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Chapter Title: Introduction

Book Title: Beyond al-Qaeda: Part 2, The Outer Rings of the Terrorist Universe

Book Author(s): Angel Rabasa, Peter Chalk, Kim Cragin, Sara A. Daly, Heather S. Gregg, Theodore W. Karasik, Kevin A. O'Brien and William Rosenau

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## Introduction

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Part 1 of this study describes and analyzes what has become of al-Qaeda after the removal of its safe haven in Afghanistan and the death or capture of a significant part of its leadership, as well as what we call the “al-Qaeda nebula.” This concept includes affiliated or associated militant groups that have adopted al-Qaeda’s worldview and vision of a global jihad and its methodology of mass-casualty terrorist attacks.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the “al-Qaeda universe” does not incorporate the entirety of the terrorist threat or potential threat. A number of other militant groups threaten U.S. regional interests or allies and pose a potential direct threat to the United States. We did not include these groups in Part 1 because they neither share al-Qaeda’s view of a global jihad nor rise to the level of a global threat.

Clearly, Osama bin Laden and other leaders of al-Qaeda hope that their efforts will persuade other Islamic militant groups to join the

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<sup>1</sup> As discussed in Part 1 of the study, the global jihad has a universal goal—the reconquest of Muslim lands usurped by infidels and the eventual global expansion of Islam—and incorporates groups and cells that no longer consider themselves bound to concrete territories and populations. Although jihadist ideology is full of atavistic elements, the global jihad is a modern phenomenon that reflects what Oliver Roy calls “globalized Islam,” a “universal” Islam valid in any cultural context and detached from the cultures in which Islam has been historically embedded. This reformulation of an imaginary universal *umma* leads also to the reformulation of the jihad as a cataclysmic confrontation between the Islamic world and the West. Of course, in the view of jihadists, these two objectives—the global jihad and the toppling of “apostate” Muslim regimes—are closely interrelated. For al-Qaeda and the groups that share its ideology, governments in the Muslim world primarily exist because of U.S. support; their destruction thus is contingent on removing that support by expelling the United States from the region.

global jihad. Moreover, it would seem logical that terrorists with similar ideological beliefs would be inclined to enter into a cooperative relationship with al-Qaeda or other elements in the global jihadist movement, since such cooperation could enhance their own capabilities. But what about the terrorist group that is not part of the al-Qaeda network and does not adhere to its agenda? The temptation for policymakers is to set aside terrorist groups that have not chosen to join al-Qaeda as less dangerous. Yet these groups still pose a threat to the United States, its interests, and its allies.

This volume, Part 2 of the study, focuses on three categories in this “second circle” of terrorist groups: (1) terrorist groups that articulate an Islamist agenda for their own country but are not directly linked to the global jihadist movement; (2) Muslim terrorist groups whose agendas are primarily separatist or ethno-nationalist but that present a threat to the stability or territorial integrity of U.S. allies, although not to the United States directly; and (3) highly capable, non-Islamist terrorist groups. By examining these groups, we hope to establish a framework for evaluating the threat that these groups currently pose and assessing the likelihood and the conditions under which some of them could evolve into regional or global threats. We also examine antiglobalization threats. Some of these groups have risen to the level of terrorism; others have not, but could. Finally, we discuss the nexus between terrorism, insurgency, and crime.

## Analytical Framework

We begin with the assumption that terrorist groups move along the same path—sustaining their ideology, objectives, and tactics—until some outside force causes them to shift. Our analysis, therefore, requires that we first classify terrorist groups’ current paths and then determine what factors might affect change. Four characteristics can be said to influence terrorists’ strategic choices: ideology and leadership mindset, lack of internal restraint, opportunity, and technical capacity. This framework provides a starting point for the analysis in this section. Because we are interested in how these categories of terrorists

might threaten the United States in the future, it is important to determine which characteristics are the most likely to indicate a change in behavior or strategic path. Part 1 of this study provides an overview of terrorist groups in the tier below the al-Qaeda “nebula,” their ideological foundations, their strategic and operational objectives, and the key environmental factors that have shaped their evolution.

Because of the potential of some antiglobalism movements to pose a violent threat to the political, economic, and social order, we identify and analyze antiglobalization threats and their convergence with terrorist groups. Our evaluation takes into account the local context in which these groups develop and linkages among the groups and with other extremist and terrorist organizations and rogue states.

The last chapter of this volume addresses the connections between terrorism, insurgency, and crime. We examine a number of specific case studies in areas ranging from the tri-border region of South America to the southern Philippines to identify the characteristics of this nexus across regions and different types of terrorist and insurgent movements, the conditions that give rise to this phenomenon, and its implications for counterterrorism policy.

