

# A Bibliography of Selected RAND Publications

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## TERRORISM (1980–2004)

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## ABSTRACTS

### BOOK

**BOOK** *Inside Terrorism*. B. Hoffman. 1998.

*Inside Terrorism* traces the history of terrorism from its roots in the Reign of Terror that followed the French Revolution, to the Communist movements in Russia, Germany, and Italy, to longstanding nationalist organizations such as the PLO, which emerged on the world stage after the massacre of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich. Hoffman describes the changing face of terrorism, probing the new adversaries, methods, and motivations that have surfaced in recent years, challenging our fundamental assumptions about terrorists and how they operate. The Aum sect in Japan, responsible for the Tokyo subway nerve-gas attack; fanatical religious groups in the Middle East; the militia movement in the United States; the Unabomber case—all are examined here. Hoffman argues that our notion of terrorism as a form of limited violence has been shattered by the emergence of more lethal and less predictable terrorist organizations. These isolationist fringe groups, unlike the more nationalist terrorist groups with which we have become familiar, are more likely to use weapons of mass destruction. Hoffman dissects terrorism past and present, charting its evolution and predicting where it might be headed in the next century. (Published by Victor Gollancz, London, 1998. Available from booksellers or the publisher.) 288 pp., ill., bibliog., index.

### MONOGRAPHS

**MG-100-RC** *Confronting "The Enemy Within": Security Intelligence, the Police, and Counterterrorism in Four Democracies*. P. Chalk, W. Rosenau. 2004.

Since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States, critics have charged that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), while qualified to investigate terrorist incidents after the fact, is not well equipped to adequately gather and assess information to prevent attacks. More intrinsically, many believe that, given a predominant and deeply rooted law enforcement and prosecutorial culture, the bureau may not be able—or, in fact, even willing—to change operational focus toward dedicated counterterrorism intelligence gathering and analysis. To better inform debate, researchers at the RAND Corporation analyzed the domestic security services of four allied countries—the United Kingdom, France, Canada, and Australia. In each of the cases, the

authors consider the organization's basic structure, its main threats, its relationship with the police, and the oversight and accountability each has with its respective government. They then weigh both the positive and negative aspects of the systems. Overall, the authors find the case studies useful as a benchmark to guide developments should a decision be made to establish a similar type of agency in the United States.

**MG-135-OSD** *Hitting America's Soft Underbelly: The Potential Threat of Deliberate Biological Attacks Against the U.S. Agricultural and Food Industry*. P. Chalk. 2004.

Over the past decade, the United States has endeavored to increase its ability to detect, prevent, and respond to terrorist threats and incidents. The agriculture sector and the food industry in general, however, have received comparatively little attention with respect to protection against terrorist incidents. This study aims to expand the current debate on domestic homeland security by assessing the vulnerabilities of the agricultural sector and the food chain to a deliberate act of biological terrorism. The author presents the current state of research on threats to agricultural livestock and produce, outlines the sector's importance to the U.S. economy, examines the capabilities that are needed to exploit the vulnerabilities in the food industry, and explores the likely outcomes of a successful attack. The author addresses the question of why terrorists have yet to employ agricultural assaults as a method of operation and offers proposed recommendations for the U.S. policymaking community.

**MG-170-NIOSH** *Protecting Emergency Responders*. Vol. 3, *Safety Management in Disaster and Terrorism Response*. J. T. Bartis, B. A. Jackson. 2004.

In the wake of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the risk of terrorism and the demands of homeland security are a central component of any discussion of protecting emergency responders. In addition, the nation faces the risk of hurricanes, earthquakes, large industrial incidents, and other natural disasters. During and after such events, responders face the risk of physical injury, traumatic stress, and hazardous exposures. Effectively addressing such risks requires bringing together the capabilities of a range of response organizations from all levels of government, nongovernmental organizations, and the private sector. This study provides recommendations for preparing for response to such disasters and other large-scale incidents. It uses literature review, study interviews with members of the response community, and information gathered at the RAND Corporation's National

Institute for Occupational Safety and Health workshop Protecting Emergency Responders: Safety Management in Major Disaster and Terrorism Response in Arlington, Va., on February 27, 2003. From the examples of several large-scale response operations (the September 11 terrorist attacks, Hurricane Andrew, and the Northridge Earthquake), the authors were led to the conclusion that the emergency response community should put in place structures and preparedness efforts that will formalize an integrated, incident-wide approach to safety management at major disaster response operations. Related documents: Brian A. Jackson, D. J. Peterson, James T. Bartis, Tom LaTourrette, Irene Brahmakulam, Ari Houser, and Jerry Sollinger, *Protecting Emergency Responders: Lessons Learned from Terrorist Attacks*, RAND Corporation, CF-176-OSTP, 2002; Tom LaTourrette, D. J. Peterson, James T. Bartis, Brian A. Jackson, and Ari Houser, *Protecting Emergency Responders, Volume 2: Community Views of Safety and Health Risks and Personal Protection Needs*, RAND Corporation, MR-1646-NIOSH, 2003.

## MONOGRAPH/REPORTS

**MR-207-USDP** Countering the Proliferation of Chemical Weapons. M. Eisenstein. 1993.

This report discusses the prospect for successfully inhibiting the proliferation of chemical weapons (CW). The author argues that adequate verification and strict adherence to the recently completed Chemical Weapons Convention, banning the possession and use of such weapons, will be difficult and expensive. In addition to the possibility of countries covertly proceeding to produce CW, vast quantities of CW have been buried over the past decades in many locations around the world. With ambiguity and suspicion about neighbors, CW stock piles could continue to grow covertly. The author explores other measures for inhibiting CW use, including inter alia, active defenses, and the possibility of economic and political sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council against nations charged with CW use in warfare, particularly against civilian populations.

**MR-225-FF/RC** The Impact of Terrorism on Public Opinion, 1988 to 1989. T. Downes-Le Guin, B. Hoffman. 1993.

This document examines the relationship between terrorism and public opinion and is based on research that was conducted in 1988 and 1989 as part of a study examining the impact of terrorism on the public. The authors look at the relationship on two levels. On a descriptive level, they examined how the public reacts to terrorism and terrorists and elicited its preferences for

terrorist countermeasures. On a systematic level, they posited some ideas for how the data may be interpreted in the context of contemporaneous terrorist countermeasure policy. The analysis used data from 1988 and 1989, a period of relatively intense activity for and political sensitivity to international terrorism. The study concludes that the majority of people realize what a complex problem terrorism presents. What people are evidently ready for is more considered—and more flexible—policy and response. In contrast to the rigid "no blackmail, no concessions" policies that successive U.S. presidential administrations have embraced, at least publicly, there appears to be support for a more flexible policy in dealing with hostage episodes that would allow greater room for maneuver than in the past.

**MR-398-A** The Urbanization of Insurgency: The Potential Challenge to U.S. Army Operations. J. M. Taw, B. Hoffman. 1994.

This report evaluates the effects of urbanization and population growth on the conduct of insurgency/counterinsurgency operations and assesses the U.S.'s ability to effectively support foreign nations' counterinsurgency activities. The report argues that as the dual demographic trends of rapid population growth and urbanization continue to change the face of the developing world, the likelihood of urban insurgency is increasing. It also argues that although urban insurgencies have traditionally been the easiest kind to defeat, that may no longer be the case. This means that governments, no longer able to simply rely on their urban counterterrorist or rural counterinsurgency strategies, will have to develop a hybrid strategy that prepares them to fight a broad-based insurgency across rural and urban environments. The report concludes that the United States can provide only limited support in these efforts, because it has neither the resources nor the will to become directly involved. The United States must realize that there are factors over which it has no control and that before committing its support to a counterinsurgency effort, it must determine how much it is willing to spend, how much it can control, how its efforts will be perceived, and the minimum outcome it will accept.

**MR-505-NIJ** Domestic Terrorism: A National Assessment of State and Local Law Enforcement Preparedness. K. J. Riley, B. Hoffman. 1995.

This study analyzes states' and municipalities' terrorism preparedness as a means of providing law enforcement with information about the prevention and control of terrorist activities in the United States. This document reports the results of a 24-month research effort to survey and analyze the key problems and issues confronting state and local law enforcement agencies in countering such threats. The study's three principal tasks were (1) to

conduct a national survey of these agencies to assess how they perceive the threat of terrorism and to identify counterterrorism programs currently being used, (2) to select 10 jurisdictions to examine in detail how they have adapted to the threat of terrorism, and (3) to identify agencies' programs developed to counter potential future terrorist threats in conjunction with the development of a prospective future research agenda.

**MR-989-AF** Countering the New Terrorism. I. O. Lesser, B. Hoffman, J. Arquilla, D. F. Ronfeldt, M. Zanini, B. M. Jenkins. 1999.

The contours of terrorism are changing, and the new terrorism has more diverse sources, motivations, and tactics than the old. It is more lethal, global in reach, and characterized by network forms of organization. Terrorist sponsorship is becoming hazier and "privatized." The August 1998 terrorist bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania fit in many ways the new mold. The chapters in this book trace the evolution of international terrorism against civilian and U.S. military targets, look ahead to where terrorism is going, and assess how it might be contained. Terrorism and counterterrorism are placed in strategic perspective, including how terrorism might be applied as an asymmetric strategy by less-capable adversaries. The report builds on a existing body of RAND research on terrorism and political violence, and makes extensive use of the RAND-St. Andrews Chronology of International Terrorism.

**MR-1021-OSD** Political Violence and Stability in the States of the Northern Persian Gulf. D. Byman, J. D. Green. 1999.

Political violence threatens the lives of U.S. soldiers and the stability of U.S. allies throughout the world. This report examines the threat of political violence in the Persian Gulf states of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates and the best means of reducing that threat. It assesses sources of discontent, common reasons for anti-regime politicization, potential triggers of violence, and the influence of foreign powers. The report then describes the strategies that regimes in the area have used to interfere with political organization and to counter violence in general. The report concludes by noting implications of political violence for both the United States and its allies in the Gulf, and by assessing the impact of various measures that could reduce violence: enacting political and economic reforms in the Gulf; changing the U.S. presence in the region through new basing and operational approaches; increasing a European role in Gulf security; coercing foreign powers that contribute to violence; strengthening the U.S.-Gulf partnership; and improving military-to-military ties.

**MR-1293-1-FCCDC** Security in the Nation's Capital and the Closure of Pennsylvania Avenue: An Assessment. B. Hoffman, P. Chalk, T. Liston, D. W. Brannan. 2002.

An assessment of possible ways in which Pennsylvania Avenue could have been reopened without compromising the safety and security of the President prior to September 11. The context and circumstances that influenced the 1995 decision to close the section of Pennsylvania Avenue directly in front of the White House are examined, along with that decision's continued validity and appropriateness in light of developments, including trends in terrorism, since 1995.

**MR-1382-OSD** Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy. J. Arquilla, D. F. Ronfeldt. 2001.

Netwar is the lower-intensity, societal-level counterpart to the editors' earlier, mostly military concept of cyberwar. This volume studies major instances of netwar that have occurred over the past several years—from Osama bin Laden's networked terrorists to the Battle of Seattle's social activists—and finds, among other things, that netwar works very well. Whether the protagonists are civil-society activists or uncivil-society criminals and terrorists, their netwars have generally been successful. Strategists and policymakers in Washington, and elsewhere, have already begun to discern the dark side of the netwar phenomenon, especially as manifested in terrorist and criminal organizations. In this volume, the editors and their colleagues examine various types of netwar, from the most violent to the most socially activist. In doing so, they find that, despite the variety, all networks that have been built for waging netwar may be analyzed in terms of a common analytic framework. There are five levels of theory and practice that matter—the technological, social, narrative, organizational, and doctrinal levels. A netwar actor must get all five right to be fully effective. The most potent netwarriors will not only be highly networked and have the capacity for mounting "swarming" attacks, they will also be held together by strong social ties, have secure communications technologies, and project a common story about why they are together and what they need to do. These will be the most serious adversaries. But even those networks that are weak on some levels may pose stiff challenges to their nation-state adversaries. With this in mind, it is necessary to go beyond just diagnosing the nature of the networked nonstate opponent in a given conflict. It will become crucial for governments and their military and law enforcement establishments to begin networking themselves

**MR-1467-OSD** Exploring Information Superiority: A Methodology for Measuring the Quality of Information

and Its Impact on Shared Awareness. W. L. Perry, D. Signori, J. Boon. 2004.

As the war on terrorism wages on, our nation's policymakers will continue to face the challenge of assessing threats that various terrorist groups pose to the U.S. homeland and our interests abroad. In addition, the struggle against terrorism likely will be in constant competition with other U.S. international policy issues that come to the fore. As part of the RAND Corporation's yearlong "Thinking Strategically About Combating Terrorism" project, the authors of this report develop a way to assess, analyze, and prioritize the danger posed by various terrorist organizations around the world. The authors also look at how different terrorist groups adapt and change over time, emphasizing that understanding these changes may help policymakers identify terrorists' greatest vulnerabilities. Of course, the very nature of terrorism creates a difficulty in predicting new and emerging threats; however, by establishing these types of parameters, the report creates a fresh foundation of threat analysis on which future counterterrorism strategy may build.

**MR-1535-RE** Managing New Issues: Cyber Security in an Era of Technological Change. M. Van Heuven, M. Botterman, S. De Spiegeleire. 2003.

This report reflects the findings of a conference on cyber security and cyber crime on 9 April 2002 in The Hague, The Netherlands. It looks into the urgency for a better common understanding and better cooperation on these issues, in the light of the growth of the Internet, both in terms of number of users and in terms of social, cultural and economic impact. Focus was at three themes regarding the role of the public and the private sector in dealing with cyber security and cyber crime: What are the threats and what is the matrix of possible responses? How should Europe and the United States cooperate? How should the public and the private sector work together? The threat to information infrastructures is real. Threats run the gamut of possibilities, from faulty software to groups or hostile states intending to inflict damage. There is no agreement on whether the threat is waning. Overcoming the childhood diseases of current technology may abate the threat. On the other hand, more complicated technology may create greater vulnerabilities. Awareness of the threat varies. It gets ample and concerned attention from cyber security experts in industry and government. However, CEOs and top government officials, perhaps complacent after the Y2K experience, do not count cyber security among their top five concerns, yet. But, even as opinions vary as to whether future threats will be less or worse, many experts expect a high impact event somewhere in the (near) future. Comparison has been made to the oil disaster with the Exxon Valdez: a disaster like this is likely to happen. This will bring the risk high onto the

agenda of decisionmakers and politicians. For mitigation of the risk, as a general rule, market-driven approaches have much to recommend themselves. Practical steps in this have already been identified. But there is also a clear role for government. Last but not least: the threat cannot be dealt with by one country (or trade block) alone. The report expands on this.

**MR-1573-RC/NSRD** The Role of the Office of Homeland Security in the Federal Budget Process: Recommendations for Effective Long-Term Engagement. V. A. Greenfield. 2002.

How can the newly created Office of Homeland Security (OHS) engage effectively in the federal budget process? This report finds that OHS is uniquely poised to bring strategy and funding decisions together across departments and agencies; however, it must build on the foundation of its presidential imprimatur to do so. With the president's support, OHS can leverage its position in the administration by cultivating and managing its relationships with other homeland security institutions and their proponents. This report addresses key relationships within the executive branch and proposes a strategy for congressional outreach that identifies a core group of active committees. It also yields a road map with specific recommendations for OHS's budgetary role, highlighting the importance of establishing policy priorities and objectives early and formulating strategy and developing funding requests through a tightly coordinated interagency process. The report suggests that OHS focus on issues along the "seams" of homeland security policy, where departments' and agencies' jurisdictions gap or overlap. These findings are based on an analysis of expert opinion, institutional analogy, and congressional interest and involvement, as reflected in funding streams, committee hearings, and other legislative activity prior to and following September 11, 2001. The research for this report was initiated in December 2001 and completed in February 2002.

**MR-1590-RE/MVJ** Quick Scan of Post 9/11 National Counter-Terrorism Policymaking and Implementation in Selected European Countries. E. J. G. van de Linde, K. A. O'Brien, G. Lindstrom, S. De Spiegeleire, M. Vayrynen, H. de Vries. 2002.

At the request of the Dutch Ministry of Justice, RAND Europe performed a quick scan of counter-terrorism policymaking and implementation following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks. The quick scan covered The Netherlands, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom. The goal was to make a contribution to improving coordination of counter-terrorism among European Union Member States. The report features qualitative descriptions of the initial reaction of the indicated countries to the 9/11 events,

characteristics of their national institutional framework regarding the fight against terrorism, and selected elements of their specific counter-terrorism policies and policy implementations.

**MR-1602-RC** The Global Threat of New and Reemerging Infectious Diseases: Reconciling U.S. National Security and Public Health Policy. J. Brower, P. Chalk. 2003.

In the post-cold war era, new amorphous challenges to national and international security have emerged. These threats do not stem from the actions of clearly defined individual states but from diffuse issues that transcend sovereign borders and bear directly on the the effects of increasing globalization. Such "gray area" phenomena are redefining the nature and understanding of global stability, challenging policymakers to develop new, non-state -centered paradigms of security. This report focuses specifically on the threat posed by new and reemerging infectious diseases, providing a more comprehensive analysis of the security implications posed by pathogenic microorganisms than has been done to date. The study examines the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa, highlighting this particular crisis as a graphic example of the devastating effects that infectious disease can have on virtually every aspect of a state's functioning viability. It also makes a detailed analysis of the United States, delineating the threat posed by specific diseases, assessing the effectiveness of the existing public health infrastructure, and offering specific actions that can be taken to improve the country's ability to meet this emerging challenge.

**MR-1619-DARPA** Deterrence & Influence in Counterterrorism: A Component in the War on Al Qaeda. P. K. Davis, B. M. Jenkins. 2002.

Historical experience has shown that successful strategies to combat terrorism that is spawned by serious, deep-rooted problems have involved first crushing the current threat and then bringing about changes to make terrorism's reemergence less likely. While deterrence of terrorism may at first glance seem to be an unrealistic goal, concepts such as co-optation and inducement cannot be expected to be effective for dealing with terrorists who have the unshakable commitment of an Osama bin Laden, it may be possible to influence some members of terrorist groups. Such groups are not simply single entities; rather, they are systems, with diverse elements, many of which could be amenable to influence. Thus, to sustain its counterterrorism efforts for the long term, the United States must develop a multifaceted strategy that includes attempting to influence those elements of terrorist systems that may be deterrable, such as state supporters or wealthy financiers living the good life while supporting terrorists in the shadows. The U.S. strategy should comprise not

only military attacks, but also political warfare; placing at risk the things that terrorists hold dear; a credible threat of force against any state or group that supports the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction for terrorist uses; and maintaining cooperation with other nations that are also engaged in the war on terror. At the same time, the strategy must preserve core American values, including discriminate use of force and maintaining due process in the provision of speedy justice.

**MR-1620-RC** Countering Al Qaeda: An Appreciation of the Situation and Suggestions for Strategy. B. M. Jenkins. 2002.

Having achieved its initial goals in the war on terrorism, the United States is now in a second, more complex phase of the campaign. This monograph reviews events since the attacks of September 11, 2001, and discusses the current state of the al Qaeda organization and the kinds of actions that can be expected of it in the foreseeable future. Because al Qaeda constitutes the most serious immediate threat to the security of the United States, it is imperative that the campaign against terrorism remain focused and pragmatic. This monograph outlines and describes the essential, central elements that must be emphasized in this campaign, the ultimate aim of which is the destruction of a terrorist enterprise that threatens American security and, by extension, the security of the world.

**MR-1630-RC** Terrorism & Development: Using Social and Economic Development to Inhibit a Resurgence of Terrorism. K. Cragin, P. Chalk. 2003.

This report examines the social and economic development policies enacted by three countries—Israel, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom—to inhibit a resurgence of terrorism within their jurisdictions. Drawing on a broad research base, including numerous first-hand interviews, the authors outline the initiatives implemented by each country then assess their effectiveness, with the aim of informing U.S. decisionmakers of the benefits and pitfalls of such initiatives as they develop policy to counter terrorism. Among their conclusions are the following: Social and economic development policies can weaken local support for terrorist activities and discourage terrorist recruits, and such policies can be used as a "stick" to discourage terrorism. They caution, however, that the ability of these policies to inhibit terrorism depends on their implementation, and inadequately funded such policies are likely to renew support for terrorism.

**MR-1646-NIOSH** Protecting Emergency Responders. Vol. 2, Community Views of Safety and Health Risks and Personal Protection Needs. T. LaTourrette, D. J. Peterson, J. T. Bartis, B. A. Jackson, A. Houser. 2003.

Firefighters, law enforcement officers, and emergency medical service responders play a critical role in protecting people and property in the event of fires, natural and man-made disasters, medical emergencies, terrorist and other criminal acts, and numerous other types of emergencies. The authors examine the hazards that emergency responders face and the personal protective technology needed to contend with those hazards. The findings are based on in-depth discussions with 190 members of the emergency responder community nationwide, including structural firefighters, emergency medical service responders, police officers, emergency management officials, technology and services suppliers, researchers, and program managers from 83 organizations. The discussions focused on the primary tasks that emergency responders undertake; situations in which the risk of injury is greatest and, therefore, have the highest priority for improved personal protection; current and emerging technologies that are critical to protecting the health and safety of emergency responders; and the drivers of, impediments to, and gaps in personal protection technology development. The findings are intended to help define the protective technology needs of emergency responders and develop a comprehensive personal protective technology research agenda for the nation.

**MR-1693-RC** A Preliminary Benefit/Cost Framework for Counterterrorism Public Expenditures. B. Zycher. 2003.

The author develops a range of rough estimates of the benefits and costs of a U.S. counterterrorism effort in the context of moderate (based on Northern Ireland in 1999), severe (recent Israeli experience), and nuclear terrorist attacks against the United States. The direct adverse economic effects of terrorist attacks include deaths and injuries, property damage, and reduced economic output. For the moderate, severe, and nuclear cases, these costs are estimated at approximately \$11 billion, \$183 billion, and \$465 billion per year, respectively. Real annual resource costs of U.S. counterterrorism efforts in the three cases are found to be \$10 billion, \$200 billion, and \$300 billion, respectively. The analysis suggests that the marginal benefit may exceed the marginal cost, and thus that spending may in fact be little. Another important facet of the problem is who is to finance the counterterrorism efforts—the federal government or state or local agencies. The author's approach should provide a framework for benefit/cost analysis of particular policies, and thus for construction of a rough but reasonable ranking among the myriad potential actions decisionmakers might consider. Finally, the preservation of national pride, although difficult to measure, can be considered a collective good benefiting all.

**MR-1731-SF** Individual Preparedness and Response to Chemical, Radiological, Nuclear, and Biological Terrorist Attacks. L. E. Davis, T. LaTourrette, D. Mosher, L. M. Davis, D. R. Howell. 2003.

Individual preparedness is an important element of our nation's strategy for homeland security. This report adopts a scenario-driven approach that provides a rigorous way to identify actions-linked specifically to terrorist attacks—individuals can take to protect their health and safety. The result is an individual's strategy across four types of terrorist attacks—chemical, radiological, nuclear, and biological—consisting of overarching goals and simple and directive response and preparatory actions. The actions are appropriate regardless of likelihood of an attack, scale of attack, or government alert level; designed to be sensitive to potential variations; and defined in terms of simple rules that should be easy for individuals to adopt. A reference card included at the back of the guide encapsulates the key points and can be removed for display in a prominent place.

**MR-1731/1-SF** Individual Preparedness and Response to Chemical, Radiological, Nuclear, and Biological Terrorist Attacks: A Quick Guide. L. E. Davis, T. LaTourrette, D. Mosher, L. M. Davis, D. R. Howell. 2003.

Individuals may have to rely on themselves to protect their own health and safety—perhaps even their own lives—in the event of a terrorist attack. Even those who know how to take care of themselves in the event of a fire, tornado, or earthquake might not know what to do in case of a chemical, radiological, nuclear, or biological attack. This quick guide attempts to fill in some of these gaps by offering specific actions to take during each of these situations, as well as preparations that can be taken. These actions are appropriate regardless of the likelihood of an attack, its scale, or the current government alert level; are designed to be sensitive to potential variations; and have been defined in terms of simple rules that should be easy to follow. A reference card included at the back of the guide encapsulates the key points and can be removed for display in a prominent place.

**MR-1738-AF** Military Operations Against Terrorist Groups Abroad: Implications for the United States Air Force. D. A. Ochmanek. 2003.

The imperative to monitor, suppress, attack, and ultimately eradicate international terrorist groups seeking to strike the United States, its citizens, its interests, and its allies is prompting significant changes in the demands placed on the armed forces of the United States. U.S. forces will often be called upon to assist foreign governments that wish to eradicate terrorist groups on their territory but lack the capabilities to do so on their own. In such cases, U.S.

forces can strengthen the capabilities and will of host-government forces by providing training and equipment, disrupt terrorist activities, find and capture or kill terrorists, help to alienate terrorists from the populace, gather intelligence about terrorist networks and activities around the world, and protect friendly forces and bases. In effective counterterrorist activities, the host nation will play the leading role in hunting down terrorists, the terrorists will be under relentless pressure and forced to react to government-initiated operations, operations will depend on accurate information about the terrorists or insurgents, and the host government will win the support of the populace, depriving the terrorists of support. Effective concepts of execution for locating and engaging terrorists might employ wide-area surveillance sensors, high-resolution sensors, dynamic engagement control, and precision-guided weapons with small warheads.

**MR-1746-AF** The Counterterror Coalitions: Cooperation with Europe, NATO, and the European Union. N. Bensahel. 2003.

The long-term success of the counterterror campaign will depend on concerted cooperation from European states, but a key question is the extent to which that cooperation should be pursued through European multilateral institutions. NATO has not yet reoriented itself to challenge terrorism, although it has adopted a number of initiatives to improve its counterterror capabilities. The European Union is limited in its military and intelligence capabilities, although it has taken a number of initiatives in Justice and Home Affairs. This study argues that the United States should pursue military and intelligence cooperation on a bilateral basis, and it should increasingly pursue financial and law enforcement cooperation on a multilateral basis. The United States might adopt a more multilateral approach as cooperation within the EU increases. Multilateral cooperation with a strengthening EU would enhance the ability of states on both sides of the Atlantic to prevent terrorism and prosecute those involved in terrorist activities.

**MR-1782-AF** The Dynamic Terrorist Threat: An Assessment of Group Motivations and Capabilities in a Changing World. K. Cragin, S. A. Daly. 2004.

As the war on terrorism wages on, our nation's policymakers will continue to face the challenge of assessing threats that various terrorist groups pose to the U.S. homeland and our interests abroad. In addition, the struggle against terrorism likely will be in constant competition with other U.S. international policy issues that come to the fore. As part of the RAND Corporation's yearlong "Thinking Strategically About Combating Terrorism" project, the authors of this report develop a way to assess, analyze, and prioritize the danger posed by various terrorist organizations around the world. The

authors also look at how different terrorist groups adapt and change over time, emphasizing that understanding these changes may help policymakers identify terrorists' greatest vulnerabilities. Of course, the very nature of terrorism creates a difficulty in predicting new and emerging threats; however, by establishing these types of parameters, the report creates a fresh foundation of threat analysis on which future counterterrorism strategy may build.

## REPORTS

**R-2554-SL** Motivations and Possible Actions of Potential Criminal Adversaries of U.S. Nuclear Programs. G. V. Bass-Golod, B. M. Jenkins, K. Kellen, J. Krofcheck, G. Petty, R. N. Reinstedt, D. F. Ronfeldt. 1980.

A report intended to help officials responsible for nuclear security to establish more effective systems for protecting against nuclear crimes, by drawing plausible inferences about actions and targets that adversaries are likely to prefer. Three categories of motivation are considered: ideological, economic, and personal. Possible criminals include, among others, psychotics, religious and philosophical fanatics, professional criminals, environmental extremists, political terrorists, adolescent pranksters, and disgruntled or self-seeking employees. Their crimes may range all the way from empty hoaxes to theft, sabotage, direct attack, and the holding of nuclear material or weapons for ransom or extortion. The report includes a matrix that identifies the most likely combinations of adversaries and actions, and indicates crimes that have already occurred or may have occurred.

**R-2554/1-SL** Motivations and Possible Actions of Potential Criminal Adversaries of U.S. Nuclear Programs: Executive Summary. G. V. Bass-Golod, B. M. Jenkins, K. Kellen, J. Krofcheck, G. Petty, R. N. Reinstedt, D. F. Ronfeldt. 1980.

This report is an executive summary of R-2554-SL.

**R-2651-RC** Embassies under Siege: A Review of 48 Embassy Takeovers, 1971-1980. B. M. Jenkins. 1981.

A review of the 48 assaults made on embassies by terrorists and other militants between 1971 and 1980. The report discusses the origins of the embassy seizures as a terrorist tactic, the kinds of terrorists who assault embassies, the geographical and temporal distribution of assaults, the demands made by hostage-takers, and the degree of success they achieve. An annotated chronology of embassy seizures is appended. Except for the publicity they produce, embassy assaults appear to be a losing

proposition for terrorists. Security has been increased at the embassies of the countries most frequently targeted for terrorist attacks, and this appears to have deterred takeovers of these embassies. However, terrorists have turned to less-well-guarded diplomatic posts in several instances, and more takeover attempts are likely to occur. Governments will probably remain resistant to terrorist demands, leading to longer sieges, more of which may be ended by force.

**R-2714-DOE/DOJ/DOS/RC** Terrorism and Beyond: An International Conference on Terrorism and Low-Level Conflict. B. M. Jenkins. 1982.

The conference brought together 144 participants, both government officials and members of the research community, from 13 nations to discuss international terrorism. The conference had three objectives. (1) It provided an opportunity to examine recent events, identify any new trends in terrorism, and exchange information on countermeasures. (2) It gave participants a chance to review more generally what had been learned about the phenomenon of terrorism in the 1970s and to explore its possible future course in the 1980s. (3) It identified the means by which individual research efforts in various countries could be coordinated and the results of this research shared. The conference addressed four areas: the terrorist environment, the terrorist mindset, the government response, and the future course of terrorism. This report summarizes the discussion in these four areas. It also includes eleven contributed papers that were used as resource material for the discussion.

**R-2803-SL** The Appeal of Nuclear Crimes to the Spectrum of Potential Adversaries. G. V. Bass-Golod, B. M. Jenkins, K. Kellen, G. Petty, R. N. Reinstedt. 1982.

This report presents the findings of the third phase of a RAND project on the potential threat to U.S. nuclear programs and facilities. It sets forth a method for rating the appeal of various nuclear crimes to different adversaries, based on whether the crime is consistent with the adversary's motivations, capabilities, and other attributes. (Two previous volumes, R-2225 and R-2554, analyzed, respectively, adversary attributes—including capabilities—and motivations.) The report rates the relative appeal of specific nuclear crimes to economically motivated adversaries (both professional and amateur), political terrorists, antinuclear extremists, and hostile employees. It also discusses psychotic adversaries and those who might act for idiosyncratic reasons, but does not rate the appeal of various nuclear crimes to them. The study concludes that there are several nuclear crimes that could have serious consequences for public safety and which are of high appeal to one or more category of adversary.

**R-2842-DOC** The Problems of U.S. Businesses Operating Abroad in Terrorist Environments. S. W. Purnell, E. S. Wainstein. 1981.

Based on interviews with 59 businessmen, their advisers, and U.S. government officials, this report focuses on the problems of U.S. businesses that run overseas operations in high-risk environments, particularly Latin America. These problems include operating in a climate of instability, high costs of property damage, ransom payments, and expenditures for security purposes; and managerial and technical adjustments that often lower productivity and hamper quality control. Despite the hardships, most businesses do not pull out of a country as a result of terrorist threats or attacks, but cope with them as with other acts of violence.

**R-2939-DOJ** Intelligence Constraints of the 1970s and Domestic Terrorism: Executive Summary. B. M. Jenkins, S. Wildhorn, M. Lavin. 1982.

This report summarizes the conclusions of a study of constraints on intelligence activities in the investigation of terrorist or terrorist-related crimes in the United States. The study addresses the question: To what extent did the post-Watergate intelligence "rules" affect law enforcement's ability to investigate and prosecute cases of domestic terrorism? Specifically, the study compares and contrasts the investigation of domestic terrorism and the prosecution of alleged terrorists during the period before 1975, when the regulations governing such intelligence activities were more flexible, and during the period from 1975 to 1980 when constraints were greatly increased. This study does not address the regulatory changes or cases prosecuted after 1980.

**R-3009-DNA** New Modes of Conflict. B. M. Jenkins. 1983.

Building on past studies of terrorism and low-level conflict, this report attempts to describe how contemporary international terrorism, which the author regards as a new mode of conflict made possible by technological developments in the second half of the twentieth century, fits into the broader scheme of armed conflict in general. The report also offers some ideas about the relationships between conventional warfare, ordinary guerrilla warfare, and contemporary terrorism.

**R-3151** A Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Terrorist Groups. B. Cordes, B. M. Jenkins, K. Kellen, G. V. Bass-Golod, D. A. Relles, W. F. Sater, M. L. Juncosa, W. Fowler, G. Petty. 1985.

This report describes an analytical framework developed at RAND for studying the characteristics of terrorist groups and illustrates how that framework can be used to address broad questions about terrorists and their actions.

This conceptual framework is based on data concerning 150 specific attributes of terrorist groups divided into ten categories: organization; leadership; demography; ideology, doctrine, and goals; psychology, mindset, and decisionmaking; funding and logistics; operations and modus operandi; communications; external relations; and environment and government response. Twenty-nine terrorist groups were studied to identify and categorize their attributes, and chronologies of incidents involving the groups were developed. As many of these data as possible were then codified into a computer-readable form which would lend itself to quantitative analysis. The study then addressed three broad questions about terrorism as exercises in applying the framework. It was determined that the principal advantage of the conceptual framework is its ability to absorb new information as it becomes available, providing the basis for new analyses, both quantitative and qualitative.

**R-3157-FF** Improving the Means for Intergovernmental Communications in Crisis. D. M. Landi, B. W. Augenstein, C. M. Crain, W. R. Harris, B. M. Jenkins. 1984.

This report summarizes assessments of potential bilateral and multilateral measures for enhancing superpower stability in times of nuclear crisis. Existing means for communication between the American and Soviet heads of state are less than adequate and could be substantially improved. Improved means for direct communication between the American and Soviet heads of state are not sufficient; the Hot Line should be supplemented by a link connecting the military command centers of the United States and the Soviet Union, and by improved links connecting each nation's capital with its embassy in the other's capital. Improved bilateral communication links between the United States and the Soviet Union are, by themselves, not sufficient; other countries should be interconnected with comparable systems. The United States should seek an agreement among nations to exchange information in the event of a nuclear crisis involving terrorist groups.

**R-3183-SL** Trends in International Terrorism, 1982 and 1983. B. Cordes, B. Hoffman, B. M. Jenkins, K. Kellen, S. E. Moran, W. F. Sater. 1984.

This report analyzes incidents recorded in The RAND Corporation's chronology of international terrorism for 1982 and 1983. The chronology contains data on international terrorist incidents since 1968, derived from newspapers, journals, and the foreign press. It provides a comprehensive database with which trends in various aspects of terrorism can be analyzed. In 1982 and 1983, government authorities in several countries scored impressive successes against international terrorist groups, yet the total volume of terrorist activity worldwide has

increased during the last two years. In the period under review, the authors find that large-scale, indiscriminate attacks have become more common. They conclude that terrorism remains a worldwide problem that shows no sign of abating, and every sign of becoming less discriminate and more bloody.

**R-3302-AF** International Terrorism: The Other World War. B. M. Jenkins. 1985.

This report is intended to serve as a primer for Air Force officers who must gain a basic understanding of the phenomenon of terrorism. It addresses numerous issues touching on the definition, theory, tactics, targets, and effects of terrorism, and the threat that terrorism poses to the U.S. Air Force, which is both a potential target of terrorist actions and a potential instrument of preemptive retaliation. The author suggests that past doctrines, training, and practices do not apply in the war of terrorism. At the same time, we are not defenseless against terrorist attacks. They are not, and are not likely to be, seriously incapacitating. Terrorists can always inflict damage, but they cannot "win" unless they manage to throw their target into a state of hysteria. Despite their mobility, their fanaticism, their advantage of surprise, and their emotional impact, terrorists do not have the capability to inflict crippling damage on the U.S. military. However, the U.S. military will have to develop new capabilities and doctrines to meet the challenge.

**R-3351-DOE** Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities. B. Hoffman. 1986.

This report examines the threat posed by terrorists to U.S. nuclear weapons production and research facilities. It identifies and reviews the activities of three classes of terrorist groups in the United States: (1) ethnic separatist and emigre groups; (2) left-wing radical organizations; and (3) right-wing racist, anti-authority, survivalist-type groups. Although the situation could change suddenly in the future, the historical record suggests that U.S.-based terrorist groups are unlikely to attack a defended site such as a nuclear weapons facility. However, it is not possible to rule out such an attack by a terrorist group operating in the United States at the behest and under the direction of a foreign government. These state-sponsored terrorists have greater resources and fewer political constraints, and therefore pose a potentially greater threat to nuclear weapons sites.

**R-3363-DOE** A Reassessment of Potential Adversaries to U.S. Nuclear Programs. B. Hoffman, P. DeLeon, B. Cordes, S. E. Moran, T. C. Tompkins. 1986.

This report reviews recent developments and trends in international terrorism that could affect the safety and security of U.S. nuclear weapons research sites and

production facilities. It is based on an examination of prior research findings and new evidence concerning the terrorist threat to U.S. nuclear weapons facilities. The findings suggest that the motivation, characteristics, and capabilities of potential adversaries have changed little in the past decade. However, two developments—a dramatic increase in state sponsorship of terrorism (i.e., sponsorship of terrorist groups by foreign governments) and a shift in emphasis within both the American and European anti-nuclear protest movements from energy to weapons—may necessitate some revisions in nuclear facility defense requirements.

**R-3423-RC** Misperceiving the Terrorist Threat. J. D. Simon. 1987.

Although much attention has been focused recently on international terrorism, there has been little discussion about whether or not terrorism actually threatens vital U.S. interests. This report, a version of which originally appeared in the Summer 1987 issue of *Foreign Policy*, addresses the possibility that U.S. decisionmakers have misperceived the threat of terrorism, treating each incident as a "crisis" and trying to design high-level policies for what are essentially low-level threats. The author suggests that counterterrorist strategy regarding those incidents that can be absorbed by the United States with minimal or no damage to national security should be guided by a different set of responses than those appropriate for incidents that truly threaten vital interests.

**R-3618** Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Terrorism in the United States. B. Hoffman. 1988.

This report examines recent trends and future prospects of terrorism in the United States and assesses their implications for the possibility of a terrorist group attempting an act of nuclear terrorism involving either the theft of a weapons system or strategic nuclear material, or an attack on a weapons facility. The findings suggest that, while the volume of annual terrorist incidents in the United States is fairly small, there are emerging trends of ideologically motivated terrorism by groups espousing white supremacist and anti-federalist beliefs or opposing specific policies such as abortion. These trends warrant continued close attention.

**R-3696** Trends in Antinuclear Protests in the United States, 1984-1987. E. H. Ondaatje. 1989.

This report, an update of previous RAND research on U.S. antinuclear protest groups, examines trends in antinuclear and related protests, and assesses the implications of these trends for possible terrorist violence. Recent trends in protest activity may signal greater militancy in the movement: (1) the number of protesters who are willing to face arrest, fines, and imprisonment has steadily increased

since 1984; (2) some large, diverse groups of protesters have strained the ability of their own organizers to control events involving civil disobedience; and (3) radical environmentalist groups previously uninvolved in antinuclear activities have recently organized protests at uranium mines. However, there are several factors that temper these trends: (1) groups that engage in civil disobedience are usually screened, trained, and supervised in nonviolent protest by the protest organizers; (2) although the number of arrests has increased dramatically, the number of actual crimes involving destruction of property associated with nuclear facilities has remained constant since 1984; (3) there is little evidence that more violent radical environmentalists will join the antinuclear movement; and (4) the potentially disastrous consequences of nuclear sabotage may deter sabotage itself.

**R-3749-AF** British Air Power in Peripheral Conflict, 1919-1976. B. Hoffman. 1989.

Although they rarely involve the vital interests of major powers, peripheral conflicts can be lengthy, can have a potential for escalation, can be marked by intense fighting, and can generate relatively heavy casualties. These traits typify many of the campaigns in which Britain has been involved since World War I and in which air power has been used. This report examines the use of air power by the British in such peripheral conflicts. Five key themes emerge from the operations reviewed in the report: (1) "high-tech," sophisticated aircraft were not always an improvement over the older, slower aircraft that could take off from and land on short, rough airstrips; (2) in almost all of the peripheral conflicts in which Britain was involved, the air-defense threat posed by the enemy was at best negligible; (3) successful operations often hinged on close coordination and communication between air and ground forces; (4) air strikes were often inappropriate or ineffective in rural campaigns and were useless in conflicts with a prominent urban component; and (5) the British appreciated—particularly in pre-1939 conflicts—the comparative cost savings of air operations over traditional ground-force operations with similar goals and outcomes.

**R-3771-AFMIC** Terrorists and the Potential Use of Biological Weapons: A Discussion of Possibilities. J. D. Simon. 1989.

This report considers the potential for terrorists to use biological weapons. It discusses the implications of recent trends in terrorism for the future use of biological agents and the reasons terrorists might be motivated to use them. It then identifies several constraints that inhibit terrorists from venturing into this new type of conflict and the factors that could break down these constraints. Finally, it establishes some broad characteristics that could identify the types of terrorist groups that might be more likely than

others to use biological weapons. The findings suggest that, since the technological, logistical, and financial barriers to the use of biological agents are not insurmountable, a key determinant in the potential use of such agents will be the willingness of terrorists to engage in this new type of violence. Therefore, efforts to improve intelligence regarding terrorist group strategies and capabilities will become increasingly critical in the future.

**R-3781-DOS/OSD** The Shining Path and the Future of Peru. G. H. McCormick. 1990.

This report examines the threat to Peruvian stability posed by the guerrilla group Sendero Luminoso (the Shining Path), and the degree to which this problem has been compounded by economic and political crisis. The author discusses the Shining Path, its origins, organization, the nature of its support, the movement's governing doctrine and theory of victory, and the character of its rural and urban campaigns. He then discusses those variables that are likely to determine the direction, growth, and prospects of the insurgency in the future; the capabilities and limitations of the Peruvian army; the nature of the country's current economic and associated political crises; the prospects for, and possible consequences of, a military coup; and the net strengths and weaknesses of the Shining Path. Finally, he considers what all of this could mean for the future of Peru.

**R-3782-DOE** Insider Crime: The Threat to Nuclear Facilities and Programs. B. Hoffman, C. Meyer, B. C. Schwarz, J. Duncan. 1990.

This report explores the characteristics of 62 reported "insider" crimes that may provide insights into potential threats to the security of Department of Energy (DOE) nuclear weapons programs. In particular, it considers (1) the identity of the insiders, including their motivations, age, length of employment, and status within the corporation, institution, or government agency; (2) the particulars of the crimes, including the illegal actions perpetrated and, in the case of theft, what was taken, as well as how the insiders gained access to their target, and how they were persuaded to commit the crime; and (3) the effectiveness of the security procedures of the corporation, institution, or agency—specifically those implemented to prevent insider crime—and any changes in those procedures that might have resulted from these crimes. The study defines three types of insider crimes: those committed by insiders conspiring with outsiders, those committed by insiders conspiring with other insiders, and those committed by lone insiders. The authors find that the success of most of the incidents examined depended less on detailed planning or expert execution than on the exploitation of existing security flaws. Guard forces are a particular problem, as they were responsible for 41 percent of the crimes committed against guarded targets.

**R-3783-USDP** Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Iranian-Sponsored International Terrorism. B. Hoffman. 1990.

International terrorism has been a prominent feature of Iran's foreign policy since the revolution in 1979 that brought Ayatollah Khomeini to power. At the root of this policy is a desire to extend the fundamentalist interpretation of Islamic law by exporting the Islamic revolution in Iran to other Muslim countries and cleansing the Middle East of all Western influence. This report examines the basic rationale of Iran's international terrorism campaign, its trends and patterns of activity over the past six years, and the Iranian personalities behind the policy. It assesses the future course of Iran's policy of supporting terrorism and, accordingly, focuses on the ongoing power struggles within the Iranian regime that are likely to determine the country's foreign policy now that Khomeini has died. The author discusses four key issues: (1) the reason Iran has supported international terrorism as a foreign policy instrument; (2) the ties between Iran and extremist Shia organizations elsewhere; (3) the trends in international Shia terrorism activity and the explanations for these patterns; and (4) the ways these trends have been affected or influenced by internal rivalries within the Iranian ruling elite.

**R-3840-C3I** U.S. Countermeasures Against International Terrorism. J. D. Simon. 1990.

To uncover lessons from past experiences that may help guide future counterterrorist efforts, this report presents an overview and evaluation of the major antiterrorist measures that have been used and considered by the United States. Those measures have included the implementation of physical security at domestic and foreign facilities, and intelligence gathering and analysis. The author identifies the critical role that intelligence plays in counterterrorist efforts, the difficulty in designing a consistent political and military strategy to combat such a diverse threat as terrorism, and the need to eliminate excessive statements and promises about counterterrorist action since the terrorist threat can never be completely eliminated.

**R-3890-RC** The RAND Chronology of International Terrorism for 1986. K. Gardela, B. Hoffman. 1990.

The RAND Corporation annually publishes a chronology of international terrorism. The chronology contains data on international terrorist incidents since 1968, derived from the open literature—newspapers, journals, radio broadcasts, and the foreign press. It provides a comprehensive database with which trends in various aspects of terrorism can be analyzed. This report details and analyzes incidents recorded in the chronology for 1986. Terrorism is here defined as violence, or the threat

of violence, calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm. International terrorism, the concern of this study, is defined as incidents in which terrorists go abroad to strike their targets, select victims or targets that have connections with a foreign state, or create international incidents. Among the tactics included in the chronology are kidnapping, bombing, attacks on installations, hijackings, barricade and hostage situations, assassinations and shootings, and incidents involving significant threats or conspiracies. Appendixes include a statistical abstract based on the chronology, as well as several pertinent charts and tables, and a bibliography of terrorist perpetrators.

**R-3947-A** The Army's Role in Counterinsurgency and Insurgency. S. T. Hosmer. 1990.

This report identifies potential initiatives for improving Army doctrine and capabilities for counterinsurgency and insurgency warfare. These include recommendations that the Army (1) build and maintain small cadres of counterinsurgency and insurgency experts; (2) create, along with the other services, a counterinsurgency institute to train U.S. and foreign nationals; and (3) ensure more appropriate and effective U.S. arms and equipment transfers to countries facing insurgent threats. The author also examines the reasons insurgency is likely to continue to be a frequent form of conflict; describes the threat of insurgency to important U.S. interests in the Third World; explores the potential for U.S. Army noncombat support to Third World countries fighting insurgency; describes the impediments to U.S. influence and assistance; outlines the potential situations that might lead to U.S. involvement in counterinsurgency combat; and discusses the Army's role in support of friendly insurgency.

**R-3998-A** Lessons for Contemporary Counterinsurgencies: The Rhodesian Experience. B. Hoffman, J. M. Taw, D. W. Arnold. 1991.

This report examines the counterinsurgency campaign waged by Rhodesia between 1965 and 1980. Its purpose is to analyze the lessons learned from the Rhodesian conflict and to assess the relevance of these lessons both to United States low-intensity-conflict training and doctrine and to the insurgencies occurring at this time in Central America. The research concentrated on the four areas common to most insurgencies: (1) security force organization and attendant command-control-communication issues; (2) countermeasures to suppress urban terrorism; (3) rural pacification and security; and (4) intelligence collection, collation, and dissemination. The greatest challenge facing the U.S. Army in evolving a credible and coherent low-intensity-conflict doctrine today is that of overcoming the institutional barriers that inhibit change and adaptation. The Army must adjust its dominant conventional

warfighting mindset to the vagaries and complexities of warfare at the low end of the conflict spectrum.

**R-4006-RC** The RAND Chronology of International Terrorism for 1987. K. Gardela, B. Hoffman. 1991.

In response to the governmental, military, scholarly, and public need for a detailed and accurate compendium of international terrorist incidents and trends in worldwide terrorist activity, RAND annually publishes a chronology of international terrorism. The chronology contains data on international terrorist incidents since 1968, derived from the open literature—newspapers, journals, radio broadcasts, and the foreign press. It provides a comprehensive database with which trends in various aspects of terrorism can be analyzed. This report details and analyzes incidents recorded in the chronology of international terrorism for 1987. A statistical abstract based on the chronology, as well as several pertinent charts, tables, and a bibliography of terrorist perpetrators, are contained in the appendixes.

**R-4015-A** Defense Policy and Low-Intensity Conflict: The Development of Britain's "Small Wars" Doctrine During the 1950s. B. Hoffman, J. M. Taw. 1991.

This report examines the planning and conduct of three counterinsurgency campaigns waged by Great Britain in Malaya, Kenya, and Cyprus during the 1950s. Certain mistakes were repeated in each conflict, from which the following lessons can be drawn: (1) the administration, police, and military should be coordinated under a single individual; (2) intelligence gathering and collation should be coordinated under a single authority; (3) late recognition of an insurgency is costly; (4) large-scale formal operations should not be emphasized in lieu of special forces operations; (5) routine police work should continue; and (6) without sufficient low-intensity-conflict training for troops and appropriate materiel, the conflict will last longer and cost more. The authors point out that situational factors must be considered in an insurgency; also critical is the nature of the insurgency, especially the broadness of its appeal.

**R-4150-USDP** From the Sierra to the Cities: The Urban Campaign of the Shining Path. G. H. McCormick. 1992.

The current insurgency in Peru is an expression of a larger, historically based conflict between the traditional societies of the sierra and the modern, Spanish-speaking culture of the coastal plain. This dichotomy, which began with the Spanish conquest, has played a powerful role in shaping modern Peruvian history, ensuring that even under central government, Peru has remained culturally divided. This report examines the urban guerrilla campaign of Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). It assesses Sendero's

organization and operations within the city and the integrated role played by the urban and rural campaigns in the movement's larger theory of victory. The study examines the factors that brought Sendero into the city and the ideological and organizational assumptions that underlie its approach to urban operations, and compares them with those of the other South American urban guerrilla organizations of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The author discusses Sendero's position within and around Lima, the nature of its position elsewhere in Lima department and the surrounding central highlands, and the implications of this position for Sendero's general game plan against Lima and the central government. He examines recent trends in the movement's counter-urban campaign in the interior and what they suggest about Sendero's growth and level of consolidation in the sierra; he also discusses the difficulties Sendero has encountered in operating in an urban environment. Finally, he presents a net assessment of the strengths and limitations of Sendero's urban campaign and its implications for the stability of the prevailing order and the future of Peru.

**R-4180-RC** The RAND Chronology of International Terrorism for 1988. K. Gardela, B. Hoffman. 1992.

In response to the governmental, military, scholarly, and public need for a detailed and accurate compendium of international terrorist incidents and trends in worldwide terrorist activity, RAND annually publishes a chronology of international terrorism. The chronology contains data on international terrorist incidents since 1968, derived from the open literature—newspapers, journals, radio broadcasts, and the foreign press. It provides a comprehensive database with which trends in various aspects of terrorism can be analyzed. This report details and analyzes incidents recorded in the chronology of international terrorism for 1988, and provides statistical materials. A listing of terrorist perpetrators and breakdowns of incidents by tactic, by target, and by region are included in the appendixes.

## NOTES

**N-1498-SL** Major Crimes as Analogs to Potential Threats to Nuclear Facilities and Programs. R. N. Reinstedt, J. Westbury. 1980.

Part of an ongoing investigation, sponsored by Sandia Laboratories, of potential and actual criminal adversaries of U.S. nuclear facilities and programs. The RAND Corporation has developed over several years a considerable database involving many nonnuclear incidents that are analogous in some respects to potential incidents against nuclear facilities and programs. An

earlier study outlined the methodology for the analysis of various categories of these incidents to provide insights regarding potential acts against and adversaries of nuclear programs. The present document deals with sophisticated and high-value burglaries, robberies, and other "conventional" crimes analogous in nature to the potential penetration of nuclear facilities or the theft of material or information from nuclear programs. The database analyzed in this study consists of 121 crimes; from it several observations are drawn.

**N-1503-RC** Terrorism Data Bases: A Comparison of Missions, Methods, and Systems. W. W. Fowler. 1981.

A review of eight terrorism databases which examines (1) the relationship between the use of terrorism data and the design of the databases; (2) the scope and content of the databases; (3) the structure of terrorism data; and (4) the systems used for retrieval and analysis of the data. Some conclusions are drawn about the state of the art in the design and implementation of terrorism databases. The greatest potential weakness of current data collection efforts is the development of chronologies to the exclusion of other types of databases and the lack of rigor in incident sampling. While chronologies do help analysts and researchers in addressing fundamental issues in the analysis of terrorism, they may not contain information relevant to many important questions. Data collection efforts have matured to the point that the development of different kinds of databases would be worthwhile.

**N-1567-FF** Countering Palestinian Terrorism in Israel: Toward a Policy Analysis of Countermeasures. H. Alon. 1980.

A suggested approach to the policy issue of what and how much should be done by the Government of Israel to counter the objective threat of Palestinian terrorism. Palestinian terrorism is defined as Palestinian acts of low-level violence carried out for a political purpose, with the intent of inflicting casualties and damage as well as inducing fear and rage in Israeli society, and by so doing to incite Israel to react. After a historical analysis of Palestinian violence and Israeli countermeasures, the study focuses on current perceptions and observations. Terrorism is perceived by Israeli society as a major threat, both as a threat to the individual and as damaging to the national image. The perception of terrorism, however, is out of proportion to the share of terrorism in causing casualties, the reasons for which are given. The author suggests that Israel reduce the discrepancy in resource allocation among all casualty-preventing programs (say, preventing car accidents as well as countering terrorism); ameliorate society's perception of the subjective danger of terrorism; and, in general, to not react as expected to terrorist provocations. The study was prepared as a dissertation for the RAND Graduate Institute.

**N-1571-DOS/DARPA/RC** The Mitrione Kidnapping in Uruguay. D. F. Ronfeldt. 1987.

This study, originally completed in 1974, analyzes the kidnapping of Dan A. Mitrione, the Chief Public Safety Adviser at the American Embassy in Uruguay, on July 31, 1970, by members of the National Liberation Movement (an urban guerrilla group known as the Tupamaros). The author reviews the political context at the time of the kidnapping, discusses the Uruguayan government's response, the terrorists' view of events, the Brazilian linkage, the role played by the United States, and the hostage experience. An epilogue adds newly available information about the Mitrione kidnapping.

**N-1610-SL** The Mindsets of High-Technology Terrorists: Future Implications from a Historical Analog. D. F. Ronfeldt, W. F. Sater. 1981.

An examination of the thoughts and actions of nineteenth century dynamite terrorists, as an historical analog that may provide insights into the psychological and political attributes of possible future nuclear terrorists. Some central themes of the dynamite terrorists are identified, including the philosophical nature of the powers they attributed to dynamite and the uses to which they felt such powers should be put. Then, as now, the use of high-technology super-explosives appeared to be particularly appealing to terrorists interested in wielding "scientific power," rather than in providing "power to the people." Historical analogy suggests that similar patterns will exist among possible future terrorists, especially if they are able to make or acquire improvised nuclear devices. In that event, the most dangerous type of terrorist will probably be one whose objectives combine vengeful punishment with millennial destruction.

**N-1764-SL** Puerto Rican Terrorists: A Possible Threat to U.S. Energy Installations? W. F. Sater. 1981.

Puerto Rican terrorists have been active in the United States and Puerto Rico for more than two decades. Because of the island's political status, it is likely that separatist violence will continue. The only solution that would satisfy the terrorists is independence, a condition that is not likely to be attained, if only because less than 10 percent of Puerto Ricans seem to favor it. Despite the lack of popular support, the terrorists apparently remain committed to their campaign. As their frustration grows, their determination to secure independence by violent means, or at least to gain publicity, may well increase—and be translated into more frequent operations against more spectacular targets. The Puerto Rican terrorists' techniques and methods of assault thus far are not particularly sophisticated, but they are effective and sometimes deadly. If the terrorists were to turn to attacks

on nuclear facilities, their determination and modus operandi could make them a serious threat.

**N-1856-AF** Right-Wing Terrorism in Europe. B. Hoffman. 1982.

This Note presents an analysis of right-wing terrorism in Europe. It considers the phenomenon of right-wing terrorism—its methods, aims, and prospects. It examines the right-wing or neo-Nazi/neo-fascist organizations presently active in Italy, West Germany, and France. It analyzes the origins of recent violent right-wing activity and touches on the recent historical background of these groups, their ideology and mindset, targeting and modus operandi, international connections, and their possible effect on U.S. interests. The likely future actions of right-wing terrorists cannot be predicted, but it can be said at this time there seems to be no danger that right-wing terrorists can actually "take over" anywhere. But they can—and do—create a climate that has destabilizing effects on the countries in which they operate and therefore on the NATO alliance as well; thus, they pose an indirect danger to the security of the United States.

**N-1901-DOJ** Intelligence Constraints of the 1970s and Domestic Terrorism. Vol. I, Effects on the Incidence, Investigation, and Prosecution of Terrorist Activity. S. Wildhorn, B. M. Jenkins, M. Lavin. 1982.

This Note addresses the question: To what extent did the post-Watergate intelligence "rules" affect law enforcement's ability to investigate and prosecute cases of domestic terrorism? The Note assesses the effects of stricter rules and of perceptions or uncertainties regarding those rules on the investigation of domestic terrorist groups or crimes. It examines 23 cases involving prosecutions under the "older" intelligence rules—that is, those of the period ending in 1974—and another 28 cases involving prosecutions under the "newer" intelligence rules—those of the period 1975 to 1980. Three major findings emerged: it appears that intelligence operations are more important than other investigative techniques such as gathering physical evidence or seeking eyewitness identification of suspects or their property in terrorist-related cases; the data suggest that the newer rules affected primarily the timing and availability of preventive intelligence; and both investigative and prosecutorial law-enforcement entities seemed to adapt successfully to the newer rules.

**N-1902-DOJ** Intelligence Constraints of the 1970s and Domestic Terrorism. Vol. II, a Survey of Legal, Legislative, and Administrative Constraints. M. Lavin. 1982.

This Note presents a selective survey of legal and administrative regulatory constraints on the collection,

maintenance, use, and dissemination of information pertaining to domestic security during the 1970s. The author discusses five aspects of domestic security investigations: initiation, kinds of information gathered, techniques of information gathering, handling of information, and reporting and control of investigations. He then discusses constraints on the kinds of information gathered, including direct investigatory controls, first amendment protections, privacy protections, statutory law, and California case law. Subjects also looked at in depth include regulation of techniques of information gathering, constraints on the handling of intelligence information, and reporting and control of security investigations. The author concludes that regulatory constraints on intelligence derived from domestic security investigations grew steadily throughout the 1970s and there was a concomitant growth in uncertainty about the scope of these constraints.

**N-1942-RC** On Terrorists and Terrorism. K. Kellen. 1982.

This Note examines a variety of aspects of terrorists and terrorism. It attempts to define the terrorists and to gauge their motivations; it examines their socioeconomic backgrounds and their driving ideologies; and it probes into elements that may aid the cohesion of terrorist groups, as well as into elements that drive toward disintegration. The purpose of the inquiry is not simply to sum up certain things that have been learned about terrorists and terrorism, but also to investigate what aspects of the problem have been studied in various parts of the world; what methods have been used; who has performed the studies; and what conclusions have been reached. The Note aims to show how RAND's efforts in the domain of terrorism research are to some extent geared to the efforts of others who are also attempting to refine and further develop methodologies for studying this subject.

**N-1979-SL** A Review of Recent Trends in International Terrorism and Nuclear Incidents Abroad. G. V. Bass-Golod, B. M. Jenkins. 1983.

Reviews trends in international terrorism and nuclear incidents abroad during 1980–1981. Incidents of international terrorism increased dramatically in this period, and the number of incidents with fatalities and multiple fatalities also increased. The tactics of terrorism remain the same, in general, and diplomatic facilities continue to be popular targets for terrorists. Diplomats are the most common targets, and this trend is increasing. Numerous incidents were directed against nuclear facilities abroad in 1980-1981, and attacks on individuals involved in nuclear programs became more common, as did violent actions aimed at halting nuclear proliferation. Chronologies of selected international terrorist incidents

and nuclear incidents abroad during 1980-1981 are presented.

**N-1980-SL** Actions Against Nonnuclear Energy Facilities: September 1981-September 1982. G. V. Bass-Golod, B. Cordes. 1983.

Reviews incidents involving nonnuclear energy installations in the United States and abroad from September 1981 to September 1982. A chronology of 99 incidents is included. Nearly two-thirds of these incidents were attacks on facilities for generating and transmitting electrical energy. Fifty-seven attacks were perpetrated by anti-government leftist guerrillas in Latin America; and 19 were related to the Iran-Iraq war and represented attempts to interfere with the enemy's production of oil. The few energy-related incidents in the United States in the period were economically rather than politically motivated and included extortion threats and theft of oil.

**N-2114-RC** The Lessons of Beirut: Testimony Before the Long Commission. B. M. Jenkins. 1984.

The attack on the Marine Headquarters in Beirut conforms to several trends in international terrorism: The volume of terrorist activity has increased in the last 15 years, terrorism has grown bloodier, and there is increasing use of terrorism by governments. Physical protection against terrorism poses a number of problems; it is costly and can only divert manpower from the primary mission. If more governments opt to use terrorism and the international community fails to impose effective sanctions, military force may become the only means of combatting terrorism. Security against terrorism must be a planning factor in any military operation. The collection and analysis of intelligence about terrorism can and should be improved to anticipate terrorist attacks, accurately assign culpability, and develop appropriate countermeasures. It would be a mistake to consign the problems of terrorism to special forces only; the entire armed forces must be able to confront diverse modes of conflict, including terrorism.

**N-2178-RC** Military Countermeasures to Terrorism in the 1980s. T. C. Tompkins. 1984.

The U.S. military services have devised defensive and offensive responses to terrorism: anti- and counterterrorism, respectively. This Note examines four elements needed for effective anti- and counterterrorism programs: effective intelligence programs, appropriate education and training, proper tactics and response techniques, and requisite equipment and devices. Both AT and CT forces have similar, albeit different, requirements in these four areas; these differences are discussed, as are some variances between the services' AT and CT programs. The Note concludes that terrorism may become a major form of armed conflict, and as such, will present

increasingly serious challenges to the military. To counter this threat, the military must improve its intelligence functions, enhance its education and training programs, and more effectively control its limited assets by more use of joint service projects and better fiscal management.

**N-2192-SL** Origins, Goals, and Tactics of the U.S. Anti-Nuclear Protest Movement. V. Daubert, S. E. Moran.

This Note describes the origins, goals and tactics of the anti-nuclear-weapons and anti-nuclear-energy protest movements in the United States; characterizes American anti-nuclear protest activities of the past several years, and compares them with analogous protests abroad; and suggests some approaches for using this information to assess the potential for violent actions against U.S. nuclear-energy and nuclear-weapons installations. Appendixes include brief histories of the Clamshell Alliance and the Livermore Action Group, and a chronology of anti-nuclear protests from 1977 to 1983.

**N-2316-USDP** Commando Raids: 1946-1983. B. Hoffman. 1985.

This Note assesses the effectiveness of a selected sample of raids executed by small commando and commando-type forces in response to terrorist threats or attacks. One hundred raids by irregular forces (guerrilla groups, terrorist organizations, and private individuals) and elite units (organized military units belonging to a country's national armed forces) were examined in terms of: (1) previous training of the personnel involved in the mission; (2) the geographical position from which the raiding parties embarked; (3) the effectiveness of methods of transportation used; (4) the character of the mission (destruction, stand-off assault, rescue, kidnap, or assassination); (5) the size of the raiding party; and (6) the effect of disguise and/or deception on mission outcome. Seventy-seven percent of the raids accomplished their objective, indicating that obstacles such as geographic distances and well-defended enemy positions can be overcome by the stealth and mobility of small paramilitary and military units. The author concludes that commando warfare and small-group raids may be a useful adjunct to U.S. military policy for responding to terrorist attacks or provocations. An appendix provides an annotated listing of the 100 raids studied.

**N-2391-RC** Court Depositions of Three Red Brigadists. S. E. Moran. 1986.

This Note provides English translations of court depositions taken between 1980 and 1982 from three repentant terrorists of the Italian Red Brigades. The depositions were taken from Patrizio Peci (1980), Massimo Cianfanelli (1981), and Enrico Fenzi (1982).

They furnish information about terrorist operations, modus operandi, daily life and routines, salaries, and links with other groups within Italy and abroad. The three brigadists were connected with the Turin, Rome, and Genoa columns, respectively. Hence, through their depositions, a picture emerges of activities spanning northern and central Italy over a period of approximately five years.

**N-2412-USDP** Countering Covert Aggression. S. T. Hosmer, G. K. Tanham. J1986.

This Note considers how the United States might better counter covert aggression. Among other issues, the study (1) examines the uses of terrorism, subversion, and insurgency as instruments of state policy; (2) analyzes the principal constraints on U.S. freedom of action to deter or respond to such aggression; and (3) suggests policy and operational measures that might help the United States and its allies to cope with covert aggression in the future.

**N-2490-AF** The Revolutionary Left and Terrorist Violence in Chile. W. F. Sater. 1986.

To provide an understanding of the current political situation in Chile, this Note reviews events leading up to the 1973 coup that established a military government there. In particular, it discusses the Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), which has become the principal opposition to the current government of Augusto Pinochet. The author reviews MIR's operations, membership, funding, and relations with other political elements in Chilean society. He concludes that a political solution to the troubles in Chile does not presently appear possible since Pinochet will not deal with the relatively moderate political elements in Chile. The situation is polarized and the prospects for terrorist violence are increasing.

**N-2685-RC** The PLO and Israel in Central America: The Geopolitical Dimension. B. Hoffman. 1988.

Recently, attention has been drawn to the close relations between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the ruling Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. The support, training, and arms furnished by the PLO to the Sandinistas and like-minded revolutionary movements in surrounding Central American countries have often been cited as proof that Nicaragua has been transformed into a base for international terrorism in the Western Hemisphere. This Note assesses the relationship between the PLO and the Sandinistas. In particular, it examines the geopolitical dimension of this relationship, i.e., the extension or transposition of the conflict between the PLO and Israel in the Middle East to Central America. In this respect, PLO support and assistance to the Sandinistas and other revolutionary movements in surrounding countries has

served as a counterbalance to Israeli support and arms sales to Nicaragua's neighbors in Central America.

**N-2706** The Threat of Nuclear Terrorism: A Reexamination. P. DeLeon, B. Hoffman, K. Kellen. 1988.

This study's primary concern is terrorist attacks against U.S. nuclear weapons systems in the United States or abroad. It first analyzes the motivations that might inspire various acts of nuclear terrorism. It then reviews the altered contexts that might affect terrorists' decisions to "go nuclear." Among these are the growing number of weapons warheads, increasing stocks of plutonium, the emergence of state-sponsored terrorism, and the escalation in terrorist attacks on indiscriminate targets. Although the authors believe that serious acts of nuclear terrorism remain unlikely, certain configurations of groups and situations seem more threatening than others.

**N-2964-RC** Terrorism: Policy Issues for the Bush Administration. B. M. Jenkins. 1989.

In many ways, the issue of terrorism transcends policy analysis; it also raises fundamental philosophical questions about the worth of individual human life when a person is held hostage, the existence and importance of American values as a constraint on operations even against those who are terrorists, the credibility of American diplomacy, the utility of military force, and the legitimacy of assassination. This Note touches upon these questions as it addresses the policy issues that are likely to confront the Bush Administration. Although rooted in analysis, it offers the author's personal view. In particular, he discusses the options available when terrorism is viewed as crime or as war; considers whether military force should be used; evaluates the use of covert operations against terrorists; outlines the problems associated with securing the release of hostages; and reviews the chances for sustaining international cooperation against terrorism. Finally, the author cautions about the domestic terrorism of gang violence associated with drug trafficking.

**N-3228-USDP** Urbanization and Insurgency--the Turkish Case, 1976-1980. S. Sayari, B. Hoffman. 1991.

One of the likely changes that will affect future low-intensity conflict is the vast urbanization process that is occurring in many Third World countries. This Note analyzes the relationship between explosive population growth in and around cities and armed extremism through a case study of the urban terrorism campaign that erupted in Turkey between 1976 and 1980. It focuses on two key issues: why cities were the main arenas of organized political violence in Turkey during this period, and the role rapid urbanization played in the creation of a favorable environment for terrorists. Terrorism, as the

Turkish case and many others suggest, is usually the product of multiple social, political, and economic factors. However, the uncontrolled and unplanned expansion of large metropolises, coupled with frequent political and economic crises, can create conditions susceptible to extremist exploitation, providing fertile ground for wide-scale violence and rebellion.

**N-3299-USDP** Underground Voices--Insurgent Propaganda in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Peru. C. Meyer. 1991.

This Note examines some of the ways in which guerrilla groups in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Peru influence their supporters and potential supporters with propaganda. Depending upon the information available about each group's propaganda operations, the study discusses the guerrillas' technical capabilities and attempts to analyze their choice of media, the content of their propaganda, and the ways in which they tailor this propaganda to appeal to specific audiences. By examining these guerrillas' efforts to control their constituencies through propaganda, the study attempts to illuminate some of the media options the groups have devised for themselves, their attitudes toward and relationship with their supporters, and the concerns they believe are most important to clarify and disseminate. The study draws primarily on translations of clandestine radio broadcasts published in the Federal Broadcast Information Service's "Daily Reports."

**N-3506-DOS** A Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Insurgency. B. Hoffman, J. M. Taw. 1992.

The strategies and tactics used by governments to counter terrorism and insurgency vary widely, from highly visible declarations of states of siege, for example, to less visible measures such as covert operations. In the absence of a national plan, the individual application of selected tactics and policies can do more harm than good. Governments must develop a plan that acknowledges all the elements of a counterterrorism or counterinsurgency campaign. There are four elements, used singly or in combination, that successful campaigns contain regardless of geographic regions, time periods, and political systems: (1) command and coordination; (2) effective antiterrorist legislation combined with measures to build public trust and support; (3) coordination within and between intelligence services; and (4) foreign collaboration amongst governments and security forces. This study examines the way these elements were applied across seven case studies, draws conclusions about the relative utility of different elements under various circumstances, and makes suggestions for future counterinsurgency and counterterrorism campaigns. The case studies include the three key British counterterrorist/counterinsurgency campaigns of the 1940s and 1950s involving Malaya, Kenya, and Cyprus; the more recent struggle in Northern Ireland; the 1965-1980

Rhodesian conflict; and the counterterrorist experiences of Germany and Italy during the 1970s and 1980s.

**N-3605-USDP** The Implications of Colombian Drug Industry and Death Squad Political Violence for U.S. Counternarcotics Policy. K. J. Riley. 1993.

An analysis of political violence in Colombia reveals that the drug industry has responded to key changes in counternarcotics policies with sharply higher levels of violence, and that death squad political violence is advancing virtually unchecked. These patterns of political violence pose severe challenges to regional U.S. counternarcotics policy. Greater efforts to control drug trafficking are likely to provoke more drug-related violence, but are unlikely to lead to significant reductions in cocaine trafficking. In addition, existing counternarcotics policy ignores the widening threat to political stability posed by death squad political violence. If U.S. policy is not reoriented to better address Colombia's primary interest in combatting all forms of political violence, the United States may find Colombia increasingly hesitant to support counternarcotics programs, thereby undermining the United States' ability to pursue regional objectives.

## ISSUE PAPERS

**IP-217-OSD** Measuring and Evaluating Local Preparedness for a Chemical or Biological Terrorist Attack. R. D. Fricker, J. O. Jacobson, L. M. Davis. 2002

The magnitude and character of recent terrorist events have called into question the readiness of the nation's state and local emergency response and health and medical personnel to respond effectively to future incidents, to correctly identify hazards as they occur, and to mitigate damage to persons and property. This issue paper discusses the challenges of measuring preparedness for chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction (WMD) incidents and illustrates the difficulties using detailed, nationally representative data from local response organizations on the existence and exercise of plans to address these types of incidents. It uses a RAND survey conducted from March to September 2001 about domestic terrorism involving WMD to a national cross-section of more than 1,000 state and local organizations. The survey results show that few organizations have a plan in place sufficient to address a moderately sized chemical and biological incident. The paper points out a major challenge for policymakers: formalizing and systematizing threat assessments and preparedness measures in order to provide a rational basis for future WMD preparedness policy decisions

**IP-218-A** Biometrics: Facing Up to Terrorism. J. D. Woodward. 2001.

Biometric-based systems will become increasingly important tools for identifying known and suspected terrorists. One tool to counter the threat of terrorism is the use of emerging biometric technologies. "Biometrics" refers to the use of a person's physical characteristics or personal traits—such as fingerprints, faces, voices, or handwritten signatures—for identification. Biometric-based systems provide automatic, nearly instantaneous identification of a person by converting the biometric into digital form and then comparing it against a computerized database. This issue paper offers recommendations as to how biometric technologies can be used to improve security and thereby help safeguard our communities against future terrorist attacks. Specifically, it discusses how biometric technologies could be used to impede terrorism in three critical areas: (1) controlling access to sensitive facilities at airports, (2) preventing identity theft and fraud in the use of travel documents, and (3) identifying known or suspected terrorists. There is no high-tech silver bullet to solve the terrorism problem. And it is very doubtful that facial recognition or other biometric technologies could have prevented the terrorist attacks on September 11th. But to the extent we can improve access control at sensitive facilities such as airports, reduce identity theft and immigration fraud, and identify known or suspected terrorists, then we make terrorism more difficult in the future.

**IP-221-OSD** Are Local Health Responders Ready for Biological and Chemical Terrorism? L. M. Davis, J. C. Blanchard. 2002.

The public health and medical communities have long sought to address the threat of biological, chemical, or other weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their potential effects on the health and safety of U.S. citizens. The United States has made some key advances in the past five years or so toward increasing the capacity of the public health system to conduct disease surveillance, establishing pharmaceutical stockpiles, and improving the training of medical and public health personnel to detect and treat victims. However, despite these important strides, another key challenge remains: Are local public health agencies and our nation's hospitals (both public and private) prepared to deal with biological or chemical terrorism? Just prior to the September 11 attacks, RAND completed a nationwide survey of state and local response organizations. In this issue paper, the authors discuss some of the results for city and county ("local") public health departments and general acute care hospitals (both public and private). The authors find that, to have an effective public health and medical response to a terrorist attack, more-effective planning is needed at the local level. The focus to date has been primarily on capacity-building and

on educational activities. There is a need to go beyond these efforts. Only through integrated planning and exercises and improved communications between health responders and other emergency responders will local communities be able to respond effectively to these emerging threats.

**IP-223-SCA** The Implications of the September 11 Terrorist Attacks for California: A Collection of Issue Papers. K. J. Riley, M. Hanson. 2002.

RAND has been instrumental in developing a line of research regarding terrorism. This collection of issue papers extends that research. Although the issue papers focus on California, the lessons are drawn from experience in various parts of the United States and from other countries, and they clearly have national implications. Each issue paper focuses on a different policy aspect. Three focus on the economy, including the effects of September 11 on the travel and tourism industry in California, on the U.S. airline industry in relation to the California economy, and on the possible limited availability of insurance on California's economy. Others address California's preparedness for attacks by weapons of mass destruction, access and control of dangerous biological materials, and California's capabilities for coping with the psychological effects of terrorism. This collection of issue papers compellingly illustrates that there is work to be done to improve our understanding of terrorism's longer-term effects, but that some of the consequences feared in the initial days and weeks after the attacks of September 11, 2001, are not likely to materialize. In both these regards, research will continue to play a vital role in shaping the development of appropriate long-term policy responses.

## RGS DISSERTATIONS

**RGSD-166** The Eye of the Believer: Psychological Influences on Counter-Terrorism Policy-Making. J. M. Schachter. 2002.

This dissertation examines social psychological aspects of the foreign and counter-terrorism policy-making processes. It presents common psychological biases that affect how we understand the behavior of foreign actors in general and of substate terrorist groups in particular, discusses the impact of these biases on policies, and examines how the effects of those biases can be limited in the future. The author presents three illustrative historical case studies: Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's negotiation with Syrian president Hafiz al-Asad following the 1973 Arab-Israeli War; the U.S.-Israeli understanding of the use of violence by Hamas and the Palestinian

Authority; and the gross differences in perception of America's counter-terrorism deterrent messages by both the senders and receivers of those messages, which ultimately led to the deterrence failure on September 11. These cases demonstrate how often-imperceptible psychological biases affected the actors involved, distorting their situational assessments, constraining their subsequent decisionmaking, and resulting in harm to U.S. long-term interests and in substantial loss of life. The author suggests that counter-bias strategies, including creating awareness of preconceptions and biases, might have led to different sets of decisions. He concludes by presenting a critical analysis of specific counter-terrorism policy options for the near and long term.

## REPRINTS

**RP-239** Future Trends in Terrorist Targeting and Tactics. B. Hoffman. 1993.

Originally published in *Special Warfare*, July 1993.

**RP-438** Terrorism and Politics in Iran. J. D. Green. 1995.

Originally published in *Terrorism in Context*, University Park, PA, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.

**RP-562-1** The RAND-St. Andrews Chronology of International Terrorism, 1994. B. Hoffman, D. K. Hoffman. 1997.

Originally published in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, v. 7, no. 4, Winter 1995.

**RP-666** The RAND-St. Andrews Chronology of International Terrorist Incidents, 1995. B. Hoffman, D. K. Hoffman. 1998.

For the purposes of The RAND-St. Andrews Chronology of Terrorism, terrorism is defined by the nature of the act, not by the identity of the perpetrators or the nature of the cause. Terrorism is violence, or the threat of violence, calculated to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm. These acts are designed to coerce others into actions they would otherwise not undertake or refrain from taking actions that they desired to take. Incidents in this chronology are concerned with international violence, defined here as incidents in which terrorists go abroad to strike their targets, select victims or targets that have connections with a foreign state, or create international incidents by attacking airline passengers, personnel, and equipment. Although the chronology focuses on international terrorism, it is recognized that domestic political violence is often related and overlaps. Tactics in

this chronology include kidnapping, bombing, and attacks on installations. Originally published in, v. 8, no. 3, Autumn 1996.

**RP-801** Is Europe Soft on Terrorism? B. Hoffman. 1999.

Originally published in *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1999.

**RP-898** The Enigma of Political Stability in the Persian Gulf Monarchies. D. Byman, J. D. Green. 2000.

The stability of Gulf Arab monarchies has been remarkable given the high level of regional conflict and the unsteadiness of other countries in the region. The authors first analyze the reasons those states might be expected to face major internal unsteadiness, then discuss the policies their governments have followed that have allowed them to survive. To control unrest, Gulf monarchies use a combination of six tools: (1) strong security services; (2) co-opting of potential dissidents; (3) divide-and-rule tactics; (4) ideological flexibility; (5) pseudo-participation—appointed and representative institutions to provide discussion and decisionmaking input; and (6) accomodative diplomacy—placating potential foreign adversaries with noncontroversial foreign policies and generous aid. Originally published in *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, (*MERIA*), v. 3, no. 3, September 1999.

**RP-1050** RAND: How Think Tanks Interact with the Military. M. D. Rich. 2003.

Think tanks that work with defense and intelligence agencies once focused exclusively on regional and functional topics, but these organizations are now also being called upon to help the military address the new challenges of terrorism and homeland security. RAND researchers, who have been studying terrorism for more than 30 years, are now helping decisionmakers develop a comprehensive analytical approach to defending against terrorism attacks and, at the same time, they are doing an increased amount of research on other issues for governments around the world. Originally published in *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda*, v. 7, no. 3, November 2002.

**RP-1051** Cyber-Terrorism: The Threat of the Future? A. Rathmell. 2003.

Is cyber-terrorism the threat of the future? The convergence of technological and socio-political trends indeed suggests that cyber-terrorism may be the wave of the future. If warfare is going to be conducted in cyberspace and if the combatants of the future are going to be irregulars, then cyber-terrorism is the logical paradigm of future conflict. However, assessing the real extent of the future threat from cyber-terrorism requires conceptually clear strategic analysis and detailed case studies. This

article undertakes this task by, first, identifying what we mean by Information Warfare (IW) and then discussing which aspects of IW may be of use to sub-state groups. The article then turns to an assessment of the extent of use of IW techniques today before analysing how one specific group, the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), may use IW. Originally published in *RUSI Journal*, v. 142, no. 5, October 1997.

**RP-1057** Regional Demographics and the War on Terrorism. B. Nichiporuk. 2003.

The ultimate success of the United States and her allies in the war on terrorism will depend on myriad variables. Some, such as military capabilities and public support for military operations, are well known or easily discerned. Others are less obvious, but will still be critical. Among these, according to the author, are demographic trends in regions where counter-terror campaigns are being prosecuted, and the effectiveness of U.S. policies, formulated in response to these trends, to mitigate the appeal of Islamist extremism. Originally published in *RUSI Journal*, v. 148, no. 1, February 2003.

## CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

**CF-176-OSTP** Protecting Emergency Responders: Lessons Learned from Terrorist Attacks. B. A. Jackson, D. J. Peterson, J. T. Bartis, T. LaTourrette, I. T. Brahmakulam, A. Houser, J. M. Sollinger. 2002.

This report presents a summary of a December 2001 working conference, sponsored by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health. Attending were emergency workers who responded to the bombing of the Murrah Building in Oklahoma City, the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the anthrax incidents that occurred during autumn 2001. The report addresses the equipment, training and information required to protect emergency responders as they meet the challenge of protecting their communities

**CF-193-OSTP** The Office of Science and Technology Policy Blue Ribbon Panel on the Threat of Biological Terrorism Directed Against Livestock. T. K. Kelly, P. Chalk, J. Bonomo, J. Parachini, B. A. Jackson, G. Cecchine. 2004.

Motivated by the growing threat of terrorism to the nation's homeland, the Office of Science and Technology, in conjunction with the RAND Science and Technology Policy Institute, organized and convened a Blue Ribbon Panel in early December 2003 to prioritize a future research and development agenda for combating

biological acts of agro-terrorism directed against U.S. livestock and related produce. This report contains the papers submitted for the two-day conference, provides an overview of the findings and recommendations of the forum's breakout groups, and discusses the wider threat contingencies related to agro-terrorism.

## TESTIMONY

**CT-106** The World Trade Center Bombing, the Three Mile Island Intrusion and the Potential Threat to U.S. Nuclear Power Plants. B. Hoffman. 1993.

**CT-175** Combating Terrorism: In Search of a National Strategy. B. Hoffman. 2001.

**CT-176** Protecting American Interests Abroad: U.S. Citizens, Business, and Non-Governmental Organizations. B. Hoffman. 2001.

**CT-181** Preparing for the War on Terrorism. B. Hoffman. 2001.

**CT-182** Re-Thinking Terrorism in Light of a War on Terrorism. B. Hoffman. 2001.

**CT-183** Combating Terrorism: Assessing the Threat of Biological Terrorism. J. Parachini. 2001.

**CT-184** Terrorism, Infrastructure Protection, and the U.S. Food and Agricultural Sector. P. Chalk. 2001.

**CT-186** Anthrax Attacks, Biological Terrorism and Preventive Responses. J. Parachini. 2001.

**CT-187** Terrorism: Current and Long Term Threats. B. M. Jenkins. 2001.

**CT-191** Biometrics: Facing Up to Terrorism. J. D. Woodward. 2001.

Biometric-based systems will become increasingly important tools for identifying known and suspected terrorists. One tool to counter the threat of terrorism is the use of emerging biometric technologies. "Biometrics" refers to the use of a person's physical characteristics or personal traits—such as fingerprints, faces, voices, or handwritten signatures—for identification. Biometric-based systems provide automatic, nearly instantaneous identification of a person by converting the biometric into digital form and then comparing it against a computerized database. This issue paper offers recommendations as to how biometric technologies can be used to improve

security and thereby help safeguard our communities against future terrorist attacks. Specifically, it discusses how biometric technologies could be used to impede terrorism in three critical areas: (1) controlling access to sensitive facilities at airports, (2) preventing identity theft and fraud in the use of travel documents, and (3) identifying known or suspected terrorists. There is no high-tech silver bullet to solve the terrorism problem. And it is very doubtful that facial recognition or other biometric technologies could have prevented the terrorist attacks on September 11th. But to the extent we can improve access control at sensitive facilities such as airports, reduce identity theft and immigration fraud, and identify known or suspected terrorists, then we make terrorism more difficult in the future.

**CT-194** Privacy Vs. Security: Electronic Surveillance in the Nation's Capital. J. D. Woodward. 2002.

On March 22, 2002, RAND Senior Policy Analyst John Woodward testified before a hearing of the Subcommittee on the District of Columbia of the House Committee on Government Reform. The subcommittee convened the hearing in response to law enforcement's use of video surveillance at public areas in Washington, D.C. The testimony focuses on reasons for and concerns about the use of such technology, the legal status quo with respect to such use, options for Congress to consider, and issues related to future use of electronic surveillance and other technologies.

**CT-198** After 9/11: Stress and Coping Across America. M. A. Schuster, B. D. Stein, L. Jaycox, R. L. Collins, G. N. Marshall, M. N. Elliott, A. J. Zhou, D. E. Kanouse, J. L. Morrison, S. H. Berry. 2002.

**CT-201** Lessons of 9/11. B. Hoffman. 2002.

**CT-203** Remarks Before the Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. B. M. Jenkins. 2003.

**CT-205** Remarks Before the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. M. A. Wermuth. 2003.

**CT-213** The Bio-Terrorist Threat to Agricultural Livestock and Produce. P. Chalk. 2003.

**CT-216** Empowering State and Local Emergency Preparedness: Recommendations of the Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction. M. A. Wermuth. 2004.

Testimony presented to the Committee on the Judiciary, Council of the District of Columbia on February 6, 2004.

**CT-220** Improving Terrorism Warnings--the Homeland Security System. M. A. Wermuth. 2004.

Testimony presented to the House Committee on Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations on March 16, 2004.

**CT-224** Terrorism and Rail Security. K. J. Riley. 2004.

Testimony presented to the Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee on March 23, 2004.

**CT-225** The Effect of Terrorist Attacks in Spain on Transatlantic Cooperation in the War on Terror. J. Dobbins. 2004.

Testimony presented to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Subcommittee on European Affairs on March 31, 2004.

## CORPORATE PUBLICATIONS

**CP-22-0112** RAND Review. Vol. 25, No. 3, Fall 2001. K. F. McCarthy, M. Schoenbaum, C. D. Sherbourne, L. V. Rubenstein, K. B. Wells, J. A. Thomson, I. O. Lesser, J. D. Green, D. Byman, J. Arquilla, D. F. Ronfeldt, B. Hoffman, B. M. Jenkins, J. D. Woodward, J. Godges. 2001.

The cover story consists of eight commentaries that outline complementary strategies for the long-term war against terrorism. A second article describes how American arts organizations can adapt to shifting audiences. A third article explains that improvements in depression care pay for themselves.

**CP-22-0208** RAND Review. Vol. 26, No. 2, Summer 2002. J. A. Thomson, B. M. Jenkins, R. E. Hunter, C. R. Anthony, N. Lurie, K. Cragin, P. Chalk, D. C. Gompert, J. D. Green, C. R. Neu, J. Parachini, E. R. Harshberger, B. R. Nardulli, G. T. Lee, B. Hoffman, E. V. Larson, R. Brennan, J. A. Isaacson, K. M. O'Connell, B. W. Don, D. Mussington, G. B. Kauvar, B. Rostker, R. D. Shaver, K. I. Shine, R. W. Glenn, K. J. Riley, L. S. Dixon, R. K. Stern, D. J. Peterson, R. W. Archibald, J. J. Medby, B. Rosen, J. Schachter, T. Bonds, L. M. Davis, J. C. Blanchard, M. A. Schuster, B. D. Stein, T. L. Tanielian, H. A. Pincus, M. A. Burnam, G. Zellman, S. M. Gates, J. Godges. 2002.

Since Sept. 11, 2001, RAND researchers have examined the dimensions of the terrorist threat, and the potential responses to it, in greater detail than ever before in RAND's three decades of counterterrorism research. Other

stories in this issue of RAND Review discuss why some societies die while others survive, why some drugs are regulated while others are not, and why the best kind of child care often comes from an unexpected source.

**CP-22-0304** RAND Review. Vol. 27, No. 1, Spring 2003. B. M. Jenkins, P. K. Davis, P. G. Shekelle, M. A. Maglione, S. C. Morton, S. J. Bodilly, B. P. Gill, M. Berends, S. N. Kirby, J. W. Dembosky, J. P. Caulkins, C. S. Wagner, J. Godges. 2003.

The cover story illuminates the debate about the safety and efficacy of the herb ephedra. Another story highlights the contrasting lessons learned by different educational interventions. A third story outlines a "systems approach" to counterterrorism. Smaller articles discuss the role of domestic abuse in marital breakups, the inadequacy of existing early-warning systems to safeguard the public health, and the dangers to society of "weapons of mass creation," which are associated with genetic manipulation.

**CP-22-0404** RAND Review. Vol. 28, No. 1, Spring 2004. C. Benard, B. Hoffman, B. M. Jenkins, R. Sturm, D. Lakdawalla, P. S. Antón, J. Godges. 2004.

The cover story argues that new threats to national security represent fundamental changes in the ecology of conflict. Related stories characterize terrorist leaders as corporate CEOs and suggest how the West could promote an Islamic reformation. A story on obesity charts the growing costs and disabilities associated with the epidemic. Shorter articles discuss the deficiencies of educational proficiency standards and the need to retain wind tunnels. News items cover the varied levels of preparedness for homeland security, the shifting South Korean attitudes toward America, the trends shaping the future workplace, the positive influences against smoking among African American youth, and the ability of new clinical interventions to erase disparities in care for depression.

**CP-22-9901** RAND Review. Vol. 22, No. 2, Winter 1998-99. B. Hoffman, J. Godges. 1999.

## PAPERS

**P-6474** Terrorism in the United States. B. M. Jenkins. 1980.

Surveys levels of terrorism in the United States and concludes that there does not appear to be a major terrorist threat in the United States at the present time comparable to the level and persistence of the terrorist campaigns waged in Spain, Italy, or Northern Ireland during the 1970s. However, such politically motivated groups as the anti-Castro Cubans, Puerto Rican separatists, and Croatian

separatists have claimed credit for significant bombings and assassinations in the United States over the past several decades. This level of political violence is likely to continue, whether it is generated by these groups or others organized around new social controversies, such as nuclear power.

**P-6513** The Potential Criminal Adversaries of Nuclear Programs: A Portrait. B. M. Jenkins. 1980.

Text of a speech describing perpetrators of potential criminal acts against nuclear programs in terms of their possible motivations, actions, methods, resources, and capabilities. Though assessment of crime in the nuclear domain is necessarily speculative, it is possible to say that a broad range of threats and adversaries must be anticipated. Ideologically motivated criminals would include political terrorists, anti-nuclear extremists, and other fanatics. Economically motivated types would include those attempting theft for ransom, sale (no known nuclear black market exists, but one is possible), or extortion. Personally motivated individuals might act out of specific grievances or mental instability. Possible criminal actions range from hoax bomb threats to theft of nuclear material for use in some sort of nuclear dispersal or explosive device. Physical resources (men and weapons) pose less of a problem for adversaries than special human resources (technical skills, willingness to accept great risk, inside information). If it follows the pattern of sophisticated nonnuclear theft, nuclear theft is likely to involve the collusion of insiders, from security guards to management.

**P-6563** The Study of Terrorism: Definitional Problems. B. M. Jenkins. 1980.

As incidents of terrorism have increased in the past decade, the phenomenon of terrorism has become of concern to governments and of increasing interest to scholars. The term "terrorism" has no precise or widely-accepted definition. The problem of defining terrorism is compounded by the fact that terrorism has recently become a fad word often applied to a variety of acts of violence which are not strictly terrorism. The paper defines terrorism and cites examples of international terrorist events. Problems discussed include deciding whether to consider activities of separatist groups, violence carried out by terrorists operating within their own country, individual hijackings, and bombings as instances of terrorism. The Rand chronology of terrorist activities has been a useful tool in assessing the magnitude of the terrorist problem. Results have shown that the level of international terrorism perceived by the public is frequently determined by the quality of the incidents, location, and degree of media coverage, not by the level of violence.

**P-6564** Terrorism in the 1980s. B. M. Jenkins. 1980.

Reviews terrorism in the 1970s and foresees its persistence in the 1980s. The author speculates that terrorists possibly may abandon their aversion to large-scale violence as their acts become more commonplace, lose publicity value, and wrest diminishing returns from increasingly resistant governments. Governments are increasing their expenditures for security services. Those of the private sector appear to be increasing even more rapidly. The lower levels of terrorist violence in the United States may move upward—mainly, the author suspects, in response to developments abroad, particularly political struggles in Central America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East. The author lists several dangers that may not lead directly to terrorist violence in the United States but promote an atmosphere conducive to it—notably, disaffection with government, corporations, and law enforcement agencies, and the possible resurgence of racism, religious fanaticism, narrow interest groups, and single-issue politics that permit no compromise.

**P-6585** Fighting Terrorism: An Enduring Task. B. M. Jenkins. 1981.

Presents questions and answers from an interview with ADN-Kronos, an Italian news service, published in *Il Messaggero* and later in the *Washington Post*. Discusses the international connections between terrorist groups (mainly logistical), the differences between Italian and other terrorists, the seemingly low level of terrorism in the United States (which consists largely of symbolic bombings with few deaths, and is overshadowed by other violent crime), the increasing resistance of governments to terrorist demands, the diminishing publicity value of terrorist actions as they become commonplace, and the inadvisability of censoring news media to deprive terrorists of publicity. The author suggests that tolerance of some degree of terrorism may simply be the price we must pay to maintain democratic free societies.

**P-6586** Testimony Before the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee Regarding Senate Bill Against Terrorism, January 27, 1978. B. M. Jenkins. 1981.

The author believes that terrorist tactics will persist as a mode of political expression, of gaining international attention, and of achieving limited political goals. Unique problems involved in combatting terrorism are enumerated, among them the fact that the terrorist adversary does not act according to established rules of warfare or diplomacy. Although lessons can and should be learned and contingency plans formulated, there can be no prescribed course of action based on prior terrorist episodes. The author suggests consideration of a small permanent staff to support the proposed Council to Combat Terrorism and details its advantages. He

concludes that the fight against terrorism will remain a continuing task, that governments must be flexible when dealing with terrorism, and that, above all, they must demonstrate that they and not the terrorists are in charge.

**P-6591** An Agenda for Quantitative Research on Terrorism. W. W. Fowler. 1980.

Numeric databases can support the application of quantitative methods to the study of terrorism. Methods are outlined that can ultimately provide a system for monitoring and projecting aggregate trends in subnational violence. Such methods can also extract information for basic research and analysis of policy. The proposed approach to research is divided into two phases. First, methods are developed to create a set of profiles defining the behavior patterns of individual terrorist groups. The profiles are a set of numeric indexes, each of which measures the frequency, severity, quality, and effect of terrorist acts. Aggregate profiles would be created to reflect national, regional, and international behavior. Second, the profiles of the attributes of terrorism would be used as the empirical base for more sophisticated modeling.

**P-6597** International Terrorism: Choosing the Right Target. B. M. Jenkins. 1981.

The author addresses the question of "What really is the Soviet role in international terrorism?" The Soviet Union provides direct and indirect support, including arms and training, to many groups that have used terrorist tactics in the course of their struggle. There is, however, no convincing evidence that the Soviets are orchestrating terrorism worldwide. Publicly blaming the Soviet Union for terrorism may give any future measure proposed to combat it the cast of an anti-Soviet ploy. The author feels that now is the propitious time to seek an international agreement reasserting diplomatic immunity and calling for diplomatic isolation of nations who indulge in terrorist activities. If we go after the Russians instead, the terrorists may get away.

**P-6624** A Strategy for Combatting Terrorism. B. M. Jenkins. 1981.

A discussion of measures required to do something effective about terrorism. For the United States, the problem lies mainly outside its borders and there it is a very serious problem. The United States often has only marginal influence over the policies of other governments and therefore over the outcome of such terrorist incidents abroad in which Americans may be involved. The current U.S. approach emphasizes the need for better intelligence; heavier security; a no-concessions policy; effective management of terrorist incidents; and the creation and use of special antiterrorist military capabilities as a

measure of last resort. Because the primary concern is international terrorism, strategy must be aimed at seeking international cooperation. This means identifying, isolating, and ultimately modifying the behavior of those states that support terrorists with training, money, weapons, or asylum, or passively tolerate them. Any effective defense against terrorists must be of an international sort, binding together in common policies and actions nations and governments that often have vastly divergent views on almost anything, including some aspects of terrorism.

**P-6627** The Psychological Implications of Media-Covered Terrorism. B. M. Jenkins. 1981.

An expanded version of the author's presentation before an international seminar on Terrorism and the Mass Media held in Sicily, April 1981. In our age of mass communications, the role of the news media cannot be separated from the acts of terrorism. By carrying out inherently dramatic, deliberately shocking acts of violence, terrorists hope to attract attention to their causes and project themselves as forces to be reckoned with. The amount of terrorist violence and murder is trivial when measured against the world volume of violence and murder, but this is not apparent from the proportional weight given to terrorism in the media. Perhaps the greatest danger posed by terrorism and its reportage is that the resulting atmosphere of alarm and danger will provoke reactions that imperil democracy—many may view the very laws which guarantee individual liberties as impediments to eradicating terrorism. The media have a difficult middle road to follow.

**P-6666** Combatting Terrorism: Some Policy Implications. B. M. Jenkins. 1981.

In this paper a strategy for combatting terrorism is outlined. For the United States, the problem lies mainly outside its borders, but it also faces the problems of domestic terrorism, and remotely, the possibility of single incidents of greater magnitude than terrorists have engaged in thus far. The world will not simply outlaw international terrorism. However, it may be possible to create a corpus of international agreements on terrorism each aimed at a specific terrorist tactic, and the United States should address its efforts in this direction. The primary responsibility for combatting domestic terrorism lies with local law enforcement and, at the federal level, the Department of Justice. It is possible that terrorists or other kinds of criminals will in the future escalate their violence and create events that are of greater magnitude. The emphasis in such cases would be on an assessment of the credibility of the threat, rapid deployment of prevention or mitigation measures in threats to public safety or vital facilities, restoration of services, or recovery.

**P-6749** Diplomats on the Front Line. B. M. Jenkins. 1982.

A review of trends, tactics, and targets of terrorist attacks against diplomats since 1968, and some suggestions for areas in which international cooperation could help solve the problem. Chronologies of terrorist incidents maintained by the U.S. government and RAND show a dramatic increase in attacks on diplomatic targets, particularly in the last two years. There are more attacks, they involve more nations, and they cover a greater geographic area. Assassinations are increasing; kidnappings have declined. Embassy takeovers, which became common in the late 1970s, primarily due to political turmoil in Iran and El Salvador, declined in 1981. American diplomats have been the favorite targets, and 10 nations of the 66 targeted have accounted for more than half of the incidents. International agreements appear to be of little use against most types of terrorist activity, but agreements calling for collective sanctions appear necessary to arrest the growing trend toward government-backed terrorism as a form of surrogate warfare.

**P-6750** Talking to Terrorists. B. M. Jenkins. 1982.

A discussion of the processes and problems of communicating with terrorists during diplomatic kidnapping incidents. Governments must communicate not only with the kidnapers, but also with other governments, news media, constituents, and the families of the hostages. Some governments prohibit direct communication with kidnapers, so intermediaries must be used, or the kidnapers may attempt to deal directly with hostages' families. Families' concern with hostage safety may make them willing to offer concessions, exert pressure on the government, or publicly criticize officials for "abandoning" the victims. Terrorists also have many audiences for their communications—their opponents, perceived constituents, the local population, other potential targets, other terrorists—and a different message is aimed at each. Because most messages are public, their content is often confusing and conflicting. Nine general principles for improving the effectiveness of communications with terrorists are suggested.

**P-6858** Subnational Conflict in the Mediterranean Region. B. M. Jenkins. 1983.

The Mediterranean region continues to be an arena of international and internal conflict. This paper reviews the patterns of conflict in the Mediterranean since World War II. The constant conflict in the area has made this part of the world the cradle of international terrorism in its contemporary form. Many of the nations in the Mediterranean region have increasingly supported or exploited guerrilla or terrorist groups as a means of waging surrogate warfare against their foes. In recent

years, a number of security analysts have warned that terrorists may turn to targets in the maritime environment and there are ample maritime targets in the Mediterranean. While maritime terrorism is possible and has been tried on a small scale, subnational groups active in Mediterranean countries currently possess a limited capacity for low-level maritime operations. Continued international and subnational conflict seems likely to occur in the region and future plans must take this into account.

**P-6897** Some Reflections on Recent Trends in Terrorism. B. M. Jenkins. 1983.

Presents a review of recent trends in terrorism and discusses possible future developments. While governments grow tougher and more efficient, terrorists persist and grow more savage. And terrorism increases.

**P-6906** A Chronology of Terrorist Attacks and Other Criminal Actions Against Maritime Targets. B. M. Jenkins, B. Cordes, K. Gardela, G. Petty. 1983.

A list of terrorist incidents involving harbors, offshore platforms, and ships at sea.

**P-6931** Let's Not Punish Ourselves for Beirut. B. M. Jenkins. 1983.

Originally published in the *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 1983. The Marines in Beirut died because some Middle East government or group considered peace not in its interest and persuaded some fanatic to crash a truck loaded with explosives into the Marine headquarters. They did not die because the United States blundered or abdicated responsibility for their safety.

**P-6946** Terrorism: Between Prudence and Paranoia. B. M. Jenkins. 1983.

In an atmosphere of fear and alarm, extraordinary security precautions are being taken in the United States as a matter of prudence. That is what terrorism is really all about. Lacking conventional power, extremists use terrorist tactics to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm. It often works. How much security is enough? Extraordinary security measures fulfill the wildest fantasies of the terrorists. They want the mighty to tremble. We see our government now as beleaguered. Extraordinary security measures are a highly visible demonstration of the potency of terrorists. Obviously, we must take precautions, not only against terrorist attacks, but also against psychological effects of terrorism—and of the measures we take in the name of security. The problem is that there is no line between prudence and paranoia; if we let ourselves go, we could work ourselves up into a frenzy of fear that not even the terrorists could improve on.

**P-6953** The Siege Mentality in Beirut: An Historical Analogy Between the British in Palestine and the Americans in Lebanon. B. Hoffman. 1984.

This paper recounts experiences of the British Army in 1947 in Palestine, where they were, like the U.S. Marines during 1983 in Lebanon, deployed in urban areas and subjected to hit-and-run attacks by an anonymous adversary. The response of the British then to repeated attacks, like that proposed in Washington in 1983, was to increase fortifications. The author suggests that the British experience is relevant for the U.S. Marines in Lebanon: Determined adversaries are likely to find a way to undermine the defenses of what may be regarded as even the most impregnable installation.

**P-6962** Testimony Before the Committee on the Judiciary. B. M. Jenkins. 1984.

This testimony reviews recent trends in terrorism worldwide, examines the terrorist threat in the United States, and briefly discusses some of the problems of intelligence and physical security against terrorist attacks.

**P-6981** Recent Trends in Palestinian Terrorism. B. Hoffman. 1984.

This paper chronologically surveys Palestinian terrorist activity against Israeli and Jewish targets since Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June 1982. It reviews shifts in the PLO's political and financial position, the PLO's use of surrogate terrorists to attack targets outside Israel, and terrorist acts committed by Palestinians against both Palestinians and Arabs. The statistics indicate that Israel's invasion of Lebanon did little to decrease Palestinian terrorist activity: the attacks merely shifted from targets within Israel to ones outside. Recent events indicate, moreover, that the frequency of terrorist attacks in Israel is increasing and that the nature of the attacks is more serious.

**P-6988** Combatting Terrorism Becomes a War. B. M. Jenkins. 1984.

This paper discusses the implementation of the new National Security Directive signed by President Ronald Reagan on April 3, 1984. The new directive and the stated policy of the government make clear that the United States must be prepared to use force if it is to effectively combat state-sponsored terrorism. The directive constitutes a declaration of war against an unspecified terrorist foe, to be fought at an unknown place and time with weapons yet to be chosen. The paper examines the important policy and organizational implications of this declaration. The author concludes that the difficulties of implementing the policy ought not cause the United States to retreat in despair behind concrete barriers and wait for the next attack. Terrorism has become a new mode of warfare, one

increasingly used by aggressive and ruthless governments who may understand only force. Military force has to be an option. It is by no means the sole solution.

**P-7029** Right-Wing Terrorism in Europe Since 1980. B. Hoffman. 1984.

This paper recounts right wing terrorist activities in Italy, West Germany, and France since 1980, a year in which there was a dramatic increase in the number of such events. The author suggests that this surge may have resulted from official and public denigration of previous right-wing terrorism, and cautions against falling into the same apathy again. He reviews the international ties among terrorist groups, including a new affinity between right and left extremists. He concludes that, although there has been a general decline in neo-Nazi/neo-fascist terrorism since the 1980 bombings, the threat posed by right-wing extremists in Germany, France, and, to a lesser extent, Italy has not subsided.

**P-7055** Colombia's Bold Gamble for Peace. B. M. Jenkins. 1985.

Colombia's recent rash of kidnappings and terrorism has given rise to government efforts to put an end to the guerrilla warfare and political violence that have plagued the country for twenty years. To this end, in 1982 the government passed a law granting unconditional amnesty for all acts of rebellion and all crimes connected with the rebellion and later negotiated ceasefires with most of the guerrilla groups. While the amnesty and ceasefire negotiations provoked some divisions within guerrilla ranks, the level of violence increased, as did the number of kidnappings in 1983 and 1984. The government's single-minded pursuit of peace, driven largely by President Belisario Betancur, has provided the guerrillas with time to rest, recruit, and rearm, and has, to some extent, legitimized their activities and recognized the political content of their struggle. They are riding a wave of popularity but will have to concern themselves with staying in the headlines without using violence. The likely outcome is that some guerrillas will quit, leaving the most ruthless extremists, who may escalate the political violence.

**P-7059** The Prevention of Terrorism and Rehabilitation of Terrorists: Some Preliminary Thoughts. B. Hoffman. 1985.

This paper attempts to identify the factors that produce terrorists in order to arrive at ways of rehabilitating them and of preventing terrorism. It discusses the feelings of alienation—whether for social, economic, political, or psychological reasons—shared by terrorists, and the progression they follow from early, legal protest to acts of terrorism. Based on studies of terrorist prisoners in a

number of countries—including Italy, Germany, and Turkey—which have concluded that in many cases it was a matter of chance whether the terrorist joined a left- or right-wing group, the author cautions that attempts at rehabilitation along strict ideological or political lines may be ineffective. The provision of employment opportunities, with the upward social mobility that accompany them may have some effect, but will rarely be enough. Except for those on the lowest social levels, ideas may well be the lever with which to move terrorists and potential terrorists away from terrorism.

**P-7076** Recent Trends in Palestinian Terrorism. II. B. Hoffman. 1985.

This paper, a revised, updated version of P-6981, uses the RAND chronology of international terrorism to identify trends in Palestinian terrorist activity since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982: (1) There was little change in the total level of Palestinian terrorism against Israeli targets when measured over six-month intervals beginning in January 1982. (2) Surrogate attacks on Jewish and Israeli targets outside Israel by European and Latin American terrorist groups increased in the six months following the invasion, and then declined dramatically after December 1982. (3) The level of attacks on Israeli interests and citizens in Europe has remained constant since the July-December 1982 period. (4) Almost as many attacks are staged by Palestinian and Arab terrorists against Palestinian and Arab targets as are committed against Israeli and Jewish targets. The author concludes that, despite setbacks, the PLO's ability to undertake sustained terrorist operations against Israeli targets both inside and outside Israel has remained largely intact.

**P-7103** Military Force May Not Be Ruled Out. B. M. Jenkins. 1985.

This paper discusses options open to the United States in responding to two kinds of terrorism: "Ordinary" terrorism, committed by diverse terrorist groups, is the responsibility of the local government, and the U.S. response has been, and should remain, defensive. State-sponsored terrorism, instigated and directed by a handful of state sponsors now concentrated in the Middle East, is deadlier and can have a greater impact on U.S. foreign policy. The United States might apply diplomatic and economic sanctions to the state sponsors of terrorist acts; or it might lay the evidence before the Congress and the public and seek a resolution authorizing actions consistent with belligerent status, including the use of force; or it might use covert action. The author discusses the advantages and disadvantages of each approach. The general area of risk assessment of toxic chemicals has received increasing attention in recent years. The work described in this paper developed and applied a general

methodology for assessing the chronic health risks of toxic pollutant emissions from coal-fired electric power plants. Although it was developed for the utility industry and emphasizes surface water pollution, this methodology could generally be applied to toxic emissions from any point source. The paper demonstrates the use of this methodology by applying it to the control of one toxic pollutant at a hypothetical plant.

**P-7116** Shi'a Terrorism, the Conflict in Lebanon and the Hijacking of TWA Flight 847. B. Hoffman. 1985.

This paper was originally published as an op-ed piece in the *Los Angeles Times* on July 7, 1985. It reviews the background of the traditional sectarian rivalries and present internal power struggle for control of Lebanon in an effort to explain why the United States is the target of a terrorist campaign being waged by Lebanese Shi'a extremists. The author suggests that a key motive for the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 is the desire of the Hezbollah terrorists believed to be responsible to improve their standing with Lebanon's Shi'a, thus checking the ascendancy of Nabih Berri and Amal. Using the hijacking to bring American pressure to bear on Israel is a new ploy to obtain a solution to Lebanon's problems on militant Shi'a terms.

**P-7119** The Likelihood of Nuclear Terrorism. B. M. Jenkins. 1985.

This paper discusses the likelihood that terrorists will detonate or threaten to detonate a nuclear device. The author considers whether terrorists are technically able to acquire a nuclear device, but finds that the real argument centers around terrorists' motives and goals: their desire to be watched exceeds their desire to kill large numbers of people. The author also finds that terrorists are limited by self-imposed constraints that derive from moral or political considerations: the belief that indiscriminate violence is immoral, the fear of alienating their perceived constituents, and the danger of creating a split within their own group. Circumstances may also erode the constraints: terrorists may become brutalized by long years of struggle; they may feel compelled to escalate their violence to keep the public's attention; and their perceived enemies may be an entire ethnic group. The author concludes that the use of nuclear threats by terrorists is not impossible, but also is not imminent or inevitable.

**P-7124** Generational Changes in Terrorist Movements: The Turkish Case. S. Sayari. 1985.

This paper reviews trends in Turkish terrorism by examining the characteristics of three generations of terrorists from 1970 to the present. The first generation of Turkish terrorists came almost exclusively from the ranks of university students. They were the products of left-wing

student radicalism. Their ranks included very few females, several of their members were Kurdish, and they came from both middle- and upper-middle-class as well as rural and small-town backgrounds. The second and third generations of Turkish terrorists included students, but most were less educated than their predecessors. New groups were represented in their ranks as well: teachers, government employees, professionals, the unemployed, and women. These later generations of terrorists tend to be more action-oriented and less scrupulous about the use of violence than their more ideological first-generation counterparts. The author finds that the trends concerning generational changes among the Turkish terrorists have much in common with those in Italy and West Germany, except for the large numbers of uneducated young people recruited into the Turkish terrorist movement in the late 1970s.

**P-7139** The Future Course of International Terrorism. B. M. Jenkins. 1985.

This paper was originally presented at the International Conference on Current Trends in World Terrorism, Tel Aviv, Israel, July 1–4, 1985. It considers the forms terrorism is likely to take in the near future, the levels of violence terrorists are likely to use, and possible changes in terrorist tactics and their choice of targets. It also considers the future role of terrorism in armed conflict, and probable developments in security measures. The author concludes that terrorism will surely persist and is likely to increase; that large-scale incidents will become more common but will not involve the use of high technology or tools of mass destruction; that terrorist tactics, targets, and weapons will be much the same as they have been; that governments will continue to exploit terrorism; and that terrorists will force governments and corporations to divert more resources toward combatting them.

**P-7147** More Than Meets the Eye: The Seizure of the Achille Lauro. B. Hoffman. 1985.

This paper originally appeared as an op-ed piece in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner on Sunday, October 13, 1985. In it, the author draws parallels between two recent terrorist incidents, the hijacking of a TWA airliner in June of 1985, and the seizure of the luxury liner Achille Lauro in October: in both cases, innocent lives were threatened ostensibly to force other governments to put pressure on Israel. The author suggests that in both cases, the real motivation was to gain an advantage over rival Mideast terrorist groups. The terrorists who hijacked the luxury liner, in attempting to gain recognition by undermining Yasser Arafat's leadership and progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Palestinian question, may have produced the opposite effect, however. The author concludes that competition among terrorist groups will

continue to motivate acts of terrorism, even if the hijackers of the Achille Lauro are brought to trial.

**P-7163** The Aftermath of the Achille Lauro. B. M. Jenkins. 1985.

This paper, an abbreviated version of which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on October 27, 1985, discusses mistakes in diplomacy made by the U.S. government following the capture of the four hijackers of the Italian cruise ship, the Achille Lauro, and the subsequent demands for their extradition. The author suggests that these actions may have done more to damage relationships with Italy and Egypt, both important allies on whom the United States will continue to depend for intelligence, for negotiations, for bases, and for support in rescue efforts or operations against terrorists. He cautions that the capture of the hijackers of the Achille Lauro is one victory in the probably unending war against terrorism, and suggests that the United States assure its allies that in future antiterrorist efforts, it will act in concert with them, that it will be precise in its military actions, and considerate in its diplomacy.

**P-7175** The Other Terrorist War: Palestinian Versus Palestinian. B. Hoffman. 1986.

This paper originally appeared in the "Comment" section of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner on January 5, 1986. It discusses the terrorist attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports, responsibility for which has been laid to Abu Nidal's renegade Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) splinter group. It traces the history of the relationship between PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Abu Nidal, who share similar backgrounds and worked closely as associates in the PLO until 1974, when Arafat concluded that Palestinian goals could best be achieved through diplomacy. The author contends that the attacks represent Nidal's defiance of a ban on terrorist operations outside of Israel and the occupied territories that Arafat issued as a result of the embarrassment caused by the Achille Lauro hijacking. Nidal chose Italy and Austria, two countries that have formally recognized the PLO, as targets for attacks in order to undermine Arafat's leadership and his effectiveness as a negotiator of a settlement to the Palestinian question.

**P-7176** Future Trends in International Terrorism. B. M. Jenkins. 1985.

This paper surveys likely future trends in international terrorism, considering such issues as the probability that terrorism will persist, what its potential causes will be, whether it will increase in volume and violence, and whether terrorists will change their tactics, targets, and weapons. The author concludes that terrorism will persist and increase, but does not foresee major changes in

terrorist tactics or targets. Terrorist attacks will become more violent and indiscriminate, but terrorists are unlikely to threaten mass destruction. He warns that terrorism will become institutionalized as a mode of armed conflict for some, and most unfortunately, will become an accepted fact of contemporary life and therefore somehow "tolerable."

**P-7194** Terrorism in the United States During 1985. B. Hoffman. 1986.

This paper, originally presented before the American Jewish Committee National Affairs Commission National Task Force on Anti-Semitism and Extremism, reviews terrorist activities within the United States during 1985. The author notes the decline of terrorist incidents in the United States in 1985 compared to the previous year, and attributes it to the success of law enforcement agencies in arresting terrorists, and to disillusionment and dwindling numbers of ethnic/emigre and left-wing terrorists. He cautions that, despite an overall decline in terrorism in the United States during 1985, there remain sources of concern, among them the upsurge in violence by Jewish militants, the existence of a widespread network of volatile right-wing extremist organizations, and the apparent shift in the nature of anti-abortion terrorist operations.

**P-7209** Qaddafi: Idealist and Revolutionary Philanthropist. B. Cordes. 1986.

This paper, an expanded version of an op-ed piece that originally appeared in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner on December 15, 1985, reviews the motivations for the use or sponsorship of terrorism by Libya's Colonel Muammar Qaddafi; discusses his policies toward the West, and the United States in particular; and considers his relationship with other Arab countries. The author suggests that while Qaddafi's international behavior has destroyed his credibility outside Libya, it is the source of much of his support within Libya. Still, he must be on guard against threats to his person and his regime, making more repressive measures his only option.

**P-7221** Fixing the Blame: International Terrorism and Attacks on Americans. B. Hoffman. 1986.

This paper, which originally appeared as an op-ed piece in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, reviews recent terrorist attacks against American targets, and considers both the causes and pitfalls of fixing blame on such visible figures as Libya's Muammar Qaddafi. The author points out that it is tempting to link a state to a specific terrorist act in order to overcome the basic element of terrorism—confrontation by an enigmatic adversary. The risk in fixing our attention on flamboyant figures like Qaddafi, however, is that we will delude ourselves, hit the wrong target, and aggravate

an already-tense situation, while doing little, if anything, to prevent terrorist attacks on Americans.

**P-7250** The Implications of the Achille Lauro Hijacking for the Maritime Community. J. D. Simon. 1986.

This paper was originally presented at the First International Workshop on Violence at Sea, San Jose, California, March 17–19, 1986. It reviews the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship on October 3, 1985, and in light of that event, considers (1) the prospects that terrorist attacks at sea will become a regular form of international terrorism, (2) the need for improved security measures at ports and aboard ships; and (3) the feasibility of designing and implementing an intelligence-sharing network for the maritime community.

**P-7270** Right-Wing Terrorism in West Germany. B. Hoffman. 1986.

This paper discusses recent evidence that suggests that right-wing terrorism in Europe is a more serious threat than generally believed. The author reviews neo-Nazi and neo-fascist attacks of the past seven years, traces their transnational connections, and discusses cooperation between left- and right-wing terrorists. The author cautions that the threat posed by neo-Nazi terrorists cannot be dismissed or separated from other terrorist movements active in Europe.

**P-7294** How International Businesses Cope with Terrorism. S. W. Purnell. 1986.

This paper, which was originally presented to the Kansas City International Trade Club, November 20, 1986, addresses four issues: (1) why and where terrorists attack businesses, (2) the strategies that American firms have used to counter threats of terrorism, (3) the costs to companies of both terrorist attacks and the responses, and (4) the hostage experience. The author describes four general strategies that companies have developed for dealing with terrorist threats, including the institution of security programs, the promotion of management styles and personnel policies tailored to the risks, dealing with the terrorists themselves, and reducing or hedging the assets at risk. The author points out that most terrorism is episodic, and U.S. corporations have maintained their overseas operations long after the terrorist groups threatening them have gone.

**P-7297** The Shining Path and Peruvian Terrorism. G. H. McCormick. 1987.

Sendero Luminoso (or Shining Path) is an effective terrorist organization in Peru, rooted in a combination of Andean mysticism, Maoism, and the world view of its leader and organizer, Abimael Guzman. Sendero has

called for the abolition of a national market economy, industry, the banking system, all foreign trade, and the use of currency, and for the establishment of a communal, village-oriented economy based on a barter exchange system. Founded in the early 1970s and operating underground since 1978, Sendero is responsible for terrorist operations throughout Peru. Focusing on the revolution in Peru, Sendero's ultimate goal is a larger, Latin American revolution uniting the Quechua nation in a new socialist state. Although Sendero is a tight-knit, resilient organization, it is unlikely that it will succeed in overthrowing Peru's fragile democracy. It does, however, pose a threat to the government's security because of widespread domestic subversion and the additional threat of military intervention.

**P-7303** Should Our Arsenal Against Terrorism Include Assassination? B. M. Jenkins. 1987.

In a time of growing terrorist violence, assassination is sometimes mentioned as a countermeasure. This paper, an abbreviated version of which appeared in the November 16, 1986, issue of the Los Angeles Times, examines arguments for and against assassination as a means of combating terrorism. After reviewing the principal arguments in favor of assassination, the author presents ten arguments to explain his opposition to assassination as counterterrorist tool: (1) it is morally wrong; (2) it is illegal; (3) we should avoid acting like terrorists ourselves; (4) assassination of terrorists could justify further terrorist actions against us; (5) our opponents would have the advantage; (6) the replacement for the person we kill may be worse; (7) deciding whom to kill, whether hard-to-find terrorist leaders or state sponsors of terrorism, would be difficult; (8) assigning and assuming responsibility for giving an assassination order would be difficult; (9) assassins may have their own agendas; and (10) in the long run, it doesn't work.

**P-7365** When Terrorists Do the Talking: Reflections on Terrorist Literature. B. Cordes. 1987.

Much research has been done on what terrorists have done in the past and on identifying trends for predicting what they might do in the future. Less attention, however, has been given to terrorist motivations, mindset, or self-perceptions. Using primary materials such as memoirs, statements, interviews, and communiqués, this paper, published in the December 1987 Journal of Strategic Studies, discusses how terrorists see themselves, what they think they are doing, and what they think their actions will accomplish. It also proposes a simple framework for a more systematic examination of the terrorists' view of themselves and their actions. The author considers two aspects of terrorists' communications: how they persuade, or intend to persuade, others (the "propaganda aspect")

and how they persuade themselves (the "autopropaganda aspect").

**P-7406** Potential Threats to Offshore Platforms. B. M. Jenkins. 1988.

Increasingly spectacular acts of terrorism have led to growing concern that terrorists will move beyond the symbols of society and directly attack its technological and industrial targets, including offshore oil platforms. This paper, prepared for inclusion in Vol. 8 of TVI Report and in the World Air and Seaport Defence and Security Handbook for 1989, reviews past threats and incidents that have occurred at offshore platforms. It then examines the analogous threats and incidents that have been directed against the oil and gas industries. Using this information, the author constructs a theoretical portrait of potential adversaries and the potential actions they might take against offshore platforms. The history of criminal activity involving oil platforms supports an assessment that the threat is not high, and this assessment is reflected in current levels of security.

**P-7416** The Contrasting Ethical Foundations of Terrorism in the 1980s. B. Hoffman. 1988.

This paper argues that the character of the ethical foundations of terrorism have changed. Increasingly, terrorism is perpetrated by groups with a dominant religious component in contrast to the largely politically oriented groups of the past two decades. Terrorism motivated by a religious imperative is less discriminate than that with political aims, and it therefore encompasses a wider range of targets. In addition, the shift from a predominantly political to a largely religious motivation explains the increase in the lethality of terrorist acts more than does the growth in the number of terrorist groups or their need to commit more violent acts in order to attract public attention.

**P-7450** The Potential Terrorist Threat to Commercial Nuclear Facilities. B. Hoffman. 1988.

This paper presents testimony delivered in March 1988 to the Subcommittee on General Oversight and Investigations, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, summarizing the results of The RAND Corporation's recent research on the capabilities of terrorists who might be likely to attempt a takeover of a nuclear facility or the theft and misuse of a nuclear weapon. After reviewing terrorist trends in general and those of U.S.-based terrorist groups in particular, he determines that a threat to the U.S. nuclear domain is most likely to arise from right-wing extremists, but the chance of this occurring is small at present. Nevertheless, since terrorists would be inclined to target the least secure sites, the author recommends that the Nuclear Regulatory

Commission upgrade its protection and amend its "design basis threat" to include terrorists' use of land vehicles.

**P-7540** The Terrorist Threat to Commercial Aviation. B. M. Jenkins. 1989.

This paper, originally presented at the International Seminar on Aviation Security, Herzeliyya, Israel, February 5–9, 1989, reviews the statistics on terrorist attacks—hijackings and sabotage—on commercial airliners since the first such hijacking involving an El Al plane in 1968. The author also considers the physical security measures undertaken by airlines and airports, and suggests that besides improving screening methods in boarding areas, we must improve control of "back door" access to planes and cargo. Finally, while threats against airlines will remain a major problem, the author recommends that they not be publicized. Instead, he suggests, greater effort must be devoted to determining which threats are credible.

**P-7541** The Possibility of Soviet-American Cooperation Against Terrorism. B. M. Jenkins. 1989.

This paper reviews an unofficial meeting held in Moscow, January 23–27, 1989, at which scholars and journalists from the Soviet Union and the United States met to discuss cooperative action against terrorism. The author outlines the process by which the meeting came about, describes the structure of the meetings, and discusses Soviet perceptions of the terrorist threat and possible explanations for Soviet interest in a cooperative effort. The participants agreed upon a list of specific suggestions on how their governments might increase cooperation. However, the author cautions against expecting too much, given the difficulty of cooperating even with traditional allies. The paper includes the text of the final statement issued by the conference, and a list of participants.

**P-7585** U.S. Policy Options to the Hostage Crisis in Lebanon. B. Hoffman. 1989.

The execution of American hostage Lt. Col. William Higgins has again underscored the power that a handful of Middle Eastern terrorists holds over the United States. The legacy of one presidency destroyed by its inability to free American diplomats held hostage in Teheran and another tarnished by its futile attempt to trade arms for the hostages in Lebanon are reminders of the U.S. failure to solve the problems of terrorism. This paper reviews the problems that past presidents have faced in responding to terrorist acts and provocations, and offers some thoughts on what types of military responses might prove most effective. The author suggests that Israel should not be condemned, but be praised for its bold move in apprehending Sheikh Obeid, the commander of the pro-Iranian Hezbollah terrorist organization; we should accept

that no progress will be made in the struggle against terrorism until the terrorists' state sponsors are held accountable for their aid and encouragement; and the United States must have a clear and consistent policy on terrorism.

**P-7647** Getting the Hostages Out: Who Turns the Key? B. M. Jenkins. 1990.

This paper, an expanded version of an article that appeared in the Los Angeles Times, April 27, 1990, examines the information current at the time about the seven American hostages held in Lebanon. The author discusses the identity and nature of the captors, and then focuses on the degree to which Iran can influence or control them. A corollary issue is the conflict between Iran's need for Western assistance to repair its shattered economy and its aversion to complicity with the West. Bush Administration officials have to chart a difficult course between advocating a no-concessions policy and displaying a willingness to negotiate. The author suggests that the release of the hostages is Iran's problem. While the president personally wants the hostages released and wants to be seen as sensitive and open to all opportunities, the administration feels it can wait. Given the limitations on our knowledge, the many competing priorities and distractions we face in the world, and the grave political risks involved, the administration adheres to its hard-line policy—a prudent and possibly correct approach.

**P-7668** The Ultimate Fifth Column: Saddam Hussein, International Terrorism, and the Crisis in the Gulf. B. Hoffman. 1990.

The current crisis in the Middle East is like none the United States has ever faced. Saddam Hussein has rewritten the rules of modern warfare by enmeshing thousands of Western hostages in his ruthless quest for Iraqi Lebensraum and threatening to deploy them as human shields. Equally disquieting is the likelihood that the Iraqi leader has created the ultimate "fifth column": an international terrorist army arrayed throughout Europe and the Middle East, ready to strike at his command. The U.S. chances of mounting a successful rescue operation appear problematical, at best, as essential intelligence acquisition is rendered impossible by the large number of hostages that Saddam is threatening to disperse among Iraqi military and industrial sites. The unprecedented size of the hostage problem, however, is just one of the factors complicating American actions in the Middle East. Saddam is apparently preparing to unleash a campaign of international terrorism. The most radical, hard-line Palestinian terrorist organizations have been moving their operational bases to Iraq. There are now twice as many international terrorists in Iraq as there were a year ago. If Saddam remains in power and if Iraq retains its military might, unconventional tactics, such as terrorism, will

become institutionalized as instruments of modern warfare.

**P-7751** An Agenda for Research on Terrorism and LIC in the 1990s. B. Hoffman. 1991.

This paper considers the role that research on terrorism and low-intensity conflict (LIC) can play both in countering present and likely future adversaries and in addressing existing and potential new challenges. It also presents a baseline assessment of how firm a foundation current research into these subjects has provided. The author suggests that research is needed to identify vital American interests in the Third World now that the Cold War is over, and to define what role, if any, the United States should play and how. He concludes that the need for policy-relevant research in both terrorism and LIC is greater than ever.

**P-7774** Concerns About Terrorists with PGMs. M. B. Schaffer. 1992.

This paper considers the likelihood that precision-guided munitions (PGMs) in the hands of terrorists will be used against civilian aircraft, both fixed and rotary winged, with attendant casualties. The author concludes that the most likely threat is the shoulder-fired surface-to-air-missile (SAM). Historically, such munitions have been used routinely on a world-wide basis at the rate of several per year for the last 15 years with considerable success. Countermeasures against what is currently in the field and available to terrorists are inadequate. In addition, SAM of more advanced design are being developed and will likely be available on the open market. Current countermeasure approaches, already insufficient, will be completely outclassed by advanced SAM designs.

**P-7801** Terrorist Targeting: Tactics, Trends, and Potentialities. B. Hoffman. 1992.

**P-7833** Concerns About Terrorists with Manportable SAMs. M. B. Schaffer. 1993.

This paper considers the likelihood that precision-guided munitions in the hands of terrorists will be used against civilian aircraft, both fixed and rotary winged, with attendant casualties. The conclusion is reached that the most likely threat is the shoulder-fired surface-to-air missile (SAM). Historically, such munitions have been used routinely on a world-wide basis at the rate of several per year for the past 20 years with considerable success. Countermeasures against what is currently in the field and available to terrorists are inadequate. In addition, SAMs of more advanced design are being developed and will likely be available on the open market. Current countermeasure approaches, already insufficient, will be completely outclassed by advanced SAM designs.

**P-7834** "Holy Terror," the Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative. B. Hoffman. 1993.

This paper examines how terrorism motivated by a religious imperative differs from purely "secular" terrorism. In particular, it focuses on the radically different value systems, mechanisms of legitimization and justification, concepts of morality embraced by "holy terrorists" and the millennialist view that often informs their thought process and influences their actions. For the religious terrorist, violence first and foremost is a sacramental act or divine duty executed in response to some theological demand or imperative. Terrorism thus assumes a transcendental dimension and its perpetrators are thereby unconstrained by the political, moral, or practical considerations that affect other terrorists. The paper concludes that terrorism lethality has increased as a result of religious terrorism and that as the year 2000—the millennium—approaches, this type of violence could increase.

**P-7851** Book Review of Shoot the Women First. B. Hoffman. 1994.

**P-7874** Responding to Terrorism Across the Technological Spectrum. B. Hoffman. 1994.

**P-7984** Deterrence, Weapons of Mass Destruction and Security Assurances--a European Perspective. M. Piper, B. Tertrais. 1996.

**P-8039-1** Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction: An Analysis of Trends and Motivations. B. Hoffman. 1999.

Although the conventional wisdom previously held that terrorists were more interested in publicity than in killing, recent terrorist attacks—such as the 1995 nerve gas attack in a Tokyo subway and the bombing of a federal government office building in Oklahoma City—have either crossed into the domain of use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) or involved the deliberate infliction of large numbers of casualties. This paper examines three reasons that may account for terrorism's increasing lethality: (1) the proliferation of religious terrorism, in which violence assumes a transcendental dimension; (2) the rise of "amateur" terrorists—loosely organized groups of individuals with particular grievances who are able to gain WMD expertise from publicly available sources; and (3) the growing sophistication and competence of professional terrorist organizations. A confluence of new motives, opportunities, and capabilities could impel any of these groups to employ a chemical, biological, or nuclear weapon or radioactive device. Given even the possibility of future terrorist use of such weapons, no nation can afford to consider terrorism to be among its least serious or complex of security issues.

**P-8076** Bioterrorism, a Clear and Present Danger. A. S. Fauci, J. A. Thomson. 2003.

**P-8078** Al Qaeda, Trends in Terrorism and Future Potentialities: An Assessment. B. Hoffman. 2003.

## OCCASIONAL PAPERS

**OP-109-RC** Stretching the Network: Using Transformed Forces in Demanding Contingencies Other Than War. D. C. Gompert, H. Pung, K. A. O'Brien, J. Peterson. 2004.

In the United States, transformation to a networked force is being pursued mainly to preserve and bolster the ability to prevail decisively in major expeditionary war. But can networking solve common operational challenges in nonpermissive contingencies short of war? The authors describe the capabilities of networked forces and examine their utility for meeting the challenges of these lesser contingencies. They then analyze ten possible hypothetical scenarios to assess the value of networking capabilities for each scenario. The authors conclude that the ability to gather, fuse, and share information is important for overcoming nearly all operational problems associated with nonpermissive contingencies other than war. In addition, networking has particular advantages in finding, distinguishing, and destroying resistance; pursuing distributed objectives, controlling wide areas, and seizing critical points; rescuing, evacuating, and protecting noncombatants; eliminating residual threats and restoring order; and minimizing damage and casualties while accomplishing those tasks.

**OP-110-RC** Coordinating the War on Terrorism. L. E. Davis, G. F. Treverton, D. Byman, S. Daly, W. Rosenau. 2004.

The war on terrorism has changed Americans' lives and strained the capacities of their government. The federal government confronts a confounding array of choices about priorities and coordination. The new war calls on the panoply of instruments within the federal government—from military action to law enforcement, from intelligence to diplomacy. Each of the main government departments (Homeland Security, State, Justice, Defense, Treasury) has a major role, but none can succeed on its own, and the number of agencies involved in aspects of counterterrorism is large and growing. This Occasional Paper addresses the question of how the war on terrorism should be coordinated within the executive branch of the federal government, in particular within the White House. It begins by surveying the historical record and then lays out the critical choices. The authors

recommend that the war on terrorism should be managed by the White House, although with considerable devolution of operating responsibilities to lead agencies; that all counterterrorism coordinating responsibility should lie with the National Security Council; and that the newly created Terrorist Threat Integration Center be given greater analytical responsibility for coordinating foreign and domestic human intelligence collection.

## WHITE PAPERS

**WP-127-RC** Homeland Security: A Compendium of Public and Private Organizations' Policy Recommendations. J. Parachini, L. E. Davis, T. Liston. 2003.

The new Department of Homeland Security is faced with the task of meeting the ambitious goals set out for it by the Bush Administration. This paper provides a compendium of past recommendations from various public and private organizations on how the new department might achieve those goals. The authors reviewed key reports from those organizations, which represent most of the significant efforts to date concerning recommended policy changes and policy initiatives to enhance homeland security. The authors intend for this paper to be used as a guide for further individual study of those reports.

## DOCUMENTED BRIEFINGS

**DB-381-BOMA** Security and Safety in Los Angeles High-Rise Buildings After 9/11. R. W. Archibald, J. J. Medby, B. Rosen, J. Schachter. 2002.

The Building Owners and Managers Association of Greater Los Angeles and the Office of the City Attorney, Rocky Delgadillo, asked RAND to provide a study on the threats to and possible responses from the owners and managers of Los Angeles high-rise buildings in the aftermath of 9/11. The city attorney's office was also interested in potential public policy changes or programs that government might undertake to improve the security and safety of occupants of high-rise buildings in Los Angeles. This documented briefing identifies generic threats and exemplary practices in Los Angeles and elsewhere (selecting Chicago as an example), discusses potential actions after an event, and suggests potential preparations that local government and the private sector might want to consider. Recommendations for Los Angeles include reviewing evacuation plans and exercising them frequently, conducting and regularly

updating vulnerability and threat assessments, establishing protocols and realistic drills for response, educating tenants about their responsibilities, and taking advantage of both low-technology and high-technology security measures.

**DB-416-A** The Global War on Terrorism: An Early Look at Implications for the U.S. Army. B. R. Nardulli. 2003.

When the Global War on Terrorism became this nation's top priority, how did this affect the U.S. Army's other longstanding commitments? How should the Army adjust to the altered landscape? The author here summarizes the thoughts of a group of RAND Arroyo Center researchers who found five main demands that the Army must be able to meet: increased deployments, a broader range of capabilities, greater use of the transformation process to meet these goals, high demand for scarce skills, and a more flexible overseas basing structure. The author explores ways to meet each of these demands while not neglecting the Army's other commitments.

## DRAFTS

**DRU-2761** A Framework for the Information Technology Infrastructure for Bioterrorism: Results of the 1st Summit. H. Rippen. 2001.

**DRU-2919/1-RC** Understanding and Preparing for the Mental Health Consequences of Bioterrorism: Executive Summary. T. L. Tanielian, B. D. Stein, D. P. Eisenman, D. J. Keyser, S. Olmsted, H. A. Pincus. 2003.

## WORKING PAPERS

**WR-123-ICJ** Insurance, Self-Protection, and the Economics of Terrorism. D. Lakdawalla, G. Zanjani. 2003.

This paper investigates the rationale for public intervention in the terrorism insurance market. It argues that government subsidies for terror insurance are aimed, in part, at discouraging self-protection and limiting the negative externalities associated with self-protection. Cautious self-protective behavior by a target can hurt public goods like national prestige if it is seen as "giving in" to the terrorists, and may increase the loss probabilities faced by others if it encourages terrorists to substitute toward more vulnerable targets. We argue that these externalities distinguish the terrorism insurance market

and help to explain why availability problems in this market have engendered much stronger government responses than similar problems in other catastrophe insurance markets.

**WR-133-NIJ** Organizational Learning and Terrorist Groups. B. A. Jackson. 2004.

**WR-171-ICJ** Insurance, Self-Protection, and the Economics of Terrorism. D. Lakdawalla, G. Zanjani. 2004.

This paper investigates the rationale for public intervention in the terrorism insurance market. It argues that government subsidies for terror insurance are aimed, in part, at discouraging self-protection and limiting the negative externalities associated with self-protection. Cautious self-protective behavior by a target can hurt public goods like national prestige if it is seen as "giving in" to the terrorists, and may increase the loss probabilities faced by others by encouraging terrorists to substitute toward more vulnerable targets. We argue that these externalities are essential for normative analysis of government intervention and may also explain why availability problems in this market have engendered much stronger government responses than similar problems in other catastrophe insurance markets.

## RAND LIBRARY REPRINTS (Not available from RAND)

**LRP-199410-05** Is the Shining Path the "New Khmer Rouge"? W. Rosenau.

Published in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, v. 17, no. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1994, p. 305-322.

**LRP-200107-16** Aum Shinrikyo's Biological Weapons Program: Why Did It Fail? W. Rosenau.

Published in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, v. 24, no. 2, Jul.-Aug. 2001, p. 289-301.

**LRP-200111-07** A National Survey of Stress Reactions After the September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks. M. A. Schuster, B. D. Stein, L. Jaycox, R. L. Collins, G. N. Marshall, M. N. Elliott, A. J. Zhou, D. E. Kanouse, J. L. Morrison, S. H. Berry.

**BACKGROUND:** People who are not present at a traumatic event may experience stress reactions. The authors assessed the immediate mental health effects of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. **METHODS:** Using random-digit dialing three to five days after September 11, the authors interviewed a nationally

representative sample of 560 U.S. adults about their reactions to the terrorist attacks and their perceptions of their children's reactions. **RESULTS:** Forty-four percent of the adults reported one or more substantial symptoms of stress; 90 percent had one or more symptoms to at least some degree. Respondents throughout the country reported stress symptoms. They coped by talking with others (98 percent), turning to religion (90 percent), participating in group activities (60 percent), and making donations (36 percent). Eighty-four percent of parents reported that they or other adults in the household had talked to their children about the attacks for an hour or more; 34 percent restricted their children's television viewing. Thirty-five percent of children had one or more stress symptoms, and 47 percent were worried about their own safety or the safety of loved ones. **CONCLUSIONS:** After the September 11 terrorist attacks, Americans across the country, including children, had substantial symptoms of stress. Even clinicians who practice in regions that are far from the recent attacks should be prepared to assist people with trauma-related symptoms of stress. Published in *New England Journal of Medicine*, v. 345, no. 20, Nov. 15, 2001, p. 1507–1512.

**LRP-200202-02** Reactions to the Events of September 11. R. Rosenheck, M. A. Schuster, B. D. Stein, L. Jaycox.

Published in *New England Journal of Medicine*, v. 346, no. 3, Feb. 21, 2002, p. 629–630.

**LRP-200209-17** Information Operations and Counterterrorism. K. A. O'Brien, I. Lev.

Published in *Jane Intelligence Review*, v. 14, no. 9, Sept. 2002, p. 1–4.

**LRP-200301-06** A Model for a Smallpox-Vaccination Policy. S. A. Bozette, R. Boer, V. Bhatnagar, J. Brower, E. B. Keeler, S. C. Morton, M. A. Stoto.

The new reality of biologic terrorism and warfare has ignited a debate about whether to reintroduce smallpox vaccination. The authors developed scenarios of smallpox attacks and built a stochastic model of outcomes under various control policies. They conducted a systematic literature review and estimated model parameters on the basis of European and North American outbreaks since World War II. They also assessed the trade-offs between vaccine-related harms and benefits. Nations or terrorists possessing a smallpox weapon could feasibly mount attacks that vary with respect to tactical complexity and target size, and patterns of spread can be expected to vary according to whether index patients are hospitalized early. For acceptable results, vaccination of contacts must be accompanied by effective isolation. Vaccination of

contacts plus isolation is expected to result in 7 deaths (from vaccine or smallpox) in a scenario involving the release of variola virus from a laboratory, 19 deaths in a human-vector scenario, 300 deaths in a building-attack scenario, 2735 deaths in a scenario involving a low-impact airport attack, and 54,728 deaths in a scenario involving a high-impact airport attack. Immediate vaccination of the public in an attacked region would provide little additional benefit. Prior vaccination of health care workers, who would be disproportionately affected, would save lives in large local or national attacks but would cause 25 deaths nationally. Prior vaccination of health care workers and the public would save lives in a national attack but would cause 482 deaths nationally. The expected net benefits of vaccination depend on the assessed probability of an attack. Prior vaccination of health care workers would be expected to save lives if the probability of a building attack exceeded 0.22 or if the probability of a high-impact airport attack exceeded 0.002. The probability would have to be much higher to make vaccination of the public life-saving. **Conclusions.** The analysis favors prior vaccination of health care workers unless the likelihood of any attack is very low, but it favors vaccination of the public only if the likelihood of a national attack or of multiple attacks is high. Published in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, v. 348, no. 5, Jan 30, 2003, p. 416–425.

**LRP-200303-10** Getting It Together. K. A. O'Brien.

Published in *The World Today*, v. 59, no. 3, Mar. 2003, p. 16–17.

**LRP-200400-01** Syndromic Surveillance: Is It Worth the Effort? M. A. Soto, M. Schonlau, L. T. Mariano.

Published in *Chance*, v. 17, no. 1, 2004, p. 19–24.

**LRP-200406-13** A National Longitudinal Study of the Psychological Consequences of the September 11, 2001 Terrorist Attacks: Reactions, Impairment, and Help-Seeking. B. D. Stein, M. N. Elliott, L. Jaycox, R. L. Collins, S. H. Berry, D. J. Klein, M. A. Schuster.

This article examines the evolution of psychological and behavioral reactions following the September 2001 terrorist attacks in a nationally representative sample, and describes where people turned for support, information, and counseling. From November 9 to November 28, 2001, we resurveyed 395 (71%) of the original 560 adults 19 years or older within the United States who participated in our national random-digit-dialing telephone survey conducted on September 14 to September 16, 2001, about their terrorism-related psychological distress and behavior. Sixteen percent of adults had persistent distress, reporting one or more substantial distress symptoms in both September and November. Adults with persistent distress reported accomplishing less at work (65%); avoiding

public gathering places (24%); and using alcohol, medications, or other drugs to relax, sleep, or feel better because of worries about terrorism (38%). Seventy-five percent talked with family and friends; however, 43% reported sometimes feeling unable to share their terrorism-related thoughts and feelings with others because it made others uncomfortable. Few reported receiving counseling or information about psychological distress from general medical providers (11%). These findings suggest that a significant number of adults across the country were continuing to experience terrorism-related distress and disruption of their daily lives approximately 2 months after September 11; many turned to family and friends for support, but at times many felt uncomfortable doing so, and few used clinicians as a source of information or support. Clinicians and policymakers should consider how the healthcare system and other community organizations might provide a coordinated community-wide response for individuals needing information and counseling following terrorist events. Published in *Psychiatry*, v. 67, no. 2, Summer 2004, p. 105–117.

## ORDER FORM

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_____	MR-1382-OSD	25.00	_____	_____	R-3782-DOE	15.00	_____
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_____	MR-1535-RE	20.00	_____	_____	R-3840-C3I	16.00	_____
_____	MR-1573-RC/NSRD	20.00	_____	_____	R-3890-RC	15.00	_____
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_____	MR-1619-DARPA	20.00	_____	_____	R-4006-RC	20.00	_____
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_____	MR-1630-RC	18.00	_____	_____	R-4150-USDP	15.00	_____
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_____	MR-1693-RC	18.00	_____	_____	N-1498-SL	15.00	_____
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_____	MR-1738-AF	20.00	_____	_____	N-1571-DOS/DARPA	15.00	_____
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_____	MR-207-USDP	13.00	_____	_____	N-1856-AF	15.00	_____
_____	MR-225-FF/RC	13.00	_____	_____	N-1901-DOJ	15.00	_____
_____	MR-398-A	15.00	_____	_____	N-1902-DOJ	15.00	_____
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_____	R-2554-SL	15.00	_____	_____	N-1980-SL	15.00	_____
_____	R-2554/1-SL	15.00	_____	_____	N-2114-RC	15.00	_____
_____	R-2651-RC	15.00	_____	_____	N-2178-RC	15.00	_____
_____	R-2714-DOE/DOJ	20.00	_____	_____	N-2192-SL	15.00	_____
_____	R-2803-SL	15.00	_____	_____	N-2316-USDP	15.00	_____
_____	R-2842-DOC	15.00	_____	_____	N-2391-RC	20.00	_____
_____	R-2939-DOJ	15.00	_____	_____	N-2412-USDP	15.00	_____
_____	R-3009-DNA	15.00	_____	_____	N-2490-AF	15.00	_____
_____	R-3151	15.00	_____	_____	N-2685-RC	15.00	_____
_____	R-3157-FF	15.00	_____	_____	N-2706	15.00	_____
_____	R-3183-SL	15.00	_____	_____	N-2964-RC	15.00	_____
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_____	RP-1050	0.00	_____	_____	P-6597	15.00	_____
_____	RP-1051	0.00	_____	_____	P-6624	15.00	_____
_____	RP-1057	0.00	_____	_____	P-6627	15.00	_____
_____	RP-239	0.00	_____	_____	P-6666	15.00	_____
_____	RP-438	0.00	_____	_____	P-6749	15.00	_____
_____	RP-562-1	0.00	_____	_____	P-6750	15.00	_____
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_____	RP-801	0.00	_____	_____	P-6897	15.00	_____
_____	RP-898	0.00	_____	_____	P-6906	15.00	_____
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