



WHEN HATRED IS BRED IN THE BONE

Psycho-cultural Foundations
of Contemporary Terrorism

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Intelligence Community Definition

Terrorism is premeditated, politically motivated violence or threat of violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine state agents. *Terrorism involves a criminal act that is often symbolic in nature and is intended to influence an audience beyond the immediate victims.*

Targets of Terrorism

- Target of Violence
- Target of Terror
- Target of Compliance
- Target of Influence



Political Terrorism

Political terrorism can be considered
**Psychological warfare waged
through the media**

The media are not merely observers and reporters, but are participants in the terrorist drama--active targets of manipulation.

The Psychological and Behavioral Bases of Terrorism: Individual Level
#2: Explanations at the level of individual psychology are insufficient in trying to understand why people become involved in terrorism.

- The concepts of abnormality or psychopathology are not useful in understanding terrorism.

The Psychological and Behavioral Bases of Terrorism: Group Level

#3: Group, organizational and social psychology, with a particular emphasis on “collective identity,” provides the most constructive framework for understanding terrorist psychology and behavior.

THE CAUSE IS
NOT THE
CAUSE

The Need to Belong and
Achieve a Stable Identity
Produces Powerful Group
Dynamics

“The purpose of terrorism is to terrorize.”

--Lenin

“The reason for becoming a terrorist is to belong to a terrorist group.”

--Post

Conformity Pressures-- "Groupthink"

- Disagreement Equals Expulsion or Death
- Pressures to Risk
- The Unifying Effects of External Danger

Leaders versus Followers

#4: It is important to distinguish leaders from followers.

- **The role of the leader is crucial in drawing together alienated, frustrated individuals into a coherent organization.**
- **The leader provides a “sense-making” unifying message that conveys a religious, political or ideological justification to their disparate followers.**

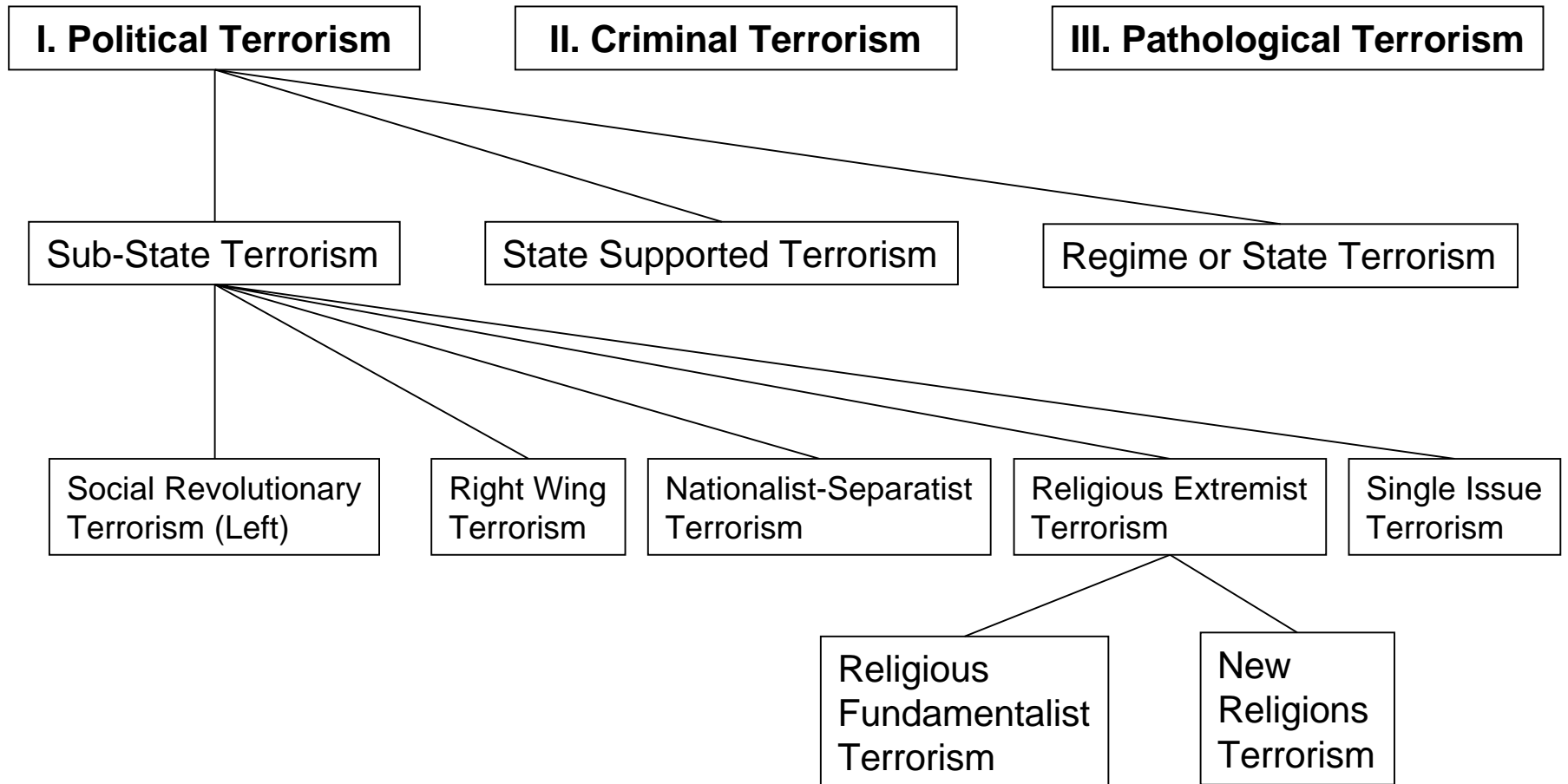
International Summit on Democracy,
Terrorism and Security March 2005

Findings

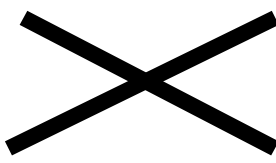
#1: Terrorism is a complex and diverse phenomenon.

- We can distinguish among the global Salafi jihad, terrorist organizations with broad social support, terrorism arising from diaspora/émigré populations, and anti-regime terrorism within a society
- There is no overarching explanation for the diverse spectrum of terrorism.
- We should be speaking of terrorisms-plural-and of terrorist psychologies.
- Each terrorism must be understood in its unique cultural, historical and political context.

Typology of Terrorism



Generational Pathways To Terrorism

	Parents' Relationship to the Regime	
Youths' Relationship to Parents	Loyal	Disloyal Damaged Dissident
Loyal		National-Separatist Terrorism
Disloyal	Social Revolutionary Terrorism	

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“Social Revolutionaries”

- The goal of the group is to destroy the world of their fathers
- Their acts of terrorism are acts of retaliation for real and imagined hurts against the society of their parents
- They are symbolically dissenting against parents loyal to the regime

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“Nationalist-Separatist”

- They are carrying on the mission of their parents
- Their acts of terrorism are acts of retaliation for hurts done to their parents and grandparents by society
- They are loyal to parents damaged by the regime

Socialization

- **I belong to the generation of occupation. My family are refugees from the 1967 war. The war and my refugee status were the seminal events that formed my political consciousness, and provided the incentive for doing all I could to help regain our legitimate rights in our occupied country.**
- **As a youth, I remember seeing devastating pictures of the occupiers' conduct. For example, how a border police patrol entered the vegetable market in Nablus and deliberately turns over stalls.**

"I was abused in all the meaning of abuse. I was deprived of my home, my family, children like me living in a miserable situation in camps, no work for our fathers and our mothers did not work. We were just lost ..."

- Leila Khaled, "In Her Own Words" on Sept 5, 2000

Mohammad Rezaq, Abu Nidal Terrorist Carrying on the Mission of His Family

- At time of the 1948 War of Independence, his mother, then eight, fled with family from Jaffa, to grandfathers West Bank farm
- In the 1967 war, Rezaq, eight years old with family, again fled--to Refugee camp in Jordan.
- PLO teachers taught that the only way to become a man was to join the revolution and regain stolen lands

Recruitment

- **Enlistment was for me the natural and done thing...in a way it can be compared to a young Israeli from a nationalist Zionist family who wants to fulfill himself through national service.**
- **My motivation in joining Fatah was both ideological and personal. It was a question of self-fulfillment, of honor and of a feeling of independence...the goal of every young Palestinian was to be a fighter.**
- **After recruitment my social status was greatly enhanced. I got a lot of respect from my acquaintances and from the young people in the village.**

Recruitment

- Recruits were treated with great respect. A youngster who belonged to Hamas or Fatah was regarded more highly than one who didn't belong to a group, and got better treatment than unaffiliated kids.
- Anyone who didn't enlist during that period (the first intifada) would have been ostracized.

View of Armed attacks

- I regarded armed actions to be essential, it is the very basis of my organization and I am sure that was the case in the other Palestinian organizations. The aim was to cause as much carnage as possible. The main thing was the amount of blood. An armed action proclaims that I am here, I exist, I am strong, I am in control, I am in the field, I am on the map. An armed action against soldiers was the most admired. ...the armed actions and their results were a major tool for penetrating the public consciousness.

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~ Members of Fatah Movement

Religious Fundamentalis t Terrorism

Religious Fundamentalist Terrorism

Religious extremist terrorism is carried out by groups seeking to preserve or create a religious social and political order through violence.

The Army of God

Psalm 94:16

Who will rise up for me against the evildoers?
or who will stand up for me against the workers of
iniquity?



Aum Shinrikyo



Shoko Asahara

- Responsible for the 1995 sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway, killing 12 and wounding 1000
- Also stockpiling anthrax and botulin toxins
- Actively recruited:
 - Biochemists
 - Nuclear Physicists
 - Biologists
 - Police officers
 - Influential Politicians

Religious Fundamentalist Terrorism: Fundamental Differences

- Other terrorisms interested in influencing contemporary society
- Fundamentalist religious terrorism wishes no dialogue with contemporary society--wishes to eliminate modernizing influences
 - Radical Islamist terrorism seeks to eliminate Western presence and influences
- Hierarchical and authoritarian: absence of conflict for the “true believer” over his acts of violence because sanctified by religious authority

Socialization to Radical Islam

- At the age of 16 I developed an interest in religion. I was exposed to the Moslem Brotherhood and I began to pray in a mosque and to study Islam. The Koran and my religious studies were the tools that shaped my political consciousness. The mosques and the religious clerics in my village provided the focal point of my social life.
- I came from a religious family which used to observe all the Islamic traditions. My initial political awareness came during the prayers at the mosque. That's where I was asked to join religious classes. In the context of these studies, the sheik used to inject some historical background in which he would tell us how we were effectively evicted from Palestine.

Khalfan Khamis Mohammad
Al Qaeda gofer and safehouse
minder

Member of the ready reserve

- Educated in madrassah to unquestioningly accept whatever learned religious authority says
- In Dar es Salaam, alone, alienated, friendless
- Except in mosque where told, "We are all members of the *uma*, (the community of observant Muslims). We have an obligation to help suffering Muslims throughout the world.

No Moral Red Lines

- The more an attack hurts the enemy, the more important it is. That is the measure. The mass killings, especially the suicide bombings, were the biggest threat to the Israeli public and so the most effort was devoted to these. The extent of the damage and the number of casualties are of primary importance.
- In a jihad, there are no red lines.

Suicide Terrorism

#6: Suicide terrorism is a function of

- the culture of martyrdom.**
- an organizational decision to employ this tactic.**
- a supply of recruits willing to give their lives for the cause in a “martyrdom operation.”**

Proscriptions Against Suicide and Killing Innocent Victims

- **Whoever kills himself with an iron weapon, then the iron weapon will remain in his hand and he will continually stab himself in the belly with it in the fire of hell eternally, forever and ever.**
- **Fight in the cause of God those who fight you, but do not transgress limits for God loves not the transgressor.**

Justifying Suicidal Terrorism

- **A suicide bombing is the highest level of jihad, and highlights the depth of our faith. The bombers are holy fighters who carry out one of the more important articles of faith.**

Hassan Salame, responsible for the wave of suicide bombings in Israel in 1996, in which 46 were killed. He is now serving 46 consecutive life sentences.

- **It is suicide attacks which earn the most respect and elevate the bombers to the highest possible level of martyrdom.**

Quote from prisoner sentenced to 26 life terms for role in several suicide-bombing campaigns

I asked Halil what it was all about and he told me that he had been on the wanted list for a long time and did not want to get caught without realizing his dream of being a martyrdom operation bomber. He was completely calm and explained to the other two bombers, Yusuf and Beshar, how to detonate the bombs, exactly the way he had explained things to the bombers in the Mahane Yehuda attack. I remember that besides the tremendous respect I had for Halil and the fact that I was jealous of him, I also felt slighted that he had not asked me to be the third martyrdom operation bomber. I understood that my role in the movement had not come to an end and the fact that I was not on the wanted list and could operate relatively freely could be very advantageous to the movement in the future.

Palestinian Suicide Bombers

- Age 17 – 22
- Uneducated
- Unemployed
- Unmarried

UNFORMED YOUTH

- Kept under tight control until carries out suicidal attack

September 11 Suicidal Hijackers

- Late 20s to early 30s
- Some higher education
- Comfortable Middle Class background in Saudi Arabia and Egypt
- On their own in the West for upwards of seven years!
- Fully formed adults

FULLY FORMED ADULTS

“True Believers” who have subordinated their individuality to the group

Accept uncritically the world view and directions of their destructive charismatic leader, Osama bin Laden.

9/11 Terrorists Accused of Hypocrisy

- How could they say they were committed Muslims when they:
 - Did not wear beards
 - Were not seen praying or fasting
 - Did not go to mosques

Explanation of Apparent Hypocrisy

Eighth Lesson: Member Safety

Measures That Should Be Taken By The Undercover

Member:

- 1. Not reveal his true name to the Organization's members who are working with him, nor to the (Islamic) Da'wa (Call).
- 2. Have a general appearance that does not indicate Islamic orientation (beard, toothpick, book, (long) shirt, small Koran)
- 3. Be careful not to mention the brother's common expressions or show their behaviors (special praying appearance, "may Allah reward you", "peace be on you", while arriving and departing, etc)
- 4. Avoid visiting famous Islamic places (mosques, libraries, Islamic fairs, etc.)

An Important Question: How can a Muslim spy live among enemies if he maintains his Islamic characteristics? How can he perform his duties to Allah and not want to appear Muslim?

Concerning the issue of clothing and appearance (appearance of true religion), Ibn Taimia – may Allah have mercy on him – said, “If a Muslim is in a combat or godless area, he is not obligated to have a different appearance from (those around him). The Muslim man may prefer or even be obligated to look like them, provided his actions brings a religious benefit ... Resembling the polytheist in religious appearance is a kind of “necessity permits the forbidden” even though they (forbidden acts) are basically prohibited.

Al-Qaeda Training Manual Dedication

In the name of Allah, the merciful and compassionate

To those champions who avowed the truth day and night . . .

. . . And wrote with their blood and sufferings these phrases . .

-*- The confrontation that we are calling for with the apostate regimes does not know Socratic debates . . . , Platonic ideals . . . , nor Aristotelian diplomacy. But it knows the dialogue of bullets, the ideals of assassination, bombing, and destruction, and the diplomacy of the cannon and machine-gun.

*** . . .

Islamic governments have never and will never be established through peaceful solutions and cooperative councils. They are established as they [always] have been

by pen and gun

by word and bullet

by tongue and teeth

Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders

February 1998 Fatwa

In compliance with God's order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims:

The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies -- civilians and military -- is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty God, "and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together," and "fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God."

We -- with God's help -- call on every Muslim who believes in God and wishes to be rewarded to comply with God's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it.

Al Qaeda Version 1.0

- The Afghanistan intervention offensively hobbled, but defensively benefited al-Qaeda. While al-Qaeda lost a recruiting magnet and a training, command and operations base, it was compelled to disperse and become even more decentralized, 'virtual' and 'invisible.'

~International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2004

Al Qaeda Version 1.0 → 2.0

- Al Qaeda 1.0 w/ centralized planning, staffing, command and control was basically destroyed in the campaign in Afghanistan.
- Al Qaeda 2.0 has become an ideology that provides inspiration for the global Salafi jihad movement.

The Salafi-Jihadi Debate is Unresolved*

- Suicide is Bida (innovation)
- Women are nurturers
- Rules of engagement are clear
- There are enough men to fight
- But can be justified today ..and defenders of the faith
- But old rule are being replaced by new rules in response o a changing world
- And yet men alone cannot win the war

*Farhana Ali

...And Proves a Split in Al-Qaeda*

THE OLD

- -A conservative AQ
- -Recruit men only
- -Adhere to the rules-
- Women play logistics role
- -She maintains family

THE NEW

- -A younger generation
- -Recruit women
- -Bend the rules
- -Women active in operations
- -She is expendable

*Farhana Ali

Rocking the Cradle to Rocking the World*

- Mujahidaat (female fighters) are choosing suicide operations when their social structure is threatened
 - Influenced by contextual pressures and violation of human rights and civil liberties

Male jihadists view women as an attractive option to gain an operational advantage

- Continued crackdown and disruption of male jihadists provides opportunity to recruit women
- Male jihadists bend rules to include women

*Farhana Ali

Global Salafi Jihad Network

- Widely distributed and semi-autonomous
- operating more out of hubs than nodes
- Wide latitude to plan and execute operations.

The 3/11 Madrid train station bombing and London transit bombings are a reflection of this emerging network. This “netwar” poses particular challenges for counter-terrorism.

Diaspora Communities

- Although most Muslim immigrants and refugees are not “stateless,” many suffer from an existential sense of loss, deprivation and alienation from the countries where they live. They are often exposed to extreme ideologies that increasingly radicalize them and can foster entering the path of terrorism.
- **The diaspora has been identified as particularly important for the global Salafi jihad, with a large percentage (80%) of recruits joining and becoming radicalized in the diaspora.**
- **ex. London transit attacks 7/7**

ADAPTING THE HADDON MATRIX* TO THE VIRUS OF ISLAMIST MILITANCY

- The Agent The Ideology of Islamist Militancy
- The Host Vulnerable Muslim Youth
- The Vectors Radical Madrassahs, Radical Imams, The New Media
(24/7 Cable News, The Internet)

* First applied to infectious disease
Malaria example

The New Media

- New media, with the internet and 24/7 cable news, plays central role in establishing a virtual community of hatred
- it has a strong influence on shaping terrorist identity and broadening support.
- This is a serious dilemma for counter-terrorism and represents a current and future battlefield.

Statement from al Qaeda manual published online 4 months before Madrid bombing

- “In order to force the Spanish government to withdraw from Iraq, the resistance should deal painful blows to its forces. . . It is necessary to make the utmost use of the upcoming general election in March next year. We think that the Spanish government could not tolerate more than two, maximum three blows, after which it will have to withdraw as a result of popular pressure. If its troops remain in Iraq after these blows, the victory of the Socialist Party is almost secured, and the withdrawal of the Spanish forces will be on its electoral program.”

“Jihadi Iraq: Hopes and Dangers” al Qaeda manual published Dec 2003

Al-Qaeda Internet Strategy

- Due to the advances of modern technology, it is easy to spread news, information, articles and other information over the Internet. We strongly urge Muslim internet professionals to spread and disseminate news and information about the Jihad through e-mail lists, discussion groups, and their own websites. If you fail to do this, and our site closes down before you have done this, you may hold you to account before Allah on the Day of Judgment
- . . . This way, even if our sites are closed down, the material will live on with the Grace of Allah."
-- from one of Al-Qaeda's websites

Abu Musab al- Zarqawi

“There is no doubt that the Americans’ losses are very heavy because they are deployed across a wide area and among the people and because it is easy to procure weapons . . . All of which makes them easy and mouthwatering targets for the believers.”

- Zarqawi in recent communiqué found on radical Islamic websites



Revenge for the Torture at Abu Ghraib

"The Americans are dishonoring our mothers and sisters. Therefore, jihad against America has now become mandatory. We [Let] should send our mujahideen to Iraq to fight with the Iraqi mujahideen. Remember that the mujahideen are the last hope for Islam. If the mujahideen are not supported today, Islam will be erased from the map tomorrow. . . . Therefore, jihad against American has now become mandatory."

From Lashkar-e-Tayba's online Urdu publication, Ghazwa

Virtual Community of Hatred

- With an increasingly computer literate population, the internet is playing a major role in producing a climate of hatred in the socialization, recruitment, and radicalization of Muslim youth.

Recommendations

- 1) The “war on terrorism” is a war unlike other wars, and will require concerted efforts over decades to counter. It is important to recognize that global terrorism can never be totally eliminated. Whereas all efforts should be made to reduce terrorism, it must not be at the cost of curtailing civil liberties, for that would weaken liberal democracy.

- **5) Because there is a growing number of vulnerable at risk individuals in émigré and diaspora communities, interventions that respect cultural differences while helping to integrate the refugees with the recipient society will be important.**

Implications for Countering Political Terrorism

Political terrorism can be considered:

A vicious species of Psychological warfare waged through the media, with violence as communication.

Smart bombs and missiles are *not* the way to counter psychological warfare.

The way to counter psychological warfare with psychological warfare.

An Effective Counter Terrorism Program

- Inhibit potential terrorists from joining the group in the first place.
- Produce dissension in the group.
- Facilitate exit from the group.
- Reduce support for the group and delegitimize its leader.
- Increase societal resilience and reduce societal vulnerability to terror.

THE ONLY WAY TO ELIMINATE

Terrorism

IS TO ELIMINATE

~~Democracy~~