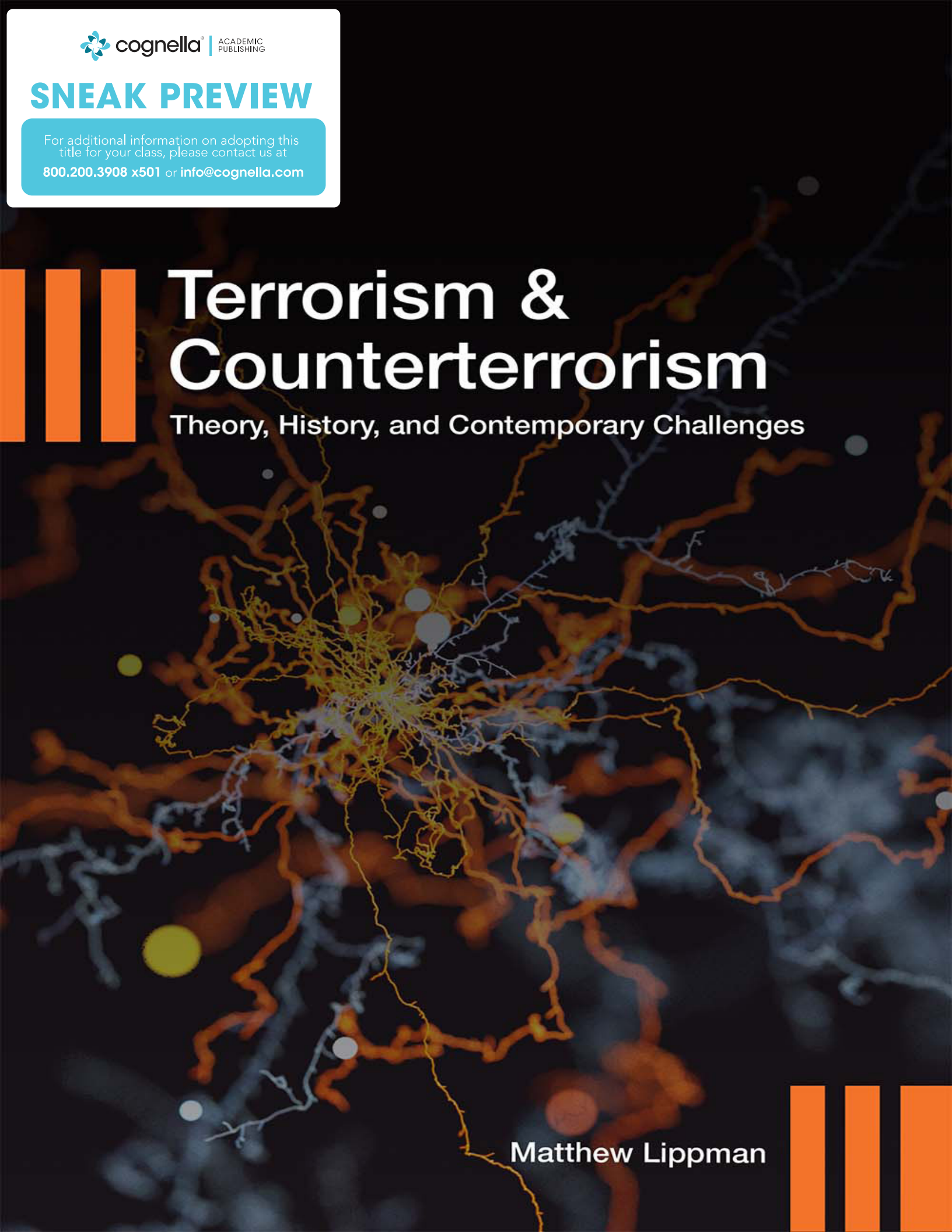


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Terrorism & Counterterrorism

Theory, History, and Contemporary Challenges

Matthew Lippman

Terrorism and Counterterrorism



Terrorism and Counterterrorism

*Theory, History,
and Contemporary Challenges*

Matthew Lippman

University of Illinois at Chicago



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Preface

Following the 9/11 attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center, I was asked by the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Illinois at Chicago to teach a course on terrorism. This was a return to my educational roots. As a student I was fortunate to work for and study with some of the important pioneers in the study of terrorism. The years since 9/11 have witnessed a rapid increase in terrorism-related courses, programs, research centers, journals, and books. This text is an effort to consolidate some of these intellectual insights and developments in an accessible, relatively brief, and interdisciplinary introduction to the topic of terrorism. The focus of the book is on the theory and history on terrorism along with coverage of concrete contemporary developments and public policy issues. The book can be used as a primary or supplemental text.

CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

Each chapter is introduced by a *test your knowledge* feature which quizzes students on the extent to which they are familiar with the material in the chapter. This feature also stimulates interest in the chapter and helps students to organize the material. The chapter *introduction* in most instances presents a contemporary example of the topic discussed in the chapter. Each chapter also includes a *personality and events* feature which discuss important figures and events that relate to the content of the chapter. The *you decide* feature presents problems that challenge students to reach their own solution. The chapters conclude with a *chapter summary* and with *chapter summary questions* for discussion and *terminology*.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT

The book follows a standard organizational scheme. A discussion of theory is followed by historical chapters and the last part of the book primarily is concerned with the media and public policy. The text is outlined below:

Definitions of terrorism. Chapter 1 surveys various approaches to defining terrorism and the strengths and weaknesses of these definitions.

Theories of terrorism. Chapter 2 provides an overview of psychological, criminological, and structural definitions of terrorism and discusses lone wolves and the involvement of women in terrorism.

Terrorist tactics and strategies. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the financing of terrorism, the weapons employed by terrorists, and their tactics and strategies, including cyberterrorism.

The history of terrorism. Chapter 4 outlines the foundations of modern terrorism, including religious terrorism, the French and Russian revolutions, anarchism, and an introduction to Irish terrorism and to the Israel–Palestine conflict.

Types of terrorism. Chapter 5 discusses ethnonationalist and revolutionary terrorism, Chapter 6 covers religious terrorism, and Chapter 7 outlines types of state terrorism.

Terrorism in the United States. Chapter 8 discusses right- and left-wing terrorism in the United States and international terrorism in America.

The media and terrorism. Chapter 9 discusses the relationship between the media and terrorism and the issues that arise in media coverage of terrorism.

Homeland security. Chapter 10 provides a brief introduction to the institutions involved in homeland security.

Counterterrorism. Chapter 11 is an introduction to contemporary public policy issues in counterterrorism, including Guantánamo, military commissions, domestic trials of terrorists, enhanced interrogation, racial profiling, and surveillance. Chapter 12 provides a sketch of developments since the election of President Donald Trump.

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CHAPTER 1

Defining Terrorism

TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

1. Understand the reasons for studying terrorism.
2. Understand why the definition of terrorism matters.
3. State some of the challenges of defining terrorism.
4. Understand various approaches to defining terrorism.
5. Understand the difference between terrorism and guerilla warfare.
6. Understand the difference between various types of terrorism.
7. Comprehend the logic of terrorism.
8. Understand how terrorists view the morality of their actions.

INTRODUCTION

This introductory chapter explores the definition of **terrorism** and surveys **typologies of terrorism**. The definition of terrorism is far from straightforward and is hotly debated. We may label an act as terrorism in our daily conversation which does not fit the definition used by criminal justice and national security professionals or by academics. A vastly different definition is used by individuals and groups devoted to attacking the United States and its allies who view America as a “state sponsor of terrorism” (Schmid, 2011).

In November 2009 army psychiatrist and major Nidal Hasan opened fire and killed 13 people and wounded 30 at Fort Hood, Texas, the deadliest shooting ever to take place at an American military base. As he fired Hasan shouted “Allahu

Akbar” (commonly translated as *God is great*). He subsequently was convicted of multiple counts of murder and attempted murder by a military court-martial and sentenced to death.

The Department of Defense initially categorized the shooting as work-force violence and as the criminal act of a single individual although a Senate report classified the shooting as “the worst terroristic attack on U.S. soil since



FIGURE 1.1 & 1.2 Firefighters at the World Trade Center

Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AFire_fighters_amid_smoking_rubble_after_September_11th_terrorist_attack_\(29392249476\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AFire_fighters_amid_smoking_rubble_after_September_11th_terrorist_attack_(29392249476).jpg).

Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AFire_fighter_in_front_of_burning_building_and_rubble_following_September_11th_terrorist_attack_\(29138236340\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AFire_fighter_in_front_of_burning_building_and_rubble_following_September_11th_terrorist_attack_(29138236340).jpg).

September 11, 2001” (Swaine, 2013). Army investigators explained that they could not find links between Hasan and terrorist groups.

Hasan joined the military following his graduation from a Virginia high school and served as an enlisted soldier for 8 years while earning his college degree at Virginia Tech. After graduating in 1997 he was accepted into an elite medical program and received his medical training at a military-sponsored health facility. He was known by others as deeply religious, quiet, and unassuming. Several of his colleagues had complained to authorities that he expressed anti-American views and expressed misgivings about Muslims serving in the U.S. military in the Middle East. At one point while conducting research, Hasan was in regular email contact with Anwar al-Awlaki in Yemen, an inspirational Muslim cleric who advocated attacks on the United States.

Following the Fort Hood killings, investigators found that Hasan had been viewing jihadist websites and had made Internet posts comparing suicide bombers to soldiers who die for a noble cause. They also found that his business card identified him as an SOA (soldier or servant of God).

On the other hand, Hasan was extremely agitated over his reassignment to Afghanistan and was angry that authorities refused to prosecute his military patients who admitted to war crimes; he simply may have experienced an emotional breakdown. There was no evidence linking Hasan to radical groups in his family’s native Palestine.

President Barack Obama, in discussing the events at Fort Hood, referred to the shootings as an example of extremist violence rather than using the terminology of *terrorism*. In April 2015 the Pentagon, in response to congressional legislation requesting a reexamination of the Fort Hood shooting, awarded Purple Hearts to the victims of the shootings, making them eligible for combat-related benefits.

In April 2014 Specialist Ivan A. Lopez, age 34, killed three individuals at Fort Hood and injured 16 before committing suicide. At the time he was being treated for depression and anxiety and was being evaluated for post-traumatic stress disorder.

Why was there a question whether Major Hasan as a terrorist? How does he compare to Specialist Lopez? The remainder of the chapter explores the definition of terrorism. First, let us consider why the study of terrorism has taken on importance in recent years.

WHY TERRORISM MATTERS

There are some worthwhile reasons for being concerned about and studying **terrorism**.

Violence. There is a significant human cost from terrorism. This includes the severely injured victims of the Boston Marathon bombing, the dead and injured from the 9/11 attacks, and the psychologically traumatized individuals who have experienced terrorist attacks. This cost is amplified manifold across the globe.

Daily life. Terrorism has significantly transformed the way people live their life. Think about the changes in foreign and domestic travel and even the experience when attending a concert or sporting event.

Resources. A vast amount of money, time, and human resources have been spent creating structures to combat terrorism and in maintaining national security. It is estimated that since 2001, somewhere between \$1.4 and \$4 trillion has been spent by the United States on the War on Terror. More than 1,200 government organizations and 1,900 private companies presently work on counterterrorism, homeland security, and national security at 10,000 locations across the United States (Masco, 2014).

Civil liberties. Terrorism has resulted in an expansion of government databases, surveillance, and expanded government powers of search and seizure.

Personal security. There is a general sense of psychological insecurity and fear.

Knowledge. The study of terrorism provides an introduction to the history, nature, and causes of violence and how to combat violence.

In 2015 there were 11,774 terrorist attacks worldwide. This was a slight decrease from 2014, in which there were 13,463 terrorist attacks worldwide—an increase from 9,707 terrorist attacks in 2013. A total of 28,328 individuals died during terrorist attacks in 2015, including 6,924 perpetrators. In 2015 there was a monthly average of 981 attacks, causing 2,361 deaths and 2,943 injuries. Each terrorist attack in 2015 resulted in an average of 2.5 deaths and 3.3 injuries (Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2015). The total number of terrorist attacks in 2016 decreased by 9 percent and the total number of deaths resulting from terrorist attacks decreased by 13 percent as compared to 2015. These attacks occurred in 104 countries, although they were heavily concentrated in Iraq, Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, and the Philippines. Other countries with a significant number of terrorist attacks included Nigeria, Somalia, Syria, Turkey, and Yemen (Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2016).

John Mueller challenges the conventional view that terrorism is an immediate and urgent threat. He contends, among other points, that the damage and threat of terrorism is exaggerated. The probability that an individual American will be killed in a terrorist attack is “microscopic” and that the United States is able to

“readily absorb” the damage from an attack. The probability that a resident of the globe will die as a result of international terrorism is 1 in 80,000—roughly the chance that an individual will die from the impact of an asteroid or comet. Mueller advocates a less “exaggerated” and more reasoned approach to addressing terrorism (Mueller, 2006).

Lisa Stampnitzky asks in a related analysis whether terrorism is merely a name for a long-standing phenomenon. She points out that between 1961 and 1972 there were 85 planes hijacked en route from the United States to Cuba. These hijackings were viewed as air piracy or as a routine crime. In the mid-1970s these same acts, together with other criminal acts, were categorized as terrorism. Terrorism from this perspective is a relatively isolated event and is used by governments to create a climate of social fear and anxiety to justify governmental intrusion into our daily lives (Stampnitzky, 2013).

DEFINING TERRORISM

The definition of terrorism is a subject of constant and intense debate, and a dizzying number of definitions have been proposed by scholars and government agencies. The various branches of the American government do not even agree among themselves on a definition of terrorism. More than 100 definitions of terrorism have been proposed by scholars, government agencies, various countries, and commentators (Schmid & Jongman, 2005). There are a number of respected commentators who conclude that terrorism is too difficult to define and that an accurate definition is not possible. The best approach, according to these commentators, is to admit that “I cannot define terrorism, but I know terrorism when I see it” (Richardson, 2006).

This disagreement over the definition of terrorism may seem like the type of seemingly complicated question of primary interest to terrorist researchers and academics, and which is irrelevant to practitioners. The question, however, has real-world implications. Without a definition, the best we can do is to rely on our impressions, prejudices, and fears rather than evidence to label individuals and groups as terrorists. This may divert resources into areas that do not enhance national security. Does the United States enhance security by banning immigration from various countries or by requiring all Muslims to register with federal authorities or would a more selective strategy prove more successful?

How should we define terrorism or a terrorist? Think about the environmental group Greenpeace which intercepts whaling ships and harasses vessels that pose a threat to the environment. Greenpeace certainly engages in coercion to achieve political goals. Is Greenpeace a terrorist organization? What about groups dedicated to the protection of animals which in some instances have been accused of “freeing” laboratory animals or destroying laboratories that experiment on

animals? Think about how freely we use the designation cyberterrorism. Is this a proper designation?

Keep in mind that an act may threaten the peace and stability of society and merit severe punishment although it is not terrorism. An example is a school shooting.

DO WE NEED A DEFINITION OF TERRORISM?

The designation of *terrorist organization* or *terrorist* carries a number of legal implications. In the United States, working on behalf of a designated terrorist organization, promoting the organization, or being involved in the organization in any capacity may result in criminal prosecution for material support of a terrorist organization. An organization designated as a terrorist organization in the United States may be dissolved and have its finances seized. These organizations in some instances may be subject to legal action for damages brought by the victims and families of victims of the violent activity sponsored by the group. Individuals who are reasonably believed to be engaged in terrorist activities may be placed under surveillance and have their phone and Internet communications monitored. Suspected terrorists will be prevented from entering the United States and may be subject to deportation from the country. They also may on rare occasions be detained on a material witness warrant until they testify before a grand jury or at trial. Even being suspected of terrorist activity can result in being placed on a no-fly list, which prevents an individual from travelling on a domestic or international airline. Individuals in countries with fewer legal protections that are considered terrorists may find their passports revoked, and in some instances may find themselves subject to preventive detention and lengthy prison terms for membership in a designated terrorist organization. Suspected terrorists in some areas of the world may be shot on sight rather than arrested, and when captured may be subject to harsh prison conditions. Consider that methods of interrogation are accepted against suspected terrorists that would be unacceptable if used against other types of criminals. In other words, we need to define who is a terrorist to counterterrorism.

PROBLEMS WITH DEFINING TERRORISM

Terrorism is a word that is used in our daily vocabulary without a great deal of precision or clear meaning. There are various interrelated obstacles to an objective definition of terrorism (Jackson, Jarvis, Gunning, & Breen-Smyth, 2011).

Perspective. The use of the term often depends on individuals' situations. Governments label critics and insurgents as terrorists and these groups, in turn, may label the response of governments as terrorism. An individual's perspective

may dictate what is viewed as “illegitimate violence” and who is viewed as an “innocent individual.”

Power. In most societies, governments exercise immense power to influence public perceptions, fund research, and to enforce the law, and they are able to shape public perceptions of which individuals and groups are considered terrorists and what types of acts are considered to be terrorism.

Diversity. Terrorism is a diverse phenomenon. A definition of terrorism that treats the violent acts of individuals in the United States, the People’s Republic of China, Russia, or Rwanda as part of a common category provides limited insight or understanding.

Motive. The same act—such as assassination of a political leader—may be an act of terrorism, undertaken as an act of personal revenge, or based on some other motive. How do we determine, other than perhaps in retrospect, that the act was intended as terrorism?

History. The term *terrorism* has shifted throughout history and has had no consistent meaning. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, terrorists in many cases were viewed as romantic rebels who, in many countries—including the United States—were considered soldiers in the cause of democratic values, who should not be extradited to stand trial in their states of nationality. In the 1970s the United States refused to return several members of the Irish Republican Army to Great Britain on the grounds that they were political offenders fighting for a revolutionary cause.

As you read definitions of terrorism, consider the statement of the radical scholar Noam Chomsky that “we have to qualify the definition of ‘terrorism’ given in official sources; the term applies only to terrorism against us, not the terrorism we carry out against them” (Duyvesteyn, 2017).

INITIAL THOUGHTS ON DEFINING TERRORISM

If asked to develop a definition of terrorism most people would include some basic components.

Act. Unlawful acts of violence.

Motivation. Politically inspired violence or threat of violence.

Intent. Designed to achieve political change through violence.

Target. Attacking civilian targets or members of the government or government structures.

Tactic. Carried out by individuals who are members of a group that do not wear identifiable uniforms and act on behalf of a nation-state.

Of course, terrorism may be motivated by nonpolitical factors including religion, race, or ethnic rivalries, or may be motivated by opposition to a public policy such as abortion or LGBT rights. Some people might add that the purpose or consequence of a terrorist attack is to bring about change through intimidation or through the creation of fear. We may find definitions that specify the type of weapons employed by terrorist or list the types of harm to persons or property resulting from terrorist violence. Others might note that terrorism may include nonviolent acts of coercion such as a massive cyberattack. We also might find that some people include violent attacks by states—such as bombing attacks on civilians—as terrorism. There may be objections that attacks on the military or police are not terrorism and that terrorism is limited to attacks on civilians. Recent events remind us that there are lone-wolf terrorists who are not formally affiliated with any group. Another consideration is that violence undertaken in pursuit of a morally just cause may not be considered by some individuals to constitute terrorism. Finally, definitions might distinguish between domestic and international acts of terrorism, and between attacks undertaken by individuals who are citizens and noncitizens of a state.

A survey of definitions of terrorism found that the definitions variously mentioned the following factors: violence or force (83.5% of the definitions), political motivation (65%), creating fear or terror (51%), intentional and systematic (32%), particular strategies and tactics (30.5%), without regard for normal constraints (30%), coercion (28%), and over one third (37.5%) mentioned injury to victims that were not themselves the primary target of the attack. Infrequently mentioned in the definition were repetitive or serial violence (7%), covert nature (9%), and criminal character (6%) (Schmid & Jongman, 2005). Weinberg and his colleagues analyzed definitions of terrorism in academic journals and found that the focus was on politically directed violence and that very few definitions focused on the psychological impact of terrorism (Weinberg, Pedahzur, & Hirsch-Hoefler, 2012). Lisa Stampnitzky reports that 77% of political science journal articles on terrorism do not include a definition of terrorism, and the remainder offer a definition that is unrelated to previous definitions (Stampnitzky 2013). In other words, H. H. A. Cooper understandably concludes that there is “a problem in the problem of definition” of terrorism (Cooper, 2001).

Despite these complexities, terrorism experts and practitioners have proposed some thought-provoking definitions of terrorism some of which are discussed in the next section. As you read these definitions, pay attention to what is included

and what is omitted from the various definitions. Do you agree with the statement of famed terrorist researcher Walter Laqueur (1999) that a “comprehensive definition of terrorism” (p. 5) does not exist and likely will not be formulated in the years to come?

SOME DEFINITIONS OF TERRORISM

Israeli national security strategist Boaz Ganor writes that terrorism is the “intentional use of, or threat to use, violence against civilians or against civilian targets, in order to attain political aims” (Ganor, 2005). Note that the focus of this definition is on the identity of the victims. Ganor writes that his definition is based on three central elements. First, the essence of terrorism is the use of or the threat of violence. An activity that does not involve violence is not terrorism. Second, the aim of terrorism is political: changing the regime or modifying a policy. An act that is not directed to achieve a political aim is a criminal act and a criminal act is not terrorism. Ganor notes that the term *political* is sufficiently expansive to include a religious, ideological, or other motivation. Third, the targets of terrorism are civilians. The inadvertent injury to civilians is not terrorism. Ganor argues that the reason or motive for attacking civilians (for example, intimidation or to spread fear) is irrelevant and is insistent that national liberation groups fighting against foreign occupiers are not immune from being labeled as terrorists because of the alleged morality of their cause. He makes the important point that under his definition, states can be involved in terrorism by directing, sponsoring, or carrying out attacks (Ganor, 2005).

Harvard scholar Louise Richardson adopts a very similar definition. In discussing the characteristics of terrorism, Richardson notes that the act and victim typically have “symbolic significance.” Terrorists are “outmanned” and “outgunned” by the opposition and select targets to enhance their perceived power and capacity. The victims of terrorism are usually a means to influence the government and are not themselves the focus of terrorist grievance or demands. Most importantly, Richardson diverges from Ganor and argues that terrorism is carried out by substate groups—not carried out by states. She recognizes that states target civilians, although such acts are punishable as war crimes or as violations of human rights, and are not terrorism (Richardson, 2006, pp. 4–5).

Important terrorism scholars Bruce Hoffman and Walter Laqueur further elaborate on the definition of terrorism by characterizing terrorism as the use of “illegitimate force to achieve political ends by targeting innocent people” (Guiora, 2011, p. 4). The definition focuses on the criminal nature of terrorist violence, which targets innocent people, to achieve political objectives. Note that this approach does not limit the victims to civilians; it might include the police or members of the military. Professor Amos Guiora, a former commander in the Israel Defense

Force notes there is a problem in deciding when violence is “legitimate” or “illegitimate” and in agreeing who is an “innocent” (Guiora, 2011, p. 4).

Hoffman also has offered his own definition, which shifts the focus to the psychological impact of terrorism. He writes that terrorism is “deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of change” (Hoffman, 2006, p. 41).

Guiora also proposes a definition of terrorism. He first explains that the essence of terrorism is “acts of violence,” suggesting that terrorism is a process that involves periodic attacks that exact a psychological toll on a population—rather than a single dramatic attack. These acts are undertaken to advance a “political, social, religious or economic” cause aimed at “innocent civilians defined as legitimate targets with the intent to cause physical harm” (Guiora, 2011, p. 4). Note that Guiora recognizes that terrorists define “innocent” victims as permissible targets for attack, although attacking civilians is both an act of terrorism and a crime under international law. He concludes by adding that terrorism in addition to causing physical harm may involve “psychological warfare against a population aimed at intimidating it from conducting its daily life in a normal fashion” (Guiora, 2011, p. 4). The focus of Guiora’s definition is on the infliction of physical and psychological harm on innocent individuals who are defined as targets by terrorists. Note that he does not include attacks on the police or military as terrorism (Guiora, 2011).

A United Nations (UN) definition focuses on the types of acts that are terrorism and states that terrorism involves the infliction of death or serious bodily injury, serious damage to property, and damage to property that results in major economic loss when the purpose is to intimidate a population or compel a government or international organization to “do or to abstain from doing any act” (United Nations, 2002).

At this point you likely have reached your own definition of terrorism. There are some common elements that are included in most of these definitions.

Violence. Terrorism involves criminal violence or the threat of criminal violence.

Actor. Terrorism may be committed by subnational groups or by states.

Intent. Terrorism involves the intent to advance a political, social, religious, or economic cause.

Target. Terrorism is directed at innocent individuals defined as legitimate targets.

Harm. Terrorism involves physical harm or the creation of physical harm or psychological fear or intimidation.

Motive. Terrorism is unjustifiable whatever the motive or cause.

U.S. government departments and agencies have developed various definitions of terrorism.

The FBI defines international terrorism as violent acts that:

appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping and occur primarily outside the territorial jurisdiction of the United States or transcend national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished, the persons they appear intended to intimidate or coerce, or the locals in which their perpetrators operate or seek asylum. (FBI, 2006)

The FBI also defines **domestic terrorism** as:

activities that involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any state; appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping and occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States. (FBI, 2006)

The U.S. Department of Defense defines terrorism as:

the unlawful use of, or threatened use of, force or violence, often motivated by religious, political, or other ideological beliefs, to instill fear and coerce governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are usually political. (U.S. Department of Defense, 2010)

The Department of State defines terrorism as:

premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents. (Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2015)

The Department of Homeland Security states that terrorism is:

any activity that is dangerous to human life or potentially destructive of critical infrastructure or key resources; and ... must also appear to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping. (Jackson et al., 2011, p. 102)

Federal law in the United States Code, 18 U.S.C. Section 3077, defines terrorism as unlawful violence that is intended to:

intimidate or coerce a civilian population ... influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or ... affects the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping. (U.S. Code, n.d.)

1.1 You Decide

In July 1944 a group of German military officers led by Colonel Claus von Stauffenberg, who had lost an eye and hand in combat in North Africa, attempted to assassinate Adolf Hitler. The plan was to assassinate Hitler, deploy the reserve army to remove the high command, and seek a negotiated peace with the Allied Powers. Stauffenberg carried a bomb loaded with plastic explosives connected to an acid fuse into a military conference with Hitler. He placed the briefcase under the table adjacent to Hitler and left the room under the excuse that he needed to make a phone call. The bomb detonated a moment later reducing the room to rubble. Four individuals died although Hitler escaped with minor injuries. When Stauffenberg left the room, the briefcase was moved resulting in the blast being deflected from Hitler. Stauffenberg and the other conspirators were apprehended and together with hundreds of dissidents were later executed. Hitler later would boast that he was immortal and following the attack rarely was in public view. On April 30, 1945, Hitler committed suicide. A successful assassination would have spared some of the six million Jews and other individuals exterminated in death camps and may have resulted in the survival of tens of thousands of Allied military forces and German soldiers and civilians who died in the last months of the war.

Was the attempted assassination of Hitler an act of terrorism? □

TERRORISM, WAR, AND GUERILLA WARFARE

Terrorism, **war**, and **guerilla warfare** (*guerilla* translates to “little war”) share the common characteristic that all involve armed combat that results in the loss of human life. These military operations, however, are distinct and different in important ways. Bruce Hoffman suggests that contrasting guerilla warfare with terrorism helps to clarify the nature of terrorism in the absence of a clear definition (Hoffman, 2006).

War may be defined as a “contention between two or more States through their armed forces, for the purpose of overpowering each other and imposing such conditions of peace as the victor pleases” (Detter, 2000, p. 7). Two less traditional although increasingly prevalent forms of war are noninternational armed conflicts to establish an autonomous regional government, or internal civil wars in which a government is in combat with an opposition force fighting to overthrow the central government or to attain regional autonomy. An example is the Bosnian War in the 1990s in which the Bosnian government engaged in a prolonged conflict with the Serbian population. War in the 20th century, beginning with the Hague Convention of 1898, became heavily regulated by international agreements—the most important of which are the four Geneva Conventions and Protocols. A violation of these treaties in theory may result in a monetary penalty on a state and criminal prosecution or court-martial of violators.

Virtually every country in the world is a signatory to the Geneva Conventions and have incorporated these conventions as part of their domestic military law. The Geneva Conventions regulate nearly every area of armed conflict including the conduct of hostilities, treatment of civilians and the wounded, sick, and prisoners of war, and the protection of cultural property and the environment. Violation of these restrictions can lead to criminal prosecution and to a state’s liability to pay compensation to the victimized state.

Two provisions are most important for our discussion. The law of war specifies that civilians and civilian structures and material essential for human survival should not be made the intentional target of attack. A second important provision provides that to be treated as a prisoner of war, rather than as an irregular combatant, is that a combatant must carry arms openly, wear an identifiable and fixed uniform or insignia, operate under the authority of an organized command, and obey the law of war. This is important because a country must treat prisoners of war in a humanitarian fashion, and the protections for irregular combatants are far less extensive.

In a controversial decision, the international community in the Geneva Protocol loosened the requirements for recognition of prisoner-of-war status of combatants who are fighting internal wars of national liberation from a foreign power or repressive and racist regimes, and for internal opposition movements that control territory. Keep in mind, however, that civilians and the sick and wounded may never be made the intentional target of an attack other than when they are unavoidably part of an attack on a valuable military site.

Guerilla warfare often is labelled as terrorism although the two forms of irregular conflict are somewhat different. The term *guerilla war* was developed to describe Spanish resistance to Napoleon in 1808 and is derived from the Spanish term for war. Guerilla war typically is used to describe combat relying on irregular forces

who rely on hit-and-run tactics to fight a more powerful organized government or foreign force.

Bruce Hoffman notes that both guerillas and terrorists—as a matter of strategy—may not wear formal uniforms or carry arms openly and may not be distinguishable from civilians. Guerillas, however—unlike terrorists—operate in military units, attack enemy military forces, and seize and hold territory, although this may be limited to the nighttime. They engage in propaganda and information campaigns to attract support and to criticize the government. In some cases guerillas abide by the rules of war in terms of the protection of civilians and wearing an identifiable insignia. Terrorists, in contrast to guerillas, do not operate in the open in armed units under responsible command, do not respect the law of war, in most cases do not seek to capture and hold territory, attack civilians rather than focus their attacks on the police and military forces, and rarely—if ever—wear an identifiable insignia.

A group may engage in guerilla warfare as well as terrorism. Examples of groups combining these forms of warfare are the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), also known as the Tamil Tigers. Bruce Hoffman writes that roughly one third of the groups on the U.S. State Department list of designated foreign terrorist organizations could be considered guerillas. ISIS and **al Qaeda**, while fighting in Syria against the Assad regime, were examples of groups who engaged in both guerilla warfare and in terrorism. Another example of a group that combines terrorism and guerilla warfare are the Taliban in Afghanistan (Hoffman, 2006).

There are numerous historical examples of successful guerilla campaigns including the Chinese communists' defeat of the Chinese nationalists in 1949 and the Vietnamese defeat of the French colonial forces in 1954.

Hoffman also contrasts terrorism with conventional crime. Both terrorists and criminals may engage in acts such as kidnapping, bank robberies, and armed attacks. The difference is that the common criminal typically is motivated by self-interest, rather than by an intent to bring about political change. Criminals may terrorize victims through the infliction of violence, although, unlike terrorism, this typically is intended to punish victims or to force them to cooperate, rather than to intimidate society. According to Hoffman, terrorists also are distinct from the psychologically challenged individuals who may target a political leader as a result of a mental delusion rather than because of a political motive. John Hinckley, for example, attempted to kill President Ronald Reagan in an effort to impress his fantasy-lover actress Jodie Foster rather than because of a political motive.

Of course, individuals may have various motives that account for their behavior. Hoffman may go too far in arguing that terrorists—in contrast to criminals—are altruists who believe that they are serving a just cause, rather than the criminal

who is motivated by a desire to achieve personal profit or revenge. There undoubtedly are terrorists who view their activities as a lucrative business involving drugs (narcoterrorists) or gun trafficking.

The next section of the chapter outlines typologies of terrorism.



1.2 You Decide

In 2012 Edgar Morales, a member of a New York City street gang, was charged and convicted of terrorism stemming from a fight with members of a rival gang in which a young child was killed. A New York court reversed the decision, noting that violence between rival street gangs, however serious, was very different from the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. These attacks were undertaken to intimidate or coerce the civilian population and to affect the policy of the United States in the Middle East. Bringing a prosecution against a member of a street gang for acts directed at another gang would mean that prosecutors “could invoke the specter of ‘terrorism’ every time a Blood [street gang member] assaults a Crip [street gang member]. ... The concept of terrorism has a unique meaning ... and risk[s] being trivialized if the terminology is applied ... in situations that do not match our collective understanding of ... a terrorist act” (*People v. Morales*, 2012).

Are street gangs terrorist organizations? □

TYPOLOGIES OF TERRORISM

The term terrorism encompasses a wide variety of groups with different strategies, goals, and ideologies. A number of analysts have developed **typologies of terrorism**, which group these organizations according to shared characteristics. These typologies are somewhat misleading because terrorist organizations often cannot be easily categorized, and no two groups are precisely alike. Nonetheless typologies are useful for organizing terrorist organizations according to broad categories that provide a starting point for studying the characteristics of individual terrorist groups and for exploring the differences and similarities between terrorist groups.

Dr. Frederick Hacker developed an early categorization scheme based on the personality of terrorists. He broadly grouped terrorists as “crazies” with an addiction to violence, “crusaders” who possessed a religious zealotry, and “criminals”

who used to terrorist activity to traffic drugs and weapons and to make money (Hacker, 1976).

Subsequent efforts at classification shifted the focus from the personality of terrorists to other bases for distinguishing terrorists. One prevalent scheme differentiates groups according to whether their primary focus is the use of domestic (national) or international violence. The question is whether the focus of attacks is within a state or outside the territory of the state. For example, the Irish Republican Army focused almost exclusively on violence within Northern Ireland and on occasion within Britain. Al Qaeda focuses their efforts across the globe. Another binary scheme is the difference between state and nonstate terrorism. State terrorism is distinguished by the government resources available to carry out attacks and by the need to simultaneously maintain a measure of popular support while conducting a domestic and/or international war against terror. States engaging in terrorism also may draw both support and criticism from other countries. Yet another binary division is between individual or lone-wolf terrorism carried out by individuals such as the Oklahoma bomber Timothy McVeigh and terrorism carried out in small groups. This differentiation is based on the differing capabilities of individuals and groups. There is a growing attention to drawing a difference between female and male terrorists.

Another common typology is based on the methods employed by terrorists. Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) terrorism is contrasted with “conventional” terrorism. The most frequently cited example of WMD terrorism is the sarin attack by Aum Shinrikyo in the Tokyo subway in 1995 (Lifton, 1999). Cyberterrorism is another form of terrorism which encompasses attacks on networks and information systems. Suicide bombing and suicide terrorism is another categorization scheme based on the methodology used by terrorists (Pape, 2005).

Categorizing terrorists and terrorist organizations based on ideology is the most prevalent and helpful scheme of categorization and is based on the underlying belief system of terrorist organizations. Keep in mind that this ideology may not be shared by each member of the terrorist organization. These ideological categories include the following:

Left-wing terrorism. These groups are dedicated to a restructuring of society and the economy and to the eradication of class differences. They tend to draw membership from peasants who want land redistribution and the poor and working class who want a redistribution of wealth and government ownership of industry. These groups include FARC in Colombia, Naxalites in India, and the now-disbanded Red Brigades in Italy and Baader-Meinhof in Germany.

Right-wing terrorism. Groups that support an authoritarian form of government with a commitment to racial or national purity and opposition to racial

diversity and immigration. They generally articulate an extreme nationalism and oppose international obligations that limit the independence of the nation. Examples are various neo-Nazi groups in Europe and the Aryan Brotherhood in the United States.

Nationalist terrorism. These groups aspire to create a state based on religion or national identity. Examples are Hamas in Palestine, which is devoted to the creation of Palestinian state with an Islamic identity; Chechens who desire a state separate from Russia; and Kurds who want to create a unified country separate from Turkey. Other groups include the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka and the ETA in the Basque Country in Spain.

Religious terrorism. These terrorists are motivated by theological texts that they interpret as obligating the creation of a state based on a pure form of religion. Individuals demonstrate their religious devotion by their willingness to engage in armed struggle and self-sacrifice, as well as the cleansing of nonbelievers. Religious groups in most instances are led by charismatic leaders who provide religious inspiration. Examples include al Qaeda, ISIS, and the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda.

Ecoterrorism. This category only recently has been recognized as a distinct form of terrorism. These terrorists are motivated by a desire to protect the natural environment and engage in vandalism against what they view as environmentally destructive activities and projects. A related form of terrorism involves individuals who act using extreme methods to protect animals against human abuse and exploitation.

These categories have been divided into additional "mixed" subcategories such as right-wing religious terrorists (Masters, 2008). There are various other schemes such as ancient and modern terrorism, single-issue terrorism, and high-casualty terrorism. One additional scheme worth mentioning is the difference between "new" and "old" terrorism although this remains an area of particular controversy.

The New Terrorism

A number of analysts argue that a new type of terrorism developed in the early 1990s which is distinguished from the "old terrorism" (Hoffman, 2006; Lesser, Hoffman, Arquilla, Ronfeldt, & Zanini, 1999). The **new terrorism** is characterized by the following:

Transnational. Targets are selected across the globe rather than being directed at a single country.

Leaderless resistance. Terrorists are organized in a series of independent cells with no chain of command or formal members. These cells are inspired by a common ideology and in some instances may be connected through cell leaders. This “leaderless resistance” prevents the detection or infiltration of one cell from leading to the detection of other terrorist cells.

Personnel. Terrorists tend to be drawn from amateurs (“clean skins”) rather than professional fighters. The “new terrorist” is motivated by religion and is more fanatical and violent than in the past.

Technology. Terrorists communicate through encrypted messages and conduct sophisticated social media propaganda and recruitment campaigns.

Weaponry. The availability of powerful weaponry, powerful toxic chemicals, and even nuclear material provides terrorists with a formidable military capacity, and allows a single individual to pose a significant threat to inflict indiscriminate violence.

The “new terrorism” is dismissed by many experts as “old wine in bottles.” For example, the notion that there is a “new terrorism” overlooks that 19th-century anarchists and the left-wing groups of the 1970s relied on autonomous cells. Amateurs historically were prevalent in terrorist groups and religion-based terrorism has long been an aspect of recorded history.



Personalities and Events

A discussion of contemporary terrorism inevitably involves a reference to *Osama bin Laden*. This is an uncomfortable topic because he is a figure with a massive amount of innocent blood on his hands.

Mohammed bin Laden, Osama’s biological father, emigrated to Saudi Arabia from Yemen and started a construction company which profited from the country’s oil-driven economy. He obtained contracts for high-profile projects and advised foreign construction companies doing business in Saudi Arabia. Mohammed bin Laden amassed significant wealth and developed an extravagant lifestyle, including a total of 22 wives, numerous concubines, and 54 children. Osama (“the Lion”) was born in 1958 and was the product of a marriage between Mohammed and Alia Ghanem from Syria. Mohammed soon grew tired of Alia, divorced her, and arranged a marriage between Alia and an executive of his construction firm.

Osama was sent to an elite private school and at age fourteen experienced a religious transformation and embarked on a severe lifestyle of prayer and grew intolerant of Western influences, which he believed were corrupting Saudi society. Osama married while in high school and together with Najwa Gahnem, a Syrian cousin, and with three other wives subsequently gave birth to 11 children. He enrolled in King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah in 1976 and studied economics although his interest in religion continued to grow. Bin Laden consciously patterned himself on the Prophet Muhammad, fasting on the days the Prophet fasted, wearing clothes reminiscent of the Prophet, and following a similar diet. Osama became a devoted student of a mystical Palestinian scholar, Abdullah Azzam, who was teaching Islamic theology in Jeddah.

Abdullah was an ardent supporter of the Afghan resistance to the Soviet Union's 1979 Soviet incursion and recruited young Saudis to join their struggle. Bin Laden established a hostel in Peshawar, Pakistan, for Arab fighters on their way to join the struggle in Afghanistan and devoted himself to raising money to fund the struggle from oil-rich Saudis. Bin Laden also served as a conduit for money from the Saudi regime.

Osama formed al Qaeda (meaning *the foundation*) in 1988, in the aftermath of the Russian defeat in Afghanistan, as an organization dedicated to the continuation of jihad (meaning *struggle*). Arab fighters now streamed into Afghanistan for a struggle against the Communist government of Afghanistan, which found itself weakened by the Russian retreat. Bin Laden provided salaries and health care for al Qaeda fighters who swore oaths of loyalty to the now-respected Emir bin Laden.

Bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia in 1989 with a commitment to the defense of Islam across the globe. In the same year, he urged the Saudi royal family to allow him to raise an army to defend Saudi Arabia against Iraq, which under the leadership of strongman Saddam Hussein, had invaded neighboring Kuwait rather than allow the "infidel" United States to establish a base in the country.

Disappointed at the decision to allow the American military to enter Saudi Arabia, Bin Laden along with a handful of members of al Qaeda moved to Sudan in 1992 where Islamic scholar Hasan al-Turabi emerged a major figure following a military coup. Al-Turabi envisioned the creation of an international Muslim community centered in Sudan. Bin Laden provided the Sudanese with money and construction equipment to build a 300-kilometer highway as a gift to the nation.

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Bin Laden gradually established strong links with Islamic fighters from Egypt and other countries. He was viewed by various Muslim regimes as responsible for unrest in their countries and Saudi Arabia, and under pressure to take action, they revoked Bin Laden's citizenship. There now was little left to lose and in 1995 Bin Laden openly attacked the Saudi royal family for their extravagant lifestyle, irresponsible expenditures that were impoverishing the country, and for allowing American "infidels" to enter the country. In May 1996 Bin Laden was expelled from Sudan and traveled back to Afghanistan which now was under the control of the Taliban, a fundamentalist Islamic regime.

The United States viewed Bin Laden as a financial supporter of terrorism rather than a terrorist operative. Intelligence sources, however, warned that Bin Laden was building a military capacity in Afghanistan, and that he had established training camps, was recruiting fighters from across the globe, and had initiated efforts to obtain chemical and nuclear weapons. In 1996 Bin Laden issued the "Declaration of War Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places," calling for jihad against American troops stationed in Saudi Arabia. The declaration was followed in February 1998 with a call for Muslims to kill Americans wherever they may be found.

The few glimpses of Bin Laden showed him in a cave. He likely was aware that the Prophet had encountered the angel Gabriel in a cave in Mecca, where the Prophet was embraced as a messenger of God. The underground cave for Bin Laden was a public message that he had retreated from the corruption of modern society and had removed himself from the influence of Western civilization.

In August 1998 al Qaeda orchestrated a simultaneous bomb attack on U.S. embassies in Kenya and in Tanzania, killing 12 Americans and more than 200 Kenyans and Tanzanians and injuring more than 4,000 people. In December 1999 Ahmed Ressam was detained by a U.S. custom officer while crossing from Canada into the United States and was discovered to be planning an attack on Los Angeles International Airport on New Year's Eve.

An August 1998 series of American cruise missile attacks failed to kill Bin Laden. The failure of Operation Infinite Reach to kill Bin Laden elevated his profile as a symbol of terrorist resistance to the United States and to the West.

On at least four occasions in 1998 and 1999, U.S. cruise missile strikes against Bin Laden were called off by the Clinton administration for various reasons, including the fear of collateral damage against innocents and because of what was viewed as unreliable intelligence.

On October 12, 2000, attackers in a skiff loaded with explosives rammed into the Navy destroyer the U.S.S. *Cole* in Aden, Yemen, killing 17 American sailors and nearly sinking the ship. In January 2000 an al Qaeda terrorist attack on the navy vessel the *Sullivan* failed when a skiff loaded with explosives sank before reaching the vessel.

Bin Laden's last and most tragic attack occurred on September 11, 2001, when al Qaeda operatives hijacked planes that hit the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. A plot to pilot a third plane into the White House was prevented by brave passengers whose resistance resulted in the plan crashing in Pennsylvania before it was able to reach its intended destination.

On May 2, 2011, Navy Seal Team Six descended by helicopter on Bin Laden's compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan, and killed him. His body was removed and buried at sea.

Historians will debate whether contemporary Islamic extremist terror would have developed to the same extent and pace without Osama bin Laden. □

THE LOGIC OF TERRORISM

Terrorist groups have various goals. The general consensus is that the overwhelming number of groups fail to experience even a modest degree of success. A number of groups have been successful in achieving independence from a colonial power. A good example is the Kenyan anticolonial struggle against Great Britain. Other groups such as the Basque separatists (ETA) in Spain or Kurds in Turkey have been less successful in achieving regional autonomy from a central power. Basque agitation, however, likely has been partially responsible for granting Basque provinces significant regional autonomy. The social revolutionaries in early 20th-century Russia, although unsuccessful in overthrowing the Czarist regime, laid a foundation for the Russian Revolution led by the Bolsheviks in 1917. The 'Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) engaged in a series of terrorist attacks between 1968 and 1972 which highlighted the Palestinian cause, established the PLO as the primary representative of the Palestinian people, and in recent years has led to limited self-rule on the West Bank and in Gaza, as well as to international endorsement by a number of nations and international organizations of a Palestinian state. Other groups may have limited policy goals like the release of what they consider to be political prisoners. Terrorist groups by demonstrating success hope to increase their recruitment and ability to raise money (Merari, 1993).

In the 1880s anarchist Johannes Most wrote a famous essay, *The Philosophy of the Bomb*, in which he sketched a blueprint for terrorist violence. Most's essay perceptively laid out the classic logic of terrorist violence which aspires to the overthrow of the established political order (Townshend, 2011).

Overthrow the established order. Terrorists have various goals, ranging from the creation of a separate state to the replacement of the existing government or the imposition of a religiously ordained order or policy reform.

Attention. The first strategic goal of any terrorist organization is to capture public attention to their cause and to communicate their grievances. This requires that as many people as possible witness or learn about a terrorist event. The media is the terrorists' best friend in ensuring an audience for their violence.

Psychological disorientation. A primary tactic to achieve terrorist goals is the creation of a climate of fear and intimidation through violence against individuals and the destruction of symbolically important property. The logic is that people will pressure the government to give the terrorists what they want rather than continue to live in fear and fright. There is a fine balance: Injuring and killing too many individuals may accelerate anger and desire for revenge and retribution against terrorists.

Social disruption and delegitimization. A related tactic is to disrupt the normal routine and way of life. Individuals will turn their anger towards the government for failing to protect them and will demand a change.

Social divisions. Terrorists hope to widen existing divisions in society by creating a climate that enhances social divisions and distrust between groups. The contemporary attacks by Islamic terrorists in Europe are designed in part to create a backlash towards Muslims and to drive the Muslim community into supporting the terrorist cause.

Overreaction. Terrorists hope to cause the government to react by curbing rights and liberties and cause dissatisfaction with the government for curtailing individual freedoms and for singling out innocent individuals for investigation and detention. These types of repressive policies may create sympathy for terrorists.

Propaganda. Terrorists want to dominate the media and to communicate the reasonableness of their cause and to highlight the corruption and ineptitude of the government to their intended audience. Terrorist violence reinforces the terrorists' objectives by, for example, targeting the troops of an occupying power. The ability to carry out terrorist violence projects power and, in turn, attracts the alienated and powerless youth.

Terrorists function in a social environment in which they are hoping to reinforce their message to their supporters and to appeal to individuals who potentially may be attracted to their cause.



The Morality of Terrorism

A perennial question is the moral justifiability of terrorism. Can the injury or death of individuals in pursuit of a social, political, or religious cause ever be moral? Most individuals labeled as terrorists, with the occasional exception, reject the notion that they are terrorists. In fact, they tend to accuse the individuals who affix this label to them as the true terrorists.

Individuals and groups offer a series of justifications for their actions (Jackson et al., 2011; Richardson, 2006).

Legal Alternatives. Efforts to achieve change through legal avenues such as elections, mass demonstrations, lobbying, and public pressure have proven unsuccessful and are clearly a waste of time and effort. These efforts have led to a repressive response in many instances. Even in democracies, the concentration of wealth and power makes meaningful change through legal avenues next to impossible. By foreclosing legal and nonviolent avenues for change, regimes force individuals to engage in violence as a last resort.

Violence. The government monopolizes force and cannot be confronted on equal terms. Terrorism or asymmetrical warfare is the only strategy available to the weak.

Effectiveness. The resort to violence brings attention and helps to attract other individuals to the cause.

Collective Guilt. There are no innocent individuals in the view of a terrorist. Even civilians bear moral responsibility. Osama bin Laden famously declared that the American people pay taxes that fund the armies that occupy Arab lands, which helps fund repressive Arab regimes. Acts that are labeled as Islamic terrorism are nothing more than acts of self-defense by Muslims against the violence inflicted against them by the United States.

Moral Equivalence. The claim is that the enemy regime engages in acts of violence and repression and that their condemnation of acts of terrorism is hypocritical. Terrorists believe that their cause is more righteous than that of the government and—unlike government forces—are willing to sacrifice themselves in the service of a moral cause. Osama bin Laden made constant references to America's dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which killed and maimed tens of thousands without differentiating between men, women, and children; he alleged that America was engaged in criminal attacks against civilians in Afghanistan and Iraq. A subtle argument is that the violence imposed by governments often is not apparent because it is institutionalized violence. This is the violence that results from the inequality of education, opportunity, and income.

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Legitimacy. Resistance is legitimized by invoking religious justifications, historical mistreatment, and declarations by revered historical leaders.

In summary, terrorists view their violence as a means of accomplishing social or political change; they are no more violent than the government. Terrorists believe that they occupy the moral high ground and have been forced into violence in the service of an honorable and just cause. There are no other alternatives available to remove an authoritarian dictator or repressive regime and there are no “innocents” in this struggle (Honderich, 2002). Others respond that there is no justification for sacrificing the innocent lives of men, women, and children to advance a political cause. Even if violence is undertaken, it can be pursued in a fashion that respects the limits of the law of war and limits attacks to enemy combatants. Terrorism, in other words, is aggravated criminality (Meisels, 2014). What is your view?

A continuing debate revolves around the question whether terrorism has proven successful in the past. Proponents of terrorist violence point to Algeria, the establishment of Israel, and the end of apartheid in South Africa as examples of successful campaigns. On the other hand, these are dismissed as isolated examples whose success resulted from a broad combination of tactics (Richardson, 2006). □

CHAPTER SUMMARY

There are good reasons to study terrorism because of its impact on governmental policy and on the daily lives of individuals. Terrorism is part of our daily vocabulary, but there are various challenges in defining the term *terrorism*. There is no uniform definition of terrorism, although any definition should incorporate references to violence, actors, intent, targets, harm, and motive. Another approach to understanding the elements of terrorism is to distinguish terrorism from guerrilla warfare—which, unlike terrorism, generally involves adherence to the laws of war and, for example, avoids intentional attacks on civilians. There are various typologies of terrorism; the most prevalent approach is to divide terrorist groups by the nature of their political or religious ideology. A heavily debated question is whether there is a “new terrorism.”

The logic of terrorism involves the creation of social fear and intimidation in an effort to demonstrate the weakness of government and to provoke an overreaction which will erode support for the regime and persuade the population to accept the demands of terrorists. Terrorists generally view themselves as moral and acting in the cause of social justice. Others question the justification for attacking a civilian population.

CHAPTER REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1. Discuss why terrorism matters or does not matter.
- 2. What are some the factors to be considered in defining terrorism?
- 3. List some various approaches to defining terrorism.
- 4. Distinguish between terrorism and guerilla warfare. Do you believe there is a meaningful difference?
- 5. What are some types of terrorism?
- 6. Discuss the logic of terrorism.
- 7. In your view, is terrorism ever morally justified?

TERMINOLOGY

al Qaeda	Osama bin Laden	typologies of terrorism
guerilla warfare	terrorism	war
new terrorism		