

part one

Understanding Terrorism and Terrorists' Mindset

The success of counterterrorism largely depends on the understanding of terrorism and terrorists' objectives. Therefore, it is imperative that one comprehend how and why individual terrorists and terrorist groups do what they do. Accordingly, the focus of this part is on analyzing the way that terrorist actors think in order to be able to better understand, explain, and possibly predict actions and nonactions of terrorists in future situations.

To achieve this, first, this part explores what terrorism is and what terrorists do (Chapter 1). It also introduces different types of terrorism. Here, particular emphasis is placed on area of operation, tactics, and targets of terrorists. Special attention is paid to the most prominent domestic and international terrorist groups in Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, North America, and the Middle East. Second, it seeks to determine the primary reasons why individuals and groups commit a terrorist attack by focusing on existing theories and hypotheses (Chapter 2). Third, it examines the strategic, social, and individual goals of terrorists (Chapter 3). It further assesses the factors that are conducive to the sustainability of certain groups and those that led to the demise of other groups.

chapter one

Terrorism: An Introduction

On September 11, 2001, four U.S. commercial airliners loaded with jet fuel were hijacked by 19 Islamic terrorists, who used the planes as missiles. The attacks targeted the two towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, and an unidentified building in Washington, DC (possibly the U.S. Capitol Building or the White House), although the fourth plane never reached its target due to passengers attacking the hijackers and causing the plane to crash into a field in southwestern Pennsylvania. These events, which resulted in approximately 3,000 deaths and more than \$17 billion in damages, were covered worldwide by media and were universally labeled as acts of terrorism. On the fifth anniversary of 9/11 (September 11, 2006), David McMenemy crashed his vehicle, which was doused in gasoline, into the Egerton Women's Health Center in Davenport, Iowa, with the intent of causing an explosion. McMenemy attacked the facility because he believed that the center was providing abortion services to women. No national newspaper, magazine, or network newscast covered the incident (with the exception of an Associated Press wire story).¹ Even when this incident was covered, it was not labeled an act of terrorism.

Between 1997 and 2010, there have been 6,349 incidents of violence against abortion providers in the United States and Canada.² Of these incidents, 41 were

¹ Pozner, J. L. 2006, October 8. The terrorists who aren't in the news: Anti-abortion fanatics spread fear by bombings, murders and assaults, but the media take little notice. *Women in News and Media*. <http://www.wimnonline.org/WIMNsVoicesBlog/?p=286>

² National Abortion Federation. 2011. *NAF violence and disruption statistics: Incidents of violence and disruption against abortion providers in the U.S. and Canada*. http://www.prochoice.org/pubs_research/publications/downloads/about_abortion/stats_table2010.pdf.

bombings, 662 were anthrax threats, and 100 were butyric acid attacks. Despite this, the media and certain politicians refer to the perpetrators of these incidents as activists and not terrorists.³ This occurrence may in part be due to misperceptions of what constitutes terrorism. What further complicates matters is the lack of a universally accepted definition of terrorism. This following text seeks to shed some light on this issue by examining definitions of terrorism, identifying the different types of terrorism worldwide, and determining the viability of creating a universally accepted definition of terrorism.

DEFINING TERRORISM

Numerous definitions of terrorism exist. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines terrorism as the “unlawful use of force or violence to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives or goals.”⁴ Terrorism is also defined in national legislation. In the United States, federal law defines terrorism as

activities that involve . . . violation(s) of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State and . . . 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.⁵

In addition, the Code of Federal Regulations defined it as “the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (28 CFR Section 0.85). Other countries, such as the United Kingdom, define it as “the use of threat of action . . . [that is] designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and . . . is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause” (Section 1, UK Terrorism Act of 2000); whereas, in Canada, “terrorist activity” is defined as

an act or omission . . . that is committed in whole or in part for a political, religious or ideological purpose, objective or cause and in whole or in part with the intention of intimidating the public, or a segment of the public, with regard to its security, including its economic security, or compelling a person, a government or a domestic or an international organization to do or to refrain from doing

³ Marcotte, A. 2001. The terrorism taboo. *Slate*, July 11, 2011. http://www.slate.com/blogs/xx_factor/2011/07/11/how_is_anti_abortion_violence_not_terrorism_.html; Agence France-Presse (AFP). 2008. Anti abortion bombs not terrorism: Palin. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, October 25, 2008. <http://news.smh.com.au/world/anti-abortion-bombs-not-terrorism-palin-20081025-58gy.html>

⁴ Federal Bureau of Investigation. 2005. Terrorism 2002–2005. *US Department of Justice*. http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/terrorism-2002-2005/terror02_05.pdf.

any act, whether the person, government or organization is inside or outside Canada.⁵

To classify as a terrorist activity in both the United Kingdom and Canada, the act must also, among other things, seek to intentionally cause death, serious bodily harm and/or property damage, endanger lives, or gravely threaten public safety and health.⁶

Moreover, terrorism has been defined in international legislation. For instance, the EU defines terrorist acts as those that “may seriously damage a country or an international organization” when the objective is to “seriously intimidat[e] a population, or . . . unduly compel . . . a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act, or . . . seriously destabiliz[e] or destroy . . . the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or international organization.”⁷ Furthermore, international conventions on terrorism exist that criminalize some of the most significant terrorist acts, including

1. *Offenses against aircrafts and airports.* UN Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft (1963); UN Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (1970); UN Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (1971); and the UN Protocol on the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (1988), which supplemented the 1971 Convention.
2. *Hostage taking.* UN International Convention against the Taking of Hostages (1979).
3. *Offenses against internationally protected persons, such as state officials and representatives of international organizations.* UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents (1973).
4. *The international transportation of nuclear material and the domestic use, storage, or transport of nuclear material.* UN Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (1980).
5. *Offenses committed aboard or against ships' navigation facilities.* UN Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation (1988).

⁵ Section 83.01(1)(b)(i) of the Canadian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001.

⁶ Section 2 UK Terrorism Act of 2000; Section 83.01(1)(b)(ii) of the Canadian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001.

⁷ Council Framework Decision (EC) of 13 June 2002 on combating terrorism (2002/475/JHA) [2002] OJ L164/3.

6. *Offenses committed in relation to a “fixed platform,” which is defined as “an artificial island, installation or structure permanently attached to the sea-bed for the purpose of exploration or exploitation of resources or for other economic purposes.”* UN Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms located on the Continental Shelf (1988).
7. *Manufacture of unmarked plastic explosives within each state.* UN Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection (1991).
8. *The intentional and unlawful delivery, placement, discharge, or detonation of an explosive device.* UN International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings (1997).
9. *Financing of terrorist acts.* International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (1999).

The League of Arab Nations also considers the crimes in the majority of the above conventions as terrorist acts,⁸ except if the contracting states have not ratified the conventions and if these states have legislation that excludes (some of) these crimes. Examples of crimes that are considered as acts of terrorism are assassinations, bombings, rocket attacks, and the beheading of victims. Terrorism cannot be considered separate from other crimes that are often committed in pursuit of it. Crimes often connected to terrorism include human smuggling; drug trafficking; illicit arms trade; human trafficking; smuggling of nuclear, chemical, biological, and radiological materials; money laundering; identity theft; robberies; and arson.

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon. Throughout history, acts of terrorism have endangered, injured, and killed individuals, “jeopardized fundamental freedoms, and seriously impaired the dignity of human beings.”⁹ Terrorism has been perpetrated by domestic and international terrorists. Domestic terrorism involves the commission of acts intended to threaten or actually cause harm to persons and property, which are conducted primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the target country. Therefore, domestic terrorists usually operate only within their host country. Examples of such terrorists are the Revolutionary Struggle (Greece), the First of October Antifascist Group (Spain), Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (Morocco), Japanese Red Army (Japan), and Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Colombia). If they are occupied by another country, they can also operate within the occupying country’s borders. On the other hand, international terrorism involves dangerous or violent illegal acts that transcend national boundaries or are committed primarily outside the territorial jurisdiction of the target

⁸ Council of Arab Ministers of the Interior and the Council of Arab Ministers of Justice. *Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism* (1998).

⁹ von Schorlemer, S. 2003. Human rights: Substantive and institutional implications of the war against terrorism. *European Journal of International Law* 14 (2): 266.

country. Al-Qaeda engages in international terrorism as it operates in the Middle East, North America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. Another example is the Mujahedine Khalq, whose reach extends beyond the Middle East to include associates and supporters throughout North America and Europe.

DESIGNATING TERRORIST GROUPS

Countries differ in terms of their designations of terrorist groups. The U.S. Department of State has a list of designated foreign terrorist organizations (**Table 1-1**). To be designated as a terrorist organization, the group “must engage in terrorist activity . . . [under] section 212(a)(3)(B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act [of 1952] . . . or terrorism as defined by section 140(d)(2) of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989 . . . or retain the capacity and intent to engage in terrorist activity or terrorism.”¹⁰ Other countries maintain their own list of terrorist groups; for example, Canada and the United Kingdom. The EU also has a list of terrorist organizations. In particular, the European Council adopted a common position on the application of specific measures with which to combat persons, groups, and entities that engage in terrorism (**Table 1-2**).¹¹ By contrast, the United Nations does not maintain a list of designated terrorist organizations. However, the UN 1267 Committee does maintain a consolidated list of individuals associated with the Taliban and al-Qaeda.¹²

A UNIVERSAL DEFINITION OF TERRORISM: A SISYPHEAN TASK?

Definitions that seek to explain what terrorism is have focused on the tactics and goals of terrorists. Terrorists seek to coerce a civilian population and influence policy of the target government or otherwise affect its conduct. Their attacks are aimed at causing specific reactions in governments and populations. The tactics used to achieve this have involved the use of reflexive control, which seeks to control the target government’s decision-making process and compel them to act according to a predetermined plan favorable to the controller. This tactic (developed by Lefebvre in the early 1960s) was learned from the Soviet Union, where it was used by the Soviet military establishment to manage information and get an

¹⁰ The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 is codified in 8 USC § 1182(a)(3)(B) and the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989 is codified in 22 USC § 2656f(d) (2). U.S. Department of State. 2012, January 27. Foreign Terrorist Organizations. *Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism*. <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/125085.htm>.

¹¹ Council Common Position (EC) 2009/67/CFSP of 26 January 2009 updating Common Position 2001/931/CFSP on the application of specific measures to combat terrorism and repealing Common Position 2008/586/CFSP [2009] OJ L 023/37.

¹² United Nations. n.d. The list established and maintained by the 1267 Committee with respect to individuals, groups, undertakings and other entities associated with Al-Qaida. *Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 1267 (1999)*. http://www.un.org/sc/committees/1267/1267_sanctions_list.shtml.

Table 1-1 U.S. Designation of Foreign Terrorist Organizations

1. Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)	25. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
2. Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)	26. Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG)
3. Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade (AAMS)	27. Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (GICM)
4. Al-Shabaab	28. Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK)
5. Ansar al-Islam (AAI)	29. National Liberation Army (ELN)
6. Asbat al-Ansar	30. Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)
7. Aum Shinrikyo (AUM)	31. Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)
8. Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)	32. Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)
9. Communist Party of the Philippines/ New People's Army (CPP/NPA)	33. PFLP-General Command (PFLP-GC)
10. Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA)	34. al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI)
11. Gama'a al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group)	35. al-Qaeda (AQ)
12. HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement)	36. al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)
13. Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami/Bangladesh (HUJI-B)	37. al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (formerly GSPC)
14. Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM)	38. Real IRA (RIRA)
15. Hizballah (Party of God)	39. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)
16. Islamic Jihad Union (IJU)	40. Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17N)
17. Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)	41. Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C)
18. Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM) (Army of Mohammed)	42. Revolutionary Struggle (RS)
19. Jemaah Islamiya (JI)	43. Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso, SL)
20. Kahane Chai (Kach)	44. United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC)
21. Kata'ib Hizballah (KH)	45. Harakat-ul Jihad Islami (HUJI)
22. Kongra-Gel (KKG, formerly Kurdistan Workers' Party, PKK, KADEK)	46. Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP)
23. Lashkar-e Tayyiba (LT) (Army of the Righteous)	47. Jundallah
24. Lashkar i Jhangvi (LJ)	48. Army of Islam (AOI)

opponent to perform certain actions.¹⁵ Through this tactic, a pattern is created or partial information is provided that causes an opponent to react in a predetermined fashion without realizing that he or she is being manipulated. A well-known example of this is the U.S. military's use of reflexive control in Operation Desert Storm. By feeding Saddam Hussein specific information that led him to

¹⁵ Lefebvre, V. A., and Farley, J. D. 2007. The torturer's dilemma: A theoretical analysis of the societal consequences of torturing terrorist suspects. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 30 (7): 636.

Table 1-2 EU Designation of Terrorist Groups and Entities¹

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Abu Nidal Organisation (ANO) 2. Al-Aqsa Martyr's Brigade 3. Al-Aqsa e.V. 4. Al-Takfir and Al-Hij ra 5. *Cooperativa Artigiana Fuoco ed Affini—Occasionalmente Spettacolare (Artisans' Cooperative Fire and Similar —Occasionally Spectacular) 6. *Nuclei Armati per il Comunismo (Armed Units for Communism) 7. Aum Shinrikyo 8. Babbar Khalsa 9. *CCCCC—Cellula Contro Capitale, Carcere i suoi Carcerieri e le sue Celle (Cell Against Capital, Prison, Prison Warders and Prison Cells) 10. Communist Party of the Philippines, including New People's Army (NPA) 11. *Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA) 12. *Epanastatikos Agonas (Revolutionary Struggle) 13. *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna/Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) 14. Gama'a al-Islamiyya (a.k.a. Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya, IG) 15. Islami Büyük Dogu Akincilar Cephesi — IBDA C (Great Islamic Eastern Warriors Front) 16. *Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre/Antifascist Resistance Groups First of October (GRAPO) 17. Hamas 18. Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) 19. Hofstadgroep 20. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development 21. International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF) 22. *Solidarietà Internazionale (International Solidarity) 23. Kahane Chai (Kach) 24. Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZF) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 25. Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) 26. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) 27. *Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF) 28. Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army) 29. *Orange Volunteers (OV) 30. Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) 31. Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) 32. Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) 33. Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, (PFLP-General Command) 34. *Real IRA 35. *Red Brigades 36. *Red Hand Defenders (RHD) 37. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) 38. *Epanastatiki Pirines ("Revolutionary Nuclei) 39. *DekatiEvdomiNoemvri (Revolutionary Organisation 17 November) 40. Devrimci Halk Kurtulu Partisi-Cephesi (DHKP/C) 41. Shining Path (SL) (Sendero Luminoso) 42. Stichting Al Aqsa (a.k.a. Stichting Al Aqsa Nederland, a.k.a. Al Aqsa Nederland) 43. Teyrbazen Azadiya Kurdistan (TAK) (a.k.a. Kurdistan Freedom Falcons, Kurdistan Freedom Hawks) 44. *Brigata XX Luglio (Twentieth of July Brigade) 45. *Ulster Defence Association/Ulster Freedom Fighters (UDA/UFF) 46. Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia/ United Self Defence Forces/Group of Colombia (AUC) 47. F.A.I.—Federazione Anarchica Informale (Unofficial Anarchist Federation)
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¹ Groups and entities marked with an * are subject to Article 4 of Common Position 2001/931/CFSP only.

make military decisions favorable to allies and their plans, the war ended in an Allied victory.¹⁴

Al-Qaeda's strategy also reveals the use of reflexive control tactics. In *Stealing Al-Qa'ida's Playbook*, Brachman and McCants (2006) analyzed various al-Qaeda strategy documents.¹⁵ Their analysis of Abu Bakr Naji's (a well-known jihadi leader) *The Management of Barbarism* revealed that al-Qaeda calls for terrorists to use tactics that will bleed Western governments' economies and militaries, leading to social unrest in these countries and ultimately, defeat of these governments. What is sought is an extreme overreaction, one that seeks to make governments spend all of their resources trying to protect everyone and everything. This strategy is not original; it has been used throughout history and is even found in both Carlos Marighella's (1969) *The Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerrilla* and the Irish Republican Army's (1979) *Green Book*.¹⁶

The overreaction of governments to terrorist attacks both in terms of military intervention and draconian counterterrorism measures (such as indefinite detention) provides an incentive to terrorists to conduct further attacks in hopes of provoking similar reactions. Military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq and Western counterterrorism measures are used by Islamist extremists as propaganda to gain sympathy for their cause.¹⁷ Terrorists seek indirectly to modify the behavior of their opponent to their advantage by manipulating the opponent's beliefs and emotions about the terrorists they are confronting—instilling fear in them in order to force their opponents to retaliate in ways that might increase support for the terrorists' cause.

When the target is a democratic government, provoking them into draconian responses also serves another purpose. It aims to demonstrate to the rest of the world that these governments really are the evil powers that terrorists believe them to be.¹⁸ For example, in the 1970s, Germany's Red Army Faction thought that West Germany disguised its true nature as a fascist state behind the veil of democracy.¹⁹ The Red Army Faction believed that West Germany would resort to its "true" character in response to terrorist attacks by employing violent counterresponses.²⁰

¹⁴ Kramer, X. H. et al. 2003. From prediction to reflexive control. *Reflexive Processes and Control* 2 (1): 89.

¹⁵ Brachman, J. M., and McCants, W. F. 2006, February. Stealing al-Qa'ida's playbook. *Combating Terrorism Center (CTC) Report*. <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/stealing-al-qaidas-playbook>.

¹⁶ See especially Chapter 16, "Objectives of the Guerrilla's Actions," which notes the desired overreaction by governments (getting them to try to protect every asset and person), in Marighella, C. 1969. The mini-manual of the urban guerrilla. *Marighella Internet Archive*. <http://marxists.org/archive/marighella-carlos/1969/06/minimanual-urban-guerrilla/index.htm>; Sinn Fein/Irish Republican Army. 1979. *Green book*. <http://www.residentgroups.fsnet.co.uk/greenbook.htm>.

¹⁷ Stock, J., and Herz, A. 2007. The threat environment created by international terrorism from the German police perspective. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 13 (1/2): 88.

¹⁸ Richardson, L. (2006). *What terrorists want*. New York: Random House, 99.

¹⁹ Gardner, D. (2008). *Risk: The science of politics and fear*. London: Virgin, 293.

²⁰ Ibid.

However, the West German government refused to play the Red Army Faction's game—to be goaded into overreacting.²¹

Terrorists often want the response of the government to be an overreaction, not least because an overreaction can discredit the government in the eyes of its population. Indeed, such actions can cause the government to lose legitimacy and can help make sections of the public sympathetic to the terrorists' cause. The goal is to convince the public that the real evildoers and terrorists are governments and that the terrorists are the victims, not the governments. It is easier to make the public sympathize with the terrorists if the public is also feeling victimized by the government. Hence, terrorists need an overreaction by governments in order to further their goals.

The objective of a terrorist can range from censorship to the removal of foreign military forces from what the terrorist sees as their national homeland. The latter was seen in the aftermath of the assassination of Theo Van Gogh, an outspoken critic of Islam and descendant of the 19th-century painter Vincent Van Gogh. He was targeted by terrorists after he broadcast "a short TV movie titled Submission . . . which aimed at exposing the sufferings of women under Islam . . . One scene [that] particularly outraged Holland's Islamists shows Quranic verses justifying violence against women written on the naked body of a young woman."²² Van Gogh received numerous death threats before being brutally assassinated by Mohammed Bouyeri, a member of the Hofstad group (Dutch militant Islamics). As Bouyeri and supporters later confirmed, his murder was designed to intimidate and silence those who criticized or mocked their religion. Since his assassination, numerous Islamist extremists have claimed that those ridiculing their religion would be killed in a manner similar to Theo van Gogh. This became evident with Lars Vilks, a Swedish cartoonist who had published an offensive cartoon drawing of the Prophet Mohammed. Following the publication of his drawing, a bounty was put on Vilks and his publisher by al-Qaeda groups inside Iraq. Since then, very few magazines and newspapers have been willing to reprint the cartoons for fear of retaliation by terrorists or their supporters.²³

By and large, academicians, state agencies, legislators, and others view terrorism as the use of coercive tactics, such as the threat or use of violence, to promote control, fear, and intimidation within the target nation or nations for political, religious, or ideological reasons. Individuals who are classified as terrorists are, therefore, those who employ methods of terror. The targets of terrorists are usually those who oppose or criticize the terrorists' ideology and those who are viewed by the terrorists as outsiders, undesirables, or enemies.

²¹ Ibid., p. 294.

²² Vidino, L. (2006). *Al-Qaeda in Europe: The new battleground of international jihad*. New York: Prometheus, 347.

²³ Messner, E. 2006. The debate: Should U.S. media reprint the cartoons? *Washington Post*, February 8, 2006. http://blogs.washingtonpost.com/thedebate/2006/02/cartoon_controv.html.

Unsuccessful attempts have been made by the United Nations to propose a definition of terrorism that could be accepted by all countries and embedded in international law. The failure of the universal acceptance of a single definition for terrorism could be attributed to the existence of several different types of terrorism, some countries' refusal to accept a definition that portrayed national liberation movements or armed revolutionaries as terrorists, and the rejection of including the possibility of state agencies being found guilty of terrorism by others. Framing the study of the possibility of a universal definition requires a three-pronged analysis. First, it analyzes the different types of terrorism. Second, it considers the similarities and differences between national liberation movements and terrorists. The motivating questions for this analysis are: how does one differentiate between the two? Are they distinct groups? Or do they overlap in some respects? Finally, a study of a universal definition must explore the nature and extent of state terrorism. The main focus of this section is to answer the following questions: Does state terrorism exist? Should international law criminalize state acts of terrorism?

Types of Terrorism

Terrorism can be classified in two different ways. First, terrorism can be classified according to the means terrorists use to achieve their goals. Examples of these categories are cyberterrorism, bioterrorism, and nuclear terrorism. Cyberterrorism involves the use of computers as weapons or attacks on computer or information systems linked to critical infrastructure (e.g., public safety, traffic control, medical and emergency services, and public works) with the intent to inflict grave harm, such as loss of life or significant economic damage, in order to influence an audience or cause the target government to change its policies. Bioterrorism occurs when biological toxins (such as ricin, anthrax, or smallpox) are intentionally introduced into the air, food, or water in an attempt to inflict massive casualties. Aum Shinrikyo, a Japanese terrorist group, engaged in a bioterrorist attack in 1995 when they released anthrax from an industrial sprayer on the roof of one of their facilities in Kameido (a suburb of Tokyo). The attack was a failure and no people were injured or killed. Nuclear terrorism involves the use of nuclear materials or the attacking of nuclear facilities with the intention of causing significant harm to people and property.

Second, terrorism can be classified according to the end sought. Specifically, to terrorists, the end justifies the mean. The end sought, however, differs according to the type of terrorist group. Virtually all terrorists strive to justify their goals and behaviors by subscribing to some ideology (e.g., socialism, communism, or Marxism). As such, terrorists can also be distinguished and categorized according to their ideology and goals. Some types of terrorism are further explored in the next sections.

Nationalist–Separatist Terrorism

Nationalist–separatists use violence to establish an independent homeland for an ethnic or religious group that is persecuted (or believes it is persecuted) by the majority. These types of terrorists seek to cause fragmentation within the country

and establish a “new” state within it. Examples of groups that fall under this category include the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and its splinter groups. The IRA was formed in 1922 after the Anglo-Irish War (1919–1921). When the war ended, a treaty was signed in 1921 by the United Kingdom and the Irish separatists led by Sinn Fein (a political party). Under this treaty, the 26 Catholic counties of the South of Ireland (Eire) would gain their independence from the UK, whereas the remaining six Protestant counties of the North (Ulster) would remain under the control of the UK. The IRA sought to both end British rule in Northern Ireland and to unite Ireland and Northern Ireland as one single, sovereign nation. In 1969, due to differing ideologies and objectives, the IRA was split into two rival groups, the Official IRA and the Provisional IRA. The Official IRA declared a cease-fire in 1972. The Provisional IRA ended its armed struggle with the United Kingdom on April 10, 1998, with the Good Friday Agreement, signed in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Splinter groups—the Real IRA and the Continuity IRA—were subsequently formed from members of the Provisional IRA that were opposed to the peace and ceasefire agreement. The Real IRA and the Continuity IRA both claim to have similar goals to the IRA—to end British sovereignty and reunite Ireland into one sovereign nation. Both of these groups are still active today and continue to engage in terrorist attacks. These two groups have been known to work together. The United Kingdom, the United States, and the European Union have designated the Real IRA and the Continuity IRA as terrorist organizations.

Another group in this category is the Basque Fatherland and Liberty or Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA). In the 1930s, Spain experienced a civil war led by dictator General Francisco Franco, who believed in one unified Spain and opposed regionalism. At the time, the Basque country was culturally different from the rest of Spain, and individuals within this region spoke their own language and had their own unique traditions. General Franco punished the Basque region, which was made up of provinces in Spain and France, for its opposition during the war by declaring them traitors and banning their language of Euskara. In 1959, the Basque Fatherland and Liberty, a radical separatist organization, was formed, which sought national self-determination for the Basque region (i.e., it sought to create an independent Basque state). The ETA is still active today and has engaged in multiple terrorist attacks in Spain. The United States, Spain, and the European Union have designated the ETA as a terrorist organization.

Another nationalist terrorist group is the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) or the Tamil Tigers. In 1949, in Sri Lanka, the United National Party stripped Indian Tamils of their citizenship and right to vote. The majority ethnic group in Sri Lanka was Sinhalese and in 1956, the Sinhala Only Act was passed, which mandated that the language of the Sri Lanka majority, Sinhalese, be the sole official language of the country. Opponents of this law viewed this act as an attempt by the majority to oppress minorities in Sri Lanka such as the Tamils. The Tamils responded to these acts by carrying out nonviolent demonstrations. Many of the Tamil demonstrators were attacked by the Sinhalese, while the police stood

idly by and watched. In 1957, the Bandaranaike pact was passed, which sought to grant the Tamils a certain level of autonomy and give them more rights. However, Buddhist monks pushed to get rid of the pact, because they wanted to promote unity and Buddhism. Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike pursued policies in Sri Lanka that promoted the Sinhalese and Buddhist culture, and the Buddhist religion. In 1972, the protection for the minority Tamils was taken away by Bandaranaike. A new constitution was subsequently drafted that favored Buddhists, and limits were also mandated by the government on how many Tamil students could be accepted into universities. As a result, the Tamil Student Movement formed to protest the limitation of access of Tamil students to universities. This movement subsequently became the Tamil Tigers and began to engage in terrorist activities, many of which were suicide bombings. The goal of the Tamil Tigers is to create a separate state in Sri Lanka for the Tamils. This Tamil state would be in the areas of Sri Lanka that are mostly populated by the Tamils; namely, its northern and eastern provinces. Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the European Union have designated the Tamil Tigers as a terrorist organization.

Furthermore, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade falls under this category. This terrorist group emerged at the beginning of the Second Intifada (or al-Aqsa Intifada), the second Palestinian Arab uprising, in September 2000. The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, which operates in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza, seeks the creation of a Palestinian nation-state by expelling Israelis from these areas. The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade initially focused only on the Israeli military and settlers in the Palestinian-occupied regions of the West Bank and Gaza. However, this group soon expanded its targets to include Israel and even Palestinians who were believed to be working with Israelis. This group is composed primarily of terrorists who belong to al-Fatah, a secular Palestinian nationalist organization that was a faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The PLO, al-Fatah, and other factions of the PLO renounced terrorism as part of the 1993 Oslo Accords. However, factions of these groups, such as the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, have been suspected of and implicated in engaging in terrorist attacks. Canada, the United States, and the European Union have designated the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade as a terrorist organization.

Left-Wing Terrorism

Left-wing terrorism involves the use of violence by individuals or groups in order to destroy a capitalist system and replace it with a communist or socialist regime. Frequently, banks and other financial centers that are seen as symbols of capitalistic oppression are the targets of left-wing terrorists. This was evident in the acts committed by the Weather Underground, a domestic terrorist group in the United States, which robbed and bombed banks, mostly during the 1970s. The Red Army Faction was also known to target bank and private industry officials. The Revolutionary Organization November 17 (17N), a domestic terrorist group in Greece, similarly targeted businessmen, among others (e.g., American, British, and Turkish diplomats; and Greek policeman and politicians).

These types of terrorists seek to attack the established systems in order to abolish social classes. Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin advocated for the abolition of the class structure whereby all means of production would be commonly owned by members of society. According to Marx, there are two main social classes within any capitalist society: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The proletariat, the working class, is without power and must earn a living by selling their labor (this group is known as the “have-nots”). In contrast, the bourgeoisie are the capitalists or wealthy owners of the means of production (the “haves”). These groups are engaged in an ongoing conflict or class struggle, the outcome of which, as Marx believed, would be the overthrow of the capitalist social order and the birth of a communistic (classless) society. Similar to Marx, Lenin advocated for the abolition of the class structure whereby all means of production would be commonly owned by members of society. Nevertheless, Lenin moved beyond Marx by claiming that a vanguard party of professional revolutionaries was needed in order to succeed in the proletariat revolution. Moreover, the teaching of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-Tung) provided a variation of Marxism-Leninism known as Maoism (or Mao Zedong Thought). In Maoism, the main source of revolution is the peasantry in the countryside, who Mao believed could be led by the proletariat and the Communist Party of China (its vanguard).

Many left-wing terrorist groups are motivated by Marxist, Marxist-Leninist, or Maoist ideologies. A terrorist group in this category is the Red Army Faction (RAF), which was founded in the 1960s and was motivated by a Marxist-Leninist ideology. The RAF vehemently opposed capitalism and sought to attack the bourgeois values of West Germany.²⁴ These intentions were made clear in the communiqués of the group. The RAF, active from the 1970s to 1998,²⁵ engaged in terrorist attacks against West Germany using pistols, machine guns, bazookas, rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs), remote-control bombs, and airplane hijackings as tactics.

Another European group in this category is the Red Brigades (RB), otherwise known as the Brigate Rossi or Brigatisti. The RB was founded in Milan, Italy, by a group of students. The RB, motivated by Marxist-Leninist ideology, sought the separation of Italy from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the creation of a revolutionary state in Italy through the armed struggle of its operatives. To gain recognition for their cause from the Italian Communist Party, this left-wing terrorist group engaged in nonviolent demonstrations and protests. When the RB did not get the recognition from the Italian Communist Party that they desired, they conducted a bombing campaign between 1970 and 1974 that resulted in approximately 100 dead and 2,800 wounded. When the group folded in 1984, a splinter group known as the New Red Brigades was created, which had similar

²⁴ At least, this is how RAF perceived West Germany.

²⁵ In 1998, the RAF faxed an 18-page letter to the Reuters news agency stating that they were ending their terrorist acts against society.

goals as the RB. The European Union has designated the New Red Brigades as a terrorist organization.

A final example of a terrorist group in this category is the Shining Path or Sendero Luminoso (SL). The SL is a terrorist group in Peru motivated by Maoist ideology. The SL opposes all foreign influences on Peru and seeks to reorder the Peruvian society by destroying all existing Peruvian institutions and replacing them with ones based on communist ideals.²⁶ This group is well-known for its brutal terrorist campaign against Peruvian government officials and foreign diplomats. However, as Henderson argued, “ironically, although the group has attacked Peruvian officials and foreign diplomats, the majority of its violence has been directed against the very peasants its claim[ed] to be fighting for, brutally punishing people suspected of collaborating with the authorities.”²⁷ It is estimated that this terrorist group has been responsible for approximately 30,000 deaths. Canada, the United States, and the European Union have designated the Shining Path as a terrorist organization.

Some terrorist groups in this category subscribe to more than one ideology. For instance, nationalist–separatist terrorists may also identify with left-wing ideology. A case in point is the Kurdistan Workers Party or Partiya Karkeran Kurdistan (PKK) in Turkey. This group is designated as a Marxist–Leninist separatist organization.²⁸ This group has been designated as such because it seeks to establish an independent Kurdish state within Turkey.²⁹ Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States, Turkey, and the European Union have designated the PKK as a terrorist organization. Another example of a nationalist–separatist terrorist group that identifies with left-wing ideology is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The PFLP, founded after the Arab defeat in the Arab–Israeli war in 1967, has been identified as a Marxist–Leninist nationalist movement.³⁰ This group envisions the “Palestinian nationalist movement as part of a broader movement to transform the Arab world along Marxist–Leninist lines. [In addition, although] the PFLP is committed to destroying Israel, it also

²⁶ This terrorist group’s organization profile was retrieved from the collection of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Center for Excellence of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security based at the University of Maryland. Available at http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=111.

²⁷ Henderson, H. 2001. *Global terrorism: The complete reference guide*. New York: Checkmark, 62.

²⁸ Kurdistan Workers’ Party. 2011. *GlobalSecurity.org*. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/pkk.htm>.

²⁹ U.S. Department of State. 2007, April 30. Country reports on terrorism 2008. *Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism*. <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2006/82738.htm>; Bruno, G. 2007, October 19. Inside the Kurdistan workers’ party. *Council on Foreign Relations*. <http://www.cfr.org/turkey/inside-kurdistan-workers-party-pkk/p14576>.

³⁰ Katzman, K. 2000, August 17. Terrorism: Middle Eastern groups and state sponsors, 2000. *CRS Report for Congress*. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/library/report/crs/crsterr3.htm>.

opposes conservative Arab regimes, seeking to replace them with Marxist–Leninist states.”³¹ Canada, the United States and the European Union have designated the PFLP as a terrorist organization.

Right-Wing Terrorism

Right-wing terrorism usually involves individuals or groups that attack liberal democratic governments. Terrorists here are motivated by racism as well as anti-government and antiregulatory beliefs. Some terrorists in this category believe that the country must rid itself of foreign elements within its borders to protect its rightful citizens. Individuals within these groups believe that their value systems are under attack and in need of protection. This form of terrorism is often perpetrated by persons holding extremist views about race or immigrants. They are prone to using intimidation and violence against select racial and ethnic groups. Right-wing terrorists “frequently desire to return to a time of past glory, which in their belief system has been lost or usurped by an enemy group or culture.”³²

Right-wing groups include white supremacist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). This group, however, has not been officially designated by any country as a terrorist group, even though it operated as one. The KKK was founded in the United States by former Confederate soldiers after the Civil War to terrorize individuals they believed to be enemies of white, Christian, heterosexual Americans, including African Americans, Jewish Americans, and even Caucasians who sympathized with the Klan’s targets. KKK members have also targeted homosexuals and immigrants. Factions of the KKK, along with other right-wing extremists, formed the Aryan Nation. Similar to the KKK, the Aryan Nation advocates anti-Semitism and the establishment of a white racist state.³³ White supremacist groups exist in other countries as well. In South Africa, a group known as National Warriors (*Nasionale Krygers*) was responsible for a series of terrorist attacks perpetrated against the black neighborhood of Soweto.³⁴

Apart from hatred toward certain racial, religious, and ethnic minority groups, these terrorists are motivated by opposition to international organizations, governments, and government regulation and taxation. According to the FBI, one such domestic terrorist group that is currently active in the United States is the

³¹ This terrorist group’s organization profile was retrieved from the collection of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Center for Excellence of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security based at the University of Maryland. Available at http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=85.

³² Martin, G. 2003. *Understanding terrorism: Challenges, perspectives and issues*. London: Sage, 23.

³³ This terrorist group’s organization profile was retrieved from the collection of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Center for Excellence of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security based at the University of Maryland. Available at http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=29.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3647.

Sovereign Citizens. This group is motivated by an antigovernment ideology. Its members believe that even though they physically reside in the United States, “they are separate or ‘sovereign’ from the United States. As a result, they believe [that] they do not have to answer to any government authority, including courts, taxing entities, motor vehicle departments, or law enforcement.”³⁵

Right-wing terrorist groups may also subscribe to more than one ideology; for instance, a nationalist ideology. The Macedonian Revolutionary Organization is one such example. The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization or *Vnatrešno-Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija* (VMRO) is a right-wing nationalist terrorist group that operates in Greece and F.Y.R.O.M. This group believes that a greater Republic of Macedonia should be created, which will incorporate ethnic Macedonians residing in other countries such as Greece and Bulgaria.³⁶ This group, however, is also anti-Albanian and supports ethnic cleansing for the removal of Albanians in its territories. Another group motivated by multiple ideologies (nationalist–separatist, right-wing, and religious) is Kahane Chai, which operates in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. This terrorist group, using violent means, seeks to reinstate the ancient Biblical kingdom in Israel, expel all Arabs from Israeli territories, and create a Jewish theocracy.³⁷

Religious Terrorism

Religious terrorism involves the use of violence by individuals or groups to further what they believe to be divinely commanded purposes. With this form of terrorism, the ultimate goal of the group is religiously defined. For instance, Jemaah Islamiya (JI), a Southeast Asia-based radical Islamic terrorist group, seeks to establish an Islamic state that spans Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, southern Thailand, and the southern Philippines.³⁸ Another radical Islamic terrorist group is the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) or Abu Sayyaf, which operates in the southern Philippines and Malaysia. The goal of the group is the establishment of an Islamic state that will encompass parts of southern Thailand and the Philippines.³⁹ A further example is al-Qaeda, a radical Sunni Muslim organization that was founded in the 1980s by Osama bin Laden. Al-Qaeda’s proclamation of the “The International Islamic Front for Jihad” the goal of which is to turn the Western world into part of the Islamic

³⁵ Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). 2010, April 13. *Domestic terrorism: The sovereign citizen movement*. http://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/2010/april/sovereigncitizens_041310.

³⁶ This terrorist group’s organization profile was retrieved from the collection of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Center for Excellence of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security based at the University of Maryland. Available at http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3989.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3750.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3613.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=204.

nation that will govern according to *Sharia* (Sunni Islamic religious laws),⁴⁰ attests to this. *Sharia* maintains that the world is divided into *Dar al-Islam* (*The House of Islam*), which is composed of the lands where Islamic rule prevails, and *Dar al-Harb*, which consists of all of the remaining lands ruled by infidels.⁴¹ Al-Qaeda believes that those in *Dar al-Harb* must be converted to Islam in a holy war (*jihad*) through the use of force.⁴² This group is officially designated as a terrorist organization by Canada, Australia, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

With this form of terrorism, religion (Catholicism, Christianity, Sikhism, Hinduism, Judaism, Islam, and others) plays some role in defining or determining the methods of the group. Religious terrorists like Jamaat Ul Fuqra (Fuqra)—an organization created in Pakistan, which consists almost entirely of African American extremists who live in communal environments (called *jamaats*) in the United States—commit murders, bombings, white-collar crimes, cybercrime, and identity theft to serve Islam through violence.⁴³ In addition, al-Qaeda's members are "extremists who have no compunction about killing thousands of civilians . . . They do not feel constrained by any moral or humanitarian limits,"⁴⁴ because they "perceive violence to be a sacramental act, or divine duty, executed in direct response to some theological demand or imperative."⁴⁵ The religious ideology of al-Qaeda—the belief that it is the divine duty of its members (and those who wish to join them) to participate in the holy war between Islam and the lands of infidels—demonstrates this. The "lands of infidels" includes all persons and nations who do not share the same beliefs as al-Qaeda and all those who refuse to take up arms and join them, Muslims included. The sense of higher purpose and alienation from the rest of the world that arises from the distinction between Islam and all other lands ruled by infidels operates as a sanction for terrorists to use extremely violent measures against a more open-ended category of enemies; that is, anyone who is not a member of their faith.⁴⁶ Accordingly, this group views all of those who are not devout Muslims as legitimate targets for elimination.

⁴⁰ Schweitzer, Y., and Shay, S. 2003. *The Globalization of terror: The challenge of al-Qaida and the response of international community*. London: Transaction, 3.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Kane, J. and Wall, A. 2005. *Identifying the links between white-collar crime and terrorism*. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice. <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/209520.pdf>.

⁴⁴ Urquhart, F. 2003. US links put Britain in front rank for dirty bomb attack by al Qaeda. *The Scotsman*, October 9, 2003, p. 7; Burnett, J. and Whyte, D. 2005. Embedded expertise and the new terrorism. *Journal for Crime, Conflict and the Media* 1 (4): 5.

⁴⁵ Gurr, N. and Cole, B. 2000. *The new face of terrorism: Threats from weapons of mass destruction*. London: I.B. Tauris, 30.

⁴⁶ Hoffman, B. 1998. *Inside terrorism*. London: Indigo, 48–49; Schweitzer, Y. and Shay, S. 2003. *The globalization of terror: The challenge of Al-Qaida and the response of international community*. London: Transaction, p. 3.

Religious terrorist groups may also subscribe to more than one ideology, for instance, with nationalist ideologies. For example, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad “believes that the annihilation of Israel and liberation of all of Palestine are prerequisites for recreating [*sic*] a pan-Islamic empire” and “that the Arab–Israeli conflict is not a national dispute over territory but rather a fundamentally religious conflict.”⁴⁷ Another terrorist group in this category is Hamas, which operates in the West Bank, Gaza, and Israel and was formed as an outgrowth of the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. This group, combining Palestinian nationalism and religious fundamentalism, seeks to create an Islamic state based on *Sharia* by expelling Jewish Israelis from Israel. Likewise, Hezbollah, which operates in Lebanon, advocates for and operates toward the destruction of Israel. It further seeks “the establishment of a Shiite theocracy in Lebanon . . . and the elimination of Western influences from the Middle East.”⁴⁸ Other religious groups have also sought the creation of an independent state in their country. Specifically, Babbar Khalsa International (BKI) is an organization of Sikh separatists that seeks to establish a sovereign state for Sikhs in northern India, which they refer to as Khalistan.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the Lord’s Resistance Army, which operates in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, and Uganda, seeks to overthrow the government of Uganda and replace it with a theocracy based on the Ten Commandments and Acholi tradition.⁵⁰

Special Interest Terrorism

As the name implies, special interest terrorism focuses on a single specific issue that individuals within the group believe has resulted from government action or inaction and requires immediate attention (e.g., environment, animal rights, and abortion). For that reason, it differs from other groups in that it lacks a broader revolutionary agenda. These groups have been known to use terrorist tactics when its members believe that the issue of which they are promoting awareness is becoming too urgent to be addressed through the usual slow progress of traditional campaigns. Accordingly, terrorists in this group engage in violent acts to gain publicity for their cause, force segments of the population and government to change their attitude toward the issue, and/or modify existing laws.

⁴⁷ This terrorist group’s organization profile was retrieved from the collection of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Center for Excellence of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security based at the University of Maryland. Available at http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=82.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3101.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=4568.

⁵⁰ The Lord’s Resistance Army. 2011. *GlobalSecurity.org*. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/Ira.htm>; This terrorist group’s organization profile was retrieved from the collection of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Center for Excellence of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security based at the University of Maryland. Available at http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3513.

A well-known example of a form of special interest terrorism is environmental terrorism (ecoterrorism). Ecoterrorism involves the infliction of economic damage and personal harm to those who profit from the development and destruction of environmental resources, such as the logging industry, fur companies, laboratories that test products on animals, and restaurant chains that are perceived to be harmful to animals. Ecoterrorists, such as the Animal Liberation Front, Earth Liberation Front, and Earth First!, use terrorist methods—especially arson and vandalism—to promote radical environmentalism. Usually, ecoterrorists sabotage the property of industries to inflict economic damage on those who they perceive as harming the natural environment or animals. However, they have also been known to engage in bombings, intimidation, assault, and the murder of individuals they believe are harming the environment or animals.

The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and Earth Liberation Front (ELF) are examples of groups that engage in this form of terrorism. In both the United States and the United Kingdom, the ALF “are clandestine in operation . . . [and] amorphous in organization and membership.”⁵¹ Individuals are considered part of ALF when they are a vegetarian or vegan and engage in direct action according to the group’s guidelines, which usually involves engaging in criminal activities designed to cause economic loss or otherwise disrupt the target’s operations. Examples of direct action include breaking into research facilities and removing the animals as well as intimidating executives, management and/or employees of the target by placing fake bombs in buildings or sending hoax anthrax letters. Similarly, individuals are considered part of ELF when they take action according to the group’s guidelines, such as property destruction and industrial sabotage (e.g., arson and disabling logging equipment) to halt the destruction of the environment.⁵² As such, like ALF, ELF is made up of autonomous groups of individuals.

In addition to ecoterrorism, another form of special interest terrorism is engaged in by anti-abortion extremists. Like ecoterrorists, their primary tactic is arson, yet they have been known to intentionally inflict harm on individuals (by bombing or shooting). Indeed, anti-abortion extremists target abortion clinics and their doctors and staff. A case in point is the Army of God, a domestic anti-abortion terrorist group in the United States. This group believes that the use of violence and intimidation are appropriate tools in the fight against abortion. This group’s primary targets are abortion providers and homosexuals, and it has a “how to” manual for its members on engaging in violence against these targets. One passage of this manual reads,

⁵¹ U.S. Department of Justice. (1993). Report to Congress on the extent and the effects of domestic and international terrorism in animal enterprises. *The Physiologist* 36 (6): 249.

⁵² This terrorist group’s organization profile was retrieved from the collection of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Center for Excellence of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security based at the University of Maryland. Available at http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=41.

Our Most Dread Sovereign Lord God requires that whosoever sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed. Not out of hatred of you, but out of love for the persons you exterminate, we are forced to take arms against you.⁵³

Some of the tactics included in the manual include using butyric acid against facilities (this causes disruption of operations and property damage, often requiring the replacement of furniture, carpeting, and extensive clean-up of the facilities), committing arson, building bombs, and bombing facilities. The Army of God has claimed responsibility for bombing clinics and bars frequented by homosexuals. After the bombings of a gay nightclub and an abortion clinic in Atlanta, Georgia, media outlets received letters claiming credit for the attacks that were purported to be from the Army of God. Individuals seeking abortions and physicians and staff in Planned Parenthood and abortion facilities have also been assaulted, harassed, stalked, intimidated, and in some instances, killed by anti-abortion extremists. The most recent murder of a physician, Dr. George Tiller, involved anti-abortion extremist Scott Roeder. Specifically, in March 2009, Roeder went to Dr. Tiller's church in Wichita, Kansas, and shot and killed him. The Army of God has additionally been implicated in bioterrorist attacks in the United States. About a month after 9/11, Clayton Waagner sent more than 550 hoax anthrax letters to over 250 abortion and family planning clinics in seventeen U.S. states and the District of Columbia.⁵⁴

Revolutionaries, Terrorists, or Both?

The determination of whether someone is a terrorist also depends on who is engaging in this activity. Throughout history, in some countries, groups have been labeled as terrorists, whereas in others they are classified as freedom fighters, urban guerrillas, armed rebels, revolutionaries, and activists. For instance, Carlos Marighella, in his manual *Urban Guerrilla*, defined an urban guerrilla as “a revolutionary and an ardent patriot, he is a fighter for his country's liberation, a friend of the people and of freedom.” Islamic extremists believe that their *jihad* against Americans is justified as a form of legitimate self-defense in retaliation for what they perceive to be the war on Islam in the United States.⁵⁵ The label given to the individual or group thus depends on the person or country providing it and their interpretation of the group. That is, if an individual or state identifies with the victim (or victims) of an attack, then the individual is more likely to identify the act as that of terrorism; whereas, if an individual or state identifies with the

⁵³ Ibid., http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=28.

⁵⁴ National Abortion Federation. 2010. *Anti-abortionist extremists/Clayton Waagner*. http://www.prochoice.org/about_abortion/violence/clayton_waagner.html; National Abortion Federation. 2010. *Anti-abortionist extremists/The Army of God and justifiable homicide*. http://www.prochoice.org/about_abortion/violence/army_god.html.

⁵⁵ This has been expressed by multiple al-Qaeda leaders and operatives (Osama bin Laden, Adam Gadahn, and Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, to name a few) on numerous occasions.

Box 1-1 Narcoterrorism

Narcoterrorism is a term that was originally used to describe the use of terrorist tactics by drug traffickers to influence the government and prevent them from engaging in efforts to stop the drug trade. According to Hartelius, “the concept of ‘narcoterrorism’ was introduced in 1983 by Peruvian President Belaunde Terry to designate terrorist-like attacks against his country’s drug enforcement police. Drug criminals utilized methods from political assailants to influence the politics of the country by causing terror and obstructing justice.”¹ This term has been used by others to describe the use of drug trade and trafficking to fund the operations of certain governments and terrorist groups.² The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) engages in narcotics trafficking to fund its operations; so too does the Taliban, which gains a “significant amount of funds from the Afghan opium trade, whether actually trafficking or engaging in protection rackets.”³

¹ Hartelius, J. 2008, February. Narcoterrorism. *The East-West Institute & the Swedish Carnegie Institute*, iii, <http://www.ewi.info/system/files/reports/Narcoterrorism.pdf>; Pacheco, F. C. 2008. Narcoterrorism: How has narcoterrorism settled in Mexico? *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32 (12): 1023.

² Ackerman, R. K. 2010, October. Intelligence Key to Counterdrug Efforts. *Signal* 65(2): 51; Ehrenfeld, R. 1990. *Narco-terrorism*. New York: Basic, xiii; Hollis, A. 2007. Narcoterrorism: A definitional & operational transnational challenge. In *Transnational threats*, ed. K. L. Thachuk, 24. Westport, CT: Praeger.

³ Ackerman, R. K. 2010, October. Intelligence key to counterdrug efforts. *Signal* 65 (2): 51.

perpetrator (or perpetrators) of an attack, then the act is more likely not to be characterized as a terrorist attack and to be “regarded in a more sympathetic, if not positive (or, at the worst, ambivalent) light; and it is not terrorism.”⁵⁶ For example, according to the U.S. Department of State, the Lebanese government and the majority of the Arab world view Hezbollah as a legitimate resistance group and political party.⁵⁷ Other countries and their citizens also view certain terrorists favorably. For instance, the majority of those surveyed in Jordan viewed Hamas favorably.⁵⁸ The perception of who constitutes a terrorist differs even between sectors or regions within countries. An example of this was seen in Nicaragua, where the “Nicaraguan elite regarded the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) as a terrorist group, while much of the rest of the country regarded the FSLN as freedom fighters.”⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Hoffman, B. 1998. *Inside terrorism*. London: Indigo, 31.

⁵⁷ U.S. Department of State. 2009, April 30. Country reports on terrorism. *Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism*. <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2008/122449.htm>.

⁵⁸ Pew Research Center. 2010, December 2. Most embrace a role for Islam in politics: Muslim public divided on Hamas and Hezbollah. *Pew Global Attitudes Project*. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2010/12/02/muslims-around-the-world-divided-on-hamas-and-hezbollah/>.

⁵⁹ Hudson, R. A. 1999. *The sociology and psychology of terrorism: Who becomes a terrorist and why?* 5. A report prepared under an Interagency Agreement by the Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc_Psych_of_Terrorism.pdf.

At times, insurgencies and guerrilla warfare are assumed to be synonymous with terrorism; the reason being is that often guerrillas and insurgents use similar tactics as terrorists. They both use actual violence or the threat of harm to persons and/or property. According to Carlos Marighella,

[i]n Brazil, the number of violent actions carried out by urban guerrillas, including executions, explosions, seizures of weapons, ammunition and explosives, assaults on banks and prisons, etc., [was] significant enough to leave no room for doubt as to the actual aims of the revolutionaries; all are witnesses to the fact that [the urban guerrillas were engaged] in a full revolutionary war and that this war can be waged only by violent means.⁶⁰

Guerrillas often engage in terror tactics, which are used to create mayhem and instill widespread fear in the target government and its population. To succeed, the terror campaign has to bring about support for the guerrillas' cause by sympathizers. Much the same as terrorists, the guerrillas' terror campaign also seeks to reveal the government's repressive nature in order to gain the public's sympathy and support for their cause.

The difference between these two terms—terrorism and guerrilla warfare—essentially boils down to the intent of the actor engaging in the act or acts that appear to be “terroristic.” If guerrillas deliberately target civilians in their attacks, then their actions will be labeled as a terrorist attack. Conversely, if guerrillas primarily target military and security personnel of the target country, their actions will be considered a guerrilla attack. Indeed, a violent political, religious, or ideological group often becomes labeled as a terrorist as soon as its actions claim the lives of civilians or noncombatants. Yet the line that seeks to distinguish these two topics is essentially blurred because history shows that guerrillas have attacked both military and nonmilitary targets to achieve their goals (see Box 1-2). In other situations, extensive property damage alone can prompt a government to label a group of dissidents as terrorists; this was seen in the United States with certain extremist animal rights and environmental groups.⁶¹ Yet this distinction further complicates matters, as both guerrillas and terrorists often target civilians and seek to damage property.

A better distinction between guerrillas and terrorists is that the former often fight according to the conventions of war, something that is not seen in the case of terrorists. In fact, those who engage in an armed struggle against a state are not considered terrorists if they operate according to the principles of international law. Specifically, in Article 2 of the *Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism*, the League of Arab States has explicitly stated that “all cases of struggle by whatever means, including armed struggle, against foreign occupation and aggression

⁶⁰ Marighella, C. 1969. How the urban guerrilla lives. *Marighella Internet Archive*. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marighella-carlos/1969/06/minimanual-urban-guerrilla/ch03.htm>.

⁶¹ Although nowadays, extremist animal rights and environmental groups also target civilians in their attacks.

Box 1-2 Food for Thought—Chechen Groups: Freedom Fighters or Terrorists?

Chechens, an ethnic minority group from the North Caucasus region, seek independence from Russia. The Chechens have claimed that Russia is depriving them of basic human rights. Many of the attacks by Chechens have been aimed at Russia's occupying force; however, they have also engaged in indiscriminate attacks against civilians in non-Chechen Russia. For instance, in September 2003, Chechens seized control of a school in Beslan. In this incident, over 350 individuals were killed, more than 150 of which were children. Another incident occurred in November 2009, in which Chechens detonated explosives on the Nevsky Express, causing it to derail and kill 27 individuals. A further example involved two female Chechen suicide bombers, who detonated explosives in Russia's subway stations (Lubyanka and Park Kultury) in March 2010, killing 39 people.

Some argue that Chechens are freedom fighters. Others argue that they are terrorists. What do you think? And why?

for liberation and self-determination, in accordance with the principles of international law, shall not be regarded as" terrorism.⁶² This was reiterated in Article 2(a) of the *Convention of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism*.⁶³ Accordingly, guerrillas, revolutionaries, and the like who follow the conventions of war and adhere to the principles of international law should not be considered terrorists.

State Terrorism: Myth or Reality?

History has shown that both individuals and governments engage in terrorist acts. Thus, to be complete, discussions of terrorism must also include terrorist tactics used by governments. States may sponsor terrorists or engage in terrorism themselves. State-sponsored terrorism involves the use of violence by governments (or factions within governments) against the citizens of the country, factions within the government, or foreign groups or governments. With regard to this form of terrorism, according to the UN *Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism*,⁶⁴

States, guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and other relevant rules of international law, must refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in terrorist acts in territories of other States,

⁶² Council of Arab Ministers of the Interior and the Council of Arab Ministers of Justice. (1998). *The Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism*.

⁶³ UN *Convention of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism* (1999).

⁶⁴ Part II, paragraph 4 of the UN *Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism* (1994).

or from acquiescing in or encouraging activities within their territories directed toward the commission of such acts.

This declaration also holds that states must

refrain from organizing, instigating, facilitating, financing, encouraging or tolerating terrorist activities and to take appropriate practical measures to ensure that their respective territories are not used for terrorist installations or training camps, or for the preparation or organization of terrorist acts intended to be committed against other States or their citizens.⁶⁵

According to the U.S. Department of State, one of the most active state sponsors of terrorism is Iran. This country has supported the Taliban (a militant fundamentalist Islamic group that established a government in Afghanistan) and terrorist groups such as the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, Hezbollah, and Hamas.⁶⁶ The United States has also labeled Cuba, Sudan, and Syria as states that sponsor terrorism.

Some countries may be labeled as engaging in terrorism, while other countries engaged in similar behavior may not be. Instead, the latter may be viewed as repressive regimes, authoritarian systems, and dictatorships. The determination of whether a state engages in acts of terrorism also depends on who is classifying them. If a country or state is using violence, it is usually considered as a legitimate act of war or reprisal for harm done that is necessary to protect and defend its citizens and territory. However, history shows that this is not always the case. Infamous leaders of governments have killed millions of innocent victims and not opponents of their regimes. For example, Adolph Hitler sought to eliminate the non-Aryan race from Germany by killing Jews and Gypsies en masse. However, he, and other leaders who engaged in similar conduct, were not classified as terrorists nor described as engaging in terrorist acts. Instead, they were said to have conducted acts of genocide.

Genocide is the systematic destruction of a particular group of people on the basis of their ethnicity, nationality, political affiliation, culture, religion, race, sex, or disability. This mass killing can be carried out by a national leader, usually a government, against its people or a dominant group against a minority group. A disproportionate number of the 20th-century genocides occurred as a result of the efforts of regimes to counter major guerrilla insurgencies or to defeat internal enemies of the regime. The ongoing civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo is a classic example. The government effort to defeat guerrilla insurgencies resulted in the mass killing of civilians and guerrillas alike. Leaders who had engaged in genocide to stabilize their rule in the past include “Hitler of Germany, Stalin of [the] former Soviet

⁶⁵ Part II, paragraph 5(a) of the UN *Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism* (1994).

⁶⁶ Bruno, G. 2010, October 7. State sponsors: Iran. *Council on Foreign Relations*. <http://www.cfr.org/iran/state-sponsors-iran/p9362>.

Union, Mao [Zedong] of China, and Pol Pot of Cambodia.”⁶⁷ Other countries have also experienced genocide. For example, in Rwanda, the Hutu majority attempted to completely annihilate a victim population composed almost entirely of the Tutsi minority. Rwanda, along with other countries (e.g., Burundi, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka), have utilized their military and paramilitary forces to commit mass murder with the intention of exterminating subgroups within their territory.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, this form of collective punishment is similar to terrorism. Consider the definition of genocide provided by the United Nations in the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. According to Article 2 of this convention, genocide occurs when acts (e.g., killing members of a group and/or inflicting serious bodily or mental harm on members of a group) are committed with the “intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group.” This type of behavior has been seen with terrorists. In fact, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi (a well-known al-Qaeda operative who died in 2006) had stated al-Qaeda’s intent of engaging in the mass killing of Shia Muslims. Al-Qaeda has perpetrated and verbalized similar acts against Jews, Americans, and their allies. Indeed, on February 23, 1998, Osama bin Laden (former leader of al-Qaeda who died in May 2011) issued a *fatwah* (a religious ruling), which stated that killing “Americans and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it.” Despite these similarities, genocide is not used to describe al-Qaeda’s actions, even though its resemblance to this term is apparent.

The problem with defining terrorism is not so much that existing attempts have been inaccurate, but that they are not complete enough to encompass all forms of terrorism and explain how terrorism relates to other forms of violence. Coupled with the divergent opinions of individuals and states as well as beliefs on what constitutes terrorism, the creation of a universally accepted, single definition is akin to the task of Sisyphus. The quest for it seems just as futile as the belief of Sisyphus that at some point the boulder he rolled up the steep hill⁶⁹ would eventually reach the top without being plunged back down.

HYPOTHETICAL SCENARIO

A terrorist group exists in Xanthi, Greece, which has assassinated government officials and engaged in a spree of bombing campaigns against Greek military installations and soldiers. This group seeks to liberate itself from Greece and form an independent Islamic state.

What type(s) of terrorism is (are) described above? Why do you think so?

⁶⁷ Colaresi, M., and Carey, S. C. 2004. To kill or to protect: Security forces, domestic institutions, and genocide. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52 (1): 46.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶⁹ According to Greek mythology, this was the eternal punishment imposed upon him by the gods.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Numerous definitions of terrorism exist concerning who terrorists are and what terrorists do. These definitions tend to overlap with other forms of violence such as guerrilla warfare and genocide. The existence of terrorism depends on the individual, group, or state defining it. Some individuals, groups, or states view certain individuals as freedom fighters, while others view the same people as terrorists. Terrorism can be classified according to the means terrorists use to achieve their goals and the ends they seek. Several types of terrorism exist, including nationalist–separatist, left-wing, right-wing, religious, and special interest terrorism. States have also been known to either engage in terrorism or sponsor terrorists. Due to the different forms of terrorism, its relationship with other forms of violence, and the differing perspectives on what it constitutes, the creation of a universal definition of terrorism is highly unlikely.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How is terrorism defined?
2. Why do nationalists–separatists engage in terrorism? Religious terrorists?
3. Who do left-wing terrorists target?
4. What motivates right-wing terrorists?
5. What do special interest terrorists seek?
6. What are the differences between a terrorist and a guerrilla? A terrorist and a freedom fighter?
7. What are the differences between terrorism and genocide?