Tuesday, August 9, 2005
2005 Summer Seminar Series, # 6

FOREIGN AID and
THE WAR ON TERRORISM

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Presenters: Grant Morrill, PPC/CDIE and
Edwin Hullander, PPC/P

http://www.usaid.gov/ Keyword: Summer Seminars

Foreign Aid and the War on Terrorism

Defining Development's Role in Combating Terrorism

By

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Structure of the Presentation

I. Purpose

II. Understanding Terrorism

III. Role of Development

IV. Causes

V. Country Contexts

VI. Strategies

VII. Entry Points

II. Understanding Terrorism

A weak base of primary sources:

- Terrorist's publicly-issued statements
- Terrorist's documents found during investigations
- Databases of terrorist events
  - State Department
  - ITERATE
  - RAND-St. Andrews
- Extremely few interviews with terrorists

Terrorism Defined

- U.S. Code: "Pre-meditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience." [Title 22, Section 2656f(d)]

- Main defining characteristics:
  1. Targets civilians & non-combatants
  2. Aims to produce public fear or panic
  3. Exerts pressure on government for political change
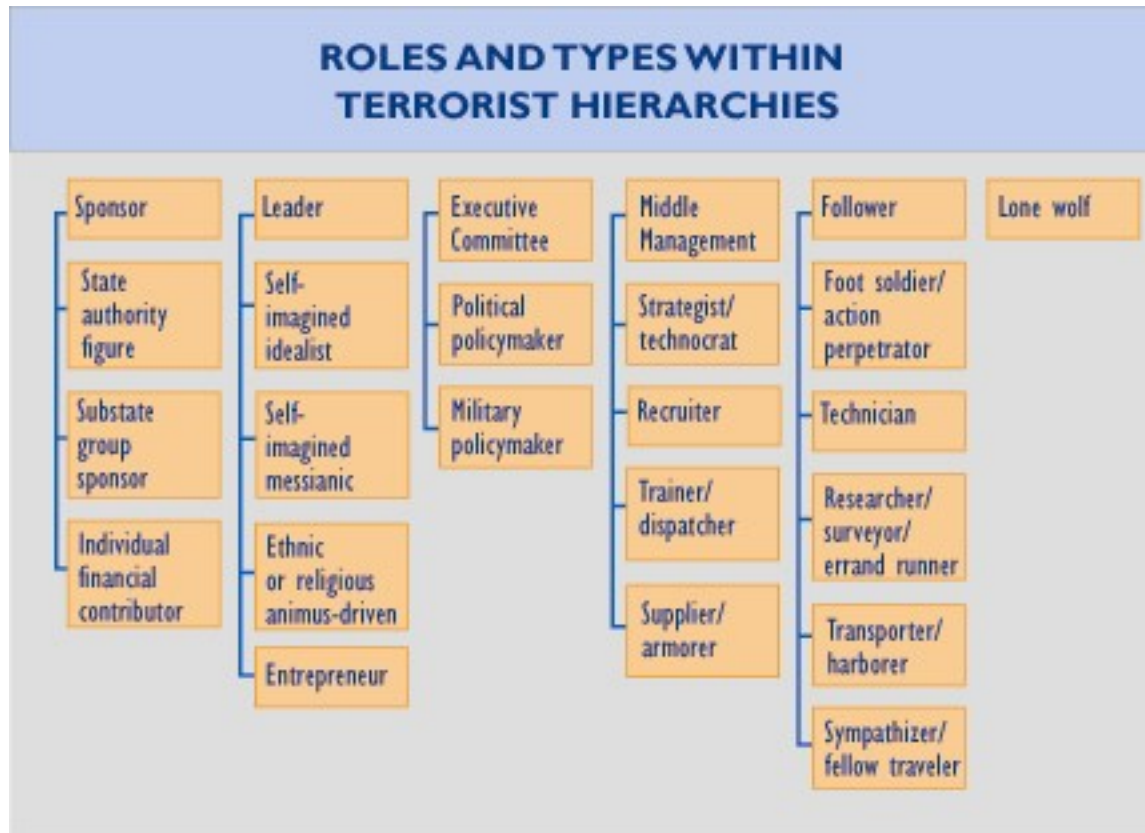 4. Seeks media attention

Terrorism Classified by Type

- First Tier – Three major categories
  - Pathological terrorism
  - Criminal terrorism
  - Political terrorism

- Second Tier – Political terrorism composed of . . .
  - State terrorism
  - State supported terrorism
  - Substate terrorism

- Third Tier – Substate terrorism composed of . . .
  - Social revolutionary terrorism
  - Right-Wing terrorism
  - Nationalist-separatist terrorism
  - Religious extremist terrorism
  - Single issue terrorism

Who is the Terrorist?

ROLES AND TYPES WITHIN TERRORIST HIERARCHIES

Sponsor	Leader	Executive Committee	Middle Management	Follower	Lone wolf
State authority figure	Self-imagined idealist	Political policymaker	Strategist/ technocrat	Foot soldier/ action perpetrator	
Substate group sponsor	Self-imagined messianic	Military policymaker	Recruiter	Technician	
Individual financial contributor	Ethnic or religious animus-driven		Trainer/ dispatcher	Researcher/ surveyor/ errand runner	
	Entrepreneur		Supplier/ armorer	Transporter/ harborer	
				Sympathizer/ fellow traveler	

What do Terrorists Hope to Accomplish?

1. To challenge the state's authority
2. To dramatize a cause
3. To demoralize the government
4. To gain popular support
5. To provoke regime violence
6. To inspire followers
7. To overcome a weakening organization
8. To accelerate the pace of violence
9. To dominate a wider resistance movement

III. Role of Development

- Evolution of terrorism since 1980's
- Traditional responses – increased security, policy enforcement, use of force, restrictive legislation – may be necessary, but is not enough
- Terrorism is a problem to be managed but perhaps never entirely eliminated
- To provide strong incentives not to choose terrorism
- To win the peace: not *counter*terrorism, as such; but *pro*-peace, *pro*-security, *pro*-democracy and *pro*-progress
- Search for interventions the *inverse* relation to terrorism

IV. Causes

- ***Macro-level Causes***: Modernization, communication, transportation, new weapons, urbanization, globalization, free trade, culture, religion, social habits, historical traditions, ideologies, clientelistic society, lack of security, political regime type, social movements, political oppression, inequality, relative deprivation, lack of prosperity, global dependency, lack of state legitimacy, political instability, state failure, changes in the international paradigm, contagion
- ***Messo-level Causes***: Group dynamics, collective rational choice
- _____

  _____

V. Country Contexts

- Widespread mobilization and on-going conflict

- Suppressed terrorism at the expense of democratic reforms

- Moderate governments with populations tending to extremism

- Provide sanctuary due to state weakness

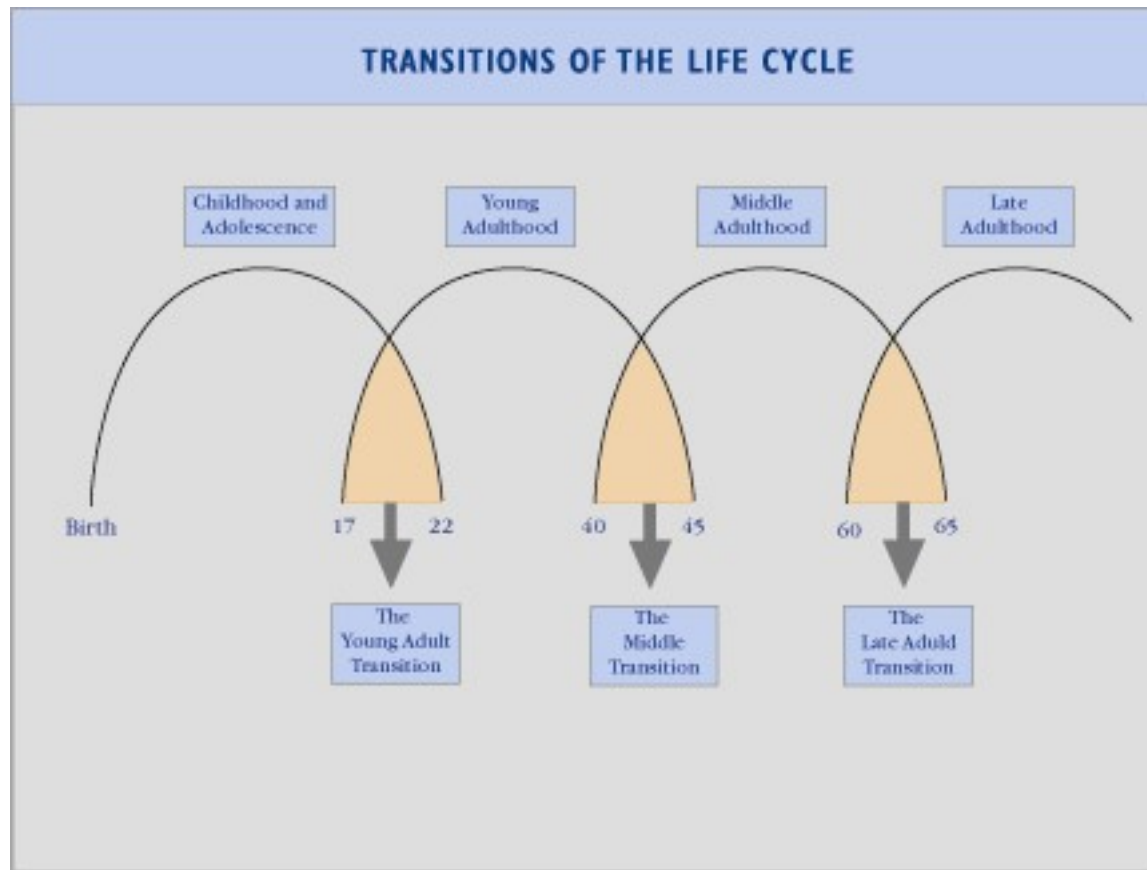- Assets terrorist may exploit

- Unforeseen "windows of opportunity"

VI. Achieving Strategic Advantage

Terrorism emerges from youth "at-risk" in transition
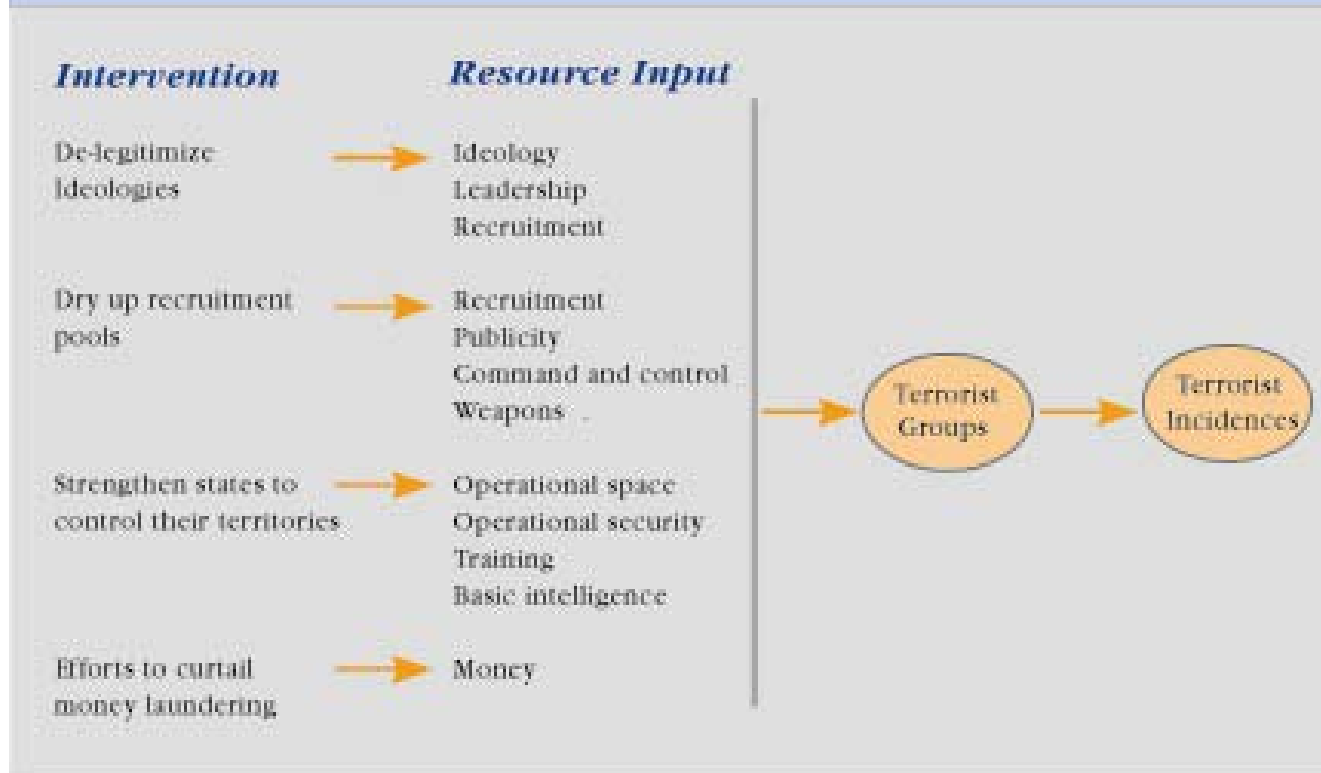
Acts of terrorism emerge from terrorist groups

TABLE: ORGANIZATIONAL & OPERATIONAL RESOURCES OF TERRORIST GROUPS

Intervention	Resource Input
De-legitimize Ideologies	Ideology, Leadership, Recruitment
Dry up recruitment pools	Recruitment, Publicity, Command and control, Weapons
Strengthen states to control their territories	Operational space, Operational security, Training, Basic intelligence
Efforts to curtail money laundering	Money

Terrorist Groups → Terrorist Incidences

Terrorism emerges as a by-product of a once-peaceful social movement

- Strategy: Intervene at the level of the peaceful social movement.
  - Satisfy local causes and grievances expressed prior to the radicalization of the movement.
  - Unravel support for the violent terrorist group from the bottom up.

Terrorism emerges from specific social segments prone to extremism and violence

- Strategy: Intervene next to moderate, progressive segments of society.

- Empower them to regain the leadership so that extreme, violence-prone segments decline in importance.
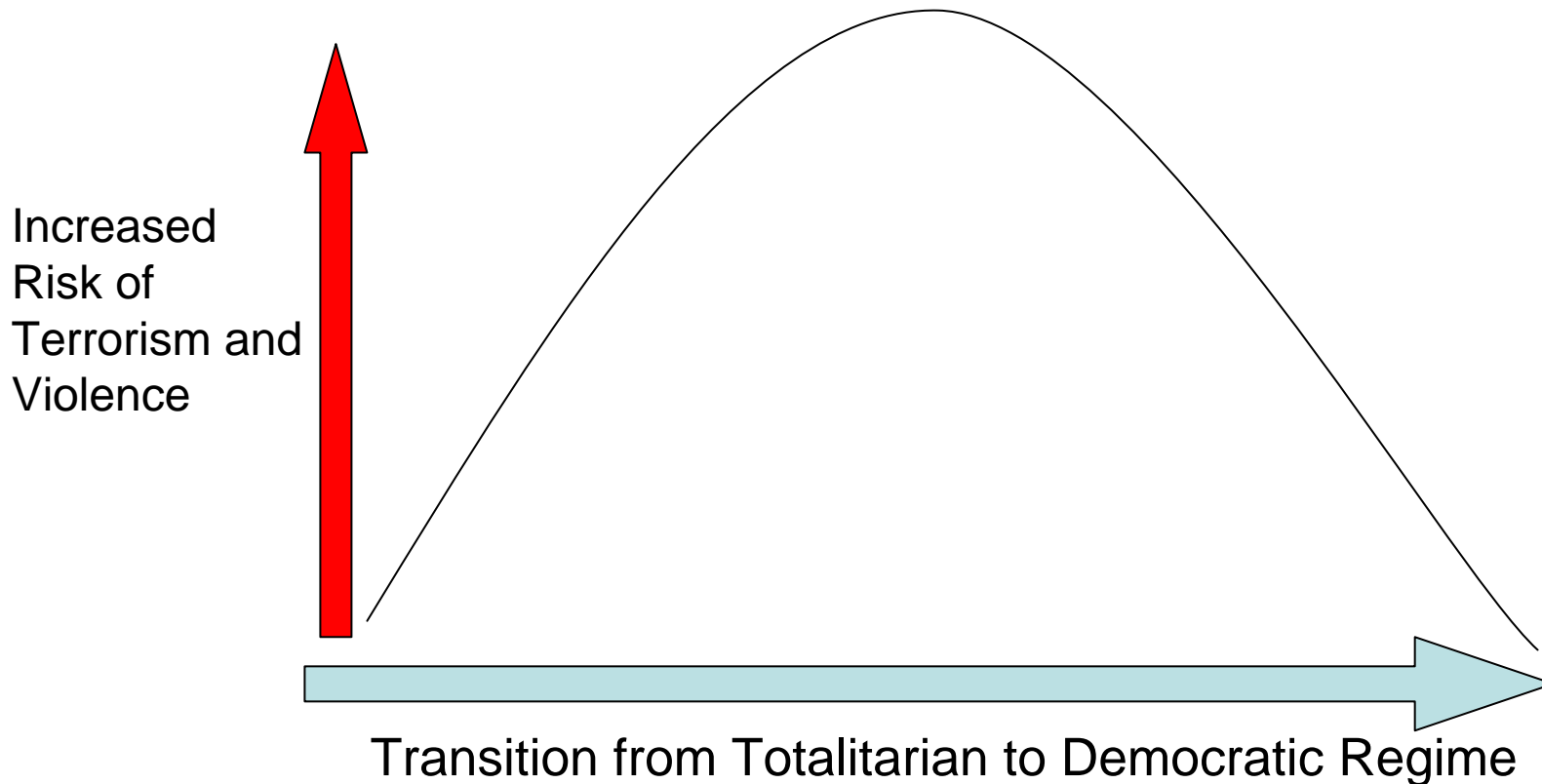
VII. Entry Points

Terrorism & Political Regime Type

Different regime types have different effects on terrorism

Increased Risk of Terrorism and Violence

Transition from Totalitarian to Democratic Regime

Terrorism & Political Regime Type

Mixed effects of democracy on terrorism

- ↑ Democratic Participation = ↓ Terrorism
- ↑ Civil Liberties = ↑ Terrorism

- Suggests a balance between programs to promote political rights and civil liberties
- Suggest political participation interventions may reduce terrorism . . . But how?

Terrorism & Political Regime Type

Interventions promoting political participation

- Voting & Elections
- Political parties
- Legislatures & political systems
- Decentralization
- Local governance
- Civil society
- Consultative mechanisms

Terrorism & Political Regime Type

Centrism: Aggregating political opinion

- Voting & Elections – associated with decline in terrorism
- Political parties – 2 to 3 party systems
- Legislative systems: proportional v. majoritarian
- Decentralization
- Local governance
- Civil society
- Consultative mechanisms

Terrorism & Political Regime Type

Development hypotheses: "If …, then …."

- *If* donors fund successful democratization programs, *then* support for terrorism will decrease over the long-run, but violence may increase until the democracy is well established.

- *If* donors fund democratization programs which balance political participation with aggregation of mass public opinion, *then* it will discourage violence conflict and terrorism.

Conclusions

- Terrorism is an extremely "contextual" development issue.

- Terrorism is a cross-cutting development issue.

- Terrorism requires close coordination with the two other D's – Defense and Diplomacy

- Terrorism will not divert us from our development vocation; it will strengthen it, but only if we think through the causal relations between interventions and terrorism.

Edwin Hullander, PPC/P

Global War on Terrorism
Taking Stock

Terrorist Network/Structure

TRANSNATIONAL TERRORIST NETWORKS

Linked by: Ideology
Resources
Common Enemy
Mutual Support
Sponsorship

Result: Synergy

Global — al-Qaida

Jemmah Islamiya

Regional

Abu Sayyaf

State

Low ————→ High

Threat Severity
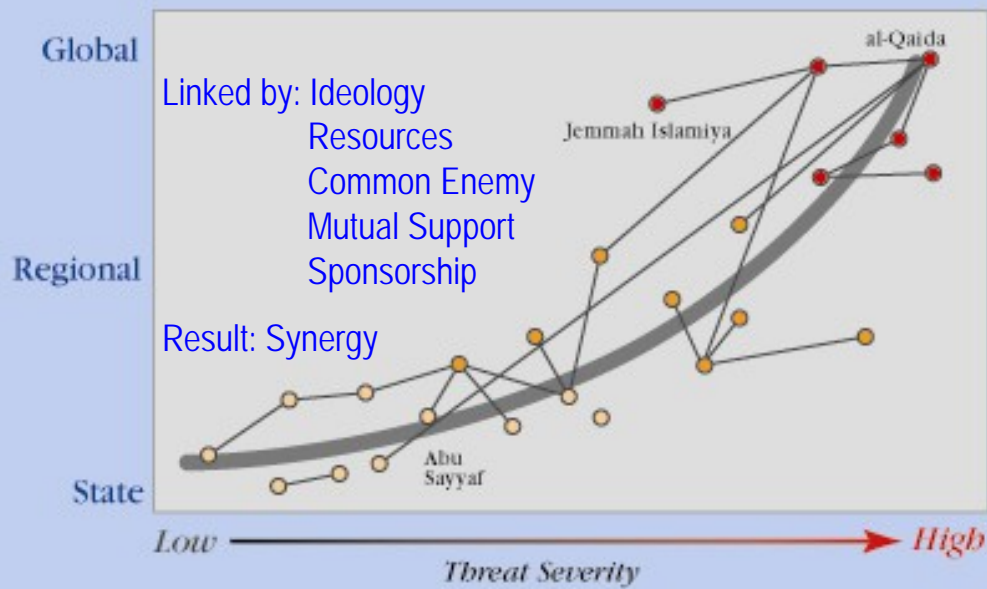
GWOT National Strategy
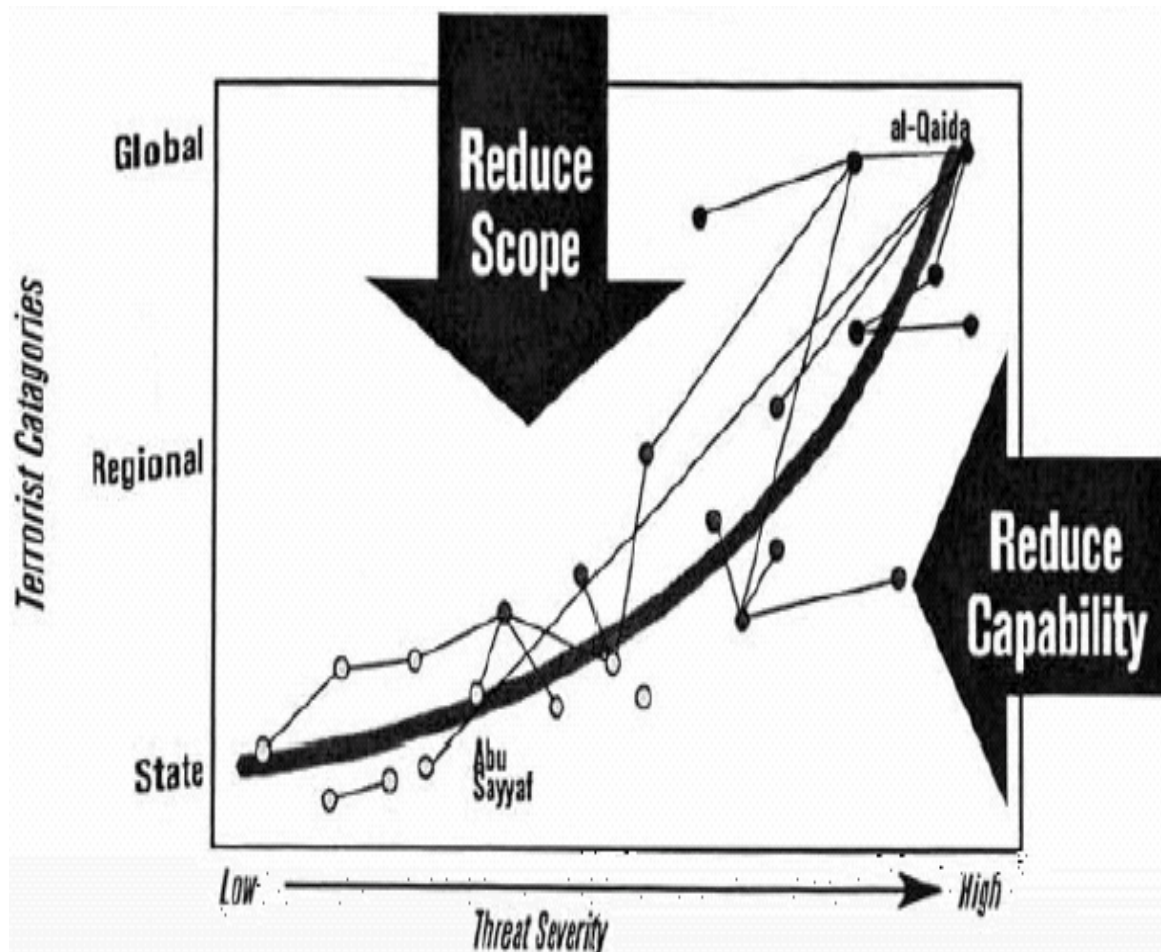
- **DEFEND** *homeland*
- **DEFEAT** *terrorist*
- **DENY** *resources*
- **DIMINISH** *conditions*

CT INTERAGENCY ACTIONS

INTELLIGENCE

LAW & JUSTICE

FINANCE

MILITARY SUPPORT

STATE SPONSOR

BORDER CONTROLS

PROTECT U.S. INTEREST

DENY RESOURCES

HEARTS & MINDS

INTN'L COOPERATION
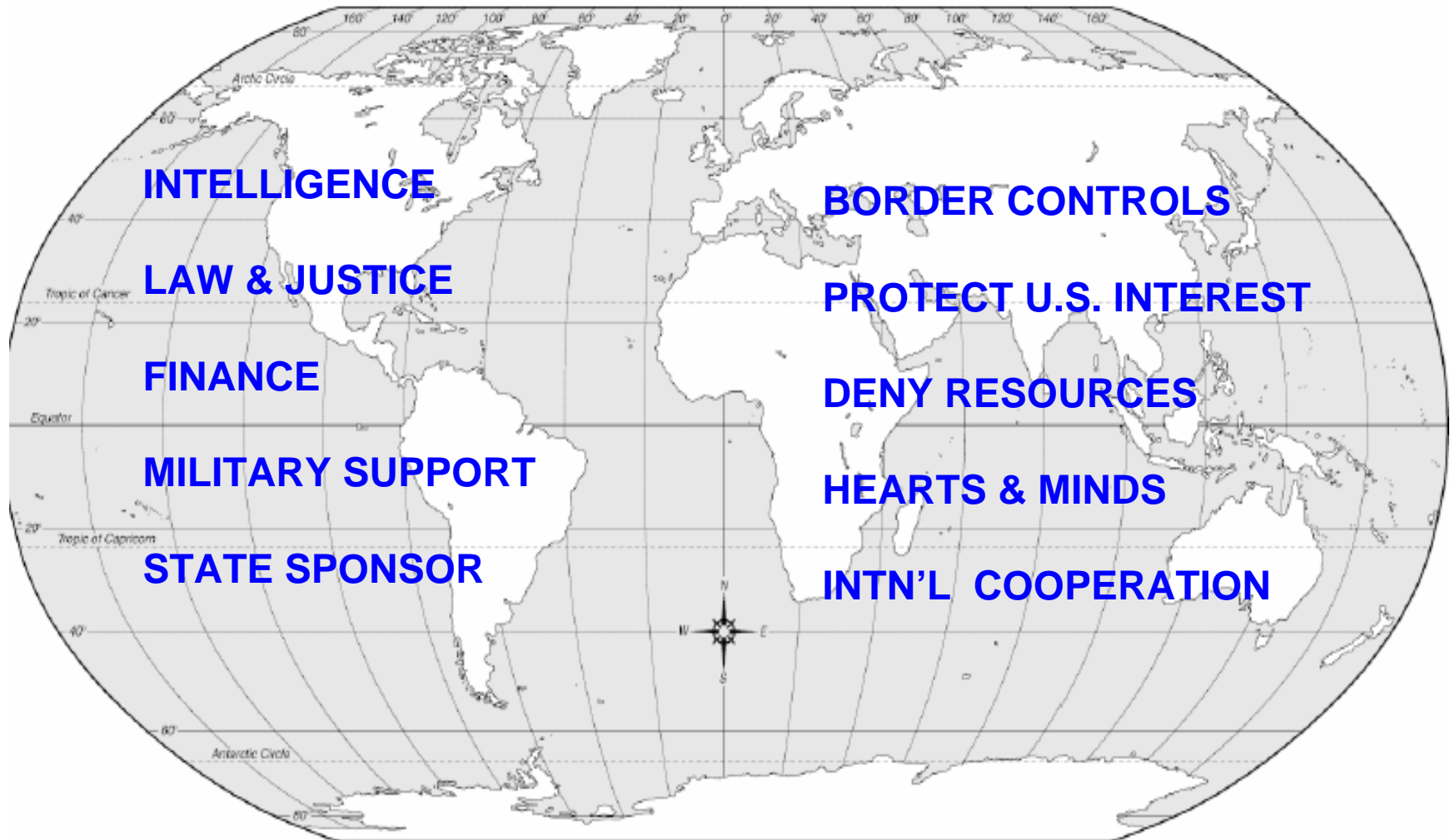
Deny Recruits: At Risk Youth

We spend billions of dollars each year to protect against terrorist attaches and they only spend a few hundreds to train a terrorist.

What are we doing wrong?

--Donald Rumsfeld, Sec. of Defense

Deny Recruits: Programs

- Secular Education>>>>>>>>>>>>>>Radical Madrassa
  Community Based Alternative to Radical Indoctrination

- Skills Training/Job Creation>>>>>>>>Alienated Youth
  Employable Skills & Jobs to Contribute to Community

- Community Commitment>>>>>>>>>>>Violent Actions
  Constructive Political Participation instead of Supporting Violence

- Group Dynamics>>>>><<<<<Radical Cleric Influence
  Community or Social Organizations for Youth Involvement

Deny Funds: Money Laundering

Worldwide Al-Qaeda Network

From the testimony of Steven Emerson February 12, 2002

House Committee on Financial Services, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations

"PATRIOT Act Oversight: Investigating Patterns of Terrorist Fundraising"

Charities
- Afghan Support Committee †
- Al-Rashid Trust/Aid Group
- Help Africa People
- Human Concern International
- International Islamic Relief Organization
- Islamic Relief Agency, Dublin
- Maktab al-Khidamat
- Mercy International Relief Agency
- Muwafaq
- Qatar Charitable Society
- Rabita Trust †
- Revival of Islamic Heritage Society †
- Saudi Joint Relief Committee †
- Ummah Tameer E-Nau †
- Wafa Humanitarian Organization †

Financial Institutions
- National Commercial Bank
- Islamic Salvation Front
- Al-Shamal Islamic Bank
- Al-Taqwa Bank †
- Anfo Sof Ta Vir
- Barakaat †
- Habib Bank
- Ladin International
- Taba Investment

Companies
- Al-Hamati Sweets Bakeries †
- Al-Hira Construction
- Al-Hikma Pharmacy, Khartoum †
- Al-Nur Honey Press †
- Al-Qadir Traders †
- Al-Shifa Honey Press †
- Al-Shifa Pharmaceuticals
- Al-Themar al-Mubaraka Agriculture Company
- Anhar Trading
- Arabica Manufacturing
- Black Giant
- Khartoum Tannery
- Mamoun Darkazanli Import/Export Company †
- Qadarat Transport Company
- Wadi al-Aqiq

Websites
- Azzam Website
  http://www.azzam.com
- Committee for the Defense of Legitimate Rights
  http://www.cdlr.net
- Global Jihad Fund
  http://www.ummah.net/jihad
- Islamic Observation Centre
  http://www.ummah.net/ioc
- Sawt-ul-Qoqaz
  http://www.qoqaz.com
- Supporters of Shariah
  http://www.supportersofshariah.org
- The Road to Jihad
  http://www.jihadroad.com
- Update of the War in Afghanistan
  http://www.jehad.net
- Voice of the Taliban / Al-Rashid Trust
  http://www.dharb-i-mumin.com

Human Rights Organizations
- Advice and Reformation Committee
- Islamic Observation Center
- Al-Muhajiroun
- Committee for the Defense of Legitimate Rights

† Designated Terrorist Front   U.S Presence

Money Transfer from UAE Terrorist Support Network to U.S. for 9/11 Attack on the Twin Towers

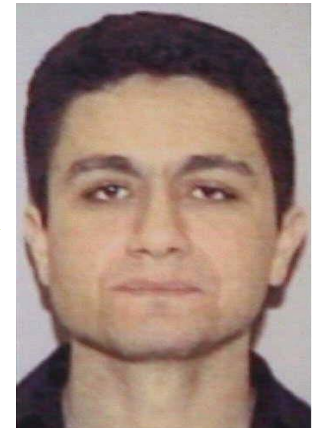| 07/19/00	08/07/00	08/30/00	09/18/00
$9,985	$9,485	$19,985	$69,985

Citibank New York, NY

SunTrust Bank
Gulf Coast, FL

Account Owner

Marwan Al-Shehhi
AA Flight 175
Pilot

Account Owner

Mohamed Atta
AA Flight 11
Pilot

Deny Funds: Terrorist Finance

G8/FSAT>>>>FATF 40+8 Reqt. >>>FIU/EGMONT member

Financial Crimes Laws (Money Laundering)

Judicial Trn.	Bank TA	Fin Inst.	Non Fin. Inst
Judges	Bk. Regs.	Com Bks.	Hawalas
Prosecutor	FIU Ops	Inv./Trust Fnds.	Charities
Investigators	Bk. Exam.	Insurance Co.	NGOs____

Asset Seizures   Wire Transfer/Cash Currier/Commodities
Conviction   Skimming/Smuggling/Trafficking

Deny Sanctuary: Terrorist Camps

We have more to fear from failed states than we do from large armies or navies.

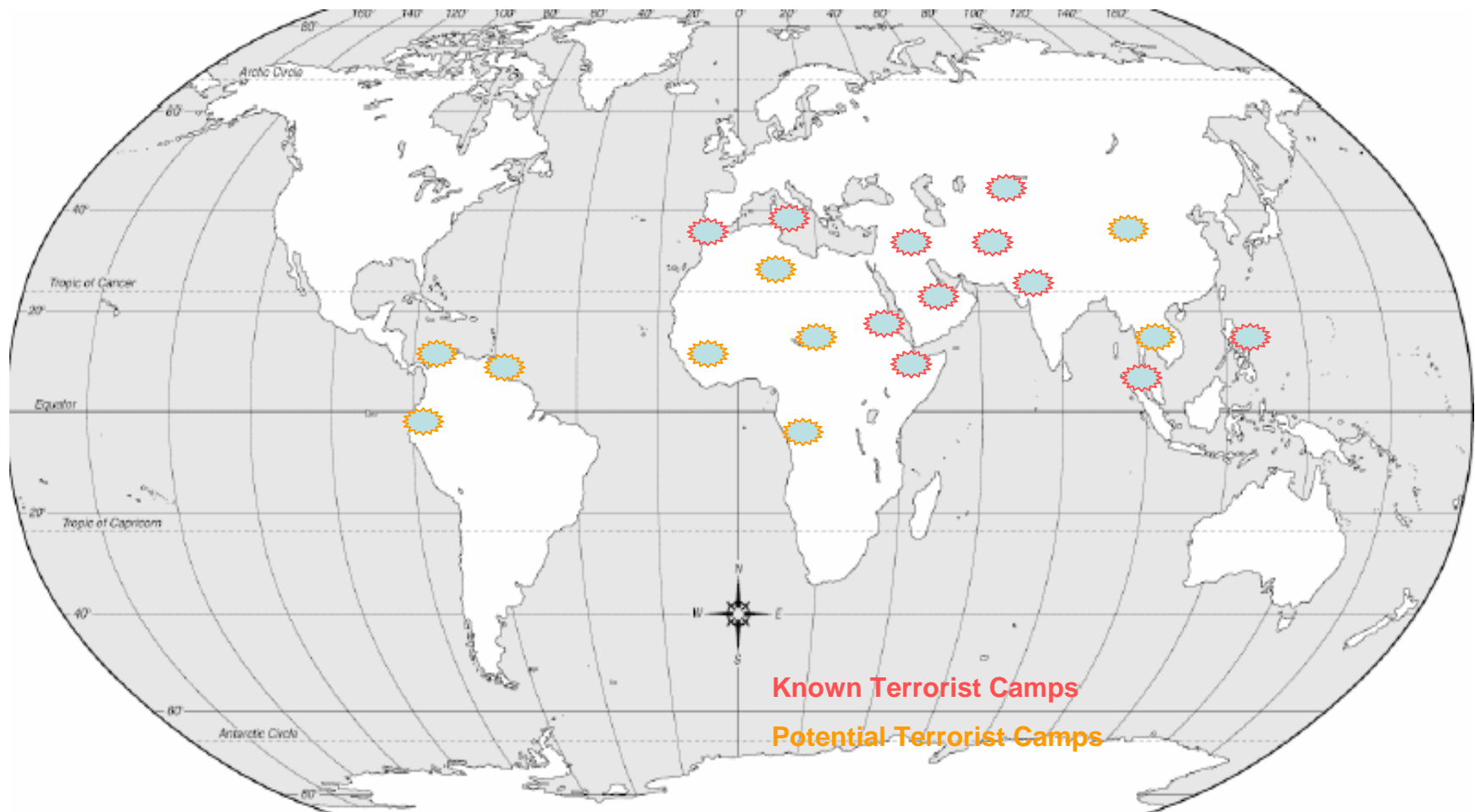**-- President George W. Bush**
National Security Strategy

Deny Sanctuary: Terrorist Camps

Known Terrorist Camps

Potential Terrorist Camps

Terrorist Sanctuary: Criteria

Terrorist Criteria

- Remote / Rural Location
- Predominantly Muslim Population in area
- Lack of Military or Police Presence or Support
- Lack of Public Services
- Disaffected Groups
- High Unemployment / Low Economic Opportunities

Terrorist Operations

- Regional Headquarters
- Base for Planning Attacks
- Base for Recruiting, Training and Indoctrination
- Base for Local and Regional Fund Raising
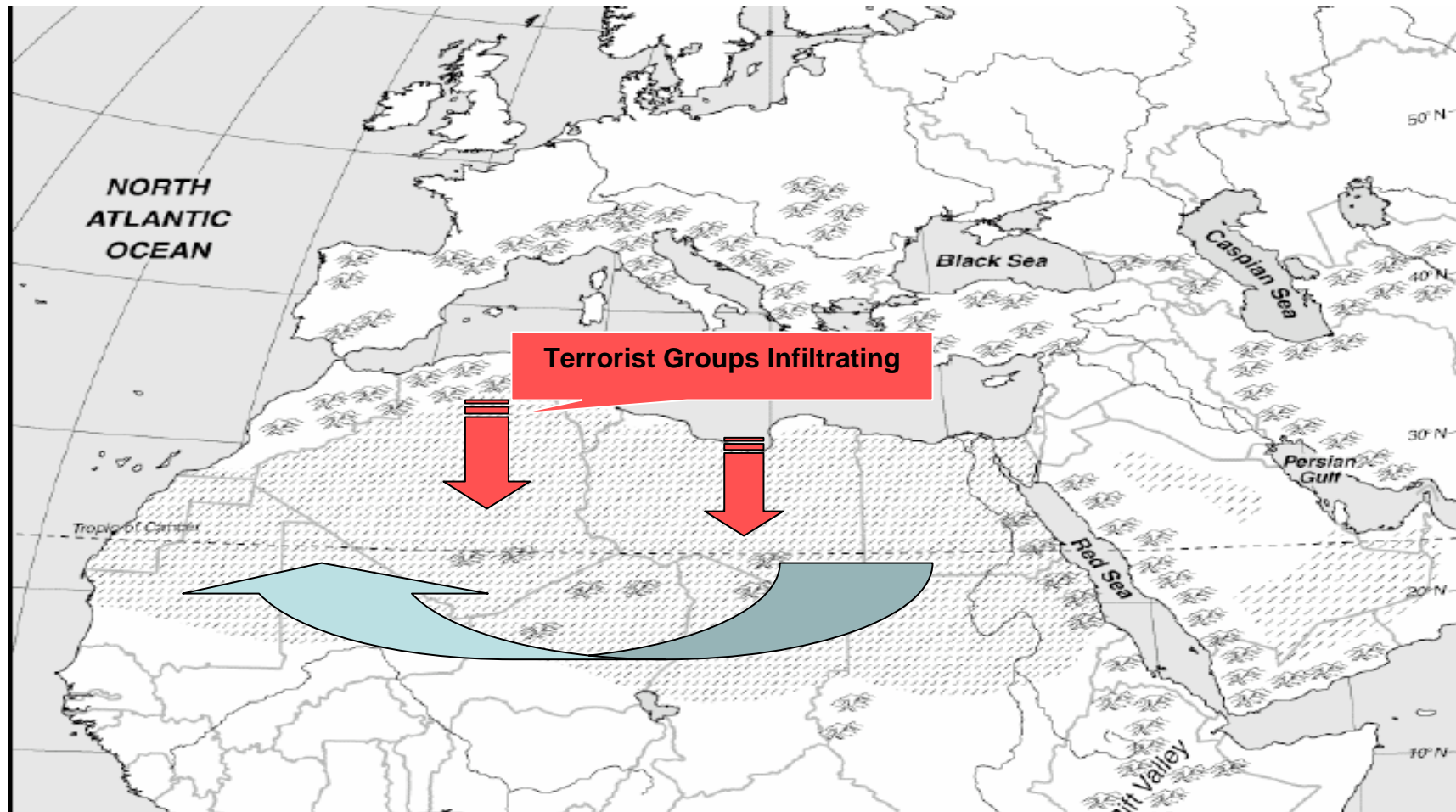- Base for Building Community Support and Protection

Trans Sahel Counter Terrorism

Trans Sahal Joint Assessment

- **Military Assessment**

  - Terrorist Establishing Regional Base of Operations
  - Cross Border Flow of Materials
  - Build Islamic Community Support /Cooperation
  - Build Local Funding Base
  - Build Local Recruiting Base
  - Resistance to Authority

- **USAID Assessment**

  - Large "at-risk" youth cohort
  - High Unemployment or Low Economic Opportunities
  - Large Shadow Economy and Cross Border Trade Flows
  - Discontent Muslim Community
  - Lack of Public Services
  - Distrust of Military/Police

Trans Sahel CT Programs

Military Support

- Train Four Counties Military and Border Patrol Units
- Equip Military for Trans Sahel Communication/Coordination
- Train Military in Civil Affairs and Community Support
- Develop Regional Military to Military Cooperation
- Train Military in Human Rights

Development Support

- Job Training / Youth Centers Solider Reintegration programs
- Job Creation in Community linked with skill training
- Water projects to build local economic base
- Train Judiciary and Local Officials in Public Service
- Local Radio Service

Questions and Answers

JOIN US NEXT WEEK: Tues. Aug 16, 2005 for
2005 Summer Seminar Series, #7

OPERATING IN HIGH THREAT ENVIRONMENTS

Here at the Center for Association Leadership

http://www.usaid.gov/ Keyword: Summer Seminars