

intelligence (such as monitoring phone calls) and human intelligence (such as using informants to penetrate terrorist cells). Human intelligence can provide some of the most useful actionable intelligence. But it requires painstaking work and patience in recruiting informants who are already in terrorist organizations or placing informants in terrorist organizations. Intelligence collection and analysis can also be reinforced by countering the ideology and messages of terrorist groups through what is often referred to as *information operations*: the use of a variety of strategies and tools to counter, influence, or disrupt the message and operation of terrorist groups.⁵¹

Second is the arrest of key leaders and their support network. In democratic countries, this involves capturing key members and presenting the evidence in court. Terrorism involves the commission of violent crimes, such as murder and assault. Consequently, the investigation, trial, and punishment of perpetrators should be a matter for the wider criminal-justice system—including the police.⁵² The barriers can be significant. Finding sufficient evidence that can be presented in court but that does not reveal sensitive information about sources and methods can be challenging. This is especially true if a terrorist has not yet perpetrated an attack. In many cases, it may be easier and more effective to arrest and punish terrorists for other offenses, such as drug trafficking, that may be ancillary to their terrorist activity. In nondemocratic societies, the policing approach is often drastically different, because laws and norms of behavior may be different.⁵³

The third step is the development and passage of antiterrorism legislation. This can involve criminalizing activities that are necessary for terrorist groups to function, such as raising money or recruiting members. It can also involve passing laws that make it easier for intelli-

⁵¹ On the use of *information operations* in a military context, see, for example, U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Information Operations*, Washington, D.C., February 13, 2006.

⁵² See, for example, Clutterbuck (2004, pp. 142–144).

⁵³ On the dilemmas of U.S. assistance to police in nondemocratic countries, see Seth G. Jones, Olga Oliker, Peter Chalk, C. Christine Fair, Rollie Lal, and James Dobbins, *Securing Tyrants or Fostering Reform? U.S. Internal Security Assistance to Repressive and Transitioning Regimes*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, MG-550-OSI, 2006.