

As we commemorate the fifth anniversary of the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, Americans seem more anxious than ever about the looming specter of terrorism. With the recent foiled plot in London to simultaneously down almost a dozen airliners enroute to the United States, recurring acts of violence at home and abroad, and the prohibition on toothpaste, make-up and bottled water on any commercial flight, the norms of everyday life have been indelibly altered by the actions of a relatively small number of zealots dedicated to the restoration or preservation of their intended way of life.

As the War in Iraq stacks its body count on both sides of the conflict, and as the prospect of another “September 11th” seems poised on the near horizon, one has to ask... will the sociological, ideological, and economic divides in world society enable terrorists to operate on the domestic front with greater effectiveness? If so, what might law enforcement’s response be to acts of violence intended to terrorize their communities? Five years after buildings fell and one airliner plunges into a field in Pennsylvania instead of its intended target of the Capitol building or White House, are we close to being prepared? Even as we consider the means being used by terrorists, one might not realize we may be entering a “new generation” of how conflicts will be waged in the future.

Definitions of Terrorism

The term ‘terrorism’ has many interpretations and variables. After examining ten textbooks from the late 1990’s through 2002, professor Stanley Michalak concluded that many articles and texts on the subject were mostly comprised of ambiguous statements. Michalak points to examples such as ‘Terrorism has come of age’ and admonitions to “Try to avoid extreme measures in dealing with extremist domestic opposition; too tough countermeasures only make things worse”.¹ It is defined in the *Code of Federal Regulations* as “...the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.” (28 C.F.R. Section 0.85).

The FBI describes terrorism as either domestic or international, depending on the origin, base, and objectives of the terrorist organization. ***Domestic terrorism*** is based and executed in the United States by our own citizens without foreign direction. ***International terrorism***, which is connected to foreign governments or groups, transcends our nation’s boundaries. For the purposes of the municipal police agency, however, the definition might be much simpler.

The police generally see acts of terrorism as crimes; violent, yes; politically-charged, certainly. At the state or local level, consider “terrorism” as “violence or threats against persons or the destruction of property designed to draw attention to a group or individual for the purpose of eliciting acknowledgement or conformity to the beliefs held by the

¹ Foreign Policy Research Institute (<http://www.fpri.org/>) author Michalak, Stanley

perpetrators.” Although the act itself (explosions, vandalism, deaths) might be familiar to the seasoned police investigator, the causation is not. Of course, the investigation and resolution of the crime might also be beyond the capacity of any local agency, necessitating the assistance of federal or international enforcement agencies. Although we often picture terrorism as something that only occurs “over there,” terrorists acting within the borders of the United States and Canada present perhaps the most pressing issue for those dedicated to the public’s safety

Recent Acts of Terrorism in North America

We might have a tendency to focus on Al Qaeda and similar organizations whose acts have drawn international attention. Although it is true we must continue to devote effort to mitigating the impact of extremist groups abroad, there are a number of examples of terrorist acts in recent years that warrant equal vigor in investigative work. Just a sample of these events are:

- California June 2005, City of Lodi, San Joaquin Valley - A father and son were arrested after son admits to attending an al-Qaeda training camp in Pakistan. The father conceded that he had visited that particular camp and others and paid for expenses related to the trip. The F.B.I. affidavit said the son, 23 at the time of arrest, received instruction in weapons and explosives and specifically requested to return to the U.S. ‘to carry out his Jihad mission’.²
- California Summer 2005, Sacramento and Los Angeles and suburbs - Four members of an Islamic group that formed inside a California State Prison-at Sacramento, indicted on numerous charges. Multiple armed robberies were carried out in the L.A. area in an attempt to fund the radical group’s operations. Materials found showed plans for a series of projected targets which varied from U/S. military facilities and personnel to Israeli and Jewish targets; synagogues and the airline El Al.³
- Utah April, 2006, Salt Lake City - Five men were indicted on federal fraud and money laundering charges. All five are related to a Jordanian man suspected of having close ties to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the infamous, now deceased, former leader of al-Qaida in Iraq. Banks were bilked out of hundreds of thousands of dollars in bad mortgage and car loans; of that amount, at least \$50,000 was wired to an account in Jordan.⁴
- Canada June 2006, Toronto and Lake Ontario suburbs - Seventeen people were charged with plotting an “Al Qaeda inspired” bombing campaign. The group had acquired three tons of ammonium nitrate and other parts needed to build explosive devices. Twelve adults, aged 19 to 43, and five youths targeted multiple sites in Toronto.⁵
- Maryland December 2004, Charles County - Arsonists destroyed or damaged 25 un-occupied homes in the upscale Hunters Brooke development in Indian Head, Maryland in December 2004.⁶ What differentiated this occurrence from other

² Washington Post Thursday, June 9, 2005; A02 Eggen, D. and Nieves, E.

³ U.S. Department of Justice; Press Release, Wednesday, August 31, 2005 www.usdoj.gov

⁴ The Salt Lake Tribune Thursday, April 27, 2006; S1-01 La Planta, M.D. and Canham, M.

⁵ CNN.com posted Saturday June 3, 2006 Meserve, J and Bohn K.

⁶ Baltimore Sun 12/12/04 Pelton, Tom

acts of domestic eco-terrorism is that there were not any proclamations of responsibility. No group or individual used this act as a forum for their views.

- Washington August 2005, Bellingham – Two Level III sex offenders were targeted and shot to death in this middle-class suburb of Seattle. The perpetrator posed as an FBI agent to gain access to their apartment, telling his intended victims he was there because they were on an Internet “hit list.”⁷ Neighbors reported the suspect remained at the scene for two hours.⁸ Four days later, *The Bellingham Herald*, received a letter warning other paroled offenders of the same fate.⁹
- California August 2003, West Covina - The GM Hummer H1 and the scaled down, more refined H2 model were less than 0.5 percent of the domestic unit sales for 2002.¹⁰ It represents, in the minds of some, though, a symbol of excess and consumer waste. On August 22, 2003, three California Institute of Technology graduates firebombed about 125 vehicles at four dealerships, damaging worth a total of \$2 million.¹¹ Tracked initially by e-mail records sent one month later, one suspect was convicted of the crime spree, while the others remain at large. The e-mails claimed the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) was responsible for the attacks and expressed support of other acts attributed to the group.

Domestic terrorism, in the near future, will come from very unpredictable places. They may come with or without a discernable cause, in the most acute examples; the person or persons involved may not have a clear mission in mind. This piece of the problem will be largely unquantifiable, but awareness of it is important and necessary. In fact, the crimes noted here are merely the latest in a long history of using terror to accomplish political aims, and the use of war to sustain power.

Historical Perspective

Terrorism at present has many faces, for the purposes of this project we will consider the late 18th French Revolution as the informal start of the methodologies we see in use today. Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794) exploited the guillotine to seize and briefly hold power 1793-1794. “Terror is only justice that is prompt, severe and inflexible” is his infamous quote. Not surprisingly, when he spoke out on the subject of ending the reign of terror, due to his followers disregard for validity in their actions, he then met the guillotine close up.¹²

The 20th century brought tactical change. The Russian Revolution developed the blueprint of government-sponsored terrorism. The Irish Rebellion contributed the design

⁷ The Associated Press; Seattle Post-Intelligencer August 28, 2005

⁸ The Associated Press; Seattle Post-Intelligencer August 30, 2005

⁹ The Associated Press; Seattle Post-Intelligencer September 2, 2005

¹⁰ Jeff Phungle Detroit News Washington Bureau July 29, 2003

¹¹ Press Release Debra W. Yang www.usdoj.gov/ November 19, 2004

¹² THOMPSON, James M (1988 Aug 1st). *Robespierre*. Oxford: Blackwell Pub

of interdependent cells, attempting to avoid detection. Terrorism was generally localized, concentrated on the existing home government or colonialists.¹³

The early sixties saw the onset of rogue nationalist groups; Red Army Faction (Germany), Action Direct (France), and Black September (Palestinian). Some of the groups formed loose alliances, with Soviet sponsored camps in Cuba a common thread. The latter part of the 1960's saw the focal points directed to the Middle East. The Cold War worsened the situation, as governments; Iran and Libya began farming out terrorist activity, to groups such as Hezbollah and individuals such as Abu Nidal.¹⁴

The historical timing of an act can provoke reactions that reverberate for years or more. Certainly, the First World War started on the heels of the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand by a disaffected countryman. On May 8th 1945 in Setif, Algeria; a large crowd of Muslim rebels interrupted a celebration of V.E. Day, opting to show their resistance to French rule instead of marking the end of European warfare. The French response was exceptionally harsh, air raids and ground attacks on eastern Algeria lasted for days.¹⁵ Algeria prevailed in 1962, finally gaining independence after a prolonged and bloody conflict.¹⁶ Historians put the death toll at 15,000 to 20,000; Algeria, to this day, claims double those figures. Politically, Algeria still seeks French recognition of the reprisals, calling out France's politicians every year on the May 8th anniversary.¹⁷

The Sunni and Shi'a division in Islam is based on who is fit to rule; only direct descendants of Muhammad (Shi'a) or the practicing Muslim community in general (Sunni), and can be traced back to 680AD. The son of Ali, (Muhammad's son in law and cousin whom he designated as his successor) al-Husayn, his family and followers were cut off at Karbala and all were killed.¹⁸ That incident is more than one millennium and three centuries ago, yet still has influence on today's civilizations, both Eastern and Western.

In the U.S., domestic terrorism's nadir is the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building on April 19, 1995 in Oklahoma City. Huge amounts of ammonium nitrate and fuel oil were used to create a massive explosion that killed nineteen children and 149 adults.¹⁹ Timothy McVeigh acknowledged *The Turner Diaries*, an anti-government novel, provided both motivation and tactical scenarios used in his crimes. Groups and organizations dedicated to animal right, conservation, economic equity, reproductive rights and trade pacts have all been credited with acts of terror against persons, property and what they see as symbols of their ire, whether it be the government or a private entity

¹³ www.state.de.us/cjc/terrorism/history.shtml THE HISTORY OF TERRORISM: MORE THAN 200 YEARS OF DEVELOPMENT Last Updated: Tuesday, 17-May-05 10:51:35 accessed 08/29/05.

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Horne, Alistair. *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954-1962*. New York: Viking Press, 1977.

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ ALGIERS (Reuters) 05/08/05 translated on www.justworldnews.org/ accessed 08/27/05

¹⁸ I M Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (1988).

¹⁹ Oklahoma City Tragedy – The Bombing www.cnn.com/US/OKC/bombing.html 1996 accessed on 8/31/05

representing an objectionable economic interest. Terror as a mainstream tool of war has also emerged from use by isolated groups into the possible battle doctrine of states.

The Generations of War

Dr. Anthony A. Lukin works with the California Department of Justice on homeland security and terrorism matters. According to Lukin, preventing acts of terrorism will be the single most important aspect of protecting the public for the foreseeable future. Lukin speaks to law enforcement leaders regularly and emphasizes that all forms of terrorists are and will continue employing fourth generation models of modern warfare.²⁰

The first generation of warfare (1GW) is designated by single shot firearms and mass formations. Prominent from about 1648 to 1860, this was a war of line and column tactics, where battles were formal and the battlefield was orderly.²¹ Second generation warfare (1860 to present) is signified by the use of artillery, breech loaded rifles (multiple shots) and more complex infantry movements. The third generation of modern warfare (1930 to present) is non-linear, featuring maneuvers and the targeting of civilian populations. Attacks from the rear guard moving towards the front and deceptive feints to draw in the opposition to cut them off are examples of maneuver warfare.²² The Viet Nam conflict, for instance, pitted 2GW tactics; the U.S. with the Air Force and Navy bombers added to the artillery aspect, versus the Viet Cong's 3GW reliance on maneuvers, jungle and urban warfare. The Fourth Generation of warfare (4GW) is emerging with the use of terror against non-strategic civilian targets by states or their surrogates. The fourth generation of warfare (4GW) is "likely to be widely dispersed and largely undefined; the distinction between war and peace will be blurred to the vanishing point."²³ As technology matures, this may even lead to a Fifth Generation of Warfare, that of electronic systems as primary tools of conflict.

The Fifth Generation

Sun Microsystems President and CEO Jonathan Schwartz points out that in 2004 there were 1 billion wireless tools (cell-based communications) sold versus 100 million PC units. The average worldwide consumer of the future will most likely experience the Internet on a wireless device, and not a "personal computer" as is done at present.²⁴ Worldwide population reached 6 billion in June of 1999, only 12 years after passing the five billion mark. Projections are we will reach seven billion by 2013, many of whom will be wired in the increasingly decentralized world. This spread of technology will allow unprecedented access and autonomy for those wishing to connect ideologically or otherwise. A general view of the world, a pluralistic model, will be almost unknown; a view tuned to your experiences, including a continuous update, will be readily available.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Lind, William S. Understanding Fourth Generation War. January 15, 2004.

²² Ibid

²³ Marine Corps Gazette; October 1989, William S. Lind, Maj John F. Schmitt, and Col Gary I. Wilson

²⁴ Paul B. Brown - *Fast Company* interview August 2005 pg. 96

It is highly probable that future terrorists will use emerging technologies to open the door to the yet unseen fifth generation of warfare. The fifth generation may include nanotechnology (manipulation of elements at the molecular level), and 'pseudo-operations', acts contrived to place blame on the enemy and also the proliferation of non-state warfare²⁵. Moving from the physical terrain to the on-line community, terrorists at home and abroad may use technology to spread fear more readily than ever before. The concept that 'the battlefield cannot be seen, but the battlefield is everywhere' was recently reiterated by Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, Al Qaeda's second in command, when he proclaimed, "The entire world is an open field for us; just like they attack us everywhere, we will attack them everywhere".²⁶ Certainly, as technology opens the world for commerce and related purposes, it also paves a path for those who will use it for ideological means.

Like a blackening sky in the horizon, the future of domestic terrorism looms large. Some long trends, short trends, overseas terrorism, domestic terrorism, technological advances and political extremism are coming together. These factors will make it increasingly challenging to ensure the safety and security of our communities. But the fundamental principals of the Constitution of the United States and the American ideals of freedom will ultimately preserve our Nation.

Futures Trends

Consider we are now living in the Global Village. Countries and companies alike are invested in each other's success, and those relationships are often the means used by governments to suppress war, protect life and sustain society in a manner seen as beneficial to the greatest number of people. At the same time, there are a number of trends that may adversely affect the ability of government to exert its will for that purpose. An expert panel was convened to study the impact of 5GW tactics, and expressed concern about a number of influences in the current and emerging landscape:

- ✓ **Economics (worldwide pressures)** - Worldwide economics have direct impact on U.S. domestic; they cannot be separated. Demographic divides are becoming more pronounced and increasingly commonplace. As warfare may be redefined, so too may the relationships driving the economic relationships and balance of trade between the US and others around the globe.
- ✓ **Globalization (vulnerabilities)** - The globalization, sense of closeness, of the world opens up innovative means of interactions. Vulnerabilities are exposed as well as new means of combating the same vulnerabilities. The opportunities for communication have never been greater; the global village envisioned has come to pass and then some. Accessibility and proliferation of networked formats combine for a perception of intimacy. These factors also create the possibility of rapid developing uprisings and upheavals. Media outlets strive to present the

²⁵ Lind William S. Fifth Generation Warfare? February 3, 2004

²⁶ Excerpt from a videotaped speech by Ayman al-Zawahiri that was broadcast 7/27/06 by [Al Jazeera](#) and translated from Arabic by the SITE Institute in Washington 7/28/06.. Published in [The New York Times](#) July 28, 2006

'real news' putting the viewers as close as possible. The current number of outlets and the certainty of more to come were considered to be sources of information for deviant life styles.

- ✓ **Fundamentalism (religious extremist)** - Fundamentalists, in the USA and abroad, are using terror as a common instrument to draw attention to grievances, to promote a social or religious agenda and to exert terror against those they see as the "enemy." Extremist Christian factions in America have demonstrated a willingness to use these measures in support of their agenda.
- ✓ **Technology (dependence)** - The utilizations of technology, to prepare, facilitate, and commit terrorist acts may be the vehicle through which new warfare tactics emerge. Encrypting and cloaking messages would allow domestic terrorists (DT's) to communicate effectively and covertly. The ability for DT's to deploy and activate destructive devices from a distance or remotely would create additional challenges for law enforcement as well as allow repeated criminal acts by the same perpetrator and thwarting on scene capture.
- ✓ **Anomie (Isolation)** - Youth isolated from family and community is an area the panel felt could significantly impact domestic terrorism. Feelings of detachment caused by the loss of parental guidance coupled with media factors could result in significant separation and de-sensitization. Access to technology could intensify a reattachment of affiliation towards an extreme view if for no other reason than to give the youth something to "believe in."
- ✓ **Polarization and like-mindedness** - This trend generated a lot of discussion, which included "Wedge Warfare" waged by political foes to splinter public opinion and extremist views designed to capture the media spotlight. Additionally, mass media commercialization, entities driven more by profit and ideology rather than accuracy are common. The panel strongly contended that while this trend is clearly pervasive and thoroughly operational in today's societal climate, it was also acknowledged that any type of weakening of the 1st Amendment "freedom of speech" right was unrealistic. In fact, it was argued that any lessening of the 1st Amendment would signal acquiescence to the terrorists and bolster their ranks forcing many underground only to surface in a more aggressive fashion later.
- ✓ **Preventative Police techniques** - The importance of agency co-operation between all levels of law enforcement and the sharing of information and intelligence was the principal concern of the panel. Secondly was the sharing of information with the public. This discussion revolved around the importance of proactive efforts to quell the threats and disrupt terrorist organizations before they strike followed by the sharing of information with the public.

While the depth and scope of each of these future trends is broad, complex and continue to evolve, we have no choice but to develop strategies to curtail negative trends, support positive trends and prudently respond to emerging events and their impact on any possible future. For example, we must work to curtail trends of religious extremism, anomie and polarization that have negative consequences for domestic security and safety. We must further trends like preventative police techniques that will promote security and safety. And, we must prudently guide inevitable trends such as economics,

globalization and technology through cooperative work and candid dialogue on actions for the common good. It is important that every person in society seek to comprehend the casual relationship of these trends to terrorism so we can support legislation, programs, and devote resources to those issues that will impact trends in a way that will enhance our safety and security.

What Might We Do?

Certainly, there are a plethora of agencies, institutions and individuals across our Country and the world working to mitigate the impacts of terrorism. Unfortunately, much of this work (and funding) is dedicated to preventing acts already known (airliners, bombs and similar acts). Millions have been given to state and local police agencies for “preparedness” resulting in better communications and more efficient health system response to acts resulting in mass casualties or exposure to toxins. Unfortunately, these actions are necessary, but insufficient to counter tactics and techniques not yet deployed. In the next generation of warfare, we must do more.

Fifth generation warfare (5GW) is largely undefined, and may remain so until it is viewed from a historical perspective once its tactics are deployed. But whatever “5GW” becomes, we must study it, propose speculative scenarios and shape the battlefield before it arrives. Whoever is able to grasp the tactics of 5GW first will likely be the victor in this, and future, wars.

Speaking on the topic of 5GW, William Lind notes, “One simple test for whether or not something constitutes a generational shift is that, absent a vast disparity in size, an army from a previous generation cannot beat a force from the new generation.”²⁷ Martin van Creveld’s book *Technology and War* makes a strong case that technology is seldom the determining factor of a war’s outcome. Strategy, tactics, intelligence, logistics, determination and commitment are other determining factors in the outcome of war.

While the Federal government has done much and continues to do so with the war on terror, there is a lot that State and local law enforcement can contribute as well. In California, the Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) has certified an addition to the basic training of all peace officers in their state to identify and respond to the threats presented by acts of terror. Officers in the field are being mandated to receive training in various areas of awareness, preparedness and response by specified dates; police, fire and public health officials have been planning for the past five years in anticipation of the “next” possible attack and its aftermath. State and local officers possessing this heightened understanding of terrorism need to inform the members of their communities so their contributions can be maximized as well.

There are a number of Citizen’s law enforcement support groups who can be guided to ramp up their awareness and training as well to share this message. State and local law enforcement should devote resources to help these community leaders become an integral

²⁷ Lind William S. Fifth Generation Warfare? February 3. 2004

part of this effort. The expert panel studying this issue noted the understanding and awareness of domestic terrorism by the American public and the influence exerted on government responses as a significant trend. One member on the panel felt that the trend in a broad sense would stand still (stagnate) in the public's view. Another panelist felt that the awareness level was climbing but the public's understanding of the severity was well behind the actual threat level. Public responses to date were regarded as lacking real determination; some felt apathy was settling in. One dissenting panelist held that the public would have substantial interest and say in policies related to terrorism, especially in the wake of an attack or credible threat. While the latter perspective arguably held true after the 9/11 attacks, we must keep the war on terror prominently placed in our lives.

Conclusion

Terrorism is upon us, as stated the proclamations and actions of terrorists are apparent and their intentions are clear. The strongest force we have to combat this present day evil and to keep it from taking a foothold in America is once again the people. Some people care deeply about our country's social fabric, some are content to merely be a part of that fabric; either apathetic or feeling detached thinking they cannot make much difference. But the reality is that together we can make a huge difference. As noted by President Bush in a recent speech on September 7, 2006, everyday citizens rose up to fight terrorists on United Flight 93 on September 11th, 2001. Their example, given at the ultimate personal sacrifice, "...delivered America its first victory in the war on terror".²⁸ Hopefully the rest of us will be spared from any comparable event, yet citizens in every community need to be engaged and understand terrorism and learn the subtle signs of terrorism. We must be on the alert and ready to report suspicious activity, changes in behavior or even changes in appearance among friends, co-workers, and even family members.

Challenge yourself; this article has helped your awareness, the sources to learn more are plenty, start with the Department of Homeland Security websites. Recognize that we as a nation have been called out from within and outside our borders. Reporting, if you notice behaviors that seem suspicious do not be reticent to share that information with law enforcement authorities. Be patriotic, do the right thing, it sounds clichéd, but it is vital that we get on the same page.

"The duty to disclose knowledge of crime rests upon all citizens."

Robert H. Jackson (1892-1954)

Stein v. New York 1952-1953

²⁸ Jennifer Loven, "Bush Touts Progress Since 9/11 Attacks" *Associated Press* 07 September, 2006
<http://www.forbes.com/business/healthcare/feeds/ap/2006/09/07/ap3000862.html>