Thinking Exercises 144

Notes 144

CHAPTER 6 Critical Processes of Terrorist Organizations 152

Learning Objectives 152

Introduction 153

Terrorist Motivations and Capabilities 153

 ${\bf Quick\ Facts\ }{\bf Two\ Different\ Terrorist\ Tactics:\ Occupy\ the\ Target}$ versus a Raid 155

Terrorist Organizations as Learning Organizations 155

The Two Essential Sets of Terrorist Organizational Tools 156

The Four Organizational Tools 157

The First Organizational Tool: Ideology 157

The Second Organizational Tool: Leadership 159

The Third Organizational Tool: Recruiting 159

Quick Facts A Sampling of the Categories of Islamic Unbelievers 160

Box 6-1 Recruiting Videos on the Internet 162

The Fourth Organizational Tool: Publicity 163

Quick Facts No Mercy 163

The Six Operational Tools 164

The First Operational Tool: A Command and Control System 164

The Second Operational Tool: Acquiring Weapons 164

The Third Operational Tool: An Operational Space 165

Box 6-2 Sharia-Controlled Zones 167

The Fourth Operational Tool: Training 168

Box 6-3 Training and the Islamic State (IS) Fighters 168

The Fifth Operational Tool: Intelligence and Counterintelligence 169

The Sixth Operational Tool: Finance 169

Hawalas 170

BitCoin and PayPal 171

Narco-Terrorism 171

Quick Facts Pablo Escobar 171

Traditional for-Profit Crimes 172

Quick Facts The Logic of Terrorist and Criminal Cooperation 173

Sponsorship, Donations, Charities, Zakat, and Sadaqah 173

Convergence 174

Chapter Summary 174

Review Questions 174

Critical Thinking Exercises 175

Notes 175







Χij



CHAPTER 7 Typologies of Terrorism: State-Involved and Single or Special Issue Movements 180

Learning Objectives 180

Introduction 181

A Political-Orientation-Based Typology: The Four Waves of Terrorism 181

The Anarchist Wave 181

Box 7-1 Assassinations since the Anarchist Wave 182

The Anti-Colonial Wave 182

The New Left Wave 182

The Religious Wave 183

Defining Religious Violence 184

The Islamic State: The Drive to Establish a Worldwide

Caliphate 185

Box 7-2 Views of the Iraqi War, 2003–2016 **186**

IS Sources of Revenue 188

Quick Facts U.S. Police Officer Arrested for Financially Aiding

Islamic State 189

Motivation-Based Typologies 189

State-Involved Terrorism 189

State Terrorism 189

Box 7-3 Leaders of Totalitarian Governments that Conducted State

Terrorism: Adolph Hitler, Josef Stalin, and Mao Tse-Tung 191

Quick Facts "An Act of Charity" 192

State-Enabled Terrorism 193

Quick Facts Ungoverned Space 193

State-Sponsored Terrorism 195

Box 7-4 The Assassination Attempt on Pope John Paul II 198

State-Perpetrated/International Terrorism 199

Single-Issue or Special-Issue Threats and Extremism $\ 200$

Quick Facts Who Could Be a Homegrown Violent Extremist (HVE)? 200

Box 7-5 Hactivists Fighting IS 201

The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) $\,$ 201

Box 7-6 Greenpeace: Peaceful Protest or Eco-Terrorism? 202

Anti-Genetically Modified Organism (GMO) Groups 203

Anti-Technologists 203

Quick Facts The Unabomber's Manifesto 203

Anti-Abortionists 204

Chapter Summary 204

Review Questions 206

Critical Thinking Exercises 206

Notes 206

CHAPTER 8 Typologies of Terrorism: The Right and Left Wings and Separatist or Nationalist Movements 213

Learning Objectives 213

Introduction 214

The Right Wing in the United States 214

Quick Facts The Christian Patriot Movement 214

The International Right Wing 216







Quick Facts Soldiers of Odin USA 216

 $\textbf{Quick Facts} \ \mathrm{Right\text{-}Wing \ Violence \ in \ Sweden \ 217}$

Issues in Defining the Right Wing 217

Quick Facts 218

Right-Wing Attacks and Ideology in America 218

Box 8-1 Anti-Immigration Attacks and Groups 219

The Three Major Ideological Right-Wing Movements in the United States 219

Box 8-2 Dan Inouye 221

Box 8-3 The Posse Comitatus and Sovereign Citizen Movements 227

Quick Facts Republic of The United States 228

Quick Facts The New American Right-Wing Alliance Today 230

The Left-Wing Movement 230

Quick Facts The Black Panther Party 231

Quick Facts Patty Hearst and the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) 231

Quick Facts Left Antifa vs. Alt-Right 232

Separatist or Nationalist Movements 233

Quick Facts Chinese Separatists/Terrorists Attack 233

Case Study: Ireland 234

Quick Facts Instructions to the Black and Tans 236

Chapter Summary 238

Review Questions 239

Critical Thinking Exercises 239

Notes 239

PART III Responding to the Challenges of Terrorism

CHAPTER 9 Intelligence and Terrorism 246

Learning Objectives 246

Introduction 247

Defining Intelligence and Counterintelligence 247

Quick Facts The Son Tay Raid: Well Executed, but an Intelligence Failure 248

Quick Facts Counter Forensics Manual 249

Overview of the U.S. Intelligence Community 249

The National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) 250

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 251

Box 9-1 Spies, Secret Messages, and Steganography 252

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) 253

Blurred Lines and Conflicting Roles 253

Box 9-2 President Donald Trump and the Intelligence Community:

An Uneasy Alliance 254

The National Security Agency (NSA) 255

Intelligence and Cyberterrorism 256

Box 9-3 The Islamic State (IS) and the Potential for Cyberterrorism 257

Other Agencies within the Intelligence Community 258

The Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) 258

National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA) 258

National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) 258





State Bureau of Intelligence and Research 258

U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Intelligence and Analysis 258

Intelligence at the State and Local Level 259

The Intelligence Process and Cycle 259

Quick Facts Data Fusion 260

Fusion Centers 261

U.S. Department of Homeland Security and Fusion Centers $\ 262$

Chapter Summary 264

Review Questions 265

Critical Thinking Exercises 265

Notes 266

CHAPTER 10 Intelligence, Terrorism, and the U.S. Constitution 269

Learning Objectives 269

Introduction 270

The USA PATRIOT Act 270

The Reauthorized PATRIOT Act—2006 271

The Reauthorized PATRIOT Act—2011 271

The Freedom Act, 2015 271

Quick Facts 272

Constitutional Rights and the USA PATRIOT Act 272

The First Amendment 272

The Fourth Amendment 274

Quick Facts The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC) 275

The Fifth and Sixth Amendments 277

Box 10-1 The Snowden Leak 278

Balancing Acts: Issues for Modern Intelligence 278

NYPD and Intelligence 278

Box 10-2 NYPD Intelligence Unit Infiltrated Activist Group 280

The Military and Policing Functions: Posse Comitatus 280

The Use of Domestic Drones 281

Box 10-3 Domestic Drones and Crime Fighting 282

Intelligence and Torture 283

Quick Facts The Lingering Results of Enhanced Interrogation

Techniques (EITs) 284

Box 10-4 The Future of Enhanced Interrogation Techniques (EITs)

in the Trump Era 286

"Outing" Intelligence: Leaks and Insecurity 286

Quick Facts PRISM 290

Box 10-5 Reflections on Edward Snowden 290

Chapter Summary 291

Review Questions 292

Critical Thinking Exercises 293

Notes 293

CHAPTER 11 Homeland Security 298

Learning Objectives 298

Introduction 299









Box 11-1 President Bush Learns of the 9/11 Attacks 299

The Department of Homeland Security: The Early Years 300

The Present Organization of DHS 303

The Quadrennial Homeland Security Review (QHSR) 304

Box 11-2 Decentralized Terrorist Attack in Garland, Arizona 305

Box 11-3 U.S. Customs Seizes Counterfeit Goods 306

Strategic Priorities for Homeland Security 306

The Core Missions of DHS 306

Mission 1: Preventing Terrorism and Enhancing Security 307

Mission 2: Secure and Manage Our Boarders 307

Mission 3: Enforce and Administer Our Immigration Law 307

Mission 4: Safeguard and Secure Cyberspace 307

Box 11-4 New Trends in Illegal Immigration 308

Mission 5: Ensure Resilience to Disasters 308

DHS: Missions and Performance Management 308

DHS Performance Management 308

DHS Performance Evaluation 309

DHS Funding 310

Major DHS Agencies 311

Customs and Border Protection (CBP) 311

Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) 315

Box 11-5 Cartels, Coyotes, Rape Trees, and Homeland Security 315

Quick Facts 316

Quick Facts The Twin Fire Disasters of 1871 318

Quick Facts Examples of Extreme Mass Casualties 319

U.S. Coast Guard (USCG) 319

Transportation Security Administration (TSA) 320

Box 11-6 Three Cases on the Road to Airport Security 321

Quick Facts What the TSA Protects and Checks Annually 321

U.S. Secret Service (USSS) 322

U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) 324

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) 325

Quick Facts Who Was Jaime Zapata? 326

DHS and Other Homeland Security Units 326

Chapter Summary 327

Review Questions 327

Critical Thinking Exercises 327

Notes 328

CHAPTER 12 America's Vulnerability to Terrorism 334

Learning Objectives 334

Introduction 335

The Impact of 9/11 and the USA PATRIOT Act 336

The All-Hazards Model 336

The Role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) 336

The Role of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) 337

 $\mbox{\it Quick Facts}$ The National Infrastructure Protection Plan (NIPP) $\,$ 338 $\,$

The National Infrastructure Protection Plan (NIPP) 338

Communications Sector 339







Quick Facts The Impact of Major Hurricanes in 2017 340

Emergency Services Sector 341

Energy Sector 341

Quick Facts Blackout 341

Box 12-1 Asymmetrical Attacks on the Energy Sector 342

Dams Sector 342

Box 12-2 Terrorists Are Not the Only Threat to the Dams Sector 343

Nuclear Sector 343

Water Sector 343

Chemical Sector 343

Commercial Facilities Sector 344

Healthcare and Public Health Sector 344

Box 12-3 The First World Trade Center Terrorist Attack in 1993: Bomb-

Making Material Came from Local Chemical Plant 344

Box 12-4 The 2013 Boston Marathon Bombing 345

Quick Facts The Commercial Facilities Sector 345

Food and Agriculture Sector 346

Critical Manufacturing Sector 346

Quick Facts 347

Transportation Sector 347

Quick Facts The First Skyjacking 347

Government Facilities Sector 348

Banking and Finance Sector 348

Defense Industrial Base Sector 348

Information Technology (IT) Sector 348

Box 12-5 Foreign Cyber Threats: Information Warfare as a Threat

to Critical U.S. Infrastructure $\,349$

Quick Facts Russian Hacking Causes Financial Losses, May Have

Influenced U.S. Voters 349

Chapter Summary 350

Review Questions 350

Critical Thinking Exercises 351

Notes 351

CHAPTER 13 Emergency Management 355

Learning Objectives 355

Introduction 356

Categories of Threats/Hazards 356

Box 13-1 Saddam Hussein and Syria's Use of "Poison Gas" 357

The Severity Continuum 358

Quick Facts The Hazards of America's Grain Elevators and Bins 359

Box 13-2 Mutual Aid Agreements 360

Pre-Planning and Core Capabilities 362

The Recovery Continuum 363

The Evolution of Emergency Management 364

Quick Facts Clara Barton and The American Red Cross 365

World War I to the 1930s 365

The Impact of World War II 367

Box 13-3 The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) 367

The 1950s and 1960s 368







Box 13-4 Were 1950s Bomb Shelter Builders the Ancestors of Today's

Doomsday Preppers? 369

The 1970s and the Emergence of FEMA 369

The 1980s to Present 369

Weapons of Mass Destruction and CBRNE Attacks 370

The U.S. Military and CBRNE Attacks 371

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) 372

The National Incident Management System 372

The NIMS Template 373

Quick Facts The U.S. Coast Guard National Strike Force 376

The Incident Command System (ICS) 377

The Emergency Operation Center (EOC) 378

The National Preparedness System: How It All Fits Together 379

The National Preparedness Goal 379

The National Preparedness Report 380

Chapter Summary 380

Review Questions 382

Critical Thinking Exercises 382

Notes 383

PART IV Combatting Terrorism and the Future

CHAPTER 14 Combatting Terrorism 387

Learning Objectives 387

Introduction 388

National Security Policy and Strategy 388

National Security Policy 388

National Security Strategy Formulation 388

A Military Subordinate to Civil Authority 390

Anti-Terrorism and Counterterrorism 391

Quick Facts The Bardo Museum and the Other IS Attacks That Followed 391

Quick Facts Fight Terrorism License Plates 392

Overview of Anti-Terrorism 392

Anti-Terrorism Organizations and Activities 392

U.S. Department of Treasury 392

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) 393

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) 393

State and Local Law Enforcement 394

U.S. Attorney's Office 394

Quick Facts Anti-Terrorism Phone Applications (Apps) 394

Transportation Security Administration (TSA) 395

U.S. Department of Energy 395

U.S. Northern Command (NORTHCOM) 395

Box 14-1 NORTHCOM Civil Support Following Hurricane Katrina 396

U.S. Marine Corps 396

Overview of Counterterrorism 396

Counterterrorism and Forms of Military Action 397

Quick Facts The Seal Team 6 Yemen Raid 398

Quick Facts The FBI HRT 399

Quick Facts The Term "Operator" 400







Box 14-2 Hostage and Crisis Negotiations ... and Terrorism 400

Counterterrorism Organizations and Activities 402

Central Intelligence Agency—Special Activities Division 402

Federal Bureau of Investigation—Hostage Rescue Team 403

U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) 403

Box 14-3 Operation Eagle Claw: Anatomy of a Disaster 404

The FBI and Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) 404

U.S. Army Special Forces—"Green Berets" 405

U.S. Army—Delta Force 406

U.S. Navy—SEAL Teams 406

Quick Facts Ghillie Suits 407

U.S. Army—75th Ranger Regiment 408

Foreign Counterterrorism Organizations 409

Great Britain—22nd Special Air Service (SAS) Regiment 410

Germany—GSG9 (Grenzschutzgruppe 9) 411

Israel—Sayeret Matkal, Shayetet-13, and Mista'arvim 411

Chapter Summary 412

Review Questions 416

Critical Thinking Exercises 416

Notes 417

CHAPTER 15 Terrorism, Intelligence, and Homeland Security: The Future 423

Learning Objectives 423

Introduction 424

Trends in Terrorist Activities 424

Box 15-1 Predicting Terror Attacks 426

Quick Facts Terrorism and the United States 426

Homegrown and Lone Wolf Terrorists 427

Box 15-2 Social Media and Jihad 428

Crude Devices and Non-Sophisticated Weapons 428

Al-Qaeda, Islamic State, Fractionalization, and the Rest of the World 429

Quick Facts Multiple Terrorist Attacks in Spain Shows Links Between al-Qaeda and Islamic State 431

Transportation Hubs and Other Terrorist Targets 431

Quick Facts Low-Tech Terrorist Attacks 433

Future Attacks on Critical Infrastructure 433

Box 15-3 Has the Potential for Weapons of Mass Destruction Been Exaggerated? 433

The Role of Modern Media in Terrorism 434

Strategy, Policy, and Beyond 436

Box 15-4 Fake News, the Media, and Terrorism 437

Chapter Summary 438

Review Questions 439

Critical Thinking Exercises 439

Notes 440

Glossary G-1

Index I-1







Terrorism—Intelligence—Homeland Security are three subjects that often dominate today's news events. No other issues are so prominent, so compelling, or so critically important to our communities and our nation than these three separate but interconnected topics. Nothing is more contemporary.

We are still dealing with the lingering effects of the attacks on September 11, 2001, an event that clearly changed our world forever. On that day, our security weaknesses were exploited, our vulnerability was exposed, and our fear became real. Approaching two decades after 9/11, we continue working to improve the security of our homeland from attack, whether these attacks are from aircraft hijackings, the use of biological agents, or more sophisticated cyber attempts to infiltrate crucial infrastructures. In this effort, we have sent special operations troops to quell threats and train countries in responding to terrorism. These countries include Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, Algeria, Somalia, Albania, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, and the Philippines. More broadly, during 2017, special operations troops were active in 138 countries.

We have expanded our intelligence-gathering and analysis capabilities to filter even our largest social media sites. We have also developed entirely new departments of government to protect us, and to respond to emergencies whether they be caused by man-made terrorist events or natural disasters. Billions of dollars have been spent in this effort to make us safer. More important, our zeal to be safer and more secure has tested the limits of our government and the basic democratic values of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" that underscore our country. Nothing is more important.

Hence, the decision to write this book was an easy one, inasmuch as we had previously collaborated for years on other coauthored books (Criminal Investigation and Police Administration: Structures: Processes, and Behavior). It was also an opportunity to contribute to the discussion of some of the most important issues of our times. More important, we thought there was room for a new book. In looking at the existing works, they seemed somewhat disproportionately concentrated on historical aspects of terrorism without discussing it sufficiently in a modern context. Other volumes focused on terrorism without addressing homeland security or didn't give enough attention to the basics, such as "How did we get here?" Although interesting, edited volumes were typically too narrow in scope.

We have written a book that is historical, contemporary, and exciting while also interrelating terrorism, intelligence, and homeland security. Our goal was to write a book that focused on students—one that serves as an introductory textbook to this complex set of topics. In doing that, we also produced a book that instructors will find easy to use.

This book has four elements that are of the utmost importance:

- 1. The book is written in a clear and concise manner, aimed at piquing student interest and learning. We stay focused on our readers, providing them with both interesting content and thought-provoking features. Embedded in the content are Information Links to Internet sites that contain extended insights on important topics. We wrote many case studies to illustrate chapter content and make it come alive; and we filled each chapter with interesting pieces of information that were directly aimed at sparking discussion. For instance, each Box ends with a compelling question, and forces students to think about and discuss critical issues presented in each chapter, while Quick Facts provide short doses of information that spark interest in the subject under discussion.
- 2. The book is compelling. This book is carefully researched and presents content from the latest findings in the literature. As important, interviews with key leaders in the





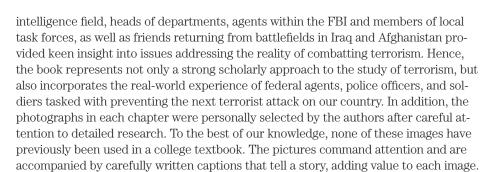




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- 3. The book is simultaneously historical and contemporary. We believed it was essential for readers to understand the background of people, ideas, organizations, and movements. At the same time, readers are provided with current information about new issues in the field. This approach provides readers with a unified and cutting-edge understanding of terrorism, intelligence, and homeland security and their interrelationship. For instance, readers learn not only about the Islamic State, a newly emerged terrorist organization in the Middle East, but also about the historical factors that led to its development and how the international community is responding to this new international threat.
- 4. The book is well organized and has unique chapters. The book is divided into four separate parts. Part One provides a solid framework in which to understand terrorism. Because some significant threats originate in the Middle East, we provide strong chapters that explain the geography, history, culture, and religion of this complex area. We give significant time to understanding the complexities of Islam and the rise of radicalization in chapters that are well written and easy to read. Part Two focuses on terrorist groups, their organization, and their critical processes. These are important foundational chapters that provide unique interdisciplinary discussions on terrorist structures and strategies such as recruitment and retention of members, lone wolf strategies, and suicide bombing attacks. We provide strong chapters that differentiate among state-involved terrorism, single-issue terrorism, separatist or nationalist movements, and terrorism from the left and right wings. In Part Three, we discuss America's vulnerabilities to terrorism and present the governmental agencies that are tasked with preventing terrorism. We discuss the intelligence community and the myriad Constitutional issues that have sparked controversy in our country through the USA PATRIOT Act (e.g., clandestine spying on U.S. citizens, the use of drones, "enhanced" interrogation techniques and the abuse or torture of prisoners, and use of the military in preventing terrorism domestically). In every case, we tried to provide a balanced approach to understanding the issues that we face as a nation, providing security from real threats while still safeguarding civil and personal liberties. And finally, in Part Four, we define the forces that combat terrorism on a daily basis. In a one-of-a-kind chapter, we focus on those agencies that have anti-terrorism or counterterrorism as part of their primary missions. Again, the emphasis here is on clarity and the provision of pinpoint information in an easy-to-read format.

New to the Second Edition

- The design has been updated with a number of enhanced learner experiences to include new box items, Quick Facts, key terms, web links, chapter review questions, and critical thinking exercises.
- New interactive videos, point-counterpoint videos, and reader-based survey questions via interactive learning environment software that accompany the second edition highlight new student learning methodologies.
- Numerous additions have been made throughout the book to reflect significant changes in the Middle East and other geographic areas where terrorism has been a continual issue and problem.







- An expanded and updated introduction to Chapter 1 sets the tone for the entire book, with a special focus on the War in Syria and the emergence of the Islamic State.
- New Quick Facts on the decline of al-Qaeda and the rise of the Islamic State highlight Chapter 3.
- Chapter 4 reveals a new and focused section on the Islamic State today.
- Chapter 5 has new and updated material on the Lone Wolf Organizational Model and carnage resulting from such attacks in recent years.
- New box items on Islamic State recruiting videos via the Internet, and training of IS fighters highlights the new additions in Chapter 6.
- Better understanding the philosophical, ideological goals and meteoric rise of a worldwide caliphate presented by the Islamic State marks an interesting new section in Chapter 7.
- New material on the emergences of the Hammerskin Nation, the rise of the Neo-Nazi movement in the United States, a discussion of new incidents involving Sovereign Citizen groups, and a new right wing alliance are reflected in Chapter 8.
- Two new box items discussing the impact of the election of President Donald Trump on the intelligence community, and the new potential for cyberterrorism present by the Islamic State highlight Chapter 9.
- Chapter 12 provides new discussion on the organization of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the five core mission of DHS, and the impact of the Quadrennial Homeland Security Review.
- Introduction of the THIRA Model (Threat and Hazard Identification and Risk Assessment) and the Recovery Continuum marks new material on emergency management in Chapter 13.
- A completely new introduction on national security policy and strategies, expanded discussion on the role of the military in both antiterrorism and counterterrorism missions, and the introduction of hostage and crisis negotiations as a tool to managed critical terrorist incidents spotlight new additions to Chapter 14.
- Chapter 15 highlights include updated material on the START Study, a new Quick Facts on terrorism data in the United States, two new box items focusing on the media, social media, fake news, and terrorism, and a focused discussion on recent low-tech, unsophisticated terrorist attacks aimed at mass carnage in the international and domestic communities.

Organization

This section is not a table of contents, but rather an informative dialogue highlighting each chapter of the book.

We did not write a comprehensive history of terrorism chapter, although the first and second chapters have an overview of some of its milestones. It seemed more useful to write shorter history sections in the context of the content of chapters, linking the past and the present together to bring meaning to contemporary issues. This second edition has many new and updated sections, photographs, informational links, box items, quick facts, and case histories. A number of learning objectives and related features have been rewritten to reflect these changes.

Chapter 1: Defining, Conceptualizing, and Understanding Terrorism

This chapter introduces the subject of terrorism and some of the topics and issues that are explored in more detail in later chapters. In the introduction section, reasons why it is important or perhaps essential to understand terrorism are identified, for example, challenges such as the emerging tactic of system disruption and Black Swan events that are so different they will be difficult to predict, but will impact us nonetheless.







There was terrorism before we had a name for it. To this day scholars, governments, and international organizations, such as the United Nations, struggle to find a common definition of terrorism. One barrier to understanding terrorism is the surplus of competing and conflicting definitions. The chapter also addresses how our individual and cultural perspectives affect how we think about terrorism and create barriers to understanding it. The chapter concludes by contrasting war and war crimes, irregular war, and terrorism.

Chapter 2: Political Ideology and the Historical Roots of Terrorism

Chapter 2 is a foundational chapter for the entire book. It represents a significant work on the historical development of terrorist ideology. The chapter begins with a discussion of political ideology as the general belief system on which society is based and the mechanisms people undertake to achieve this perspective. Terrorism has a direct effect on the social structure of society. People depend on a framework of informal and formal rules that foster mutual respect and trust. Terrorism substitutes this trust with insecurity and fear. Essentially, terrorism attacks the very bases of social order, culture, and government. Chapter 2 explores the political and social theory that motivates certain groups—from the genesis of revolutionary ideology and terror to contemporary hate crime and radical Islamic movements. We start with the historic left-wing ideologies of socialism and communism as expressed by Karl Marx, Fredrick Engels, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and Vladimir Lenin in Europe and Russia at the end of the 19th century and trace ideological ties to more contemporary perspectives of revolution in South America and the Middle East as expressed by Che Guevara, Carlos Marighella, and Sayyid Qutb. A focus on the development of Latin American leftist groups like FARC and ELN in Colombia, the Tupamaros in Uruguay, and Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) in Peru brings our discussion to the concept of a "guerrilla war" as part of a revolutionary strategy in some cases, and as terrorism in others. We also explore the development of the "new left" in Europe during the 1960s, including the Red Brigades, the Red Army Faction (also known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang), the Revolutionary Cells, and its feminist-leaning auxiliary group, the Red Zora, bringing us full circle from the inception of left-wing, political revolutionary thought to more contemporary antiimperialist and anticolonial ideology.

The final part of this chapter focuses on the historical roots of terrorism in the Middle East, from early anticolonial ideology and the mandate system developed at the end of World War I to the establishment of Israel and the beginning of the Palestinian Resistance movement. The chapter sets up Chapter 3 by exploring the early tenets of oil, politics, and radical Islam in the modern era.

Chapter 3: Understanding the Middle East and Islam

This book has five sets of chapters that are so closely intertwined we think of them as "twin chapters." Chapters 3 and 4 are the first set of the "twins." In Chapter 3, we start with the assertion that knowing some history of the Middle East, a few laws, and a handful of definitions is not sufficient grounding to assert one has a grasp on the Middle East and Islam. The chapter provides a basic understanding of Islam, but there is more to be learned. To fully understand the Middle East, you must also fully understand Islam. Illustratively, some critics maintain that the "problem" with Islam is that it has never undergone a reformation, as has Christianity. The Muslim view is there has never been a need for it. In their view, the Archangel Gabriel revealed the Word of God to Muhammad and he, in turn, faithfully recorded it. While ideological change in Islam has not been an historical issue, certainly leadership after the death of the Prophet has been. Understanding the emergence of two Muslim traditions, Sunni and Shi'a, provides a basis for comprehending not only the historical differences between these two groups, but also sets a foundation on which to grasp more contemporary concepts of radical Islam and the Islamic State caliphate that now threaten the entire Middle East.

The vast majority of Muslims in America are good and decent people who practice their religion peacefully. Some Islamic religious leaders have twisted the meanings of Islamic







concepts. For instance, "jihad" actually refers to an individual's struggle to overcome adversity and submit to the will of God. Jihad addresses an inner, spiritual struggle against evil, not a war against others. The twisted definition of jihad fuels hatred, violence, and grisly actions, such as the recent beheadings and executions of American journalists, English aid workers, and others by members of the Islamic State.

The concluding section of the chapter ends with an explanation of Islam's five pillars of faith: (1) Shahada (testimony of faith); (2) Salat (prayer); (3) Zakat (giving a portion of your annual income to those in need and to support Islam); (4) Sawm (fasting); and (5) Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca).

Chapter 4: The Rise of Radical Islam

Islam is one of the world's great religions. Like Judaism and Christianity, it is one of the three primary monotheistic religions, meaning it is a religion that believes in one all-loving and powerful God. The histories of these three great religions are inseparably intertwined. So what events took place within Islam that led to such a vast radicalization of basic principles within the religion? This chapter explores that change and focuses on the political dimension of Islamic fundamentalism. It analyzes the radicalization of Islam in both traditions, Sunni and Shia (Shiite). Much of the discussion is centered on the Arab Revolution beginning after World War I and culminating in the Arab Spring of 2010, the ideologies that form major radical movements in today's Sunni tradition—the Wahhabi movement, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Salafi movement, and the Jihadist-Salafi movement. Each is discussed in terms of their primary philosophical leader and the contemporary evolution of the movement today as visible throughout the Middle East.

The radicalization of Sunni Islam has been an historic process, led by a number of key individuals. The chapter is laced with boxed items and commentary that provide a basic understanding of the historical complexities associated with radical Islam as proscribed by philosophical leaders such as Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Ahmed Yassin, Abdul Rahman, Ahman al-Zawahiri, Usama bin Laden, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, and Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, as well as active Sunni groups, such as the Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), al-Qaeda, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQIP), Abu Sayaaf, and the Islamic State. The latter group, the Islamic State, is given additional attention in this chapter, particularly focusing on the ruthless violence stemming from extremist interpretations of early Muslim ideology originating from Wahhabi and Salafi doctrine. Known as *Takfiri Practices*, or the excommunication from Islam, the radical Islamic State claims the right to label other Muslims to whom they object as "unbelievers," justifying the violent torture and execution (beheadings, crucifixions, rape, burning, hanging, and shooting) of innocent individuals throughout the Middle East.

The final part of the chapter addresses the radicalization of the Shia (or Shiite) tradition within Islam, concentrating on the ideologies expressed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini during the Iranian Revolution of 1979. His thoughts provide the ideological foundation for today's Islamic Republic of Iran. The other primary Shia group discussed in this chapter is that of Hezbollah, under the leadership of Hassan Nasrallah, a group active throughout the world but centered in Lebanon.

Chapter 5: Terrorist Organizations and Structures

Chapters 5 and 6 are the second set of "twin chapters" in that they are interrelated: Both focus on terrorist organizations. Chapter 5 largely deals with how these groups are arranged and Chapter 6 scrutinizes the processes with which terrorist organizations operate. Organizational theory is a tool that explains how formal organizations are structured and relate to their environment. It can be applied to such disparate entities as General Motors, the *New York Times*, Girl Scouts, concentration camps, Red Cross, Hamas, and the Department of Defense. In Chapter 5, organizational theory is the lens by which we examine and explain the structure of terrorist organizations. We do so without requiring readers to learn, or be conversant with, organizational theory because this book is on a different subject.







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The application of organizational theory to terrorist structures can provide important information about them. It reveals how authority is distributed, how work will be accomplished, and some indication of their relative importance of leaders.

Other topics in Chapter 5 include dilemmas of terrorist organizations, types of terrorist cells, organizational structures used by terrorists (such as hierarchical, umbrella, and virtual), the selection of targets, suicide bombing attacks, and how terrorist organizations end. The literature on how terrorist organizations end does not contemplate a movement that ends in a caliphate, despite the Islamic State's aspirations.

Chapter 6: Critical Processes of Terrorist Organizations

In this chapter we shift our analysis from how terrorist organizations are organized to essentially asking the question, "What does it take for a terrorist organization to be successful administratively and operationally?"

Like many other types of organizations, terrorists need administrative or organizational tools, which are the things they must accomplish to foster the organization's viability. To be operationally successful terrorists must have command of these operational tools. Chapter 6 covers these topics with examples and case studies. One of the organizational tools discussed is the financing of the group, with special attention given to funding via hawalas, narcotics trafficking, and other criminal activities, sponsorships and donations, charities, and even the trading of Bitcoins.

Chapter 7: Typologies of Terrorism: State-Involved and Single or Special Issue Movements

Chapters 7 and 8 are another set of "twin chapters," both dealing with typologies of terrorism. To avoid having one very long chapter we wrote two shorter chapters. We logically grouped movements in those chapters not by geography, but by their ideologies. Typologies logically group things, such as terrorist movements. In contrast, taxonomies create groups based on statistical analysis. We used typologies because there is insufficient data to create full taxonomies of terrorism. The history of each identified terrorist group is covered, and Chapters 7 and 8 are replete with examples and case studies to provide concrete meaning.

Chapter 7 scrutinizes four types of terrorism in which the political state is involved: state terrorism, state-enabled terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism, and state-perpetrated/international terrorism. By and large, single/special-issue terrorism is still a concern, but toward the lower end of the threat scale. "Fading" may be a reasonable description of these movements, which include the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), Earth Liberation Front (ALF), and Anti-Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO) groups, which oppose "frankenfood."

Chapter 8: Typologies of Terrorism: The Right and Left Wings and Separatist or Nationalist Movements

A large portion of this chapter covers right-wing groups, which envision having a homogenous "racially pure" country. All right-wing groups have in common "enemies" such as the "Zionist Occupied Government" (ZOG); illegal immigrants; people of color; and lesbians, gay, bisexual, transgender people, and those questioning their sexual identity (LGBTQ). Having a group to oppose promotes in-group solidarity, which helps to perpetuate the existence of right-wing movements (e.g., Hitler used the Jews for this purpose and the English Defence League targets Muslims). Right-wing movements in America include the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis, and the anti-federalist/Christian Patriot groups.

Left-wing groups identified globally in the chapter include Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) in Peru; the Red Army Faction (RAF) that operated mainly in Germany, but also in France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands; the Red Brigades in Italy; Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC); the Seung Fein in China; and the Weather Underground in the United States. The left wing historically has been unsuccessful in achieving its goal: replacing existing governments with ones that are based on Marxist-Leninist principles.







Separatist/nationalist movements are typically subnational groups who want a homeland. The groups often share a common culture, language, and history. Examples include the Kurdistan Workers Party, the Tamil Tigers, the Eritrean Liberation Front, and the Second Vermont Republic. Ireland's drive to become an independent country is discussed, as are the similarities between the Anglo-Irish War and the American Revolution.

Chapter 9: Intelligence and Terrorism

Chapters 9 and 10 represent yet another set of "twins." In Chapter 9, we define intelligence and counterintelligence and, more important, we define plaguing questions that continue to impede our ability to prevent terrorism. For instance, the final report of a Congressional Advisory Panel after 9/11, commonly known as the Gilmore Commission, identified several issues relating to the failure of the intelligence community to prevent terrorism. These included a failure to provide timely, accurate, and specific intelligence information to law enforcement, security, and military agencies, as well as an overly bureaucratic and decentralized structure (particularly within the FBI) that hindered a unified and coordinated effort between federal and local agencies to address the terrorist threat. While some of these issues continue, the intelligence community has worked hard to overcome many of these obstacles. More recent controversies involving the uneasy alliance between President Donald Trump and the intelligence community are also discussed in this chapter, with special attention given to the replacement (firing) of NSA Director Michael Flynn and FBI Director James Comey.

We address the complexity of the intelligence community in Chapter 9, defining the agencies involved in the intelligence community, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Agency (NSA), and the relatively new roles of the Office of National Intelligence and the National Counterterrorism Center. We also present an overview of other agencies within the intelligence community and explore "fusion centers," which have become common entities at the state and local level aimed at better coordinating the intelligence efforts among all divisions of government—federal, state, tribal, county, and city.

Chapter 10: Intelligence, Terrorism, and the U.S. Constitution

In Chapter 10, we address head-on the issues that surround the use of intelligence and intelligence gathering as a tool to prevent terrorism that seem to dot our newspapers on a near weekly basis. We closely examine the USA PATRIOT Act and discuss specific incidents that question and, in some cases, answer how far our government should go to protect our citizens. Specifically, we discuss the conflicts between the PATRIOT Act, the Freedom Act, and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) and the First, Fourth, and Fifth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution as related to the practice of extraordinary rendition, "enhanced" interview techniques and torture of suspected terrorist prisoners, the use of the military to supplement civilian police in conflict to the Posse Comitatus Act, police agencies that infiltrate political and religious groups that clearly blurs the line between policing and intelligence gathering, and the use of drones as both an offensive weapon in the Middle East and as a spying tool domestically. These issues and others are discussed in light of current events and the highlighted cases involving Bradley/Chelsea Manning, WikiLeaks, and Edward Snowden.

Chapter 11: Homeland Security

Eleven days after the 9/11 attacks, Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge was appointed as the first director of the Office of Homeland Security by President George W. Bush. His job was to develop, oversee, and coordinate a new, comprehensive national strategy to safeguard the country against terrorism and respond to any future attacks. Over a year later, on November 25, 2002, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was created as a stand-alone agency, composed of 22 different preexisting federal agencies. It was the largest reorganization of the federal bureaucracy since the National Security Act of 1947. Chapter 11 provides an overview







of the key agencies assigned to DHS, such as the U.S. Coast Guard (USCG), U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Customs and Border Protection (CBP), Transportation Security Administration (TSA), U.S. Secret Service, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). The chapter explores each agency's role in fulfilling the core homeland security mission of preventing terrorism and enhancing the security of the United States.

Chapter 12: America's Vulnerability to Terrorism

Chapters 12 and 13 represent our final set of "twin" chapters. They are slightly different from the other sets as they are not extensions of the same subject matter, but rather complements to each other. In Chapter 12, we discuss openly America's vulnerability to terrorism. We define "critical infrastructure" and focus our work around the National Infrastructure Protection Plan (NIPP) that provides a framework in which to discuss potential target sites and give a reasonable risk assessment for each of the 16 sectors identified in NIPP. The discussion in Chapter 12 is all about "prevention" now, before an event, and providing an "all-hazard" plan that protects critical resources and human life from any kind of catastrophe, disease, or disaster regardless of causation, natural (e.g., flood, fire, hurricane, tornado, or earthquake) or man-made (e.g., terrorist strike; large cyber attack; mass shooting at a school, mall, or sporting event; or surprise attack from a foreign government). In Chapter 13, our discussion moves from prevention to response and mitigation—the effort to reduce loss of life and property by lessening the impact of such an event.

Chapter 13: Emergency Management

While FEMA is the key federal agency for the emergency management of a terrorist attack or natural disaster *after* the event, a myriad of other agencies have specific roles in responding to and recovering from a disaster. For instance, the coordination of local relief agencies, food banks, shelters, and the like fall within the FEMA management guidelines, while specific responses to public health issues from open sewage lines, biological agents, or even radiation may be more appropriately handled by another agency such as the Center for Disease Control (CDC), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), or the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC)—all of which are discussed in Chapter 13.

The chapter provides a strong historical piece on the evolution of emergency management culminating in an in-depth discussion on our current National Preparedness System. We address the possibilities of significant attack from weapons of mass destruction and CBRNE-borne weapons, and more important, the formal mechanisms of the Incident Command System that are currently in place to address such an unspeakable event—from local and state perspectives to specific federal roles. Chapters 12 and 13 discuss America's defensive posture (i.e., planning, preventing, mitigating, and responding to a critical terrorist strike or disaster), setting up Chapter 14: Combatting Terrorism.

Chapter 14: Combatting Terrorism

There is an important distinction between anti-terrorism (AT) and counterterrorism (CT). At the risk of oversimplification, the former is largely composed of defensive actions, while the latter centers on offensive operations. Chapter 14 addresses AT and CT on the basis of a cross-section of the organizations that are executing those respective kinds of missions, although it must be noted that some of them perform both AT and CT activities. With respect to these activities, the military, federal agencies, state and local governments, and law enforcement agencies are covered. The role of the military is given substantial attention because of the array of units involved and their important contributions to America's national security. The chapter also examines types of action that can be taken against terrorists, including raids and direct action. Military deployments are determined by national strategy, security policy, and the determination of whether they fit into the ways, ends, and means that have been established.







Chapter 15: Terrorism, Intelligence, and Homeland **Security: The Future**

This concluding chapter of the book ties the subject matters of terrorism, intelligence, and homeland security together and identifies recent trends in terrorist activities. Many of the past attacks in the United States have been carried out by homegrown terrorists using lone wolf terrorist tactics. These events have been mostly bombings or spree shootings using very crude and nonsophisticated weapons. Internationally, while al-Qaeda appears to be weakening and fractionalizing as a single group, radical Islamic ideology appears to be dramatically increasing throughout the Middle East and the rest of the world with the emergence of the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq. While America has been victimized repeatedly by attacks on our transportation sector (particularly the airline industry), attacks that are cyber in nature pose a much more significant threat in the future. Much of our critical infrastructure—including water systems, power grids, gas pipelines, nuclear power functions, and financial and communication networks—were built long before the specter of terrorism was a consideration and contain weak defenses against potential attacks by terrorists, rogue nations, or even sophisticated criminals. Indeed, rather than focusing on attacks that raise the public hysteria, such as attacks from weapons of mass destruction (WMD), it might be more prudent to assume that the next major terrorist attack may be cyber in nature.

The final chapter also includes an important segment on the role of the media during terrorist events and the impact of such events on the mind of the general public. Our concluding remarks in Chapter 15 focus not on the significant dangers and potential threats that lurk in an unstable world, but rather on the richness, strength, diversity, and resilience of America as we confront the future together, no different than generations before us.

Pedagogical Features

Each chapter includes the following pedagogical features to aid students and instructors:

Learning Objectives at the beginning of each chapter identify the core elements students need to learn.

Learning Objectives

After completing this chapter, you should be able to:

- State six reasons why it is important to understand terrorism.
- Trace the history of key events in terrorism from the nineteenth century to 9/11/2001.
- Contrast individual and cultural perspectives of terrorism.
- Explain why there are so many definitions of terrorism.
- Identify six acts punishable as war crimes.
- 6. Summarize the event that led to the Syrian War.







XXVIII

Preface

Key Terms in the margins define each term where it is first used in the text. At the back of

Introduction

The subject of "politics" often provokes intense emotion, generates passionate discussion, and can frequently create extreme resistance to considering another person's point of view—this is obvious even during political discussions at the dinner table or seeing friends on Facebook tear into each other because of deeply held political convictions. Indeed, politics are sometimes so interwoven into people's psyches that it affects nearly every facet of their belief system.

the text is a comprehensive glossary of all the key terms.

And, as we learned in the previous chapter, the way that people think about or perceive their environment, government, and society—and the way they feel those entities should be structured—springs from a host of factors, including genetics, ¹ family tradition, educational background, socioeconomic status, religious affiliation, and geographical location (individual perspective and culture). These factors are not mutually exclusive, they are not simple, and they have wide-ranging effects on a person's belief system. Political ideology, then, is (on an individual level) "the set of beliefs about the proper order of society and how it can be achieved." On a group level, political ideology is the "shared framework of mental models that groups of individuals possess that provide both an interpretation of the environment and a prescription as to how that environment should be structured."3

Political ideology

The set of beliefs about the proper orde of society and how that order can be

Boxes throughout the chapters highlight interesting topics that are relevant to the chapter subject matter. Each box concludes with challenging questions aimed at sparking class discussion.

Box 2-1 Characteristics of the Far Left and the Right

On the ideological spectrum, leftist groups like the ones discussed here are at the very extreme-located far from moderate or centrist ideologies and even more distantly from fringe right-wing counterparts. What really sets leftist terror groups apart and, in fact, distinguishes all ideological groups from each other—is the types of groups that they "advocate," their techniques, and their endgame. For example, most moderate or centrist groups tend to advocate for society in general, not focusing on one group, but rather seeing a society as a "whole." Their process for advancing causes is via a group consensus—generally as part of a partisan democratic event such as voting—and the outcome is generally a balance between a gradual change with a nod to tradition or status quo. This is a good characterization of traditional American political groups.

However, on the far-right fringe of the spectrum, groups ad-

vocate for a specific race or ethnicity, religion, or nationality. Their endgame is a change based on a reaction to a perceived threat—that is, a changing values system or a new and perva-sive culture that is upending a long-standing social order. Their methodology for achieving their endgame involves a retreat or return to the "good old days"—a social movement that seeks to restore a cherished social order. These are characterized by the neo-fascist, neo-Nazi, and skinhead hate groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, and the Christian Identity Church.

Far-left groups, by contrast, are more future-oriented; they look to radical change, hoping to topple the social order of the past

on behalf of certain societal classes (e.g., the working class or proletariats). Their movements are often based in a complex the oretical groundwork that describes those that have wealth and hose that are oppressed (e.g., anticolonialism, anticapitalism Marxism). The ultimate goal is liberation from a real or perceived oppressive government. This designation contains groups that often self-identify as communist, socialist, or anarchist, such as the Black Blocs, Earth Liberation Front, Weather Underground, and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

Far-right and far-left groups tend to hold sharply contrasting views on racial equality, law and order, patriotism, labor, economic issues, and religion; however, they do share some common ground. Both camps tend to be very alienated from mainstream society, mostly due to their zealousness and inflexible belief sys tems. They are also equally likely to embrace conspiracy theories and stereotypical views of social and political affairs.

Extremist groups on both sides of the spectrum are also similar in their pursuit of their goals: both sides will censor opponents and deal harshly with adversaries. Furthermore, both sides view civil liberties through an extremely partisan lens calling for unyielding support of civil liberties when doing so supports their agenda, or completely eschewing them when they aid rival points of view.

What other similarities and differences can you think of between left and right extremist groups?

Information Links direct readers to Internet sites that provide more information on chapter topics.

had "usurped the authority of God," Qutb knew that those in the ruling class would certainly not be inclined to surrender without a fight. This vanguard of violence and terrorism is the foundation for the modern concept of jihadism.²⁴ Refer to Chapter 4, "The Rise of Radical Islam," for a more detailed discussion of Sayyid Qutb and his radical Islamic philosophies.

Leftist groups, then, with their roots in mid-nineteenth-century Europe, have demonstrably influenced modern terrorism philosophically and tactically. Elements of Marxism and Leninism—particularly the concept of the vanguard—have made their way into different factions of terrorism, from leftist to Islamic terror, as have anarchist principles of "propaganda by the deed." Historically, terrorism (widespread killing, assassinations, and bombings) was a major part of the violent cultural and social changes in Russia, France, Cuba, and elsewhere, and has always been part of an accepted strategy among the revolutionary left

Information Link

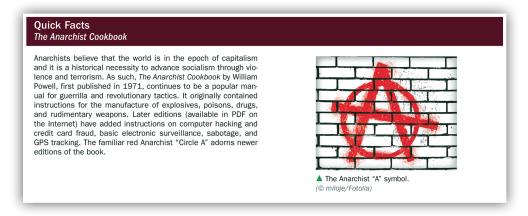
Visit bio.truestory at w .com. Search the site for the biography of Che Guevara. Listen to his biography, and watch the popular 2004 film entitled The Motorcycle Diaries, chronicling the written memoir of a twenty-three year-old Che Guevara as he rode his motorcycle throughout Latin America







Quick Facts boxes provide unique tidbits of information related to the chapter topics.



Summaries are organized around Learning Objectives that highlight the main points of each chapter.

Chapter Summary

SUMMARY BY LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Describe the concept of political terrorism.

Political terrorism can be defined as "a symbolic act designed to influence political behavior based on extra-normal means, entailing the use or threat of violence." Recall that political terror is based on a set of ingrained beliefs that stem from the way people think about their environment, government, and society—and that those beliefs are often inflexible.

2. Provide an overview of leftist terror cells, including Latin American and European groups.

Groups that espouse Marxist ideologies include the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia, or FARC, which purports to represent the rural, agrarian poor in Columbia by protecting their land interests against the wealthier classes of Columbia, the influence of the imperialist United States, the privatization of resources, and the influence of global corporations. The National Liberation Army, or ELN, also a pro-Marxist group that operates in the Colombian countryside, seeks to replace the Columbian government with an egalitarian democracy that represents the rural peasant class. Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (or MRTA) exists in Peru, and was founded in Marxist ideology to reform the Peruvian government, removing all imperialist elements, and create a society in which power, prop-

Review Questions at the end of each chapter pose a series of questions to test students' recall of the chapter information.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1. What are the basic tenets of Marxism, and how do you see its effects in modern Middle Eastern terror?
- 2. How do you think Latin American and European terror organizations inspired present-day Arab terror organizations?
- **3.** What was the mandate system and how do we see its lasting effects in Middle Eastern conflict?
- **4.** Although the *Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)* fractured into over a hundred separate groups, identify the three primary groups and their respective leaders that gained worldwide notoriety for conducting terrorist attacks in the international arena.
- **5.** How is the United States perceived by the Arab world, and why? How does this influence terrorist ideology?







Critical Thinking Exercises at the end of each chapter require students to go further and think on the analytical level. Most of the exercises involve web research.

CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISES

1. The Impact of Oil in the Middle East. Visit the homepage for Saudi Aramco at www saudiaramco.com/en/home.html and Life-Time Magazine at http://life.time.com. Search these sites for stories on the discovery of oil in the Middle East. Learn about the history and culture of the Middle East in 1945 when the oil industry just began in that region. Notice the photos of the region and compare them to more modern times. How much has the landscaped really changed in half a century? Visit the home pages of some of the wealthiest Middle East countries like Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates. Notice the significant improvements in health, education, and welfare of the individuals in those countries. Notice also that each of these countries is a royal monarchy. How do you think the form of government and the pervasive religion of Islam in the region have impacted the economic development of the Middle East—both negatively and positively?

In addition to these pedagogical features, we devoted careful attention to the maps, tables, figures, and photographs, researching and selecting them ourselves, striving for a blend of informative historical images and also more current ones, many of which are compelling and tell a story by themselves.

Instructor Supplements

Instructor's Manual with Test Bank.

Includes content outlines for classroom discussion, teaching suggestions, and answers to selected end-of-chapter questions from the text. This also contains a Word document version of the test bank.

TestGen

This computerized test generation system gives you maximum flexibility in creating and administering tests on paper, electronically, or online. It provides state-of-the-art features for viewing and editing test bank questions, dragging a selected question into a test you are creating, and printing sleek, formatted tests in a variety of layouts. Select test items from test banks included with TestGen for quick test creation, or write your own questions from scratch. TestGen's random generator provides the option to display different text or calculated number values each time questions are used.

PowerPoint Presentations

Our presentations are clear and straightforward. Photos, illustrations, charts, and tables from the book are included in the presentations when applicable.

To access supplementary materials online, instructors need to request an instructor access code. Go to www.pearsonhighered.com/irc, where you can register for an instructor access code. Within 48 hours after registering, you will receive a confirming email, including an instructor access code. Once you have received your code, go to the site and log on for full instructions on downloading the materials you wish to use.

Alternate Versions

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This text is also available in multiple eBook formats. These are an exciting new choice for students looking to save money. As an alternative to purchasing the printed textbook, students can purchase an electronic version of the same content. With an eTextbook, students can search the text, make notes online, print out reading assignments that incorporate lecture notes, and bookmark important passages for later review. For more information, visit your favorite online eBook reseller or visit **www.mypearsonstore.com**.







REVEL for Terrorism, Intelligence and Homeland Security, Second Edition by Robert W. Taylor and Charles R. Swanson

Designed for the Way Today's Criminal Justice Students Read, Think, and Learn

REVEL offers an immersive learning experience that engages students deeply, while giving them the flexibility to learn their way. Media interactives and assessments integrated directly within the narrative enable students to delve into key concepts and reflect on their learning without breaking stride.

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xxxii



About the Authors

Robert W. Taylor is currently a tenured full Professor in the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at The University of Texas at Dallas. The Department was recently ranked fifth in the world in academic excellence based on the strength of its Ph.D. program. Previous to this position, he was the Director of the Executive Masters in Justice Administration and Leadership Program and the former program Head for the Public Affairs Program at UT-Dallas. Both are academic programs integrating the traditions of management, governmental affairs, policy analysis, and decision science in the public sector. The Public Affairs Program hosted one of the largest graduate degree programs on campus, including Doctoral (Ph.D.) and Master's Degrees in Public Affairs and Public Administration.

From January 2008 through 2010, Bob was the Executive Director of the W.W. Caruth Jr. Police Institute at Dallas (CPI). The Institute was established through a \$9.5 million grant from the Communities Foundation of Texas. Bob was a principal party to the development of the Institute and was appointed the founding director by the University of North Texas System. The primary mission of the Institute is to provide direction and coordination of major training and research projects for the Dallas Police Department. The Institute represents a national "think tank" on policing strategies focused on major urban cities in the United States. He remains a "Scholar-in-Residence" at the Institute. From 1996 to 2008, Bob was professor and chair of the Department of Criminal Justice at the University of North Texas. He served in this capacity for thirteen years, and under his direction the Department gained national prominence, especially with the establishment of the Caruth Police Institute.

In 1995, Dr. Taylor took a leave of absence from university administration and teaching to join Emergency Resources International, Inc., the parent company of the famed "Red Adair" firefighters. His duties as Senior Vice-President, Crisis Management Division, included liaison with foreign governments and authorities, extensive contract negotiations, and the strategic development of a worldwide communication and information system. Bob's major project was acting as team leader on the largest oil spill in history (3 million barrels), located in the remote Nenets District of Russia, over 200 miles north of the Arctic Circle.

For the past forty years, Dr. Taylor has studied criminal justice administration and specifically police responses to crime and terrorism, focusing on issues in the Middle East. He has traveled extensively throughout the Middle East, meeting several heads of state in that region. He has acted as a consultant to numerous federal, state, and local agencies, and since September 11, 2001, Bob has been a consultant to the U.S. Department of Justice working with the Institute for Intergovernmental Research (IIR) as a lead instructor in the State and Local Anti-Terrorism Training Program (SLATT). Bob has also worked extensively throughout the Middle East, especially in the country of Turkey. He has been an instructor for the U.S. Department of State, Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) Program (2001–2006) and taught internationally in the Executive Seminar on Cyber Terrorism presented to executives of foreign governments. Dr. Taylor holds appropriate *top secret* national security clearances through the JPASS system (archived).

Dr. Taylor has authored or coauthored over 200 articles, books, and manuscripts. Most of his publications focus on police administration and management, police procedures, international and domestic terrorism, drug trafficking, and criminal justice policy. His articles appear in numerous journals, including *Defense Analysis* (University of Oxford, England Press), the *ANNALS* (American Academy of Political and Social Sciences), *Police Quarterly, Crime and Delinquency*, and the *Police Chief* (International Association of Chiefs of Police). Dr. Taylor is coauthor of two leading textbooks, *Police Administration: Structures*, *Processes, and Behavior* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Publishing, 2017), currently in its 9th edition, and *Criminal Investigation* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2018), currently in its



xxxiii



12th edition. These texts are used in over 500 universities, colleges, and police departments throughout the United States. He is also the senior author of *Juvenile Justice: Policies*, *Practices, and Programs* (McGraw-Hill, 2014) in its 4th edition, *Digital Crime and Digital Terrorism* (Pearson, 2018) in its 4th edition, and *Police Patrol Allocation and Deployment* (Pearson, 2011).

Dr. Taylor has an extensive background in academic and professional criminal justice, having taught at four major universities and serving as a sworn police officer and major crimes detective (lateral rank of sergeant) in Portland, Oregon, for over six years.

In 1984, Bob was appointed as a Research Fellow at the International Center for the Study of Violence at the University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida, conducting various studies involving international and domestic terrorism, police training and management, public violence and homicide, computerized mapping, and international drug trafficking. He continues to conduct research in these areas and is the recipient of numerous grants and contracts (over \$18 million in funded projects). His latest work is concentrated in four areas: (1) quality improvement in police agencies through advanced leadership and management practices; (2) international terrorism, especially Middle-Eastern groups, and the spread of radical Islam; (3) evaluation of community policing, CompStat, and intelligence-led policing strategies in the United States; and (4) intelligence analysis, fusion centers, and decision making, particularly during protracted conflict or crisis situations.

In 2004, the International Justice Mission in Washington, D.C., asked Bob to assist in the training of the Cambodian National Police on child sex slavery and human trafficking as part of a large project funded through the U.S. Department of State (\$1 million). His interest and research in this area have led to a leadership role in designing and developing training efforts in the United States aimed at raising awareness of the human trafficking tragedy for American law enforcement officers, funded in part through the U.S. Department of Justice. Dr. Taylor focuses on the nexus between human trafficking, drug trafficking, and the financing of terrorist incidents internationally and domestically. He continues this important work as a guest lecturer, speaking at conferences internationally on these subjects.

In 2003, Dr. Taylor was awarded the *University of North Texas, Regent's Lecture Award* for his work in the Middle East. In March 2008, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences presented Bob with the prestigious *O.W. Wilson Award* "in recognition of his outstanding contribution to police education, research and practice."

Dr. Taylor has been a consultant to the U.S. Army, the U.S. Marine Corps, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, the U.S. Department of Treasury, Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, the U.S. Secret Service, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, the U.S. Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Police Foundation, the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF), the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), and numerous state and local municipalities and private corporations. He has also conducted significant training in the United States protectorates of the U.S. Virgin Islands, Guam, and Saipan, and the countries of Canada, England, France, Switzerland, Thailand, Cambodia, Barbados, Northern Cyprus, Bahrain, Venezuela, Russia, Finland, United Arab Emirates, Kenya, Singapore, and Turkey. He is an active member of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (elected National Chair of the ACJS Police Section – 2002), the American Society for Public Administration, and the American Society of Criminology.

Dr. Taylor is a graduate of Michigan State University (Master of Science, 1973) and Portland State University (Doctor of Philosophy, 1981).



Charles R. "Mike" Swanson enlisted in the Marine Corps when he was 17 years old, subsequently working as Patrol Officer and Detective with the Tampa Police Department. He joined Florida Governor Claude Kirk's staff as a Senior Police Planner and later as Deputy Director of the Governor's Council on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. Mike taught criminal justice courses at East Carolina University before becoming a faculty member at the Institute of Government (IOG) at the University of Georgia. Faculty members in the IOG are charged with carrying out programs of research, training, and technical assistance for Georgia units of state and local government. Mike specialized in reorganization of police departments to achieve enhanced performance.

For much of his 29 years in the IOG, Mike focused on three efforts:

- 1. Designing promotional systems for police and fire departments. Notably, he led a large city police department and a state patrol agency out of federal court, creating promotional systems that are still used and have not been successfully challenged. Mike has designed hundreds of valid and reliable written promotional tests and assessment center exercises. He has trained hundreds of assessors and directed more than 50 assessment centers.
- **2.** *Training*. As Director of the IOG's Southeastern Law Enforcement Programs, he created and led advanced training programs for more than 10,000 officers from 46 states and 4 foreign countries.
- **3.** Partnering with police departments to foster improvements. Virtually on a daily basis for 29 years, Mike worked with police departments to resolve smaller to large-scale problems, often acting as a change agent. On a larger scale, he conducted analyses that were the basis of his reorganization of units or entire police agencies, as well as the consolidation of a large city police department with a county police agency. Many of Mike's more than 100 technical reports were written to support his work in this area.

Mike advanced through the administrative ranks of the IOG, Program Director, Division Director, Deputy Director, and retired as the Acting Director. His home is in Athens, Georgia, a musical hot spot with several internationally known bands residing there. One of his more unusual consulting jobs was advising a major touring band on how to recover a member's stolen guitar.

In addition to conference papers, refereed articles, and chapters in books, Mike has coauthored several books, including *The Police Personnel Selection Process, Introduction to Criminal Justice, Court Administration, Police Administration: Structures, Processes, and Behavior* (9th edition, 2017), and *Criminal Investigation* (12th edition, 2018).

Mike has received an array of recognitions, including a Distinguished Service Award and the Walter Bernard Hill Award from the University of Georgia, commendations from the governors of three states for contributions to public service, the O.W. Wilson Award for Distinguished Scholarship, a Service Award from the Georgia Association of Chiefs of Police, as well as receiving their First Honorary Chief of Police Award for service to that organization. As a consultant, Mike has worked with police agencies as far apart as the Elizabeth, New Jersey, Police Department, the Dallas Police Department, and the Multnomah County (Oregon) Department of Public Safety. He has also taught abroad in the Shanghai Municipal Institute. In 2016, Mike was honored as a Distinguished Alumni of Florida State University's College of Criminology and Criminal Justice.

He received bachelor and masters degrees in criminology from Florida State University and a Ph.D. in Political Science, with a concentration in public administration, from the University of Georgia.









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