"ASPECTS OF TERRORISM IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD"

BY

MBUGUA ELIZABETH MWIHAKI

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY
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Mbugua Elizabeth Mwihiaki

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in International Relations

United States International University
Nairobi

Summer 2005
STUDENT’S DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, institution or university other than the United States International University in Nairobi for academic credit.

Signed: ___________________________ Date: 15th July 2005

Mbugua Elizabeth Mwihaki (ID 613051)

This Project has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to PJ Newby. You are my tower of strength. Thank you for all your support and believing in me.
ABSTRACT

This study was guided by objectives that would lead to studying the aspects of global terrorism and in essence, international terrorism. Terrorism has become a major force to reckon with and, among the key objectives, was why terrorism continues to exist in the globalized world. Chapter one explains the continued use of instilling of fear and violence via the theories of Frustration-Aggression and the World Systems Theory (WST). The researcher used as reference material archival material on terrorism, books from the library, journals, magazines and newspapers. The Internet was sparingly used.

From the research, some key issues came up that served as the findings of the research. From the research, it was concluded that terrorism will continue to exist as a major international player and counter terrorism strategy is inevitable. After a critical analysis of the modes through which terrorism operates, it emerged from the research that terrorism has multi-faceted motivations that are economic, social, religious and even politically based. Most of them do have a historical past. More study into the causes of terrorism is needed. This will go a long way in identifying the root causes of terrorism, and thus workable remedies for the vice. It was also recommended that the issue of terrorism be undertaken with the utmost intelligence, skill and technology because counter terrorism has its prices too. The recommendations entail the implications of studying the aspects of terrorism on policymaking, the economic and political aspects of the states in the international system.
# LIST OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER ONE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0 Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Background to the Problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Statement of the Problem</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Literature Review</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.1 Rationale for studying the problem</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.2 Theoretical Framework</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.2.1 Frustration-Aggression Theory</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.2.2 Limitations of the Frustration-Aggression Theory</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.2.3 World Systems Theory (WST)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Objectives of the Study</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Hypotheses of the Study</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 Research Methodology</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Examining Terrorism in Retrospect

2.1 The Terrorist versus the Insurgent or Revolutionary

2.2 An attempt at defining terrorism

2.3 Attempting to classify types of terrorism

2.4 Terrorism as a strategy

2.4.1 Some weapons of terrorists

2.5 Critically assessing causes of global terrorism

2.6 Place of media in the global terrorist world map

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Case Studies: Terrorism in the Middle East

3.1 Terrorism in Africa

3.2 Terrorism in Latin America

3.3 Terrorism in other areas on the globe

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Examining Counterterrorism Strategy: Counterterrorism
and its problems

4.1 Some counterterrorism measures: what needs to be done 65

4.1.1 Force 65

4.1.2 Intelligence 67

4.1.3 Undercover operations 69

4.1.4 International unity 69
   a) Security 69
   b) International movement 70
   c) Economic sanctions 70
   d) Empowerment of judicial bodies and legislature 71
   e) Diplomacy 73
   f) Bargaining 74

4.2 Counterterrorism measures: a summary 74

CHAPTER FIVE 76

5.0 Summary of research findings 76

5.1 Conclusion 80
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Terrorism in the globalized economy of the twenty-first century using technology for example to reach all corners of the world in a short amount of time is a major contributor to the instability of world governments and economics. The lack of the world being at peace and governments constantly looking over their shoulder for fear of being the next target of terrorist attacks has seen huge amounts of resources being poured into counter terrorist measures. Even as states pursue these measures, terrorism has increased to great levels.

1.1 Background to the Problem

Terrorism, in any form, is not a new phenomenon. It has been there since time immemorial. In the bible, this kind of violence was carried out in a political context. Tribes taken over and regicide (the killing of kings) was rife. The bible contains numerous passages of conquests and assassinations portrayed in verses such as those in 2 Kings 25:1-7 in Today’s English Version of the Good News Bible. Ancient Egypt is well known for the assassinations of pharaohs and mummifying perceived perpetrators of the law whilst alive.

Sun Tzu, in the Fourth Century came forth with destabilizing states through his state of war. His aim was to destabilize states, not destroy them. Thus he came up with methods and dimensions of creating psychological and military war. He came up with a technique known as “kill one, frighten a thousand.” This technique fits so well in the contemporary world in relation to terrorism.

Since the dawn of civilization, a strong village used intimidation over a weaker one in order to, say, covet the weaker village’s women, livestock or land. Some chiefs ruled by popular consent, while others by seizing power and exercising it through henchmen or
privileges. Terror was used to discipline dissidents and the dissidents in turn used terror to demoralize the chief’s henchmen or to replace him with a candidate of their choice.

In the Medieval Ages, guerillas, in conjunction with armies raided territories and harassed opposing populations. During the Roman Empire rule, a lot of territories were conquered and enslavement of the conquered lands ensued. The Roman sword was one to be feared and conquest instilled fear and terror to anyone that had intentions of fighting the Romans. Martin Miller (1995: p. 32) says that this era saw the assassination of Roman Emperor Julius Caesar in 44 B.C by rivals in Senate. Others include Caligula killed in A.D 41 by a Praetorian guard and Galba murdered in 68 A.D.

In the Eighteenth Century, opposition to the French government were arrested and some beheaded using the newly invented guillotine. This was during the Jacobin dictatorship. To the government, this new tool was very handy as it could execute many people at a time, like in an assembly line. All this happened during the Reign of Terror in which thousands died.

In the Nineteenth Century, following the defeat of Napoleon, parties in the name of secret societies were formed so that they could help oppose the monarch and national unification. This trend begun to spread in Europe, from the Carbonari in Italy to the League of the Just in Greece, France and Central Europe. According to the doctrine beheld by these societies, “governments were to be overthrown by rebellion and assassination, ‘in imitation of Brutus’.... Members were encouraged to provide themselves even with poisoned weapons and with ammunition in order to be ready at the first opportunity.” ¹Ideologies started to play a central role in politics and political violence during the last decades of the Nineteenth Century. This was an era characterized

by technical developments and intellectual atmosphere. Writers such as Vilfredo Pareto, Emile Durkheim and Sigmund Freud pointed out that there were elements of violence inherent in society. This, if not checked, were potentially explosive. They called on attention to these potentially dangerous tendencies, even in the wake of new technologies. Their fears were to be confirmed by the political party terrorism that followed with the aftermath of the First World War.

At the beginning of the Twentieth Century to the time leading to the First World War, Russian parties and their social revolutionary agenda caused a lot of terrorism. The Combat Organization of the Party of Socialists – Revolutionaries (SRs) carried out campaign terrorism that involved a lot of assassinations, kidnappings, robberies and bombings in most of the major cities of European Russia. “The second major wave of terrorism in Russia was sponsored by the Social Revolutionary Party and opened with the assassination in 1902 of Sipyagin, the minister of the interior....”\(^2\) Most of the parties at this time used Marxism as a scapegoat to mobilizing the working class to yield a revolution.

Fascism in the inter-war period was rife. In the 1920s and 1930s, fascist parties in parliament organized themselves into units that evoked violence against opponents. Mostly famous for this are Italy’s “Squadristi”, the German “Storm Troopers” or “Brown Shirts”, Britain’s “Black Shirts”, and France’s “Le Croix de Feu” (Crosses of Fire), though this came later to be known as the Parti Social Francais (PSF) – The French Social Party. The Croat “Ustacha” in 1934 are famous for the murder of the Yugoslav king.

Today’s insurgent movement and terror leaders virtually never mention Sun Tzu. However, they are more likely to train recruits on the Twentieth Century derivatives.


Mao Tse Tung’s writings, indebted to Sun Tzu, while also very creative, have been favoured by many contemporary guerilla groups and terrorists. The new world is globalized and has a lot of room for terrorism. New terrorism involves implicit targets and tactics used by professionals in identifiable organizations or movements. They use conventional weapons that are sophisticated by the day like small detonators and heat-seeking missiles. These groups insist that they are fighting for a certain cause or for the common good, and thus seek understanding and empathy from the public. Terrorism has escalated into unimaginable levels, from national ethnic cleansing to international hijacking of planes and driving these planes into buildings by suicide bombers.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The study focuses on terrorism and in particular international terrorism that has become a major world concern. It is true that historical examples of violence—be they political, psychological or any other form—have been translated into modern terrorism. History has proven that violence is inherent in the experience of mankind, a trend that shows no signs of abating.

As the background to the problem shows, terrorism has been prevalent since the dawn of civilization. But in the last few decades, terrorism has become more aggressive and vibrant than before. Paul Wilkinson (2001: p. 22) says that in the 1990s, political terrorism for example remains such a popular weapon around the world.

The problem of this research exercise therefore is to answer to the following questions: Why has terrorism been a primary weapon in the modern period? Why has it continued to thrive and succeed in the globalized world? Why has international terrorism become a major world concern? What are the channels through which terrorism operates and how can terrorism be addressed?
1.3 Literature Review

There have been many writings on the subject of terrorism. Most of them condemn terrorists with solutions of how to go about combating terrorism. However, others do condone it as a means to liberation or achieving what is rightfully one’s own. In this study, it will be determined that there is a slight difference between a terrorist and a revolutionary or insurgent. But on the other hand, the definition depends on who is doing the defining and from which side of the battle one is on.

Francis Fukuyama (1993) more than ten years ago had envisaged the end of history as we know it. That the human society would evolve into a modern world. That the evolution of human societies through different forms of government had culminated in modern liberal democracy and market-oriented capitalism. He now affirms that his hypothesis still holds. He sees the US as representing the modern world, mostly because it dominates world politics. He sees terrorism as a resistance, as a desperate attempt against this modern world. Francis warns to be wary of terrorism. Little pockets of terrorists here and there have managed to cause great havoc even to the greatest of nations capable of enormous military power. Terrorism has led to world instability. For him, the US is faced with either to comprehend this great insurgency or to “recruit” allies to work hand in hand against terrorism or just to counter terrorism by itself.

Francis, while quoting Samuel Huntington, agrees that there are cultural issues that play a role in terrorism. Samuel (1998) in his *Clash of Civilizations* predicted these cultural conflicts that would rack the post Cold War period. The cultural conflict came about because Americans truly believe that it is the banner and carrier of democracy, freedom for all, equal rights and especially economic prosperity, the perfect model for any country to follow. President George Bush’s strategy of bringing democracy to all nations clearly shows that America would want its model shared by people all over the world. This thinking was shattered especially by the 2001 September 11 attack that proved that America was wrong.
There are countries, especially those that are largely Islam, who are disgusted by the West type of life. Ironically, most of these terrorists went to schools in the West. This kind of repulsion for the West led them to the extreme, like ramming Boeing planes into the Twin Towers in New York. They were prepared to go this far, even to do this to the people they had lived with for years and even gone to school together. Francis questions whether it is the West suffering from a cultural myopia that makes it think that its values are acceptable, superior and thus should be universally accepted and embraced. To him, the fight against terrorism is not simply a ‘war’ against terrorists, as the American and British governments understandably portray it. Nor, as many Muslims argue, is the real issue American policy in Palestine or toward Iraq. Unfortunately, the basic conflict is much broader, and concerns not just a small group of terrorists, but a much larger group of radical Islamists and Muslims for whom religious identity overrides all other political values. He concedes to Islamic radicalism who, on the larger part, see America as anti-Islam. He also points out fanatics as extreme radicals who create a struggle between believers and non-believers. The world should recognize that it is not a fight against terrorism, but radical Islamists like Osama bin Laden.

During the Cold War, there was tendency to believe that states, especially those on the Eastern Bloc and specifically those belonging to the Soviet Union did not have the governments that they were supposed to have. They were seen as prisoners of their own governments and thus the Western Bloc sought to “free” them so they could have what they deserved. Barry Buzan says that this trend has been carried on even after the Cold War period. The policy of the West to bring democracy and single out bad governments especially in the Middle East is a good example. Does this mean then that these states do not deserve the kind of governments that they have at the moment? Here, Barry considers four levels of spectrum, where at one end, there are democracies, complete with

individual rights and freedom. Here, a country like Israel (seen to be a democracy) is always at loggerheads with Palestine (that sees no civilian sector in Israel). The middle spectrum has authoritarian governments of various sorts, which can be differentiated according to their degree of mass support. Just behind democracies are countries where mass revolutionary or nationalistic regimes command wide support or acquiescence.⁵ He explains that in states where governments come in through popular revolutions do serve these governments.

At the centre of the spectrum include countries that use military power to gain power. Authoritarian regimes like in Chile command mass acquiescence rather than support, for example, through coercion. On the extreme end of the spectrum are tyrannies like Zaire. Repression comes in naturally. Barry uses this spectrum to show that it is not always easy to determine whether a state deserves its kind of government or not. Some states are a combination of democracy and repression, while others are okay living with tyrannies. For example, even when the US declared Taliban an enemy, this organization had extensive mass support. Whether Iraq is better off now after Saddam or would Libya be at a better off position if Muammar Gaddafi was ousted are questions to ponder. Barry warns against cultural generalizations that would promote the ‘clash of civilizations.’ Generalizations that all civilians in a state are guilty or entirely innocent are unacceptable. He advises that if a country is going to use force in another in order to restore civilization, the question of citizen responsibility should be put above all else. Casualties should be minimized, and targets should be put above all else. Whether or not

⁵ Barry Buzan, Ibid, p. 88
⁷ Barry Buzan, Opicit, p. 93
people deserve their governments is a tough question, but answers to it have to be found if ideas about humanitarian intervention are ever to acquire intellectual and political coherence. Buzan ends by positing that if people do deserve the government they get and if that government is in gross breach of standards of civilization, then, as in the Second World War, the war should be against both the government and the people.

Immanuel Wallerstein agrees that the US is overplaying its role to control all chaos in the world. Neither Niccolo Machiavelli nor Sun Tzu would have advised the US to take up this role. He agrees that one cannot conduct a war against terrorists because there will be no end. However, states can strive to eliminate terrorism, but only those states that are strong enough. But given the situation today, and America’s vibrant fight against what it has loosely defined as “terrorism”, this elimination will never be achieved. To think about the elimination is but a naïve assumption. Most states have never managed to eliminate major rebellion groups such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA), Hamas or Hezbollah. This is because these groups have had enormous political support locally, and they are seen as a people fighting for a worthy cause against hindrances to this cause. If they lost this support, then they can be eliminated. In the end, he sees gloom full of bloodshed and horrors, though after this will come negotiations and compromise.

Noam Chomsky sees a flaw in the definition of “terrorism” especially by the American government. This term applies only to terrorism against the Americans and not the terrorism Americans carry against the so-called terrorists. For example, President George Bush warned Afghanistan that it will continue to bomb it until Afghanistan handed over the suspects alleged to be terrorists to the US government. A Panamanian reporter Steven Ricardo reported that when the US was lamenting on the 2001 September 11 attacks and vowing revenge, in South America, people reflected and recalled on their own horrors when president George Bush Snr. bombed the barrio Chorillo in Panama in December 1989 in Operation Just Cause, undertaken to kidnap a disobedient thug who was sentenced to life imprisonment in Florida for crimes mostly committed while he was on the Criminal Intelligence Agency (CIA).
Looking at the flaw then, it is wrong to assume that terrorism is a tool for the weak. Infact, it is a weapon that is used in great force by the strong. The US for instance has been known to refuse to give up alleged terrorists even when there is overwhelming evidence against them. Recently, it has refused for its citizens accused of war crimes to be handed over to the International Criminal Court (ICC).

Robert Keohane talks about transnational terrorism. He is party with Chomsky that the term “terrorism” depends on what country and what side of the battle the country is on. There is no single coherent definition of the term. This is thus used as a loophole for all sorts of activity. He envisages that in the immediate future, terrorism is likely to be defined inductively and operationally – as illegitimate. Long-run delegitimization of terrorism, however, will acquire a clearer consensus on what the word means.\(^8\) The September 11 attacks have made the US more dependent on other states like Turkey in order to fight this terrorism. The policy of give and take now comes into play more than ever. The US for example is more welcoming to Pakistan’s requests for economic aid. The United Nations (UN) is now a tool in full force, being used by the US to acquire its objectives. The US acts unilaterally then legitimizes its action through this institution. Most of these acts in this new world are military-oriented.

Keohane cites other countries that have had a change in interests since September 11. They have realized that they are vulnerable – if the world’s greatest power can be hit, so can they – and thus have realized that they need to ally with the US or other states in order to survive. He, unlike Chomsky, sees terrorism as a weapon of the weak. He sees it as mostly used by those groups that are not powerful enough to fight their enemies face-to-face. He conceded that terrorism is highly organized, fanatical and has no moral scruples. He advises that the delegitimization of terrorism and the effective war against it

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will strengthen powerful states, which are (apart from terrorism) able to police their borders and deter attacks by other states. It will also benefit democracies, which are both most vulnerable to terrorism due to their openness and least able to engage in it due to the secrecy involved and the dangers that supporting terrorist organizations will undercut democracy itself.⁹

Robert Keohane cites technological advancement as a contributor to terrorism because it creates targets for violence. In particular, he cites the Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) as the most disturbing tools of doom. To eliminate transnational terrorism, like eliminating piracy in the Medieval Ages, would require both military and police action. There should be efforts by states to stamp out any trace or tendency of a state to support terrorism. He also advocates for the genuine elimination of sources that cause transnational terrorism. Democratic societies have to keep vigil against the use of highly destructive violence, whether internal or external. Transnational terrorism has to be accepted and looked at as grossly illegitimate, as are slavery and piracy today. The latter have been subdued, but not eliminated. He sees transnational terrorism being eliminated if its recognition of being illegitimate is deepened all around the world.

Kenneth Waltz has written that terrorism does not alter the gross imbalance of power that exists in the world today. He talks about international politics, and adds that in fact, attacks on America have created even greater imbalance. He says that nuclear weapons play a role in international politics. Most are in the hands of the US. As a state gains a nuclear head, other states strive to get it. Terrorism does not change the fact that in international politics, nuclear weapons govern the military relations of nations that have them. Moreover, American policies stimulate the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons and promote their spreading from one country to the other.¹⁰ He also says that

⁹ Robert Keohane, Ibid, p. 149
¹⁰ Kenneth N. Waltz, Ibid, p. 352
terrorism does not change the fact that there will always be crises in the world. So, were the US to pursue these terrorists into the different states, crises in the world would escalate. Thus terrorism does not do anything new. It only contributes to what is already in motion. It contributes to the continuity of international politics.

Terror threatens the stability of states and all states fear being targets for terrorists. Following the above argument, he sees it easy for the American president to assemble a coalition. Yet, Waltz ends with a very ironical fact, “Yet because terror is a weapon wielded by the weak, terrorists do not seriously threaten the security of states. States are thus not compelled to band together to shift the balance of world power. Terrorist attacks do not change the two main bases of international politics or alter the condition of recurring crises. That is why, although a mile wide, the anti-terrorist coalition is only an inch deep.”¹¹

1.3.1 Rationale for Studying the Problem

Between 1983 and 1989, a lot of terrorism experienced in Europe was sponsored by the former Soviet Union, Cuba and China. Though the actions by these countries for example have tended to subside, there is still a lot of violence in the world including in the Middle East and South America. The latter is ravaged by narco-terrorism (drug-related terrorism). Islamic fundamentalism has overtaken Marxism as the ideological generator of international terrorism.

Islamic jihad and declaration of fatwa that has led to thousands of bombings and deaths in the international system have affected innocent victims who have nothing to do with country-to-country wrangles. In this era of technological change where weapons are constantly being developed and always changing as fast as politics, the technique of

¹¹ Ibid, p. 353
terrorizing both the weak and the strong has remained the same and continues as it has, for thousands of years.

This study will examine why terrorists do what they do, the impact of their actions on the world system and what can be done to alleviate this problem that has led to world instability. Alleviate because the problem of terrorism as illustrated beforehand has been there since time immemorial. There will always be some kind of pressure on mankind for as long as the human race exists. The need then is for governments to better comprehend the thoughts and tactics of terrorists in order to successfully cope or deal with the actions of terrorists.

The need to study terrorism comes about in the harsh reality that peace can never be totally attained. Immanuel Kant posits that a state of peace among men living together is not the same as the state of nature, which is a state of war. Mankind needs preservation and for that to happen there must be put in place firm mechanisms that safeguard human life. “Thus the state of peace must be formally instituted, for a suspension of hostilities is not in itself a guarantee of peace.”

Even though Kant focuses on states, terrorism does involve both the individual and the state. It would be of added value to know about the workings of a terrorist, as fascinating or disgusting as it may be, to make the terrorist a specimen, in order to “beat him at his own game” and not using the saying “if you cannot beat them, join them.”

So far, there has not been any exact set procedure or manual to eliminating terrorism. This is proof that terrorism is here to stay. Tactics of terrorists are swift and slow, planned or random, well orchestrated or involve collateral damage and are dynamic.

Authoritarian governments use terrorism against their own people in almost every continent. Many governments have been accused of supporting bases for international terrorist movements like Libya as an example. It is however less common for government agents to carry out individual international terrorist attacks, presumably because these are counter-productive if they are found out. But whether these governments will continue to sponsor terrorists act in the future will depend on whether their leaders judge that these will advance or set back the achievement of their aims.

It is noteworthy that, even in the wake of the global terrorism alert, and the subsequent counter-terrorist actions like the United State’s (US) vibrant foreign policy and Britain’s anti-terrorism bill, terrorist acts are now more vicious than ever and are multiplying by the day. What motivations exist in the new terrorism as opposed to the traditional terrorism? New kinds of terrorism had been thrown up by the end of the Cold War, mainly the revival of ethnic cleansing. There are a few extreme Marxist and terrorist movements that have survived, increasingly motivated by factors such as drug trafficking. Some other generators of terrorism persist like the terrorism carried out between Israeli fundamentalists and the Palestinian fundamentalists. To analyze terrorism would translate into developing more positive attitudes for peace making, to make people realize that terrorism now has no specific target. Everyone is a target. Thus, to meet the challenge of intimidation, modification of the legal process may be needed. But in developing these things, it will be essential to study the underlying causes of terrorism in order to develop effective means of preventing abuse and safeguarding civil liberties.

1.3.2 Theoretical Framework

1.3.2.1 Frustration-Aggression Theory

Understanding terrorist aggression calls for the understanding of human aggression and violence, which requires an initial and crucial distinction between individual and group violence. Violence is not only in individuals and groups, it is often in systems too – the
rules of the game, the whole culture. The West views its culture as the superior one while groups like Islamic fundamentalists see it as something that is against all they stand for.

The original hypothesis was formulated by Dollard et al (1939), who accrued that the occurrence of aggression leads to frustration. Frustration may result into physical harm. Thus, the statement of the theory was that frustration (response to interference with a goal) is necessary and sufficient for aggression. The Freudian conception of aggression was similar in many ways to that of biological instinct theory, but it also had features unique to psychoanalysis. After the First World War, with the expressions of hostility and the enormous toll on lives, Freud elevated aggression to a primal, instinctual impulse. Aggression joined libido as one of the drives that compromised the system of unconscious, instinctual motivations that Freud labeled the “id.” Freud conceived of aggression as a motivation that early development was largely directed outwardly, but became increasingly directed inwardly, ultimately eventuating in death: hence the label “thanatos” for aggressive drive to contrast with “eros” his label for libidinal impulses.\(^{13}\)

A clear picture of the relation between frustration and aggression emerges from a well known experiment by Roger Barker, Tamara Dembo and Kurt Lewin (1941). These psychologists frustrated young children by showing them a roomful of very attractive toys, which they were not allowed to play with. The children stood outside the wire screen looking at the toys, hoping to play with them but were unable to reach them. After a painfully long wait, the children were finally allowed to play with the toys. In this experiment, a separate group of children were allowed to play with the toys directly without first being frustrated. The second group of children played joyfully with the toys. But the frustrated group, when finally given access to the toys, was extremely destructive. They tended to smash the toys, throw them against the wall and step on them.

In the eyes of a terrorist, they are fighting for a just cause and a worthy one at that. The

\(^{13}\) Seymour Feshbach, *Aggression: Biological, Developmental and Social Perspectives*, p.215
Islamic fundamentalists claim to fight against the very threat to the existence of their culture. That once they let the Western type of culture and ideals into their abode, then they will have no identity left to their name. The constant interference in the Middle East is seen as a hindrance that should be removed by any means.

Terrorists are frustrated that they cannot have what they want, and are even more frustrated when counter-terrorist strategies are put in place. As the latter escalate, so do terrorist techniques. In the recent past, terrorism centered around hijacking planes and bombings but now it has moved to public beheadings and kidnappings like in the recent cases in Iraq. The likelihood of the use of even deadlier weapons can now be seen. In March 1995, the Japanese *Aum Shinrikyo* (Supreme Truth) made history by releasing a deadly poisonous gas, sarin, in a Tokyo subway. This brought about a drastic way of looking at terrorism. According to Hoffman, most terrorists in the past, while radical with in politics, were conservative in their methods of operation and relied on two weapons: the gun and the bomb.\(^\text{14}\)

Terrorists in the new world will go to any length to achieve their goal. Traditionally, it was against intended people that terror was unleashed. But now, everyone is a target. Iraq is a very good example of how the different insurgents have made sure that no one is safe. This portrays deep frustration, either because terrorists are not succeeding or because of the counter terrorism moves and interference from the West especially by the US. The implication of this is that no one is safe – from both the counter terrorists (who may be viewed as terrorists) and the terrorists themselves (who may be viewed as liberators or fighters for a just cause).

1.3.2.2 Limitations of the Frustration-Aggression Theory

Although the theory is and has continued to have immense significance, its initial formulation was overly stated. It became subject to quite a number of criticisms. The

theory had contestable propositions: 1) if frustration, then aggression (all frustration is aggression): that is, frustration always results in aggression (direct or inhibited), and, 2) if aggression, then frustration (all aggression is frustration); that is aggression is always preceded by frustration.\textsuperscript{15}

Miller recognized that the theory was too strong. Aggression could occur without prior frustration; frustration could be followed by something other than aggression, say, like problem solving, so that frustration is not sufficient for the occurrence of aggression. There are other causes that lead to aggression. A good example here is Timothy McVeigh who was responsible for the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in the US. McVeigh was a hard-core devotee of the Patriot Movement and a believer in New World Order Conspiracy theories. He was almost certainly a racial supremacist, having tried to solicit advice from the neo-Nazi National Alliance and the racial separatist Elohim City group about going underground after the bombing.\textsuperscript{16} This had nothing to do with Islamic fundamentalism. It was in large part a retaliation against the government. Also, there is the case of David Koresh’s Davidian Sect that burned alive in Waco, Texas while resisting the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Aggression does not always follow frustration. Aggression can be directed at the wrong party as a scapegoat, or can be directed toward the right channels. Some forms of aggression are self-driven or self-motivated. Hitler’s invasion of Russia in July 1941 is a good example. He wanted to make Europe a Jewish-free state of pure German race. On October 11 1931, world renowned physicist Albert Einstein, a Jewish refugee from the Nazis warned the world and thus Franklin D. Roosevelt that the Germans were working

\textsuperscript{15} Seymour Feshbach, p. 216

on the problem of harnessing atomic energy. If Hitler got an atomic bomb, he would surely conquer Europe. There is also that kind of aggression that is purely sadistic and has nothing much to do with frustration like terrorists beheading hostages and killings in military barracks.

Another loophole in the theory is that if an alternative to aggression does exist, aggression reduces. Thus frustration does not necessarily lead to aggression. In the contemporary world, conflict management techniques like negotiation and mediation are always practiced to cool down tensions.

Although the frustration-aggression theory does not explain aggression at the social or group level, it can be a model used to explain terrorism. It is aided by the relative-deprivation theory that says that the source of hostility toward another group is the perception that the status or welfare of one’s own group is less than it should be in relation to the out-group. Relative deprivation here is seen as a form of frustration. It can explain why terrorism for example occurs, not when countries are enjoying economic depression, but when the world is enjoying the fruits of globalization.

1.3.2.3 World Systems Theory (WST)

The World Systems Theory (WST) can be used to show how terrorism continues to persist - the globalization of terrorism. This theory assumes that nations depend on each other and participate in one world economic order. This activity classifies states in terms of the degree of their economic power, inequality and underdevelopment. Herein lies the dependency theory that provides a stepping stone to development and underdevelopment theories of the WST.

In his three volumes of writings, Emmanuel Wallerstein (1979) posited that the best

analysis unit of societal behaviour is the world system. He argued that all social phenomena, from poverty in West African villages to ethnic conflict in the Balkans and from international relations to the nature of family life have to be understood in the context of a world system. To him, a system has two defining characteristics: 1) all the elements within a system are inter-linked. There is no dynamic relationship in a system. To understand the attributes of one element within a system, one must understand its position within the system. He stressed that the system has to be looked at as a whole, and not individually. He thus advocated for a holistic approach; 2) life within the system is more or less self-contained. If one has to explain change in a system, one must look at the dynamics within it and not external factors responsible for change. He used the Roman Empire as a world system whose boundaries did not incorporate the global world. Thus, to him, a world system refers to a particular geographic area governed by the logic of a single system (the Caesar).

One of the novel features of the modern world system is that it has grown to incorporate the global world. For Wallerstein, history has witnessed two types of world systems: world empires and world economies. The two are distinguished by the distribution of resources. In the former, there is a centralized political system using its powers to re-distribute resources from the periphery to the core. In the latter, there is no single centre of political authority, but there are multiple power centres because of the power of markets. There are similarities in resource distribution from the core to the periphery.

The WST can be used to understand how inequalities that lead to terrorism occur via use of law. Lynch et al say that in core countries, there are higher rates of property crime, while in peripheral countries, violent crime is rampant. Core societies are more likely to use sophisticated technology to boost their economic success, thereby creating the opportunity for relative deprivation, which may lead to a state of anomie. In peripheral states, there are a lot of military coups, political instability and economic dependency on

core nations. Terrorism stems more from the periphery because the regimes tend to use force to suppress their citizens, and citizens may in turn use violent means against their regime.\textsuperscript{19} The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) is a very strong insurgent group. It is a rural-based group and goes to great lengths to enlist popular support in rural areas by applying pressure on the Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) operating in Colombia. Typically, when there is a new MNC on board, the local authorities approach it, with FARC's approval, and ask for the MNC to employ the locals. In return, the MNC is assured of no interference in its activities by FARC. Otherwise FARC can cause great havoc to those that do not comply. FARC often battles the Colombian army that the government sends to extinguish it. This guerilla movement thrives so much from extortion and income got from the drugs trade.

Terrorism, whether national or international, occurs because economic, political, social and culturally colonized people adopt the use of force or armed struggle in an attempt to attain or achieve liberation.\textsuperscript{20} But on the other hand are the powerful core states that seek to suppress peripheral states, say, by using state terrorism, to maintain their status quo. They will use any means to achieve and protect their interests. So here again comes in the dual definition of terrorism – depends on who is doing the defining and on which side one is on.

Frantz Fanon saw a pattern whereby there has been tension between core and peripheral states that often lead into the former trying to suppress the latter while the latter tries to liberate itself from the former. In his book "Wretched of the Earth," there is a fierce and burning hatred of colonial and racial oppression. This led to a lot of violence in South Africa during the period of Apartheid. Most colonized states in the world have at one time or the other used terrorism to display their displeasure. Ihiekwoaba (2001) cites countries such as the Philippines, Pakistan, Peru, Colombia, Chile, Lebanon, Iraq.


\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, p. 52
Turkey, Ethiopia and Mozambique that have been known to use terrorism against core states. All these, at one time or the other, have experienced colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.\textsuperscript{21} Most of the countries in the Middle East see the West as imperialist.

1.4 Objectives of the study

1. To attempt to define terrorism.

2. To find out why terrorism occurs.

3. To study the activities of terrorists around the world.

4. To examine the remedies for terrorism.

1.5 Hypotheses of the study

The hypotheses will be intertwined with the types of terrorism that will be discussed in the chapters. The study will operate under four assumptions, which may be confirmed or not at the end of the study.

1. Religion, culture, race or ethnic sentiments are likely to contribute to terrorism. Included here will be the rising Islamic fundamentalism. Religious fundamentalism includes killing in the name of faith – for the greater glory. The study will include the Islamic jihad, fatwa and sectarian or ritual killings like those that involved the Davidians and genocide killings in Africa and the Balkans.

2. Globalization may contribute to terrorism. New advances in technology have led to increase in crime, though the world is now very interconnected. There has been a lot of cyber terrorism over the net as automated machines have defrauded millions of money.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid, p. 56
from unsuspecting people. The internet has been a major useful tool for the terrorist to portray their activities. Television stations like Al Jazeera always receive internet clips from different terrorist groups about a certain intended target or beheadings of hostages. Gus Martin (2003) posits that symbolism is very important to terrorists. Terrorists are very mindful of their image and skillfully use public relations and propaganda to “package” themselves.  

3. Increasing individual freedom and rights may lead to terrorism. Under this will be the role of the media in the globalized world. As much as the media is a very important tool in the conveyance of up to date messages, it may be a dangerous weapon. It may be used for propaganda either by states, individuals, terrorists, respective groups or even itself, to work to the detriment of society. In a hostage crisis situation for example, the media, if given access to news of impending rescue of the hostages, may pre-empt this action by airing the news (both to the public and the hostage takers).

Included here too are political parties and the thin line that separates political parties and terrorist groups. Political parties do turn terrorist when they become perpetrators of violence. Violence becomes the party’s principal mode of expression in a number of cases like Peru’s Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) whose leaders refer to their organization as the Communist Party of Peru. Here, parties that have turned terrorist will be mentioned.

4. Individual and state interests are likely to contribute to terrorism. If a state has a leader, it is not easy to distinguish whether the decisions one makes are made as an individual or

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as a leader of a state. Ambitious leaders like Adolf Hitler unleashed a wave of terror to exterminate Jews in Germany. He also sought to invade his neighbours. Dictators like Mussolini of Italy and Idi Amin of Uganda would go to great lengths to acquire what they wanted. Dictatorship has not ended. The worst part of it is that it is now in a way “legitimized.” Killings and oppression go on, even under the nose of humanitarian watch.

State terrorism is committed by states against others, both nationally and internationally. This would include annexation, secession and invasions. But whether these are individual decisions or state-based decisions is a question that is debatable.

1.6 Research Methodology

The study will focus more on the period after the Cold War to the present, though there will be constant reference to terrorist activities in the ancient periods. September 11 2001 was a turning point in the study of international terrorism as the world’s greatest power came under attack. Most writings are from the experiences of this time and after the attack.

The materials for the study will be collected from the library (including an online library), archival material, newspapers, table, maps, past works and theses on terrorism, academic journals and magazines. Among these secondary sources will be the use of the internet, though this will be used sparingly and will have supporting evidence to substantiate it.

The method of analysis will be all descriptive. Tables and percentages will also be used.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Examining Terrorism in Retrospect

There have been various attempts made at defining terrorism which have resulted in a lack of one unanimous definition of terrorism. Governments, individual agencies within governments and many other organizations have defined terrorism according to what they feel. For some, terrorists are those who kill with no regards whatsoever to the citizens of a country or their victims; while to some, terrorists are those hindering freedom fighters from, say, anarchies. Thus, as said in Chapter One, the definition of a terrorist depends on who is doing the defining and where one is doing it from.

The term terrorism has created a lot of debate. Instead of agreeing on the classification of terrorism, social scientists, policymakers, lawyers and security specialists engage in heated debates over the meaning of the term. In other words, everybody categorizes violent examples like street crime as violence, but they cannot agree on what type of violence such examples represent. Not everyone is willing to call these examples "terrorism."  

H.A Cooper (1978), a renowned terrorist expert from the University of Texas at Dallas concedes that there indeed cannot be a consensus as to what terrorism really is. Cooper gives some of the reasons for the difficulty as the confusions that have arisen. For example, routine crimes assume greater social importance when they are described as terrorism, and political movements can be hampered when their followers are deemed as terrorists. Also, confusion arises in cases where governments use terror as the rule of law, for example through repression of political opposition, harassment of citizens and torture.

and arbitrary arrests. Governments of known tyrants have been known to have killed more citizens than modern terrorist groups. The Rwandese Genocide of 1994 can be seen as terrorism carried out against a particular tribe, but to others, it was ethnic cleansing.

Although this study focuses more on the international terrorism challenge posed by fundamental Islamic tendencies, it is important to note that this is not the only aspect of terrorism. There are many types of terrorism going on round the world like that between the Catholics versus Protestants in Ireland, the Hutus and the Tutsis in Rwanda, domestic terrorists like Timothy McVeigh in the Oklahoma City Bombing and the recent perspective that has seen the US as a terror nation, which has used military and diplomatic pressures to ensure corporate expansion and control, particularly in the realm of an "axis of oil."25

2.1 The Terrorist versus the Insurgent or Revolutionary

While there may exist many definitions of terrorism, it is agreeable that terrorism is about power, be it political, social, economic or religious. However, terrorism has been used synonymously with guerilla warfare, insurgencies, revolutionaries and freedom fighting. Members of these kinds of movements which include political parties and pressure groups like Ireland’s Sinn Fein do not label themselves as terrorists. Instead, they use terms like liberation as in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), or religion such as the Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) in Israel. These groups are viewed by their supporters as freedom fighters. The Mau Mau Movement in Kenya during the colonial period was seen by Kenyans as a group fighting to liberate Kenya from the jaws of colonialism. To the British colonialists, the Mau Mau was engaged in acts of terror that included the murdering of White settlers and home guards. Nevertheless, the results of

the actions of these groups result into political violence that has included many assassinations, terrorist bombings as well as thousands of deaths.

Guerilla warfare traditionally was used as an element of surprise, but in most of the Twentieth Century cases, it has on a major scale been linked to revolutionary warfare, a struggle between a non-government group and a government for political and social control of a people in a given national territory.\textsuperscript{26} Now, revolutionary wars have evolved from the guerilla phase into conventional warfare. Guerilla movements often use urban guerilla and terrorist acts to make their point. Rural guerilla warfare, though largely driven off the front pages of Western newspapers by the spectacular fashions of urban guerilla warfare, is still very much alive and probably accounts for many more deaths, though these are in the less developed parts of the world and are usually of local people. Rural populations are psychologically very vulnerable to terrorism. When there are terrorists prowling their villages at night, or liable to attack from the bushes when they are at work in the fields, the locals feel very insecure.

Peru's Shining Path (\textit{Sendero Luminoso}), which was founded by a Marxist Peruvian Professor Abimael Guzman, did not get directly involved in drug trade. But this did not stop it from extorting a levy on the cultivation and the movement of coca, or from accepting substantial contributions of arms and money from drug traffickers to prevent or deter the arm of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) from interfering in its affairs. This insurgency drew strength from poverty, the alienation of Peru’s Indian population and the patient political work of a generation. Flagrant terrorism has been both a strength and a weakness. This powerful and growing movement was badly set back by the capture, in 1992, of its leader.\textsuperscript{27}


\textsuperscript{27} See Mark Harmon, \textit{Terrorism Today}, p. 289
Urban guerilla warfare has proved to be a very effective way of destabilizing democratic societies and provoking an authoritarian takeover that works for the good of that particular country. A good example is in 1980 in Turkey where urban terrorists were killing so many people a day on the streets which provoked a military coup which was widely welcomed by an exasperated public. To his credit, General Evrem kept his word and restored parliamentary democracy to Turkey two days later. In the recent times, terrorism has been used to denote a broader phenomenon. As opposed to revolutionaries, terrorism has become associated with surrogate warfare whereby a so perceived weaker or stronger group exercises violence on another without the risk of retribution. This extends to the fact that this group can even confront a larger more powerful group in this way. Terrorism has shifted its meaning again from an individual phenomenon of substantial violence to one of several elements, or of a wider pattern, of non-state conflict.⁴⁸

Terrorists see themselves on the defensive side. That they are forced to take up arms and defend themselves. They see themselves as being driven into the actions they undertake; that they have no other alternative but violence. They see themselves as victims of, say, a repressive state or an ideal or a world that will not listen to them. This kind of self-denial distinguishes the terrorist from other types of political extremists. A communist or a revolutionary, for example, would readily accept and admit that he is in fact a communist or a revolutionary.⁴⁹ Indeed, it is pride to him to declare himself as such. A terrorist will never acknowledge that he is one. But terrorists do portray themselves as bonafide freedom fighters.

⁴⁸ See Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, pp. 25-7
Guerilla traditionally implied a large group of armed individuals that operate as a military unit and attack enemy military forces. Some of these conquer and seize lands or property. Terrorists do not function in the open. Their armed units and do not seize lands. They tend to avoid direct military combat with the enemy and unlike the guerilla, rarely exercise any direct control or sovereignty either over territory or population.

2.2 An attempt at defining terrorism

Terrorism is generally defined as deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change. It is unanimous among governments and political scientists, that all acts of terrorists involve violence or its imminent threat. Terrorism wreaks havoc and repercussions that are devastating on the intended target. It is conducted by an organized group, be it national or non state and in the recent times, is very well orchestrated. But here again comes in the “terrorism lies in the eyes of the beholder” phrase. To an underground organization that uses terrorist acts, its definition of terrorism would be waging of war to acquire liberation, recognition or status. This study, as stated earlier, will focus more on the phrase “what they do to us,” and not “what we do to them.”

However, there have been various attempts at defining terrorism. Weinberg and Pedahzur (2003) see terrorism as an activity, and not an ideology. Terrorism to them is an activity that a variety of political groups and organizations engage in full-time or sporadically. These groups may employ terrorism in conjunction with other forms of political activity. The latter may range from making non-violent propaganda to more intense types of violence, as in a civil war. American law (Title 22 of the US Code, Section 2656f (d) defines terrorism as: “Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to

30 See David Whittaker, p.9

influence an audience..." 32 Terrorism is intended to instill fear; revenge through psychological torture. Its definition lies in its psychological effects on the victims. The Oxford Dictionary defines a terrorist as a person who uses violent and intimidating methods of coercing a government or community. 33

Terrorism is about the pursuing and acquiring of power. In turn, this power is used to achieve political power. Terrorism is violence – or equally important, the threat of violence – used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of, a political aim. Terrorism is seen to be an act that is systematic and well planned. Terrorism involves exploitation of fear after first creating it. One reason for the power of terrorism as a political label, and hence for its controversialist tendency, is not only its usefulness but its symbolic appeal. Terrorism has acquired a political value that can outlast short-term strategic failures. It persists despite negative outcomes. Terrorism project images, communicates messages, and creates myths that transcend historical circumstances and motivate future generations.

These myths may of course be deceptive or contradictory. It may be true of much terrorism (especially the more discriminating forms) that audiences react with both admiration for its daring and revulsion at its cruelty. It is easy for terrorism to become the cutting edge of a movement and to define an ideology. Undeniably, it possesses an aura of perversely tragic glamour. 34

Terrorism is used by individuals or groups to achieve their objectives. Christopher Harmon (2000) agrees with Thomas Thornton (1964) that terrorism is always political,

32 See Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, p. 38
34 Martha Crenshaw, Terrorism in Context, (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), pp. 11-12
even when it also includes other motives like religious ones. Terrorism is deliberate and is intended to maim targets. Terrorism is also sometimes used behind what would seem to be civil legitimized action. Harmon continues to give the definition of terrorism from a military perspective and sees it as a form of fighting which manifests characteristics of war.

Terrorism is the use of force to achieve a goal but the activities of most terrorist movements cannot be classified as a war because they do not produce the minimum number of fatalities established by Small and Singer (most of their casualties are suffered by civilians rather than recognized armed forces). Whether constituting war or not, terrorism is most rapidly expanding its use of force in the international system. Terrorism is the use of violence when the most important result is not the physical and mental damage of the direct victims but the psychological effect produced on someone else. Terrorism also involves, in addition to the act, the emotion and the motive of the terrorist. Violence may result in death, injury or destruction of property or deprivation of liberty. It becomes terror when the significant aim is not to attain these ends but, through these to terrorize people other than those directly assaulted. Zelic and Alexander (1985: p. 19) see violence linked with terror, in which the intention is to harm the direct victim, but the assault ids linked to an act of terror after which either preceded or followed it. There is also violence linked to terror in cases such as the freezing of a terrorist.

Terrorism is a pattern found in seemingly non-terrorist political contexts and throughout the world. The trait which often characterized this sort of terrorism is a sense of absolutism felt by the terrorist. His action is premised on an assumption of the existence of an absolute value. Terrorism in the service of an absolute value has a kind of psychologically reinforcing effect; that is, the extreme nature of the terrorist action results in reifying the absolutism of the value.

Terrorism is intimidation that is lethal. It can be both physical and for psychological text is a tool used for exerting social, psychological and political pressure on those it is
intended for. When at home, one will find a parent who advocates for his own child to beat or bully other children in school if provoked. In the same way, Nazi Storm Troopers harassed German Jews by arousing their neighbours against them, by smashing their homes and their shops and later by personal violence.35 The United Kingdom (UK) government has defined terrorism as “the use of threat, for the purpose of advancing political, religious or ideological cause of action which involves serious violence against any person or property.”36 Gurr (1989) describes terrorism as some kind of unexpected violence exerted to coerce people. This is with the objective of attaining political or social objectives. Gibbs described terrorism as “illegal violence or threatened violence against human or non-human objects,” so long as that violence meets additional criteria such as secretive features and unconventional warfare.37

Whittaker gives a definition composition by terrorist experts as:38

The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political and social objectives (FBI); Contributes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted (Walter Lacquer); A strategy of violence designed to promote desired outcomes by instilling fear in the public at large (Walter Reich); The use or threatened use of force designed to bring about political change (Brian Jenkins)

35 Richard Clutterbuck, Terrorism in an Unstable World, (Routledge, 1994), p. 34
36 See David Whittaker, editor, The Terrorism Reader, p. 1
38 See David Whittaker, p.1
Carr (2002: p. 6) defines terrorism as, “the contemporary name given to, and the modern permutation of warfare deliberately waged against civilizations with the purpose of destroying their will to support either their readers or policies that the agents of such violence find objectionable.” The Omnibus Diplomatic Security and Antiterrorism Act (US Congress, 1986) said that terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence designed to intimidate or coerce a government or a civilian population in the furtherance of political and social objectives.39

2.3 Attempting at classifying types of terrorism

Academic experts have come up with typologies of terrorism. Gus Martin has identified five types of terrorism starting with state terrorism that is committed by states against what these states see as enemies. This can be both within domestic agents or international. This is the same as Paul Wilkinson classifications in one of his early works “Political Terrorism” (1974). To Lacquer, state terrorism is used to frighten its citizens into obeying what has been put as the law. Some states are also known to sponsor terrorist groups in other states, or even ignore pleas for appeal by a state to help end the violence. Wilkinson (1986: pp. 37-55) sees state sponsored terrorism as a tactic used in international conflict. He further classifies terrorism into nationalistic terrorism which is conducted when a people want to break free from a colonial power or change the existing composition of an existing government without changing the ideological structure. Revolutionary terrorism is used to change the political ideology of a social or political unit. Both nationalistic and revolutionary terrorism can stand independently or be sponsored by a state.40

Dissident terrorism is terrorism committed by non state movements and groups against, ethno-national groups, religious and other targets. Religious terrorism is motivated by an absolute belief that a superpower approves or has sent a terrorist to do what he does.

39 See Jonathan R. White, p.7
40 Ibid, p. 14
Islamic fundamentalism is growing fast especially in the Middle East. Groups like the Jamiya Islamiyya and the Hezbollah (Army of God) carry out terrorist acts in the name of holy wars of jihad. Criminal terrorism is motivated by gain. Here, organizations like the Mafia accumulate profits from criminal activity for personal aggrandizement. This includes narco-terrorism (drug terrorism). The Tamil Tigers movement is the best known against the state of Sri Lanka. It is responsible for devastating urban bombings in Colombo and scores of terror attacks annually. This organization accumulates profits to sustain itself. Wilkinson says that criminal terrorism is easily approached because it is less controversial than the other types. Criminal terrorists carry out their acts either for profit or just psychological gratification.

International terrorism in its present form is a relatively learnt phenomenon. It is largely urban (though some rural guerillas do also receive foreign support). Urban terrorist techniques include using political violence. They do this as they prefer to avoid inflicting human casualties for fear of alienating public sympathy. International terrorism has escalated to incomprehensible levels in the international system today. Little by little, casualties are becoming larger with every strike. Slobodan Milosevic had to answer at the International Criminal Court (ICC) at The Hague, where testimony turned to an infamous incident in a Kosovo village called Racak. On January 15 1999, Serb forces carried out a civilian massacre according to the American diplomat who headed an international observer mission to the province. William Walker told of finding dozens of dead Albanians lying in heaps in blood-soaked fields, many of them elderly and shot at close range. The atrocity was decisive in setting the stage for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) intervention and Milosevic’s subsequent arrest and extradition.41

International terrorism spills over into other states of the world. Targets are selected because of the value as symbols of international interests. Schweitzer (1998:p. 290) sees a new kind of terrorism called superterrorism. This includes chemical and biological

41 Newsweek Magazine, Issue Number 25, June 24, 2002
agents, plastic explosives and cyber attacks against electronic networks. States fear other states acquiring nuclear energy. Advances in technology provide leeway for terrorism, even in the future. The world is slowly becoming one global village and as thus if one country is affected, all others get affected, be it business, militarily or even economic co-operation. Conflict that is growing among states does contribute to terrorism. For instance, Iraq’s use of scud missiles against Israel, an ally of the US during the Gulf War shows Iraq’s dissatisfaction with the US. Also, the constant talk of acquiring nuclear energy between India and Pakistan constitute the threat of terror, and other military powers may be dragged into the mess.

In its initial stages, terrorism is usually in small units of armed attacks on civilian or minor military targets. As the movement gains strength, the size of the units increase and the organization is able to carry out large scale and/or combined simultaneous operations. This may even include open battle. Terrorism is a war of escalation and is about numbers- how many numbers; because a terrorist kills because to him, numbers are of importance.

2.4 Terrorism as a strategy

Terrorists believe that they have no other way to achieve their objectives except through violence. Terrorism in this way is seen as a desperate act. The violence terrorists utilize is viewed as atrocity because many of the deaths and acts of destruction caused have no purpose but to bring attention to their cause. Hedley Bull has argued that there are certain minimal requirements which are pre-conditions for the existence of all societies like security against violence, respect for agreements and stability for possessions. But in the world of the terrorist, all of the above must be broken for the impact to be felt. To achieve this, terrorist activities have continued to gain worldwide attention by continuing to be more spectacular. Members of a terrorist organization receive formal high-class training in weaponry and combat. They are well connected all over the world and their communication network is advanced and as well developed as for the groups that are developed to combat terrorists like special military units.
Terrorism is a strategy because it is a chief means to advance political ends. Terrorism is aimed at the public in general. It targets civilians, the unarmed and the innocent. Terrorists always claim “a new order” in their endeavor. For example, the genocide in Rwanda targeted Tutsis. Adolf Hitler in Germany, in his endeavor to create a new pure Aryan race, massacred millions of Jews in the Holocaust. The very essence of terrorism is in the calculated use of violence to spread alarm through a wider audience; the actual target may be almost incidental to desired effects, which expand outward like shock waves. 42

2.4.1 Some weapons of terrorists

Perhaps the most dangerous weapon of terrorists is the human mind. Their aim is to instill fear in the human mind, which sometimes has far more devastating effects than bombings. The very root of terrorism is to induce fear either in an individual or government or a group in order for them to change a decision or behaviour. When victims are devastated psychologically, this is where terrorists derive their strength. When terrorist violence in this way is used, weaker groups are able to influence stronger groups while the latter are able to exploit and intimidate the former. Gus Martin (2003:p. 246) says that cultural symbols, political institutions, and public leaders are just a few of the examples of targets, which the public deem as almost sacred, that can affect large populations when attacked. One of the reasons for why great results are achieved using this psychological weapon is that by inducing widespread fear to the public, there always looms a constant fear and uncertainty as to whom the next target will be, or where the terrorist activity will occur. The terrorists instill some kind of uncontrollability in that as a human being, one cannot control his life, when to feel safe, when to have fun and so on. Terrorists instill a sense of personal and societal vulnerability where individuals do not feel safe anywhere. For instance, if there was a terrorist bomb explosion that knocks down all forms of communication and accessibility, victims are driven into more vulnerability and feelings of desolation.
Religion as a form of culture and values has often been used as a terrorist weapon. Many persecutions and warfare have been conducted in the name of religion. The Islami Inqilabi Mahaza, a Pakistani-based terrorist group, purely kills those it deems as opposing their vision of Islam’s rule on earth. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in the US was seen as a terrorist organization of white supremacy. After the civil war in America, this organization was responsible for the deaths of many blacks, Catholics and Jews. Religious terrorists act on behalf of a supernatural decision to bring about a new world order. The Covenant, the Sword, and the Army of the Lord (CSA) in Arkansas, USA was an apocalyptic religious and racial supremacist organization. It sought to fulfill its apocalyptic vision by hastening the end of time to pave way for a new religious and racial age. Religiously motivated groups have varied belief systems and operate using different strategies and ideologies. Paul Wilkinson (2001: p. 61) points out groups like the Hezbollah and Hamas who even have the ability of running for elections, while groups such as the Aum Shinrikyo and the cults in America are the imprisoned in their own dogma. Religious fanaticism is most volatile because it involves values that are deeply held. Most of the religions of the world feel that they have a right to protect their religion, beliefs, culture and values from external “desecration” and possible extinction, and sometimes will go to great lengths, including force, to get converts and protect their faith. They do all this in the name of divine intervention and sanctions, lest they lose their identity. The possibility of losing language, religion, group membership, native territory and so forth trigger extremely violent behaviour.

Terrorists also use firearms whose essentials have not very much changed since the 1940s, that is, handguns and bombs. Firearms and other hand-held weapons continue to be the most used by terrorists owing to their small size. There are also those that are light and those that are heavy. These firearms include pistols, rifles, mortars, sub-machine guns, assault rifles, machine guns, rocket-propelled grenades, pistols, and precision-guided munitions. Submachine guns like the 9mm Heckler and Koch have been

42 See Christopher Harmon, p. 45
miniaturized. Even though new models of machine guns have been designed, like the Israeli Uzi, old models are still much in use by terrorists. Assault rifles like the Kalashnikov’s AK-47 is the most famous among guerrillas, soldiers and even terrorists. Here also lies the American made M-16 rifle that is now popular among many terrorist organizations.

Rocket-Propelled Grenades like the RPG-7 is used by terrorists especially those in the Middle East, Asia and Latin America. This is because these weapons are easy to operate but very powerful. They can be used against armour and bunkers or buildings. Precision-guided munitions, though found rarely among terrorists are extremely effective when used. These are weapons that can be guided to their targets by using infrared or other tracking devices. The American-made Stinger is a shoulder-fired surface-to-air missile that has an infrared tracking system. It was delivered to the Afghan Mujahideen during their anti-Soviet jihad and was used very effectively against Soviet helicopters and other aircraft. The Soviet made SA-7, also known as the Grail, is also an infrared-targeted surface-to-air missile. Both the Stinger and the grail pose a significant threat to commercial airlines and other aircraft.⁴³

Terrorists also use explosives in their activities, most of which are hand-made and improvised rather than manufactured by military industries. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) for example uses a modest commercial truck, one that cannot be easily suspected, whose walls are lined with explosives. This truck is driven onto the street with nobody paying attention to it and left outside a target building. The driver of the truck then gets out and detonates the bomb from far away by use of an electronic beeper. Terrorists use military-grade mines to plant in the soil. These can also be rigged to be detonated as booby traps. There are mines that are designed to kill people and there are those designed to blow up armoured vehicles. Improvised bombs are constructed from commercially available explosives such as dynamite, whereas others are manufactured from

⁴³ See Gus Martin, Understanding Terrorism, p. 256
military-grade compounds. Some compounds found in a terrorist bomb include plastic explosives. These can be easily molded. The central component of these plastic explosives is the RDX compound. Semtex is a very potent plastic explosive from Czechoslovakia. It is popular among terrorists. The IRA uses barrels full of farm fertilizers that are buried beneath a bridge or a road. Then, as army convoy passes, this “bomb” is detonated by a small charge of Semtex. Semtex is one of the world’s most lethal and pliable chemical compounds, The Composite-4 (C-4) made in the US is a powerful plastic explosive. This is less expensive and cheaper to obtain than Semtex. C-4 is mostly used by US intelligence like the Criminal Intelligence Agency (CIA) but has found its way into the hands of terrorists.

ANFO explosives are manufactured from ammonium nitrate fertilizer that has been soaked in fuel oil. Other compounds can be added to make it more explosive. Timothy McVeigh used an ANFO bomb in the Oklahoma Bombing on the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building on April 19, 1995 at 9:02 a.m.

In conjunction with the explosive used, triggers are sophisticatedly made to shape explosive charges to control the direction of the blast. Timed bombs have triggers that are rigged to detonate after a specified period of time. Fuses are a very old and low-technology method of detonating bombs. Lighting a fuse that detonates can be timed by varying its length. Pressure triggers detonate when physical pressure is applied to a trigger. Trip-wires may be used as a variation on physical pressure. There are sophisticated triggers that react to barometric pressure like wind change, or when an airliner descends or ascends in the skies. Electronic triggers are controlled via remote or by a radio signal, while the high-technology triggers are activated by motion, heat or light.

Bombs are another tool used by terrorists. Famous among this is the gasoline bomb. A bottle is filled with gasoline and for a trigger; a rag that has been lit is used. Other

44 Ibid
ingredients can be added to create a gelling effect for the bomb, which causes the combustible ingredient to stick to surfaces.\textsuperscript{45} Pipe bombs are filled with gunpowder and then capped on both ends. These are then attached to shrapnel like nails and screws. The German Second World War bombs have been modified and used to carry out attacks. Vehicular bombs are those rigged in trucks or cars. These are used largely now in Iraq. They are easy to construct since they are mobile. The bombing of the US Embassy in Kenya on August 7\textsuperscript{th}, 1998 is a good example of ground vehicles that have been wired with explosives. Barometric bombs act in the same way as pressure triggers. In this way, an airliner can be blown up in midair as the cabin pressure changes.

Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) have become a major concern in the world system today. WMDs include biological agents, chemical agents, radiological agents and nuclear weapons. Biological agents are weapons that are “living organisms… or infective material derived from them, which are intended to cause death, disease in man, animals and plants, and which depend on their ability to multiply in the person, animal or plant attacked.” \textsuperscript{46} Included here are viruses, fungi, and bacteria. Anthrax threat letters had been sent to US intelligence immediately after 9-11. Smallpox is a virus that is contagious. It can be deadly if it proceeds to the stage of black pox, a stage of hemorrhaging. Botulism is some kind of food poisoning. This if inhaled or ingested can be very deadly. Bubonic plague leads to a disease called Black Death. This was mostly in Medieval Europe. Bubonic plague is spread by fleas infected by bacteria which bite hosts. This plague is highly contagious.

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid, p. 257
\textsuperscript{46} Jessica Eve Stern, Un General Assembly, Report of the Secretary- General on Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of Their Possible Use (UNGA)
Chemical agents are weapons that are "chemical substances, whether gaseous, liquid, or solid which are used for hostile purposes to cause disease or death in humans, animals or plants, and which depend on direct toxicity for their primary effect." Chemical agents may be bought from local manufacturers. Others can be obtained by mixing up ingredients. Chemical agents include the following:

- Phosgene gas causes the lungs to fill with water choking the victim.
- Chlorine gas destroys the cells that line the respiratory tract.
- Mustard gas is actually a mist rather than a gas. It is a blistering agent that blisters skin, eyes, and the nose and can severely damage the lungs if inhaled.
- Nerve gases, such as sarin, tarbun, and VX, block (or "short-circuit") nerve messages in the body. A single drop of a nerve agent, whether inhaled or absorbed through the skin, can shut down the body's neurotransmitters.

On March 20, 1995, members of the Japanese Aum Shinrikyo, an international religious cult founded by Shoko Asahara, prepared for total war against Japan and its people. It released a few packages of sarin gas to Tokyo's Kasamigaseki train station. This killed a few people and caused a lot of injuries. "It took ... several weeks to barrow their search to the Aum Sect, locate its leaders, and seize some of their arsenal despite the fact that Aum was not a secret organization but one that depicted the face of their guru and leader, Shoko Asahara."

Radiological agents are materials that, in order to threaten life, must be "ingested, or

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47 Ibid, pp. 21-22
48 Ibid.
absorbed through the skin,” in sufficient quantities.50 “Dirty bombs” emit clouds of contaminated radioactive dust. Radioactive elements that could be used in a dirty bomb include plutonium, uranium, cobalt 60, strontium, and cesium 137. Nuclear weapons that are highly explosive include uranium and plutonium. After going off, nuclear explosions send radioactive materials in the air that pose a toxic disaster. The famous example would be bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan during the Second World War.

Human bombs have now become a conventional way for terrorists to attack. This follows the words of the Chinese philosopher Wu Ch’i “one man willing to throw away his life is enough to terrorize a thousand.” 51 Human bombs have advantages over the other weapons because they are “cheap” to obtain and possess the ability to think and make decisions. There is a tendency for terrorists to use one of the most undetectable bomb of all – children. Suicide bombers and kamikaze pilots are on the increase like in the bombing of the Twin Tower in the US on September 11th 2001. Suicide bombings follow the line where thousands of Japanese pilots flew planes packed with explosives on missions to crash into American naval vessels during the Second World War. It emanates from the Thirteenth Century Japanese legend that holds that when warriors faced great resistance during war, they prayed to the gods. The gods sent a small storm known as the Divine Wind or “kamikaze.”52 This time, terrorists see their deaths as a sacrifice for a worthy cause.

Drugs are also used as a tool, for achieving ends by terrorists. Especially in Latin America, narco-terrorism is rife because drug trafficking brings a lot of income that helps sustain terrorist organizations. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fueraz

50 See Jessica Stern, p. 26
Armadas Revolucionares de Colombia (FARC) participated in the drug trade. The proceeds got from this helped finance its revolution and in turn, FARC was able to disentangle itself from dependence on aid from outside. Terrorists use torture beheadings, murder, assassinations, hijacking and hostage-taking among tactics to achieve their objectives.

In Latin America, cocaine trade is the most rampant activity. The money got from this trade is used in corrupt exercise of power over politicians and judiciaries. They also finance terrorist movements whose role is to keep government forces form interfering with the cultivation and processing of coca and to prepare and protect the hundreds of airstrips from which the coca paste is flown out. The People’s Revolutionary Army in Argentina, though not prominent, participates in numerous extortions. Additionally, there has been concern about agro-terrorism, in which food supplies could be destroyed through genetic engineering or bacterial infections.

2.5 Critically assessing the causes of global terrorism

Finding out the underlying causes of terrorism has caused a lot of debate. But one thing is for sure, that whatever these causes are, they pose a major risk, both nationally and internationally. The US chose to respond to the shocking 2001 September 11th attack by Al-Qaeda with a strong response against Afghanistan’s Taliban. This strong military response was endorsed and supported by a majority of 420 to 1 congressional votes in the House and 98 to zero in the Senate. There are so many causes of terrorism which are arguable. Most of the developing world for example suffers from poverty, social

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54 See Gus Martin, p. 147
55 See Fathali M. Moghaddam and Anthony J. Marsella, p. 19
injustice, political instability and unemployment. But this frustration does not always lead to acts of terrorism in all the nations. Israel’s Hezbollah (Party of God) is a Lebanese Shi’ite organization that is famous for the kidnappings of many Western foreigners especially those in Beirut, Lebanon. The Los Macheteros (The Machete Wielders) from Puerto Rico was opposed to US imperialism and the island’s status as a US commonwealth, while Sri Lanka’s Janata Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) People’s Liberation Army) drives for state power.

The root causes for radical Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East may reside in history and culture, but their precipitative cause lies in the contemporary events that trigger long-festering wounds and burdens. Past memories of humiliation and defeat become magnified in contemporary life that is full of struggles. The causes that spark off tensions now reflect century-old struggles. Thus, the cycle continues with new responses simply adding to the accumulated problems such that all the players are locked into nonnegotiable positions. Blame is assigned easily, the conflict escalates and escalates and acquires increasing complexity and solutions become more and more elusive. War becomes the only option in the minds of many.

Take a case study of Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda against the US. Osama resents the West for imposing indignities to the Islamic World and has thus to stop this. Moghaddam and Marsella (2004) have summarized Osama bin Laden’s laments on the US as:

God is on their side; Their Islamic cause is just; Muslims have for a long time been abused and thus the US has to pull out its troops from Islamic sites;

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56 See Christopher Harmon, p. 286
57 Ibid, p. 285
58 See Fathali M. Moghaddam and Anthony J. Marsella, p. 37
59 Ibid.
That Al-Qaeda is the voice representing the poor and the oppressed; that it is payback time for Islam against the US; culture created by the US forced down the throats of people in the world is a danger to Islam especially because of its aspects of materialism, abuses of power and privilege; history has spoken – Islam had won in the past and will win again.

Terrorists may carry out their acts as a revengeful act. For instance, when a Palestinian is killed by Israeli troops, the anger and hate drives the Palestinians to react using, say, a suicidal bomber in Israel. Formal indoctrination during the life of a terrorist may play a role in terrorism. Phrases like “You will live forever in glory, as a hero of the people as a martyr,” motivate terrorists. According to Volkan, young Islamic suicidal-homicidal recruits are told to read Qu’ranic verses “think not of those who are slain in God’s way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord.”61 This psychological motive, coupled with the external incentive, be it fame, reward, glory and martyrdom) makes them carry out terrorist acts.

2.6 Place of media on the global terrorist world map

The Oxford dictionary (1998: p. 505) defines media as the main means of mass communication (especially newspapers and broadcasting) regarded collectively. Media encompasses all forms of information, info-tainment and entertainment. This includes radio, television, films, theatre, visual arts, and internet. The media has been used to cause widespread terror and relay messages to perceived enemies. The media is an important source of information because it has the power of swaying public opinion. Terrorists use the media to keep the world informed of their activities and that they mean business. They use propaganda to inform of an intended bombing, statement or

assassination. Propaganda is deliberate and is used to spread the interpretation of terrorists of the truth. But this is relative because this truth could be either half-truth or just plain lies.

Terrorists relish attention and the more their activities are aired on television or other forms of the media, the more they are motivated to attack. Originally, the media should just report news but in practice, the media has now become the disseminator of the terrorists’ message. And people are likely to watch a television station that is airing terrorists’ news. As long as terrorists commit acts of violence, the mass media will continue to scramble for coverage to satisfy a huge audience. Also as the media exists, terrorists will hunger for publicity.

But the media may work to the detriment of a society for example if they pre-empt an authority’s efforts in attempts to saving hostages. Terrorists use the media to continue spreading the fear that is already in place among their targets. This also helps draw out public support and sympathy from the general audience, even though with hints of criticism and outrage. Terrorists also use the media to frustrate the efforts of authorities at their capture and scoffing at their methods at capturing them. Terrorists use the media to mobilize, incite and boost their consistency of actual and potential supporters and in so doing to increase recruitment, raise more funds and inspire further attack.  

*Al-Jazeera* in Qatar is one of the populous news services in the Middle East. It has covered extensively the terrorist activities in Afghanistan to the airing of Osama bin Laden released by Al-Qaeda. The fear in the US was that uninterested broadcasts could spread enemy propaganda or send messages to sleeper cells. For this reason, American news services were asked to limit *Al-Jazeera* coverage.  

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63 See Gus Martin, p. 293
Proponents of the free press argue that full exposure of terrorism and the terrorists' grievances should be encouraged. In this way, the public can become completely informed about the nature of terrorism in general and about the motives of specific terrorists. Thus "defenders of media coverage feel that it enhances public understanding of terrorism and reinforces public hostility toward terrorists." Regulating of the media remains a challenge for democratic societies that stress on free and liberal press rights. It is however simple for state-regulated press societies and authoritarian regimes because all these governments have to do is prohibit certain reporting.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Case Studies: Terrorism in the Middle East

Terrorism in the Middle East is one of complex social, historical and economic factors. The historical part is more important to understand the presence of terrorism in the Middle East. Firstly, in the 1800s, the Ottoman Turkish Empire experienced strains to their land because the empire was falling apart. There were all sorts of nationalistic, tribal and family wars. As these chaos escalated, so did the threat from external forces like foreigners. Russia, Germany, Great Britain and France tried to intervene in this chaos in order to bring some sort of order. These countries used military force to do so. Each European country was willing to promise potential rebels many things, if they revolted against the Turks. Realistically, few of those promises could be kept.\footnote{See Jonathan R. White, p. 132}

Secondly, between 1896 and 1906, Jews from Europe that had been alienated from their homeland for thousands of years wanted to finally settle and create their own nation. There are those that moved to Argentina and those that “muscled in” into Palestine, uninvited by the Palestinian Arabs. Thirdly, between 1914 and 1918, European armies went to World War One. In doing so, they engulfed the Middle East. All this time, they still made their promises to the rebels. When the war ended, there was a feeling that the Turks had been defeated. The Middle East was thus divided by the victorious nations, to share the spoils of victory. This was to however cause political problems in future.

For the years to come in the Middle East there arose a lot of instability especially with respect about the political control of Palestine, who would rule the Arab world and the relations between the Sunni and the Shi’ites Muslims. These problems, though separate
were largely intertwined, a trait observed up to date. The problems in the Middle East are caused by the Palestinian question, intra-Arab rivalries and the Iranian Revolution. In the Middle East, there is a unanimous hatred for Israel. Though these Arab groups do not favour Palestine, they resent the presence of a European created non-Arab state, Israel. This further deepens the conflict between Israel and Palestine. The Hebron Mosque Massacre, on February 25th 1994, saw Baruch Goldstein fire at worshippers at a holy site in the city of Hebron, Israel. This New-York born physician shot at the worshippers with an Israeli assault rifle. According to official government estimates, Baruch killed 29 people and wounded another one hundred and twenty five. Unofficial estimates reported fifty people dead. In response to this, Palestinian Hamas launched a massive suicide bombing campaign on Israeli targets. Terrorism in the Middle East has largely been caused by anti-Western sentiments. The recent withdrawal of foreign troops and workers from Iraq is a clear indication that the presence of the West in some countries in the Middle East is unwelcome.

Another factor is the Pan Arabic or Pan Islamic orientation of terrorist groups. Although these groups fight in factions, they strive for a united Islam. Kinship bonds in the Middle East further exacerbate the already existing strains. In most cases, familial bonds surpass national ties. In November of 1979, during the Grand Mosque Hajj in Mecca, some radicals had plotted to start an uprising that would topple the ruling Saudi royal family. But this was not to be, as with the help of the Saudi Army and some French counterterrorist commandos had been called in, most of the radicals were killed and some later executed by the Saudi government. During the chaos, the Iranian radio accused the US and Israel of plotting the uprising.

65 Ibid
67 See Gus Martin, Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives and Issues, p. 198
68 See Gus Martin, p. 198
Violence in the Middle East is largely interdependent. Its spill-over effects have become a force to contend with in the global world. Although these disputes are largely national or internal, the intended targets become internationalized such that the real source of terrorism becomes hidden. Terrorism from the Middle East has spilt over to the West. Arabs that have gone, say, to countries in Europe either are a target, or are in sleeper cells.

**Hamas - Movement of Islamic Resistance**

This organization came up as a result of the Intifada, an uprising in 1987. This Palestinian organization has Sunni Muslims as its greatest concentration. Its position is that Israel should not exist. It fights for the territories controlled by Israel. Hamas sees Israel as a traitor of the Muslim population. Thus, Hamas seeks to abolish Israel and create a harmonized realm of the Arab world. Hamas is a large, well-financed and organized group. It has many bases in the Middle East and in the US.

The group registered as a religious organization with the Israeli government in 1978, and its stated purpose was evangelical. Members attempted to convert followers into a more pristine version of Islam. They worked through universities, schools and mosques. In the 1980s however, as Arafat gravitated toward moderation, the Brotherhood maintained its rigid views on the unification of the realm of Arabs and the necessity to rule through Islamic law. When the Intifada begun with the demand for Palestinian self-government, the brotherhood rejected the call.⁶⁹

Amidst Hamas, some moderate groups emerged. Yasser Arafat tried to work with these groups in order to stop the terrorist killings, but Hamas has as its main aim to disrupt these attempts at peace. Initially, Hamas begun killings with small knives and arms, but now it has graduated to car and bus bombings. It has been held responsible, and even sometimes declared itself as the perpetrator of hundreds of killings since 1989.

⁶⁹ See Jonathan R. White, p. 132
Hamas was the first group to initiate a suicide bombing campaign. The human-bomb candidates were recruited into the Hamas Izzedine Al-Qassam Brigade cells with the aim of targeting Israeli civilians via Israeli’s transportation system. These suicide bombers use vehicular bombs among others.

Beginning in 2001, suicide bombers from sectarian Hamas and the secular PLO-affiliated Al Aqsa Martyr Brigades carried out dozens of attacks against civilian targets, killing scores of people. The targets were selected to disrupt the everyday life in Israel. This was not the first suicide bombing campaign in Israel but it was by far the most sustained and lethal campaign. During the eighteen-month period beginning in the winter of 2001, nearly a hundred suicide bombings occurred. The following timeline illustrates the marked increase in the number of attacks in 2001.70

- 1993: 13 attacks
- 1994: 7 attacks
- 1995: 8 attacks
- 1996: 4 attacks
- 1997: 4 attacks
- 1998: 2 attacks
- 1999: 0 attacks
- 2000: 4 attacks
- 2001: 36 attacks

The Palestinian Liberation Army (PLO)

Whereas Hamas fights for the Palestinians through terrorism, the PLO rejects terrorism. The PLO was formed in 1964 when Yasser Arafat took over control. Arafat became a pragmatic peacemaker and being not able to break Israel, accepted the existence of Israel

70 Amanda Ripley, “Why Suicide Bombing is Now All the Rage,” Time, April 15, 2002
and renounced terrorism in order to create a Palestinian homeland. This peace process has suffered numerous setbacks, mainly from Hamas attacks.

The PLO has many factions, including the Fatah and the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) led by Abu Abbas. This faction was responsible for the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship. This faction is based in Iraq and has received support from Baghdad and from Tripoli.\(^1\)

At one time, the PLO became splintered. Abu Nidal (Sabri-al-Bana) used to be Yasser Arafat’s comrade-in-arms. He broke away from Arafat in 1975 and started his own group, the Black June. He authorized the murder of many Palestinian moderates in 1973, as Arafat was shifting away from terrorism. Abu’s largest support base was in Libya. His organization was largely sponsored by multinational corporations and is controlled by strict discipline. Abu Nidal had killed nearly one third of the members of his own organization to make sure his wishes were followed. His organization was well ordered and based in several nations of the world.

*Hezbollah (Party of God)*

This organization is made up of Lebanon’s Shi’ites who are the majority of Lebanon’s Muslims. These are characteristically poor and have less political influence among Lebanon’s religious groups (like the Sunnis, Maronite Christians and Druze). Although it is a guerilla organization, it does participate in the welfare of Shi’ites. *Hezbollah* provides social services to its followers, such as schools, medical services. It has been engaged in a variety of business ventures, including supermarkets, bakeries, building, farming, bookshops and clothing stores. This it does partly to finance its terrorist activities.\(^2\) *Hezbollah’s* main patron is Iran.

\(^1\) See Christopher C. Harmon, p. 287

Hezbollah was born during Lebanon’s civil war and Israel’s 1982 invasion. Hezbollah championed for Lebanon’s independence and justice for the Shi’ites. Hezbollah considers Israel an enemy of Muslims, and Iran as its big brother. One leader stated that, “Our relationship with the Islamic Revolution (in Iran) is one of a junior to a senior...of a soldier to his commander...”73 Iran has been known to train, fund and offer logistical support for Hezbollah. Hezbollah was reputed for its kidnappings of Western foreigners especially those in Beirut. It went on further to attack Israeli defense forces. It has grown into a sophisticated group with its own television station. Hezbollah’s activities are as shown in the appendix.

Al Qaeda (The Base)

This is not an organization, but a loose network of Islamic revolutionaries. Gus Martin (2003) says that Al-Qaeda is unique compared to other movements because:

“It holds no territory; it does not champion the aspirations of an ethno-national group; it has no “top-down” organizational structure; it has virtually non-existent state sponsorship; it promulgates political demands that are vague at best.”

Al Qaeda has members and supporters all over the world. It uses terrorism as routine. Al Qaeda seeks to bring all the Muslim extremist groups throughout the world to bring about an Islamic revolutionary network and expel Westerners from Islamic regions. Osama bin Laden, its leader, established training camps in Sudan and Afghanistan. Other members are got from other Muslim and European countries. This is an organization network with sophisticated communication efforts. It uses faxes, cell phones, emails and the internet. It is divided into hundreds of cells distributed all over the world. Some cells are “sleeper cells.” Sleeper cells are groups of terrorists who take up long-term residence in countries.

prior to attacks. For example, most of the September 11th 2001 hijackers entered the US for the express purpose of committing terrorist acts; they were never propositioned as sleepers to be activated at a later date.\textsuperscript{74}

Al Qaeda has been involved in many international terrorist activities including the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City, the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, the 2000 attack on the USS Cole Destroyer in Aden, Yemen, and the September 11 2001 attack on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. The Al-Qaeda network epitomizes the emerging profile of a transnational revolutionary consciousness among Islamic radicals.

3.1 Terrorism in Africa

The major frontier of terrorism especially international terrorism generally is not necessarily poor against rich, or south against north. Feary (1981: p. 202) says that what is on the horizon for the rest of this century may well be south-south international terrorism, though by no means exclusively like the atrocity in Burma in 1983 against South Korean visitors (attributed to Koreans).

Libya in Africa is well known for its state-sponsoring of terrorist activities. Libya is well endowed with oil resources and has a charismatic leader, colonel Qadaffi. Though an arch-terrorist, he has now made conciliatory approaches towards his former “imperialist enemies” and has renewed relations with the British government. Amazingly, Qadaffi has gained international respect and acknowledgement. In most African nations, the military acts as the ruler. There is tendency to loot public resources and even going further to appropriate surplus by African leaders. In military regimes, violence is used to

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid, p. 235
appropriate wealth and call for coups if officers at the lower end of the rank are dissatisfied with their share. Ake (1978) says that even after all this, regardless of who is in charge; the economy is still dependent on foreign economies.

Opponents and supporters of Robert Mugabe’s government in Zimbabwe have been “guilty” of competing acts of terrorism. Uganda under Milton Obote was still agonizing over the terrorizing anarchy led by the legacy of Idi Amin. Angola suffered under the challenge of the UNITA rebels. The dissident Mozambique Resistance Movement forced Mozambique under the rule of FRELIMO to compromise with the racist government of South Africa. Ghana under Jerry Rawlings may also have left its worst terrorist record behind it. Countries such as Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania had indigenous programmes that pressured imperialist agents to gain independence. But this trend has been carried into contemporary scenario where rural class leaders demand a greater share of the economic surplus. In the West African countries, economic terrorism is prevalent. Onwudiwe (2001) says that citizens are denounced for some political crime and then are murdered or imprisoned and their property seized. Some are accused of being unpatriotic, slanderous and exploiting other groups. Enmity and suspicion is then built among groups or tribes. This leads to extreme violence and abuse that may sometimes lead to terrorism like the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.75

The latest horror as yet is the incidents in August 1998. On the 7th of this month, two massive bombs exploded outside of the US embassies in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya, killing about two hundred and twenty four people and injuring scores of others. Responsibility was traced to an Al Qaeda cell. Four years later, Al Qaeda struck again, and detonated the Israeli-owned Kikambala hotel in Mombasa, Kenya and simultaneously fired missiles at an Israeli passenger airliner taking off from Mombasa’s airport.

The above attacks for example are proof that no country, even Africa, is safe from terrorism. The lingering presence of terrorism in the region is helped by the conflict existing there. The Horn of Africa and the Greater Lakes Region conflicts are home to interlocking conflicts, weak and failing states, pervasive corruption, extreme poverty, susceptibility to weather ravages like drought and the rising disease pandemics like HIV/AIDS.

3.2 Terrorism in Latin America

Latin America has mostly experienced revolution, violence and repression. Political fluctuation makes it difficult to understand terrorism in Latin America and its colonial past and poverty serve to obscure many issues.\textsuperscript{76} The Carlos Marighella model has been copied by many extremists. Also, the drug trade contributes a lot to the terrorism. The Cali and Medellin Cartels, for example, were renowned for their domination in the cocaine trade during the 1980s and 1990s in Colombia. They would unleash a wave of terror against anyone that stood in their way. Cartels also were heavily engaged in bribery, extortion and bribing of government officials to keep them quiet. The FARC financed its revolution with drug money. This organization permitted cocaine traffickers to operate without interference so long as they paid a “tax” to the organization. This organization also protected the trade in their “liberated zones”, promising to liberate and protect peasants from exploitation by the drug lords. FARC established a kind of law, order, and predictability in its liberated zones that become popular among local peasants and small time drug traders. Because of this new enterprise, “the changes in FARC have been significant. As the revenue from the drug trade...expanded, so did the power and influence of FARC.”\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{76} See Jonathan R. White, p. 65

\textsuperscript{77} Frank Cilluffo, “The Challenges we Face as the Battle Lines Blur.” Statement before the US House Committee on International Relations, October 1, 1997
Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path)

This organization ran under the tutelage of Abimael Guzman, a Peruvian professor. This man believed himself to be Karl Marx’s fourth sword. Shining Path has a somewhat puritanical ideology laced with racial and mystical elements. This organization has popular support from the poor. It was a complete organization with a complex structure that had cellular organizations. The aim of the Shining Path was to create a new state. The guerilla groups within it took part in many armed and violent operations. In the mid 1980s, this organization violently contended for a piece of cake in the drug trade. Peru’s Upper Huallaga Valley region was the largest producer of coca leaf and cocaine paste. The Shining Path operatives moved into the valley in about 1983, claiming they were liberating and protecting peasant farmers from exploitation by the Colombian drug cartels and the Peruvian government.\(^78\)

During this occupation, the organization was heavily involved in levy extortions, expelling of government officials and police, even creating its own moral code like in the killing of homosexuals and ending prostitution. Before Guzman’s capture, the Shining Path had become a self-sufficient terrorist movement, with most of its self-sufficiency derived from the drug trade. When a fungus ravaged the Upper Huallaga’s coca leaf crop in the mid 1990s, the movement received a final blow because its primary financial resource was removed.\(^79\)

On September 12, 1992, the Shining Path suffered its greatest blow. Abimael Guzman was captured just as the guerillas were tightening their hold on Peru’s capital. Guzman was arrested in Lima and this changed the organization as a whole. Though it continued

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causing mayhem to Peru’s leadership from 1980 to the mid 1990s, it was no longer considered a powerful organization capable of causing change.

The Tupamaros (National Liberation Movement)

This movement was named after Tupac Amaru. He was known as a great Incan chieftain that resisted the Spanish conquerors and was executed in 1572. The members of this organization were made up of young, idealist, middle-class students. Tupamaros adopted its official name is 1963. They advocated for the redistribution of wealth and political power to the working class. The Tupamaros organized themselves into an “urban guerilla” – a strategy propounded by Carlos Marighella - to pressure their government.

They did not have much of a philosophical base because they believed in action instead. They became a constant problem to the government because their number was growing. Also, they carried out a series of bank robberies that ensured they could now finance their operations. According to Carlos Marighella’s strategy, as a result of their activities, the government would turn to repression, as a means of defense and then the people would be forced to join in the revolution.  

The Tupamaros concentrated on Montevideo where they carried out series of indiscriminate bombings, shootings, bank robberies and kidnapping for diplomats and high-ranking government officials. In 1972, Tupamaros kidnapped the British ambassador to Uruguay, Sir Geoffrey Jackson. It held him for eight months and asked for a ransom, to which the British government refused to pay. Tupamaros later released Sir Jackson.  

The Uruguay government was at a loss of how to extinguish the Tupamaros. It turned to torturing suspected Tupamaros members. It used beatings, raping, electric shocks,

80 See Jonathan R. White, p. 70
81 See Gus Martin, p. 129
deprivation of sleep and murder. Torture could yield information about intended Tupamaros targets and could also serve as a deterrent to any would-be Tupamaro member. Even when prisoners finally provided information, they continued to be tortured routinely until they were either killed or released. Torture became a standard police tactic. According to Languth (1978), the torturers viewed themselves as professionals who were simply carrying out a job for the government. Rapes, beatings and murders were common, but the police refined the art of torture to keep victims in pain as long as possible. Some suspects were tortured over a period of months or even years.

The Tupamaros failed in its attempts to capture the attention of the working class. It was an organization that was viewed as students with no real interest in the working class. Also, their activities were viewed as appalling. The Tupamaros blamed the US for supporting the Uruguayan government. It kidnapped an American police official and killed him. This even appalled the working class more, even though they did not love the US. The Tupamaros further alienated themselves.

The violence it spewed became its doom. The government intensified its efforts to get the Tupamaros. The Tupamaros also had overestimated their strength. In 1971, they joined a left-wing coalition of parties and ran for office. This was a fatal mistake. The Tupamaros had alienated potential electoral support through their terrorist campaign and caused the left-wing coalition to be soundly defeated in national elections. The defeat saw a right-wing government elected to power. It then embarked on a counter-terrorism campaign, applauded by the working class. The government declared martial law in 1972. Mass arrests of the Tupamaros followed. Most of them were murdered in a wave of government repression that followed in 1972.

83 Ronald MacDonald, “Electoral Politics and Uruguayan Political Decay,” Inter-American Economic Affairs, pp. 24-25
3.3 Terrorism in other areas on the globe

Japan’s Aum Shinrikyo

This organization was founded by Shoko Asahara in 1987. It was to be a mass religious movement. Although the organization enrolled only one thousand five hundred members in 1987, less than a decade later it enrolled at least ten thousand; by 1997, it had twenty-four branches in Japan and a growing number of followers in Russia, the US, Germany, Australia and Sri Lanka.\textsuperscript{84} The cult had a core belief that Armageddon is imminent. The US will wage World War Three on Japan.\textsuperscript{85} Asahara claimed himself to be the reincarnation of Jesus Christ and Buddha. He urged his followers ready themselves for Armageddon. This led to the accumulation of chemical and biological weapons, including nerve gas, anthrax and Q-fever.\textsuperscript{86} Its members are alleged to have traveled to Africa, according to a report, to acquire the deadly Ebola virus. Several mysterious biochemical incidents occurred in Japan, including one in June 1994 in the city of Matsumoto, where seven people died and two hundred and sixty four were injured from the release of a gas into an apartment building.\textsuperscript{87}

In 1989, Aum was approved as a religious entity under Japanese law. A year later, Aum became a registered religion where Shoko announced that Aum will run for the Japanese Diet Election. It actually did so when Shoko, together with twenty four of his followers ran for parliament under the Shinrito, Aum’s own party.

\textsuperscript{84} See Bruce Hoffman, \textit{Inside Terrorism}, p. 122
\textsuperscript{85} US Department of State, “Aum Supreme Truth (Aum),” \textit{Patterns of Global Terrorism 2000}, (US Department of State, 2001)
\textsuperscript{86} Andrew Marshall, “It Gassed the Tokyo Subway, Microwaved its Enemies and Tortured its Members. So Why is the Aum Cult Surviving” \textit{The Guardian}, July 15, 1999
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid.
**Aum Shinrikyo** is well known for its Tokyo Sarin gas attack on March 20, 1995. Shoko was arrested and charged for the counts of murder, attempted murder, kidnapping and drug trafficking. When the police raided Aum’s headquarters, it confiscated a lot of chemicals that had been accumulated by the cult. Aum Shinrikyo is an example of a cult possessing a religious world view, combined with terrorist violence and party politics. Its new leader, Fumihiro Joyu, took over in 2000 and renamed the group as Aleph (the first letter in Hebrew and Arabic alphabets). Joyu renounced violence, and the cult’s membership has enjoyed new growth in its membership.88

**Sri Lanka’s Tamil Tigers**

This organization is based in Sri Lanka. It was founded by Vellupillai Prabhakaran. It strives to secede from Sri Lanka, geographically located in the North and East of the island. The Tamil Tigers use conventional, guerilla and terrorist tactics to attack government, military and civilian targets. The Black Tigers Unite comprises suicide bombers who carry out the attacks. This organization uses spiritual purity, nationalistic militancy, and a glorification of death as its doctrines. In the event of capture, members are given cyanide to wear round the neck and use it. Tamil Tigers instill high morality on their members. They also use the internet and video as their public relations media.

The Tamil Tigers are very well organized. Most of them are women. The Freedom Birds took it upon themselves to carry out the work of the Tamil Tigers due to large male casualties. The Tigers are known to have carried out numerous attacks, including the killing of Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister in 1991, where a girl detonated a bomb. In 1996, the Tigers killed over one thousand troops in a government base. In 1996, a Tiger bomb at Colombo’s Central Bank killed scores and injured many others. In 1997, the Tigers bombed the Colombo Trade Center.

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88 See Gus Martin, *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*, p. 192
By 1997, the war had claimed about fifty eight thousand military and civilian lives, ten thousand of these being the Tigers. By 2002, the combatants had fought to a stalemate. In early 2002, both sides agreed to a Norwegian mediation to negotiate terms for a lasting peace settlement. Several hundred thousand Tamils have fled the island, with more than a hundred thousand living in India and about two hundred thousand living in the West.99 The government of India no longer helps the Tigers.

Northern Ireland’s Irish Republican Army (IRA)

This is a group in Northern Ireland that is well-armed and skilled. It has a deep popular base and a long record of foreign supporters including American citizens and the Libyan government. Its political front, Sinn Fein is led by Gerry Adams. At first, he was an “ideologue”, a militant known to his early admirers as the “big lad” strongly committed to violence; he later became a Radical, a member of the organization’s War Council and advocate of Armalite and the ballot box. And finally he became a Politico, a Sinn Fein leader who enters into peace negotiations aimed at ending the Trouble.90 Sinn Fein is an aboveground political party that champions Catholic rights and union with the Irish Republic.91 The IRA and Sinn Fein signed a truce with other Irish parties in Britain to commence new legislature in Northern Ireland. But this peace process is hampered by disarmament. Groups inside the IRA have tried to sabotage the peace process. Some extremists have abandoned the agreement as a whole. A new violence erupted in the fall of 1996 with sporadic bombing campaigns. Most of these were carried out by the splinter group calling itself the Real IRA. This group was responsible for the bombing in Omagh in 1998, which killed twenty nine residents.92 It is noteworthy that this attack came

99 Gus Martin, p. 131
91 Gus Martin, G-24
shortly after the June elections for the new Northern Ireland Assembly. The IRA fights for a united Ireland without regard to the form of government.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Examining Counterterrorism Strategy: Counterterrorism and its problems

The world is increasingly becoming globalized, be it in business, education, or economic co-operation. In this way, what affects one state automatically affects other states. The threat of global terrorism is imminent. Terrorism is an offense against humanity, and thus needs to be dealt with by any authority charged with the responsibility. This research showed that everyone is a target for terrorism. The 2001 September 11th attacks on US soil shows that even the greatest of powers can be targets for terrorists.

Counterterrorism measures are needed to counteract terrorism. These are proactive policies that specifically seek to eliminate or decrease the number of terrorist attacks. At this juncture, authors and experts have differed over how to go about counteracting terrorism. Walter Lacqueur (1987: p.7) says that terrorism can be destroyed using repressive measures that clamp down on the liberties of a society experiencing terrorist violence. Neil Livingstone (1983: pp. 239-148) agrees with Lacqueur that repression will hinder terrorists from operating in a state. Totalitarian governments have fewer constraints against using their powers to control, say, media coverage on terrorists, to sacrifice their citizens rather than negotiate with the terrorists and to use total force against threat from terrorists. A state that places high value on human life, and thus makes a hostage situation a national concern becomes a target for terrorists as it portrays weakness, and gives the terrorists a leeway for using coercive power. The problem to the state here lies in how to stop the terrorists without violating the state’s principles of good conduct. Though it is acceptable that self defense measures can be used, as often as not, a state may cross the line, and in its endeavour to stop the terrorists using violent force, becomes the terrorist itself.

93 See Gus Martin, p. 345
The notion of collateral damage in counter-terrorism poses high moral questions. Democratic societies that happen to kill some innocent people in the process of counter-terrorist actions find themselves in the vexing predicament of violating the values of their society in defense of those values.\(^94\) Counterterrorist measures that are violent are thus allowed in terms of the benefits to humanity and the social order that curbing terrorist attacks will bring. Carmichael says that utilitarian justifications place a few constraints on violent counter-measures because, in the utilitarian calculus, sacrificing the lives of innocent persons can be greatly outweighed by the halt to repeated massacres and perpetual terrorizing of entire populations.\(^95\)

Democracies are more vulnerable to terrorism because of the openness in their societies, and the freedom of movement across borders. A well established society could be a major source of inner (national) strength that can serve as a counter-terrorist measure. The fact that citizens uphold and co-operate to uphold the law, recognize their government as legitimate and thus rally behind it in the event of a threat against the state all serve as deterrents to terrorism. There is no cause of terrorism that has destroyed a European democracy and replaced it with a pro-terrorist regime for example. But if these terrorist attacks are consecutive and occur over a long period of time, they may destroy the state in the end. Northern Ireland is a good example here. Many innocent lives have been lost, democratic values have been undermined and institutions compromised. Terrorism scares away investment and halts industry and commerce. This with time weakens a state’s economy. Terrorism can promote sentiments of ethnic and racial suspicion, hatred and conflict. This can then lead to civil war that destabilizes the state. Its spill-over effects into other states are much worse.

\(^94\) See David J. Whittaker, editor, p. 265

If a state decides to use extreme force against terrorism, these effects may be worse than
the terrorist acts themselves. Avenging deaths and destruction may elicit sympathy for
the lost innocent lives and the condemnation of the government for its brutal nature.
Fighting terror with terror (fighting fire with fire) breeds new terrorism that will most
likely as not have no end. Indeed, some terrorist activities are designed precisely to
provokes curtailing of personal liberties and other domestic repressive measures that
might breed public disaffection with the system. Extreme counter-measures can, thus,
play into the hands of terrorists.96

Terrorism is intended to instill shock, horror, fear and submissiveness. Some thus
postulate that counter-terrorism measures must take up these forms. Those that favour
these kinds of punitive measures argue that terrorism is war. But the terrorist
phenomenon is far greater than war or crime. More fundamental work is needed to
understand terrorism. Harmon (2000: p. 236) says that counterterrorist action must be
calibrated and politically effective. Emphasis should be on terrorism suppression, not
extermination because then, it can be resisted, fought and reduced.

There are those that believe that repression does not destroy terrorism. Jonathan R. White
(1998: p. 245) uses the example of El Salvador where the death squad numbers increased
in numbers and in strength as the government tried to use repressive measures. In the
Basque region of Spain, the repression of local nationalist populations saw the increase of
Basque nationalist fervor, and was used as a recruiting field for terrorist organizations.
Hewitt (1984) says that repressive measures can be effective but only for a short term.
Dipak Gupta, Harinder Singh and Tom Sprague (1983: pp. 301-339) says that repression
is one of the several variables that affect the behaviour of dissident groups. In democratic
countries, protests increase when government coercion becomes too violent.97

96 Ibid, p. 169
97 Dipak Gupta, Harinder Singh and Tom Sprague, “Government Coercion of Dissidents:
Deterrence or Provocation?” Journal of Conflict Resolution 37, 1993
Counterterrorist policies in the West cannot be based on repression because the
governments are based on the assumption that the population is controlled by its own
consent. Thus, for there to be legitimized restrictions on freedoms, the governments must
consult the public for an opinion. Repression outside democratic norms is not acceptable.

Regardless of what action to take, it is important to understand the root causes of
terrorism. Social injustices, denial of individual freedom and political rights, if checked,
could eliminate the motivation for terrorists to undertake attacks. The environmental
school of criminology says that counterterrorist policies should be aimed at improving
social conditions and opening avenues of political expression. Richard Rubenstein (1987)
posits that it is important to first understand why perpetrators engage in violence. If these
conditions will be improved, terrorism may be eliminated. Alfred McClung Lee (1983)
believes that the root causes of violence are the lack of political opportunities with which
to express political freedom and democratic change. But here, Pluchinsky (1993) adds
that these open opportunities defuse the revolutionary terrorist movement in the West.

4.1 Some counterterrorism measures: What needs to be done

4.1.1 Force

This includes the use of military and paramilitary force. Military force acts as an
extension of police force. The military can be used to strike terrorist bases. Military
special units also come in handy especially during hostage crisis. The Delta Force (1st
Special Forces Operational Detachment – DELTA) in the US operates outside of the US.
Its operations include abductions, reconnaissance and punitive operations, while the
United Kingdom’s (UK) Special Boat Service (SBS) protects the UK against sea borne
targets along coastlines and harbours.

Military forces however should be called in as a last resort. Calling of military forces
means that the government can no longer handle the situation. Problems however may
stem up in calling the military. The function of the military is not to ensure civil law, but
there are governments who use their military for this exact purpose. Also, there is always the possibility of the military overreacting in its activities, thereby causing (civil) repression. It may use punitive measures against the very same people it is supposed to protect. Also, calling in the military brings up a lot of debate. To others, the military striking at this would be an avenue to creating new escalated waves of terrorism. The question of the use of force also comes in. Even though they are dealing with terrorists, questions may be raised concerning the proper use of force. In the recent past in Iraq, US marines have been court-marshaled after some photos revealed the atrocities committed against prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison.

Another factor is that some military and police units may not share information with other groups in other states, or even from those unfamiliar with police operations. Since the police are reluctant to share information with outside organizations or states, it has a negative impact on criminal and terrorist investigations. This information could be a tool to cover unauthorized repression as Peter Manning (1976) explains. He argues that investigative capacity is directly linked to the ability to gather and use information. Secrecy thus works to the detriment of effective counter terrorism. But all is not lost. The INTERPOL has formed a common ground for sharing of information by European agencies. It has shown that if good, then effects aimed at making the world more secure will be fruitful. These agencies can go a step further and engage in combined military and intelligence training. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) for example has its own international training programmes. These teach on how to control crime and an exchange of counterterrorism skills.

98 See Gus Martin, p. 356
99 Ibid, p. 102
Funding organizations like legitimate governments that are fighting terrorism is another counterterrorism method. This funding would include weaponry, financial assistance and intelligence reports. Punitive strikes and pre-emptive strikes are intended for the targets to feel them. Punitive strikes occur after being hit by terrorists. They are used in retaliation of an attack. But they have to be justified. As long as there are links between the terrorist attacks and terrorist activities, there is cause for punitive strikes. Pre-emptive strikes are used in anticipation of a terrorist attack. They are less frequently used than punitive strikes. This is because they would not be easily justified unless an impending threat can be clearly identified.

4.1.2 Intelligence

This involves intelligence groups that participate in counterterrorism. They collect and analyze information to construct an accurate table of activities of terrorists. With this, they can for example determine where the terrorists will target next and which terrorist does what. An agency like the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operates all over the world, and has had successes in revealing the source of terrorist attack threats in the US. Ironically, the CIA is prohibited from collecting intelligence inside the US.\textsuperscript{100} A good success story of intelligence co-operation was among the Allies during Operation Desert Storm and Operation Desert Shield when they thwarted Saddam Hussein’s intended attack of the “holy war.”\textsuperscript{101}

The problem here is that even up to now, states are reluctant to share information with their allies. So it is not always absolute that co-operation between states will be ensured. States that have never fallen prey to terrorist attacks will not see the use of participating

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid, p. 360
in the sharing of information. Some states are not willing to give up or share, say, their coastlines, oil wells or raw materials by imposing sanctions on countries suspected of terrorism, or giving up all these to help in the sharing of information. Other states refuse to co-operate because of their small size. They do not co-operate in any counterterrorist measure, hoping they will be more secure in this way. Other states are “double dealers.” They profess their undying cause to fight terrorists, while all the while, they sponsor terrorist attacks in other countries. Other states still insist that some groups are just “freedom fighters” and therefore do not need to be attacked while these groups carry out terror attacks in those states and have devastating spill-over effects. Groups like the IRA and the PLO have been responsible for many deaths, yet their governments do not see the necessary need to condemn them.

Countries are full of mistrust for each other that they are reluctant to share information. There is also the problem of where deep-seeded conflict runs deep. Here, there can be no kind of intelligence sharing. This involves countries like Rwanda-Burundi and Israel-Palestine. In cases like these, a lot will depend on the willingness of political leaders and efforts to address the conflict issues in an effort to stop it. This will take a lot of compromise, hard work and dedication. This would help decrease fresh outbursts of terrorism especially in the Middle East because of ethno-religious and ethnic conflict. It would be dangerous complacency to assume that the course of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process is inevitably going to lead to a peaceful resolution of their bitter conflict.\textsuperscript{102} In this case, underlying causes of the conflict have to be assessed with a lot of concentration on political and security aspects from both sides. Intelligence may not a tactical warning of most attempted terrorist attacks, but it goes a long way in monitoring terrorist activities.

4.1.3 Undercover operations

Undercover operations are highly secretive and are only known to the government that is acting. Measures here taken include infiltration whereby an agent, be it a retired military, police, intelligence or otherwise goes undercover and gathers information. He becomes “a terrorist” so to speak. Most agents especially in the US infiltrate suspected groups like drug cartels in Latin America for years before they can crack down on a single group. Some agents even become double-dealers, swallowed up by the wealth pleasures of the cartels. Agents also look for informants and moles – people that leak information about terrorist groups, intended targets and so forth. Terrorist organizations are harder to infiltrate, their organization is such that they have cells, even sleeper cells in some countries. These are autonomous, and have few links beyond their immediate operational group.

4.1.4 International unity

As seen earlier, there is need for international co-operation on the crackdown on terrorism. There should be attempts at resolving bitter international conflicts that breed international terrorism. The conflict between Israel and Palestine has almost divided the world into two: Anti-America and Pro-America. The peace process between these two countries has had constant attempts at derailing it. The states willing to see this peace process through must stand firm and not allow the terrorists to hold these two countries at ransom. Sooner or later, the violence in these two countries is bound to spill into their Arab neighbours. Paul Wilkinson (2001: p. 229) says that it is important to adopt and implement the principle that “one democracy’s terrorist is another democracy’s terrorist.”

a) Security

There should be enhanced international national security, police and judicial support, moral and political support among states in the international system. If security is enhanced, terrorists are deterred from carrying out their attacks. These are not long-term
measures, but short term to provide protection to the intended sites. Security at the airport for example should be tightened. Security barriers, checkpoints, random checks and surveillance should be used as a measure against terrorism.

b) International involvement

The system of the global order centered on the United Nations (UN) Secretariat council, for example was based on the primes of great power collaboration. It languished for forty five years and was revived, but this revival now has a chance to prove itself, to have a meaningful impact on the security agenda on terrorism. As Hedley Bull observed, no international order sustained by the great power can provide equal justice to alleviate this perhaps necessary and inevitable inequality. Major powers need to explain, prepare, negotiate, co-ordinate and create a consensus with other states to involve them directly in the defense of distribution of power. In this globalized world, a world full of nuclear proliferation for example, it is important to involve all states in elaborating norms and to give them a take in the more rural world that is at once desirable and preventable. Perhaps in this way, states that are more likely to promote terrorist activities will be enticed to refrain from doing so. Terrorism will not give rise to overthrown pro-terrorist regimes but it will continue to be a major global issue in the politics of nations and the conduct of world affairs.

c) Economic Sanctions

Economic sanctions are especially effective on those states that sponsor terrorism in other states. The counterterrorism policy must take into account states that “support, facilitate, or practice terrorism or whose help is needed in combating it.” 103 Economic sanctions

serve a message to governments to stop what they are doing. They give the impression that other states are not happy with what a state is doing. They aim to induce pressure over the sanctioned state for it to change its ways. Sanctioning gives the sanctioning states power over the sanctioned state.

A lot of commitment here is demanded from states. All should co-operate and keep these sanctions on a long-term basis for success to be achieved. This is because when a state is sanctioned, it never immediately feels the “pinch” of the sanctions, unless this state is already in a devastating state of economic need. There cannot be sanctions while in the meantime, states are having bi-lateral arrangements with the sanctioned state. The sanctioned state must be made to suffer. There are different sanctions that can be imposed on a state like political sanctions and economic sanctions. The latter are more popular. Trade embargos for example would be imposed on a state’s popular export, one which this state is dependent on.

Problems here arise with the lack of states to co-operate on long term sanctions. Some states go ahead and have trade arrangements with the sanctioned state. Also, it is not the sanctioned government that suffers, but rather its people. Thus, the sanctions have little or no effect on the intended target. Economic sanctions also sometimes become nothing more than symbolic condemnation, because the sanctioning states are alone in their demonstrations of disapproval.104

d) Empowerment of Judicial bodies and legislature

Law should be enforced in the international system such that there are slim or no chances for terrorists to escape. There should be swift response at bringing terrorists to justice using legal procedures. Measures like criminal prosecution and incarceration can be used.

104 See Gus Martin, p. 363
It is noteworthy that as yet, the world has no international police. So, one of the tools that can be used to keep a check on terrorism would be sharpening the “teeth” of international organizations charged with security like the UN Security Council and the International Criminal Court (ICC). Efforts to be made here are vast criminal investigations carried out by detectives or bureaus or the police. These should have adequate training in specialized areas like hostage rescue and diffusing of bombs. Highly trained units are needed to act as paramilitary units in times of, say, a hostage rescue attempts.

International law is made by agreements between countries. Here, there are numerous bi-lateral or multi-lateral agreements and treaties entered into by states, regarding different areas. Since there is no international enforcement agency, states make this international law to be based on tradition, custom and formal agreements that are binding between them. It is noteworthy that even if these agreements and institutions created at the international level exist, states voluntarily recognize their authority.

International judicial co-operation against terrorism should be strengthened. Sometimes, terrorist cases hit a hitch due to the absence of extradition treaties, while other states simply refuse to extradite terrorist suspects. Some states resort to participate in “snatches” in the states where the suspects are. Israel in 1972 kidnapped Adolph Eichmann from Argentina and brought him to Israel for trial according to the L’Express Paris Newspaper of 9th April 1998. Also, the US sent two Mexican bounty-hunters after a Mexican killer that had killed Enrique Camarena, A Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) agent although the suspect, D. Alvarez was acquitted in 1992.105

The international community set up the International Criminal Court (ICC). But it is worrying that its mandate does not include international terrorism crimes. If this would be made to do so, then it will have enormous practical benefits. Paul Wilkinson (2001: p. 232) says that in principle, there is no reason why an international tribunal to try those alleged to have committed terrorist crimes against human rights should not be

successfully established. There should be a concentration on improving the judicial specialization and expertise in handling of international terrorism cases. This is especially in countries with little or no experience about terrorism. Here again, international co-operation is needed. Also in the developed world, judges hear terrorist cases (due to their court procedures and structure of legal profession), while they have no background information, knowledge, expertise or experience in the field.

e) Diplomacy

This refers to using dialogue with the aim of achieving a counter terrorist objective. There are different modes of dialogue like direct talks with the dissidents, mediation and negotiation. There have been a few successes where terrorist activities have been scaled to a minimum as a result of diplomacy. The Good Friday Agreement of April 10, 1998 so unanimously approved by the voters in the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland showed mutual agreement and acceptance to disarmament of all paramilitaries.\textsuperscript{106} The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process is quite another matter however. This peace process has been derailed and begun falling apart in 2000. There have been a lot of bombings, suicide bombings, and both Israeli and Palestine unrests almost everyday since then. Distrust and hate between these two states run deep. Many innocent lives have been lost. Some say that one cannot negotiate with terrorists. Negotiations do not ensure successes for either side, but they do sometimes provide a measure of closure for terrorist crises like hostage situations and manhunts for fugitive terrorists.

Social reforms are aimed at the origins of conflicts, the root causes of violence in order to eradicate terrorism. A state can for example improve on the major ills of society that

\textsuperscript{106} Op cit, p. 367
would lead it to violence. Improving on social amenities, political and individual rights are among reforms that governments can undertake. These, if used together with other counter-terrorism measures by government, can minimize or end terrorist campaigns. A good success example is that of *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) in Peru. Its leader Abimael Guzmán, after his capture, renounced violence and a lot of his followers were granted amnesty. The Peruvian government embarked on a social reform plan in the areas of land reforms, political rights, and rural improvements. When these conditions were improved, the rural or peasant support that the Shining Path had a vast majority of was undercut.

f) Bargaining

Some say that negotiating with terrorists motivates them to further carry out terrorist acts because they have power in their hands, to even bargain for more next time. Concessions like paying ransoms, releasing of jailed colleagues of the terrorists, granting political amnesty and so forth are seen to reward extremist behaviour. A good example here was scandal in November 1986, when a Lebanese magazine revealed how the US government had agreed in August 1985, to secretly sell arms to Iran, in exchange for some American hostages held by Shi’ite terrorists in Lebanon.

4.2 Counter-terrorism measures: a summary

Forms of intimidation like demands for protection money and racketeering must be firmly dealt with. Informants may be granted protection, freezing all of the suspected perpetrators’ assets and confiscating their assets if they are found guilty.

The reckless use of the media in such a way as to put lives at risk should be curtailed. If for

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107 Ibid, p. 368
example an editor, reporter or producer recklessly or willfully reports a terrorist incident or reveals measures to pre-empt it or to catch the terrorists in such a way as to increase the risk to life, a court should convict him or her regardless of whether anyone was killed or not.

Another measure is ensuring public safety and civil liberties. The law has to inhibit the freedom of criminals to protect the freedom of law-abiding citizens. Dissidence is healthy and constructive, but when it escalates to bombings, intimidation, and killing, then it becomes unhealthy. Crime imposes of liberty. The civilized majority has always, throughout history, accepted a rule of law placing limits on freedom to harm others. There is no claim of liberty to conceal identity and certainly no right to kill must never override the ultimate civil right to live. Thus, legislation is needed for stricter control of the possession and movement of arms for example. This could be improved by agreement between states to, say, tag all explosives with a colour code system which would identify their source and enable their progress to be recorded. Technological research here is of essence.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Summary of research findings

The research has shown that terrorism is complex and has many definitions and depends on who is doing the defining and where he is. It is important then to look at both sides of terrorism in order to understand it. One man’s terrorist is bound to be another person’s freedom fighter. Terrorists are motivated by a sense of morality to do what they do. This entrenches them firmly to believe that their cause is righteous. Terrorists also believe that actions are justified because their perceived enemies do them bad; that they represent all that is evil. Terrorists hold utopian ideals, whereby an idealized end justifies the use of violence, such as Karl Marx’s dictatorship of the proletariat. This research focused on “what they do to us.”

Terrorism arises as a result of some dissatisfied action. An ethnic minority that is discriminated by the majority may turn to terrorism to attain its cause. Social movements do arise to address grievances inherent in society, either to gain equal rights as the rest, or have separate rights. In practice, terrorism has frequently arisen in such situations. In modern states, separatist nationalism among Basques, Bretons and Quebecois has motivated terrorism. In the colonial era, nationalist movements commonly turned to terrorism. But it does not always follow that dissatisfied people automatically resort to violence, and also terrorism does not always reflect dissatisfaction.

Denial of political participation may lead to terrorism. Authoritarian governments that deny citizens freedom and persecute oppression for example create room for terrorism that is politically motivated. Thereafter, terrorism by these dissatisfied groups unleashes terrorism on the government’s and political institutions, thereby destabilizing the existing

108 See David J. Whittaker, editor, p. 15
environment. Ideological differences may lead to terrorism. In the Post World War Two era, civil wars tended to break out after European powers or the Axis were driven out of a country.

These civil wars were fought by indigenous armed factions drawn from among the formerly occupied population. In Indonesia for example, the Indonesian Communism Party (PKI) was accused to have participated in the October 1965 coup attempt. During the many arrests of the PKI member arrests, many Indonesians protested in the streets to purge the communist presence. This anti-communist wave of violence saw many communists and suspected communists and political opponents of the government killed.

Sectarian differences may cause terrorism. Many of the world’s ethnic population define their cultural identity partly through their religious beliefs, so that violence committed by and against them has both ethnic and religious qualities. Religious groups with conflict often have a historical past, like conquest and resistance. Some religious violence is sometimes a result of an effort to “purify” a religious belief. Members have been known to attack or kill one of their own, or even denouncing him, for failure to follow the spiritual path. Religious tensions are everywhere across the world. In Sudan for example, there is a long history of tension between the Arab Islam North and the Black Christian and traditional religious South. This war has been there since Sudan gained its independence in 1956. This war occurs between the Muslim groups that are for the government versus the anti-government, Christian and animist groups. Conventional troops, guerrilla forces and vigilantes are among the groups involved. Since the signing of the Peace Treaty where the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) John Garang was present, all eyes are on Sudan, to see if it holds.

Terrorism may be motivated by political, social, economic, ethnic, cultural religious or ideological objectives. In essence, terrorist goals are always political; to compel society to conform to their views.\(^{109}\) Terrorists recognize no rules, especially those presently in

\(^{109}\) Ibid, p. 17
place. They do not “feel” that innocent people may suffer. They feel it inevitable that everyone should suffer. Thus, everyone and anyone can be a victim. To a terrorist, to kill one and instill fear in a thousand is an honour for a worthy cause. Terrorist activities are well orchestrated, and so, those attacks that look senseless often are not. Bombing in subway stations or other crowded places instills anxiety into majority of the public attention. They thrive in symbolism. If a terrorist’s actions are not publicized, no one will know about it and thus, there will be no fear among people. David Whittaker (editor, 2003, p. 19) says that the greater the symbolic value of the target, the more publicity the attack brings to the terrorists and the more fear it generates. Criminal terrorism is profit-driven. This is to enjoy the fruits of accumulated wealth. In Latin America, drug cartels often hold government officials in endless battles on cracking down on narco-crime.

The major frontier of terrorism especially international terrorism is not necessarily poor against rich, or south against north. What is on the horizon for the rest of this century may well be South-South international terrorism, though by no means exclusively like the atrocity in Burma in 1983 against South Korean visitors (attributed to Koreans).  

From the research, it is evident that terrorism is all over the world and any country can fall prey to it. Libya’s activity in a number of different countries amounts to a cluster of terrorist diplomacy. Air piracy between Iraq and Iran is rife. In the Third World, opponents of Robert Mugabe’s government in Zimbabwe have been found “guilty” of competing acts of terrorism. Uganda under Milton Obote was still agonizing over the terrorizing anarchy unleashed by the legacy of Idi Amin. Angola suffered under the challenge of the UNITA rebels. The dissident Mozambique Resistance Movement had forced Mozambique under the rule of FRELIMO to compromise with the racist government of South Africa- and all because of the terrorist pressures exerted. Ghana under Jerry Rawlings may also have left its worst terrorist record behind it.

Philippines has had a variety of terrorist activity involving regime militarists - Muslim separatists, radical revolutionaries and Marco’s supporters. Central America is torn asunder with domestic terrorism and superpower interventionism. Argentina had begun to emerge from a “dirty war” of governmental and semi-official terrorism. The Middle East is riddled with insurgencies and continued resentment of Israel. There are daily attacks in Iraq, perpetrated by insurgents that came into the limelight after Saddam Hussein’s capture two years ago. News of suicide bombings, hostage-taking, beheadings and threats in Iraq never miss in the newspapers and news channels. Israel and Palestine are locked in a conflict that involves a lot of killings.

Terrorism has vast consequences, the most sensitive of which are psychological. Terrorism on victims has diverse and complex effects. Slovka (2002: pp. 35-46) says that the horror of the 2001 September 11th attack awakened Americans to the rude shock that there are indeed Arabs who hate them. Many lost a sense of invulnerability and the American naïve, unselconscious assumption of being universally loved and esteemed. But this event too brought solidarity among the American people and their sympathizers. This brought up some kind of renewed patriotism, even in the looming threat of an anthrax attack in post-September 11th. Many groups committed themselves to volunteer service, and a new research on trauma was born.

Terrorism has been there since the dawn of recorded history. In ancient Egypt, pharaohs were often assassinated while traitors of the pharaohs were mummified whilst alive. In the Christian bible, kings were assassinated and tribes terrorized by the more powerful tribes. Lands were conquered and the spoils of victory coveted. In the ancient Medieval Middle East, rebels attacked Romans occupation of Palestine. Assassinations were the word of the day. During the French Revolution, a lot of people seen to be opposing the Jacobin-dominated government were arbitrarily arrested and put on trial. Many were killed by use of the guillotine. The 1940s to the 1960s saw struggles against colonialism especially in Africa against powers like the British, Germans, Belgians and the French. Modern terrorism has seen the use of conventional weapons and modern technology. Among other factors, religious fanaticism that has been there throughout history has
become an excuse for terrorizing people around the resentment of Western ideals in the Middle East. Nowadays, hijacking planes, suicide bombings, beheadings, hostage taking and assassinations are just among the few methods with which the terrorists are using. The recent case of Iraq is a good example of how different insurgent groups are using that country as their field for terrorist attacks.

5.1 Conclusion

The threat of terrorism is imminent and shows no sings of abating. This study has shown that there can be a decline but not an elimination of terrorism. Terrorists are a threat of the people, whether they are flying airplanes, or walking down the sidewalk. As thus, their activities must be condemned and criminalized. Murder in any form is murder and should be treated as such, with application of the fullest criminal law procedures. There will always be ambitious leaders, groups or individuals who will try to hold others at ransom. Armed forces can be kept for this purpose, but designed so that they adopt to a peace keeping or peace making role.

A lot depends on the quality of political leaders and their willingness to come together and combat terrorism. Paul Wilkinson (2001: p. 233) says that these leaders must adopt the principle that “one democracy’s terrorist is another democracy’s terrorist.” Terrorism and its aspects in this globalized world is more than a persistent threat to world community and to specific states’ national interests. It is a moral challenge to legitimate political and social life. It requires a sober, consistent and sometimes forceful response by all nations.111

Terrorism will never be eradicated, and thus the way forward is to try and reduce the chances of its occurrence. Terrorism has become a persistent phenomenon in the new global order. Schweitzer sees the new wave of terrorism as super terrorism. He defines

111 See Christopher C. Harmon, p. 269
super terrorism as “the committing of violent acts using advanced technological tools to cause massive damage to populations and/or to public and private support networks.” \(^{112}\)

### 5.2 Recommendations

Terrorism has now become inherently international. Every state is a potential target. Once a state has been targeted, in one way or the other, the other states will feel this effect. Counterterrorist techniques have proven effective, though on a small scale, while the terrorism continues. The logical option for the international community is to come up with an international police. A unit equipped with the knowledge, skills and technology of how to counter terrorism. This calls for extreme co-operation and commitment among states, be it in terms of military, technology, information or finances. This police should be given the power to counter terrorism at any cost. Human life is costly and losing lives is unacceptable, but sometimes, the uneasy and difficult decision of shedding a few drops of blood to save a million and future generation’s lives may just be the key to countering terrorism. Terrorists are quite aware that the people they attack hold human life dear and thus use this as an edge, and many times as not succeed. If terrorists are not afraid to lose their lives, then there must be in this international community, a group willing to also risk their lives, and instill fear in the terrorists. There must be a group totally committed to the cause – of attacking and reducing terrorism.

Despite the advances in technology and all the intelligence, infiltration into terrorist organizations has not been explored vastly. Infiltration would mean going undercover, maybe for years, and conversion in the case of religious fundamentalism, but nevertheless, it may end up supplying important information about terrorists and their impending attacks. Gus Martin (2003: p. 401) says that ethno-centrism, nationalism, ideological tolerance and racism are motivations for terrorists. It is difficult to counter

these motivations by use of force, though coercion can eliminate cadres and destroy extremist organizations.
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APPENDIX: Some firearms used by terrorists

Fig. 1: AK-47 Assault Rifle

The weapon was developed for motorized infantry, adopted for service with the Soviet Army in 1949 and designated the AK-47. It was not provided with a bayonet.

Fig 2: The Heckler & Koch 9mm
Fig. 3: The Israeli Uzi

Fig 4: American M-16
Fig 5: The RPG-7 Rocket-propelled grenade