

# Chapter 2

## Trends in Modern International Terrorism

**Boaz Ganor**

**Abstract** This chapter examines some of the most widely researched trends and developments within the phenomenon of modern international terrorism, providing policy recommendations on how to counter its emerging threats – particularly that of the Global Jihad movement and “homegrown” terrorism. The magnitude of the modern terrorist threat was demonstrated by the attacks of September 11, and ever since, the field has experienced a renewal of sorts, attracting unprecedented attention by both scholars and the mainstream public. This chapter will introduce readers to the main schools of thoughts within the academic field that explain terrorism. It will also present the many disciplines applicable to the study of terrorism, demonstrating that the phenomenon is multifaceted in nature, requiring a cohesive international and broad-based response. In covering a number of dilemmas facing terrorism experts, the chapter explores the debate over a definition of terrorism, providing a proposed definition that distinguishes acts of terrorism from criminal acts. The chapter continues on to explore the phenomenon of modern terrorism, the role of traditional crime within the terror sphere, and the growing threat of Global Jihadi terrorism – including terror networks and homegrown cells and activists who have emerged as a result of the spread of radical Islamic ideology. The role of terrorism in democratic states and the economic ramifications of terrorism are also explored. Finally, the chapter ends with recommendations on how governments should effectively respond to terrorism and discusses room for further research.

### Trends in Modern International Terrorism

In recent years, the academic world has witnessed a surge of research and academic programs in the field of homeland security and counterterrorism. After the attacks of 9/11, the threat of global terrorism immediately topped the international agenda.

---

B. Ganor  
Lauder School of Government, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT),  
Interdisciplinary Center (IDC), Herzliya, Israel  
e-mail: ganor@idc.ac.il

Growing recognition of the threat, combined with an increase in government spending, spurred the development of academic research institutions, think tanks, and new higher education programs in the study of homeland security and counterterrorism. The trend was particularly prominent in the United States, as researchers sought a basic understanding of the characteristics of terrorism and agencies sought ways to effectively cope with the phenomenon. This trend was accompanied by a significant increase in the number of researchers focusing on the phenomenon of terrorism. These researchers came from a wide array of academic disciplines, applying varied quantitative and qualitative research tools and methods in their analysis of the threat.

In understanding the phenomenon and preventing future terrorist attacks, researchers have focused primarily on understanding the rationale of terrorist organizations in general and Global Jihad organizations in particular – their cost-benefit calculations and their decision-making processes. “Trends” in terrorism have also been explored – often focusing on the introduction, transition, or prominence of a specific *modus operandi* or a method, such as suicide bombings, the Global Jihad movement, or the use of unconventional weapons.

Reviewing these trends and themes in terrorism – and the academic research that has accompanied them – is crucial in determining how far we have come and how far we have to go, both in terms of the governments designing and deciding on counterterrorism policy and the academics informing such decisions.

In exploring the phenomenon of modern international terrorism, this chapter will first introduce readers to the various schools of thought and academic approaches used in explaining terrorism – drawing on a wide range of disciplines and theories. Discussion will then move to one of the most basic components of the terrorism dilemma, with implications on how the term – and thus phenomenon of terrorism itself – is treated, applied, and understood by the international community – the debate over defining terrorism.

As will be demonstrated, definitions of terrorism vary widely – with equally as wide implications – yet there is still a general consensus among most leading scholars as to the essential nature of the threat. “Modern terrorism,” the next theme that will be explored in this chapter, is regarded as a form of psychological warfare intended to spread fear and anxiety among the target population. This fear is translated into political pressure on decision makers to change policies in such a manner that will serve the terrorist’s interests. As such, modern terrorists attempt to exploit the liberal values of democratic states, forcing governments to adhere to their demands as a result of the physical, psychological, and economic ramifications of terrorist attacks. The nature of terrorism in relation to the democratic state will be explored in a later section of this chapter as well.

As terrorist groups are usually engaged in a long war of attrition, terrorist organizations need ongoing support and funds to ensure they can maintain their activities. In fact, one of the main sources of funding for many terrorist organizations is criminal activity: smuggling, counterfeiting, extortion, and narcotics. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the threat of international terrorism grew with the spread of Global Jihad terrorism. Made up of complex networks of hierarchal terrorist organizations, proxy and affiliate organizations, local and international terror

networks, sleeper cells, and indoctrinated radical activists, all these actors share a common extreme ideology and the readiness to use violence in general – and terrorism in particular – in order to achieve their goals. The economic ramifications of these activities only further exacerbate the damage posed by terrorist attacks, another focus of terrorism research.

This dynamic terrorist phenomenon has threatened an increasing number of states while involving more terror organizations, networks, activists, and supporters worldwide. The growing level of the threat, its international scope, its lethality,<sup>1</sup> and the possible use of nonconventional terrorism (CBRN – chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear weapons) necessitate future multidisciplinary research in the field and a more cohesive, international response.

## Explaining Terrorism

In general, two schools of thought explaining the phenomenon of modern terrorism have emerged out of the collection of academic work within the discipline – the “psychological-sociological” school of thought and the “political-rational” school of thought. Both schools maintain that terrorism seeks to achieve political goals by instilling fear and anxiety among the target population, but each stresses a different aspect of the explanation.

The psychological-sociological school, represented most recently by scholars such as Dr. Jerrold Post (1998) and John Horgan (2005), stresses the phenomenon’s psychological component, maintaining that the immediate and central goal of terrorism is to instill fear and anxiety, while its political goals are long term.

“Terror as a clinical term refers to a psychological state of constant dread or fearfulness, associated with an abnormally high level of psych-physiological arousal. This is central to what terrorists aim to achieve, since after all, while they have some ultimate set of political objectives, it is an immediate goal of most terrorist groups to cause terror” (Horgan, 2005:14).

The psychological-sociological school addresses both the desired effect of terrorism and its root causes, relying primarily on social group dynamics and the psychological profile of an individual terrorist actor. Some early psychological explanations of terrorism have focused on the disruptive or psychopathological personalities of terrorist operatives, analyzing terrorists based on characteristics or disorders associated with violent or aggressive behaviors (De la Corte et al., 2007). Some of the common psychological characteristics that have been attributed to alleged terrorists

---

<sup>1</sup> Analysis of terrorist incidents over the last 35 years confirms that terrorist attacks, while arguably decreasing in quantity, are growing more deadly over time, as the number of fatalities per attack has increased (LaFree and Dugan, in this volume). Such data, however, rely on a definition of terrorism that LaFree and Dugan themselves note is relatively “inclusive.” The Global Terrorism Database (GTD), on which their analysis is based, excludes “attacks on the military by guerilla organizations,” but includes military targets attacked by substate actors motivated by political, economic, or social motives (See LaFree and Dugan; in this volume).

are paranoia, antisocial and narcissistic personalities (Millon, 1981; Post, 1987), lack of empathy with victims, hostility toward parents, dogmatic or ideological mentality, or a simplistic or utopian worldview (Victoroff, 2005).

At one end of the spectrum within such literature is the assertion – and at times assumption – that terrorists are to some degree psychologically “abnormal,” possessing personality disorders that qualify them as insane or psychopathic (as discussed by Cooper, 1978; Hacker, 1976; Lasch, 1979; Pearce, 1977; Taylor, 1988). Despite early research providing psychological profiles of terrorists, other terrorism researchers have come to the general conclusion that there is no universal terrorist personality pattern; most terrorist operatives are not necessarily “psychopaths” (Silke, 1998), nor do they show traces of being clearly or consistently mentally ill (Crenshaw, 2000; Post, 1998; Stahelski, 2004). Early studies on the topic have been largely disproved or debunked, in fact, even within the psychological-social school of thought. Further research has shown that terrorists rarely meet the criteria for insanity,<sup>2</sup> but rather may possess some “particular personality dispositions” related to psychological conditions or disorders (Post, 1987).

Dr. Jerrold Post, an expert in political psychology, maintains that even though terrorists fit within the spectrum of “normality,” a large number have demonstrated specific personality characteristics that indicate a minor psychopathology, such as aggression, activism, thrill seeking, an externalist psychological mechanism and factionalism. These are characteristics of narcissistic disorders and borderline personalities (Post, 1998:25–27). While Post stops short of actually diagnosing terrorists with such disorders or characteristics, he does claim they tend to have high frequency among terrorists, contributing to a uniform rhetorical style and logic (Silke, 1998:65).

According to Post, there is a unique logic that characterizes a terrorist’s thought process – a “terrorist psycho-logic.” Post claims that terrorists are motivated by psychological influences when they choose to conduct violent acts, as expressed in rhetoric that relies on “us versus them” and “good versus evil” dichotomies. He further claims that lodged in a terrorist’s permanent logic is the notion that the regime must be toppled, which is a result of the terrorist’s search for identity. In an attack against the regime, a terrorist is actually trying to destroy the inner enemy within him.

However, even as some researchers cite it as the primary cause, a terrorist’s individual psychological profile is not the only significant explanation for the phenomenon of terrorism. Rather, group psychology and sociology may be significant explanatory factors behind terrorist attacks. Various researchers have cited group pressure as a variable to explain recruitment, methods of operation and involvement in terrorism (Merari, 2004). Others have applied the cult model to terrorist organizations (Morgan, 2001).

---

<sup>2</sup>Studies by Heskin (1984), Rasch (1979), and Taylor (1988) have all cited evidence discrediting the assumption that terrorists are psychologically “abnormal.”

It is in this context that Post emphasizes the group as a framework in which a sense of belonging and importance for its members is created. He claims that ideology plays an important role in supporting a unifying environment for the group. Shared ideology justifies the group's activity and quickly transforms into the group's moral guide.

The psychological-sociological school relies, therefore, on psychological and sociological characteristics, motives, and grievances in explaining the phenomenon of terrorism. In contrast, the "political-rational" school of thought views terrorism as a rational method of operation intended to promote various interests and attain concrete political goals (Crenshaw, 2000; Hoffman, 1998; Shprinzak, 1998). Rational choice theory has been adopted by a number of terrorism researchers within this school, and maintains that terrorist action derives from a conscious, rational, calculated decision to choose one route of action over another (Crenshaw, 1992; Sandler et al., 1983; Sandler and Lapan, 1988; Wilson, 2000).<sup>3</sup>

Leading researcher Martha Crenshaw explains that an organization chooses terrorism among several operational alternatives in order to promote their mutual values and preferences. In making a rational calculation of the costs and benefits, terrorism is deliberately chosen as the preferred method of political activity because it is perceived to be the most effective of the operating alternatives – the benefits exceed the costs. In this context, Ehud Shprinzak similarly stressed that the phenomenon of terrorism is not the result of disturbed human activity or a random thoughtless attack. This is a process that almost always begins without violence or terrorist activity (Shprinzak, 1998:78).

Rand terrorism expert Bruce Hoffman further clarified the "rationalist" approach:

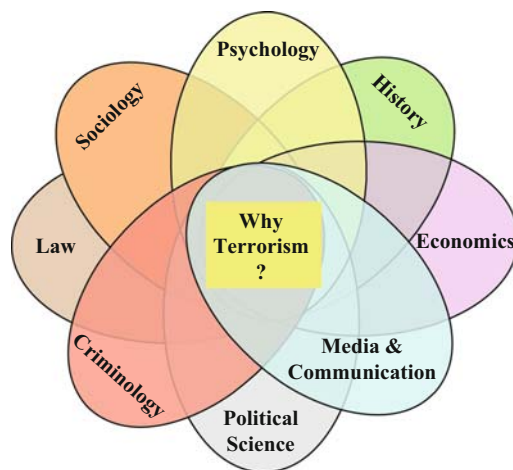
"I have been studying terrorists and terrorism for more than twenty years. Yet I am still always struck by how disturbingly 'normal' most terrorists seem when one actually sits down and talks to them... Many are in fact highly articulate and extremely thoughtful individuals for whom terrorism is (or was) an entirely rational choice..." (Hoffman, 1998:7)

The dispute between the rationalist and psychological approach is important in understanding the root causes of terrorism, allowing experts and security professionals to identify characteristics of the threat and formulate effective counterstrategies. While the two schools may seem to fundamentally clash, an interdisciplinary explanation of terrorism may actually be the most effective way to approach the phenomenon. In a sense, these two schools can complement and complete each other.

In the Israeli setting, for example, the case of a suicide bombing is likely motivated by a combination of the rational calculations of the organization, a cost-benefit analysis made by the attackers themselves, social pressure from the attackers' peer group, and personal psychological, social, cultural, and religious motivations. The decision-making process functions on a number of levels, in which both political-rational

---

<sup>3</sup>For an overview of psychological, social, and rational choice theories, see Victoroff, 2005.



**Fig. 2.1** Explanatory disciplines to terrorism

and the psychological-sociological explanations have their place, demonstrating the multidisciplinary nature of terrorism. As Crenshaw noted, even though an act of terrorism may not be wholly the result of a psychological disorder, that is not to say “the political decision to join a terrorist organization is not influenced or, in some cases, even determined by subconscious or latent psychological motives” (Crenshaw, 1998:386). It seems that only multivariable explanations based on methodologies and theories from different disciplines can adequately address the complex phenomenon of terrorism, provide explanations for the growth, development and characteristics of the phenomenon, and suggest methods for effectively dealing with terrorism (Fig. 2.1).

### ***Explanatory Disciplines to Terrorism***

Different research disciplines may be able to provide answers to fundamental questions at the core of terrorism research, such as:

#### **Psychology**

The field of psychology can provide answers to such questions as: Do terrorists have common psychological characteristics? Do terrorists have a psychological profile? Why do people become terrorists? Which people might become terrorists and which will not? Why do people join a terrorist organization and why do they leave it? When, why, and how does the personal radicalization process take place? (See Post, 1998; Raine, 1993; Hubbard, 1971).

## Economics

How important are economic variables in explaining the development and motivation of terrorism? To what degree can terrorists' financial situation explain the motives for their behavior? How much does the economic factor determine the scope and characteristics of terrorism activity?<sup>4</sup> (See Abadie, 2004; Kahn and Weiner, 2002; Krueger and Laitin, 2008; Krueger and Maleckova, 2002; Piazza, 2006).

## Sociology

How much influence does one's peer group have on the decision to join a terrorist group or the motivation to conduct acts of terrorism? How much can processes of socialization and delegitimization by society – ostracizing, discrimination, alienation, etc. – serve as variables explaining the motives of terrorism? Why does a certain population at a specific time tend to carry out terrorist attacks while another population with similar characteristics does not choose this course of action? What is the extent of the connection between terrorism and different cultures?<sup>5</sup> (See Bandura, 1973, 1998; Gibbs, 1989; Merari, 2004; Morgan, 2001; Webb, 2002).

## Criminology

To what extent should terrorism be treated as a phenomenon in the criminal sphere? What are the differences between the characteristics of criminal and terrorist activity? What are the similarities and the differences in the organizational characteristics between terrorist and criminal organizations?<sup>6</sup> (See Klein et al., 2006; Klein and Maxson, 2006; Lafree, 2007).

---

<sup>4</sup>Several studies have focused on refuting the widely claimed link between poverty and terrorism (Harmon, 2000; Hasisi and Pedahzur, 2000; Schmid, 1983). In fact, a 2003 study by Krueger and Maleckova showed that higher-earning Palestinians were more likely to justify the use of terrorism to achieve political goals; and a 2002 study (Krueger and Maleckova, 2002) did not find a link between Hezbollah fighters and impoverished conditions – rather, they were richer and more educated than their counterparts. Another study looked at the biographies of 285 suicide bombers and found them to be richer and more educated than members of the general population (Victoroff, 2005:21).

<sup>5</sup>Until September 11, there were few academic studies of terrorism from a strictly sociological viewpoint. However, Bandura (1973, 1998) used social learning theory to suggest that violence follows observation and imitation of an aggressive model. Friedland (1992) cited the “frustration-aggression hypothesis” in understanding why terrorists turn to violence (as cited in Victoroff, 2005). Morgan (2001) applied the cult model to understand individual actors and group dynamics within terrorist groups.

<sup>6</sup>For the role of policing in counter-terrorism strategies, see Chaps. 3–5 of this volume. LaFree and Dugan (Chap. 2) also briefly discuss the comparison between rates of terrorist attacks and other types of criminal violence. The interplay and linkages between organized crime and terrorism are explored in several anthology volumes, such as Holmes (2007), among many others.

## Political Science and International Relations

To what extent should terrorism be understood in rational terms (cost-benefit calculation) as an effective method intended to achieve political goals? To what extent can political terms such as sovereignty, power, authority, and social justice serve as variables to explain the phenomenon of terrorism? To what degree is the phenomenon of terrorism connected to certain ideologies or a certain form of government? To what degree does modern terrorism aim to take advantage of the liberal democratic form of government's values and traits? To what extent is the media component essential in order to explain the strategy of modern terrorism? How are the decision-making processes different in terrorist organizations than other organizations? Can terrorism be understood as a means for states to achieve their interests in the international arena? To what extent can terrorism be dealt with by using deterrent measures in general and deterring state-sponsors of terrorism in particular? (See Crenshaw, 2000; Ganor, 2005; Hoffman, 1998; Nacos, 1994).

## Theology

To what extent is modern terrorism a result of religious extremism? How is incitement to terrorism carried out with the use of religious rationalizations and how can this incitement be dealt with? (See Atran, 2006; Hoffman, 1995; Juergensmeyer, 2003; Ranstorp, 1996; Rapoport, 1984).

Hence, nearly every academic research discipline has been, and will continue to be, critical in providing answers to some of the central issues that lie behind understanding the phenomenon of terrorism and the methods for dealing with it. Only this multidisciplinary approach can provide a profound understanding of the phenomenon.

## The Definition of Terrorism

Growing interest in the field of terrorism and increased funding allotted to academic research and teaching budgets post-9/11 has spurred and supported the publication of hundreds of books and articles in the past few years, many professional and academic conferences, and a general flourishing of the field. Yet, six years after the world recognized the magnitude of the terrorist threat on 9/11, researchers, security professionals, politicians, jurists, and others have still not been able to agree upon its most fundamental component – *what is terrorism?*

Moreover, and somewhat surprisingly, the only consensus these individuals have reached is that it might be impossible, or even unnecessary, to reach an internationally



accepted definition of terrorism.<sup>7</sup> Those who hold this opinion – in fact the majority in the field – usually cite the cliché “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter,” in order to imply that, in their opinion, the issue of definition is subjective. As such, even partial agreement regarding its content cannot be reached. Louis Henkin (1989) captured this sentiment in 1990 when he said that: “Terrorism... is not a useful legal concept.”

Those who do not regard a definition as critical believe that the international system – and the security establishment in particular – can manage without consensus on the issue. They claim that terrorists, in a sense, commit regular crimes – extortion, murder, arson, and other felonies already covered by conventional criminal law. Therefore, they can be tried for committing these felonies without the need for a special criminal classification, and thus definition, for terrorism.

Needless to say, there is no shortage of proposed definitions for terrorism. Every researcher, expert, security professional, NGO, country, and politician espouses their own definition, one that likely represents a distinct world view and political stance. By the early 1980s, Schmid and Jongman had already listed 109 definitions of terrorism proposed by researchers in the field (Schmid and Jongman, 1998:5).

In their chapter in this volume, LaFree and Dugan touch upon the difficulty in reaching a consensus on a definition of terrorism given its controversial and highly politicized nature. It is within this context that they note the U.S. was reluctant to define the attacks by Contra rebels in Nicaragua as terrorism, while regarding practically all violence in Iraq and Afghanistan as such. They further note that more inclusive definitions of terrorism are often preferred by businesses or private think tanks that are collecting data for the purpose of risk assessment, as such an approach ultimately benefits their clients (LaFree and Dugan, in this volume).

Among the hundreds of definitions of terrorism that have been accepted throughout the years, some contain conceptual and phrasing problems (Hoffman, 2004:3). Many researchers note that the only certainty regarding terrorism is the pejorative manner in which the word is generally used and associated (Hoffman, 2006:23; Horgan, 2005:1). As such, when scholars, politicians, or activists describe and analyze the activities of alleged terrorist organizations, they very often use alternative terms that bear more positive connotations, such as guerilla or underground movements, revolutionaries, militias, militants, commando groups, national liberation movements, etc. (Hoffman, 2006:28).

Many in the Western world have accepted the premise that terrorism and national liberation are located on two opposite ends of a spectrum legitimizing the use of violence. The struggle for “national liberation” is, allegedly, located on the positive

---

<sup>7</sup>In a presentation on the definition of terrorism to the UK Parliament in March 2007, Lord Carlile quoted David Tucker from *Skirmishes at the Edge of the Empire*, stating that: “Above the gates of hell is the warning that all that enter should abandon hope. Less dire but to the same effect is the warning given to those who try to define terrorism” (See <http://www.tamilnation.org/terrorism/uk/070317carlile.htm>); for a reporter’s perspective see Kinsley, 2001; see also Levitt (1986), in which he claims a definition for terrorism is no easier to find than the Holy Grail.

and justified end of the violence spectrum, while terrorism is its unjust and negative polar opposite. Within this framework, it would be impossible for a specific organization to be considered both a terrorist group and a national liberation movement, as Senator Henry Jackson claims:

“The thought that one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter is unacceptable. Freedom fighters or revolutionaries do not blow up buses with noncombatants; terrorists and murderers do. Freedom fighters do not kidnap and slaughter students, terrorists and murders do...” (As cited in Netanyahu, 1987:18)

There is little basis for the claim that “freedom fighters” cannot carry out acts of terrorism and murder. This approach unintentionally plays into the hands of terrorists, who claim that since they are acting to expel who they consider to be a foreign occupier, they cannot also be considered terrorists. However, many freedom fighters in modern history committed crimes and purposely targeted innocent civilians. The difference between “terrorism” and “freedom fighting” is not a subjective distinction based on the observer’s point of view. Rather, it derives from identifying the perpetrator’s goals and methods of operation. Terrorism is a means - a tool - for achieving an end, and that “end” can very well be liberating the homeland from the yoke of a foreign occupier. An organization can be, at the same time, both a national liberation movement and a terrorist group.

It is not the specific goal – whether “freedom fighting” or another legitimate political objective – that distinguishes a group as a terrorist organization or justifies its activities. Many groups, however, such as the Muslim World League, do not clearly make this distinction. In a special publication from 2001, the Muslim World League states that:

“Terrorism is an outrageous attack carried out either by individuals, groups or states against the human being (his religion, life, intellect, property and honor). It includes all forms of intimidation, harm, threatening, killing without a just cause... so as to terrify and horrify people by hurting them or by exposing their lives, liberty, security or conditions to danger... or exposing a national or natural resource to danger” (Al-Mukarramah, 2001).

In presenting the activities that constitute terrorism as being committed “without a just cause,” the Muslim World League’s definition infers that such acts committed *with* a just cause are not considered terrorism. Such definitions are typical of attempts to create confusion between the means and the end, ultimately foiling any possibility of reaching a consensus on a definition.

Since September 11, international terrorism has emerged on the top of national and international security agendas, widely perceived as a severe and very real threat to world peace. It is a threat that necessitates international alignment and cooperation on an unprecedented level. Such a high degree of cooperation cannot be established or sustained however without agreement over the most basic common denominator – the definition of terrorism.

Outside intelligence and military circles, the effectiveness of other apparatuses essential in countering the terrorist threat is dependent upon a clear, broad, and objective definition of terrorism that can be accepted internationally. Such a definition is essential in order to: disrupt the financing of terrorism, respond to states and

communities that support terrorism, prevent recruitment and incitement of terrorist operatives, and establish legal measures and guidelines to both outlawed terrorist organizations and activities, and arrest and extradite alleged terrorists. Above all else, the international community must establish a binding normative system to determine what is allowed and not allowed – what is legitimate and not legitimate – when violence is used for political objectives. A definition that would address all these requirements is:

*Terrorism is the deliberate use of violence aimed against civilians in order to achieve political goals (nationalistic, socioeconomic, ideological, religious, etc.)*

In defining terrorism within the above framework, it is important to note that a terrorist act would not be classified as a “regular” criminal activity warranting the application of criminal legal norms. Rather, terrorism would be viewed as an act of war, and the countermeasures mounted against it would too be conducted in accordance to the norms and laws of war.

The Israeli High Court of Justice has itself struggled with the distinction between criminal acts and acts of war, reflecting the tension facing those studying and responding to terrorism today. According to Justice Cheshin, “a judge’s job is difficult. It is sevenfold as difficult when he comes to deal with a hideously murderous attack such as we have in front of us. The murderer’s action is inherently – though not within the framework of or as part of the formal definition – an act of war, and an act that is inherently an act of war is answered with an act of war, in the ways of war” (Abd Al-Rahim Hassan Nazzal and others vs. the Commander of the IDF forces in Judea and Samaria, 1994). In a different verdict, the judge ruled that a “criminal code created for daily life in human society does not have an answer for the question” (Federman and others vs. the Attorney General, 1993).

The debate over whether terrorism should be considered a criminal act or an act of war remains strong among academics, NGOs, and counter terrorism professionals. Without consensus on the issue, states have applied their own policies in trying and convicting alleged terrorist suspects – whether as criminals or combatants. Despite the fact that criminal acts can consist of the same actions as terrorism – murder, arson, and extortion - terrorism, unlike an average criminal act, threatens the internal social order, personal and national security, world peace, and the economy.<sup>8</sup> As previously noted, acts of terrorism are intended to achieve various political goals and could thus be considered arguably more severe than criminal violations.

In addition, as international law expert and terrorism prosecutor Ruth Wedgwood has argued, criminal law may be “too weak a weapon” to counter terrorism, as destroying terrorist infrastructure and networks requires diplomacy, use of force, and criminal

---

<sup>8</sup>Resolution 1566 (2004) adopted by the Security Council in its 5053rd meeting, on Oct. 8 2004: “...Reaffirming that terrorism in all its forms and manifestations constitutes one of the most serious threats to peace and security. Considering that acts of terrorism seriously impair the enjoyment of human rights and threaten the social and economic development of all states, they undermine global stability and prosperity.” (See: <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/542/82/PDF/N0454282.pdf?OpenElement>.)

law combined. She adds that the restrictions embedded in a criminal justice system make sense in civil society where deterrence is a factor, but this may not apply in a fight against a highly networked terrorist organization (Wedgwood and Roth, 2004).<sup>9</sup>

Bruce Hoffman points to a fundamental difference between a criminal and a terrorist when he asserts that while a criminal seeks personal material goals, a terrorist usually sees himself as an altruist acting for and in the name of many others (Hoffman, 2006:37). Therefore, a terrorist may be perceived as posing greater danger through his actions, since he is significantly more willing than a criminal to sacrifice in order to achieve his goals – even to the point of self-sacrifice in certain situations.

The criminal code in itself does not serve as an adequate platform to define terrorism. The laws of war are better suited as a framework for defining and dealing with terrorism, since the phenomenon is a violent action intended to achieve political goals, often involving the use of pseudo-military methods of operation. By basing the definition of terrorism on an established system of norms and laws, already included in international conventions and accepted by most of the countries in the world, the international community is more likely to reach a broad international agreement on the definition of terrorism – a basic tool in the joint international struggle against terrorism.

At the core of the Geneva and The Hague conventions are rules differentiating between two types of personnel involved in military activity: “combatants,” military personnel who deliberately target enemy military personnel; and “war criminals,” military personnel who, among other actions forbidden by the laws of war, deliberately target civilians. Currently, the moral differentiation between a legitimate combatant and a war criminal is based on the attacked target (military or civilian), and, at least in principle, only applies to state entities and their armies and not to substate entities.

In the Israeli setting for example, a Palestinian, considered part of a subnational group, who is involved in a deliberate attack against an Israeli military target, will receive the same treatment and punishment as a Palestinian who deliberately attacks a civilian target. Since there is no distinction made between the two, despite the difference in their targets, the degree of international legitimacy or condemnation of both cases will likely continue to be dependant on the supporter or condemner’s political stance and not necessarily on the character or target of the deliberate operation – its legality under applicable rules and norms. The American government, for example, classifies attacks against its troops in Iraq as terrorist attacks, as it does the October 2000 attack against the USS Cole or the attack against the American military barracks in Dhahran (June 1996).

In fact, in an attempt to expand the definition of terrorism to include attacks against soldiers, the U.S. State Department’s definition states that terrorism is the

---

<sup>9</sup>Ruth Wedgwood and Human Rights Watch Director Kenneth Roth debate the US’s treatment of terrorist suspects – as combatants versus criminals – in a series of articles in *Foreign Affairs* (See Roth, 2004; Wedgwood and Roth, 2004).

deliberate use of violence against “non-combatant targets,” which includes both civilians and military personnel not on the battle field.<sup>10</sup> While it is natural for victims of terrorism to adopt this broad-based definition, terrorist organizations and their supporters can legitimately argue that in seeking to achieve their political goals, they cannot reasonably be required to either not confront military personnel entirely, or do so only when they are fully armed and prepared for war. They claim that they must be given the right to attack and surprise soldiers whatever the circumstances.

In applying these considerations, the U.S. State Department’s definition of terrorism could not successfully serve as a common denominator leading to international agreement. It is only in reducing the scope of the definition to the deliberate targeting of civilians – as opposed to “non-combatants” – that may solve this problem, enabling the establishment of a clear moral boundary that should not be crossed. A terrorist act would be considered, in a sense, the equivalent for a substate entity to a war crime committed by a state.<sup>11</sup>

During a state of war, normative principles and the laws of war forbid the deliberate targeting of civilians but allow deliberate attacks on an enemy’s military personnel (in accordance with other applicable regulations). Similarly, in modern asymmetric warfare, a normative rule must be set to address limitations on *substate actors*, differentiating between guerilla warfare (violence against military personnel) and terrorism (violence against civilians) – just as the rules of war differentiate between legitimate combatants and war criminals. For the purpose of defining terrorism, it is not significant what goal the organization aspires to achieve (as long as it is political); both the terrorist and the guerilla fighter may aspire to achieve the same goals. However, they each chose a different path – a different means – in order to realize these goals.

Defining terrorism is critical in ensuring that the same normative standards currently enforced on states are applicable to nonstate actors, defining when their use of violence is permissible and when it is prohibited. Paradoxically, what is currently prohibited for states is not yet prohibited for organizations. Defining terrorism does not raise or lower the obligation of states to behave normatively and certainly does not place additional legal burdens upon them. It simply makes organizations accountable for their actions under the same value system currently obligating states.

---

<sup>10</sup>Terrorism is defined by the U.S. State Department as: “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents.” (from the 22 U.S.C., 2656f(d)(2); See <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2005/65353.htm>.)

<sup>11</sup>The UN short legal definition of terrorism, proposed by terrorism expert Alex P. Schmid, states that an act of terrorism is the “peacetime equivalent of a war crime.” While such a definition does not consider terrorism an act of war, in drawing a parallel with a war crime it notes the importance of the target (civilian vs. military) in legitimizing acts of violence. (See: [http://www.unodc.org/unodc/terrorism\\_definitions.html](http://www.unodc.org/unodc/terrorism_definitions.html).)

Reaching a broad international agreement regarding the definition of terrorism may require the international community to apply laws of war that forbid the deliberate targeting of civilians, but allow for the deliberate attack (in accordance with the other regulations) of an enemy's military personnel. The definition proposed in this chapter may be capable of eliciting a broad base of support from many countries and organizations, both because it is based on already accepted international norms, and because it seemingly provides subnational organizations the possibility of legitimately using violence in order to achieve their goals.

Such a definition would not allow for the artificial distinction that is often made between "bad" terrorism and "good" or "tolerable" terrorism. It instead adheres to the principle that "terrorism is terrorism is terrorism," no matter who carries it out – a Muslim, Christian, Jew, or member of any other religion. Terrorism would be considered an illegitimate and forbidden method of operation in all cases, under all circumstances. The ideological or cultural background of the perpetrators; and the religious, political, social or economic motives of the act; would all be irrelevant in classifying an act of terrorism.

Many view the effort to achieve a broad international agreement on terrorism as hopeless and naïve. However, Security Council Resolution 1566, which was unanimously accepted by Council members in October 2004, may be a basis for hope that countries will overcome prior disputes, rise above their own interests, and reach an agreement in the near future regarding the international definition of terrorism. Resolution 1566, without serving as the definition itself, already establishes one basic principle on which an international definition can be built. It stipulates that terrorism is a crime against civilians, which in no circumstance can be justified by political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious, or other considerations.<sup>12</sup>

## Modern Terrorism

Descriptions of typical terrorist operations and their common characteristics are often included in proposed definitions of modern terrorism – particularly in those that address the fear and anxiety created by terrorist acts. In such definitions, terrorism is presented as a form of violent activity (or threat of violence) that

---

<sup>12</sup>Resolution 1566 (2004): "Condemns in the strongest terms all acts of terrorism irrespective of their motivation, whenever and by whomsoever committed, as one of the most serious threats to peace and security...Recalls that criminal acts, including against civilians committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury or taking hostages with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons intimidate a population or compel a government or an offences within the scope of and as defined in the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, are under no circumstances justifiable by considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic religious or other similar nature and calls upon all states to prevent such acts...". (See: <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/542/82/PDF/N0454282.pdf?OpenElement>)

intends to frighten a group of people beyond the actual victims (Horgan, 2005:1). After reviewing the development of the definition of terrorism and examining a variety of definitions, Bruce Hoffman reaches the following conclusion in his important book, *Inside Terrorism*:

“We may therefore now attempt to define terrorism as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change... terrorism is specifically designed to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victim(s) or object of the terrorist attack...” (Hoffman, 2006:40).

Definitions that refer to terrorism as an act intended to instill fear and anxiety in the public are generally based on the literal meaning and historical use of the term “terrorism,” its application dating back to the French civil war.<sup>13</sup> Such definitions also rely on what is perceived to be the primary operational tactic of modern terrorism – psychological warfare – which seeks to achieve political goals by instilling fear and anxiety among its target population.

While definitions vary widely, there is a general consensus among most leading scholars as to the essential nature of the terrorist threat; researchers will rarely dispute the importance fear and anxiety play in *understanding* the phenomenon of modern terrorism. However, it is important to note that resulting fear and anxiety may not be an essential variable in *defining* a terrorist attack. In order to ensure that acts are objectively classified as terrorist attacks, an accepted definition must, in application, serve as a checklist of components.

Based on the definition proposed in the previous section, if an act is not violent, does not deliberately target civilians, or does not attempt to achieve a political goal, then it is not a terrorist attack. Adding the element of fear and anxiety to the definition – essentially putting it on the checklist of required components – significantly changes the term’s application. If an attack, which would otherwise be considered an act of terrorism, does not aim to frighten, but rather only seeks to achieve concrete, tangible objectives – such as the release of prisoners or the assassination of a leading political figure – would the action not be considered terrorism? Similarly, a nuclear attack aimed at eradicating the majority of the population or contaminating an extensive area – which ultimately seeks to disable the state and prevent it from operating as an independent political entity – would be widely considered a terrorist attack, even though instilling fear and anxiety is not its primary purpose.

Since such circumstances and scenarios can reasonably exist, the “fear and anxiety element” may not be necessary in *defining* terrorism; rather, it is valuable in *explaining* the modus operandi of a significant portion of modern terrorist attacks.

---

<sup>13</sup>The term “terrorism” comes from the Latin *terrere*, “to cause to tremble.” The term became popularized during the “Reign of Terror” carried out by the revolutionary government in France from 1793 to 1794 (Juergensmeyer, 2003: 5).

Indeed, modern terrorism is not necessarily about the numbers. In fact, most modern terrorist attacks, while violent in nature, generally produce limited damage or casualties.<sup>14</sup> Instead, they rely on psychological warfare as a tool in achieving their goals, creating fear and anxiety among the general population. In many cases, a terrorist attack is random, aimed not at someone specific, but rather a group that shares a common trait and symbolizes the organization's broader target (Americans, Israelis, "infidels," Westerners, etc.). By simultaneously transmitting several messages, these attacks intensify the sense of anxiety felt by the target group, which leads civilians to pressure decision makers and their government into changing policies and agreeing to terrorists' demands. Some of the messages terrorist organizations aim to send through their attacks include:

1. *Uncertainty* – The randomness of the attack is supposed to instill a sense of uncertainty in the public regarding "safe behavior," prompting fear that anyone could be the next victim (Horgan, 2005:3).
2. *Vulnerability* – A terrorist attack can take place anywhere, anytime, making all citizens feel vulnerable.
3. *Helplessness* – The state's security apparatus cannot foil or prevent attacks, or protect civilians.
4. *Personalization* – You or someone close to you may not have been hurt in a recent attack, but it could very well be you the next time, since the victims have the same profile as you (Ganor, 2005:256).
5. *Disproportional price* – The price the individual must pay due to his government's policy is very high. For that reason he must act to change national/international priorities in a way that will serve the terrorist's objectives.
6. *Vengeance* – The citizen suffers due to the government's actions against the terrorist organization and its supporters, and for this reason it is in his best interest to pressure the government to avoid this activity.

Such attacks aim to create anxiety among the target group at a level disproportionate to the actual capabilities of the terrorist organization, forcing members of the target population to reprioritize and shift their concerns from that of national security to personal security. The target population perceives a growing threat from terrorism, which may be viewed by the public as largely fueled by the government's supposedly dangerous policies. As political tension and criticism against the government in the target country mount, according to the strategy of modern terrorism, the public will pressure decision makers to change their policies in a manner that will suit the interests and goals of the terrorist organizations, or call for a change in administration that will establish policies more favorable to terrorist groups.

In order to create this effect of fear, terrorist organizations often choose to escalate their activity in such a manner as to shock the public. According to Crenshaw, a review

---

<sup>14</sup>LaFree and Dugan note that over 53% of terrorist organizations from the Global Terrorism Database included in their study (1974–2004) have never produced a single fatality (LaFree and Dugan, in this volume).



of the history of terrorism reveals that terrorists have purposely chosen targets considered taboo or unpredictable in order to attract international media coverage (Crenshaw, 1998:14–15). The media component is central to modern terrorism’s strategy. Without media coverage, a terrorist organization has little opportunity to convey its message, let alone shock or scare its target population. The success of a modern terrorist campaign is arguably dependent on the amount of publicity it receives; the “journalist and television camera are the terrorist’s best friends” (Laqueur, 1987).

## Terrorism and Traditional Crime

In seeking funding to support ongoing operations or infrastructure, terrorist organizations in Latin America, Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East have increasingly come to rely on “traditional” criminal activities, such as drug trafficking, counterfeiting, petty crime, human trafficking, and extortion (Vidino and Emerson, 2006; Mili, 2006). In fact, over the last three decades, law enforcement agencies have reported increased cooperation between terrorist organizations and criminal actors and activities – including attacks that have been financed through illegal crimes and suspects who have been prosecuted for crimes in which proceeds were directed to international terrorist organizations like Hezbollah and Al-Qaeda (Noble, 2003).

Growing expenses associated with terrorist activity, such as payments to organization personnel, transportation, accommodation, training, and procurement of weapons, have served as incentive for terrorist organizations to get involved in common crime. These activities only further exacerbate the danger posed by terrorist organizations to the global economy and to the safety and wellbeing of the world’s population. By counterfeiting currency, for example, a terrorist organization can damage a country’s economy while it raises funds. Similarly, by producing and smuggling drugs to certain countries, an organization can cause considerable harm to the local population and simultaneously finance its activities.

In the early 1970s, terrorist organizations, particularly those not supported financially by states, funded their activities through criminal activities such as bank robberies, kidnappings for ransom, and blackmail. Terrorist organizations, such as the Red Brigades in Italy, cooperated with criminal elements, enlisting them into the ranks of their organization. However, in the late 1970s and more so in the early 1980s, terrorist organizations realized that drug trafficking was far more lucrative than other routine criminal activities, leading to a phenomenon known as “narco-terrorism.”<sup>15</sup>

Terrorist organizations have been involved in producing and selling narcotics throughout the world – in Latin America (Colombia, Peru, Cuba, Bolivia); in Asia and

---

<sup>15</sup>To illustrate the amount of money involved, a survey conducted by the United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention described the production, trafficking, and sales of illicit drugs to be an estimated \$400-billion-a-year industry. A 2005 UN report estimated that global drug trade generated an estimated \$322 billion in 2003, greater than the gross domestic product of 88% of the countries in the world (Pollard, 2005).

the Middle East (Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Afghanistan, India, the Philippines, Pakistan); and even in Western countries such as Italy, Spain, Ireland, and the United States.

Drug trafficking by terrorist groups in Columbia is of particular concern to western governments. According to reports from the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Law Enforcement affairs, revenues earned from narcotics cultivation, taxation, and distribution have accounted for at least half the funding used to support terrorist activities by two of the country's largest terrorist groups – the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia (AUC). The State Department estimates that the FARC receives \$300 million a year from drug sales to finance its terrorist activities.<sup>16</sup>

The tri-border area (TBA), or “triple frontier” as it is known, centered along the borders of Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil, has been widely recognized as another hotbed for terrorism financing and activity, particularly to groups such as Hezbollah and Hamas. Without strict border controls, the area serves as a haven for drugs and arms trafficking, counterfeiting, smuggling and other illegal activities. Tens of millions of dollars are estimated to have been transferred to groups through illegal remittances and other illegal activities, according to investigations by local police forces (Madani, 2002; Tri-border Transfers “funding terror,” 2006).

Most terror organizations, however, are not directly involved in actually growing or producing drugs. They are tasked primarily with protecting the drugs and ensuring the safety of growers and producers. They also are active in smuggling narcotics to the marketing centers in countries where the drugs are distributed (Hudson, 2003:24). These organizations usually have a diverse network of contacts, enabling them to cross borders via indirect routes and smuggle weapons, ammunition, and various other products. Terrorist organizations can use the same routes and network used by their supporters in order to smuggle drugs.

In some cases, drugs have been used to recruit foreign activists, in a sense bribing them to execute terrorist attacks. In these cases, the activists, who are not members of the organization, are enlisted in order to carry out attacks on behalf of the terror organizations, sometimes unbeknownst to the activists themselves, in return for a regular supply of drugs.<sup>17</sup> In other cases, terrorist organizations supply their members with drugs in order to increase their dependence on the organization and encourage obedience to its leaders.<sup>18</sup> Some terrorist organizations refer to the distribution of drugs as an alternative form of attack, since drug consumption can harm the national morale and weaken the ability of the population to cope with crises.

---

<sup>16</sup>See Deborah McCarthy's testimony before the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate, May 20, 2003, “*Narco-Terrorism: International Drug Trafficking and Terrorism – A Dangerous Mix.*”

<sup>17</sup>For example, On August 28, 1971, a Dutch citizen, Henrietta Hundemeir, was arrested in Israel with a suitcase containing a timer-activated bomb with a barometric altimeter. The bomb was meant to explode in the El Al aircraft in which she herself was flying to Israel. Hundemeir was enlisted in Yugoslavia by a member of the “Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine,” who became her close friend by supplying her with drugs and using them with her.

<sup>18</sup>One example is the “Weatherman” organization, which was responsible for terrorist attacks in the U.S. at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. The group perceived drug use as a part of the revolutionary process.

## Global Jihadi Terrorism

Terrorism is a dynamic phenomenon that develops over time, gradually changing its shape and activities. It is carried out by various organizations in the service of different ideologies. Despite the fact that various local terrorist groups have operated in the international arena in the past decade, there is growing recognition by scholars and the intelligence community that the current international terrorist threat does not come from organizations motivated by nationalist grievances or separatist goals (such as the IRA, ETA, Fatah, LTTE, PKK, and others). Instead, the main threat is that of radical Islamic terrorism primarily aimed at promoting a radical religious world view.<sup>19</sup> Such groups are motivated by what they perceive as a divine command, making them potentially more dangerous than groups motivated by other causes. Hoffman stresses that while religion was an inseparable component of many terrorist organizations in the past, the dominant motivation for their actions was political rather than religious. This is not the case with Al-Qaeda and other radical Islamic organizations today. For them, religion is the most important component defining their activities, ideology, characteristics, and recruitment methods (Hoffman, 2006:82).

According to James Thomson, “religions are very effective at guiding in-group morality and out-group hatred. They permit the take-over of groups by disenfranchised young males, they minimize the fear of death by spreading the belief in an afterlife reward for those who are dying in a holy war, etc.” (Thomson, 2003:82).

Radical Islamic terrorism, part of the Global Jihad movement, includes acts perpetrated by many organizations, groups, and cells around the world. The movement is headed by Al-Qaeda, which, despite the many setbacks it has endured since September 11, 2001, is still capable of carrying out “direct attacks” through activists reporting directly to its authority or “indirect attacks” through proxy organizations – radical Islamic terrorist organizations and networks that share a similar fundamentalist Islamic ideology, aspirations, and interests. Some of these organizations, such as Egyptian, Bangladeshi, and Afghan Jihadi groups, were established by Osama bin Laden under the umbrella of his “International Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders” (February 1998).

Some of these organizations have made pacts or commitments to bin Laden over the years, such as the Egyptian Al-Jama’*a* Al-Islamiya and the GSPC (currently referred to as Al-Qaeda of the Maghreb). However, the most significant trend of the past several years has been the phenomenon of “homegrown terrorism.” Lone activists and local radical groups of Muslims, who either immigrated to Western countries

---

<sup>19</sup>There are also terrorist organizations that combine religious grievances with national-political motivations, such as Hamas. On the one hand, Hamas derives its ideology from the same narrative and background as Al-Qaeda, based on the early religious global ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood. At the same time though, Hamas seeks to achieve the nationalistic goal of destroying Israel and creating a Palestinian state in its place.

(first, second, or third generation) or converted to Islam in their country of origin, become inspired by the Global Jihad movement, leading them to carry out terrorist attacks.

Al-Qaeda, its allies in the Global Jihad movement, other radical Islamic terrorist organizations, and the radical Islamic networks and cells of the West, all believe in one divine mission, which calls upon them to spread their radical beliefs throughout the world (Sageman, 2004:1). In seeking to achieve this mission, they believe it is permissible and necessary to make use of violence and terrorism, and that they are fighting a “defensive war” that allows them to use drastic measures. One perspective shared by several researchers is that this defensive war is not actually pitted against American or Western imperialism, as Global Jihad organizations commonly claim. Rather, the “fight against the West” is used to help mobilize and recruit activists, arguably acting as “lip service” by Al-Qaeda. It also serves to at least express their concern over every aspect of modernization, including democratic forms of government, liberal values, and even modern technology that threaten the way of life they strive for – a radical Islamic caliphate governed by Sharia law.

It is also important to note that the threat of Global Jihad is not, as many tend to think, a war between Islam and other religions. Rather, it can be understood as a war of cultures – the culture of radical Islam against the outside world; or the culture of radical Islam against the culture of the “infidels,” as Islamists call all those who do not share their world view.

Many in the radical Jihadi movement recognize that they will not be able to succeed in their worldwide campaign in the near future. Therefore they aim, as a first stage, to create localized radical Islamic revolutions, primarily in Arab and Islamic countries. In fact, the majority of Global Jihad attacks over the past several years occurred in countries of the Arab or Islamic world, such as Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Turkey, Algeria, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Indonesia. The goal of such attacks is to destabilize local regimes and create political unrest, establishing the conditions necessary for radical movements to take control of the country’s government. A large percentage of these attacks target tourist destinations, serving a dual purpose – they cause Western casualties and damage a primary source of income for the targeted Muslim country.

Such attacks seriously undermine a country’s ability to provide critical services to its citizens, ultimately leading to criticism, unrest, and government instability. Attacks against Western targets – such as in London, Madrid, and even on September 11th – served the same purpose; they deter Western countries from being involved in an Islamic campaign or providing military assistance and economic support to nonfundamentalist Islamic governments.

Consistent with the method of modern terrorism and Global Jihad strategy, fear of terrorist attacks felt by Americans, Brits, and other western citizens is meant to translate into pressure on decision-makers to change their policies and adopt a policy of isolationism, consequently weakening nonradical Muslim governments that would otherwise be supported by western governments. A significant achievement of this strategy was the shift in the Spanish elections following the series of terrorist attacks on four commuter trains in Madrid in March 2004, in which 191 people

were killed and over 1,500 injured. The attacks came three days before general elections, apparently leading to the defeat of the incumbent party that had been leading in opinion polls. The new government decided to pull out Spanish troops deployed in Iraq. Without western support, aid, and involvement, it is difficult for nonradical Arab and Muslim governments to stay in power, which ultimately promotes the strategic goals of the Global Jihad movement.

The dynamic nature of the terrorism phenomenon has also been represented by Al-Qaeda's changing methods of operation and organizational structure. Until the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, Al-Qaeda operated as an organized hierarchy with a top leadership level, a mid-rank level, and a lower level of activists carrying out orders and directives from above. As such, the September 11th attacks were carried out as a result of an organized decision-making process and complex preparations over a long period of time.

However, Al-Qaeda experienced a shift in organizational structure post 9/11, partly in response to the American military campaign that followed the attacks. The occupation of Afghanistan, the destruction of the organization's administrative and operational infrastructure, loss of support from the Taliban and a significant amount of manpower, and the demolition of training camps, recruitment offices and facilities, effectively forced Al-Qaeda to change its structure and method of operation. Without autonomous territory in Afghanistan from which to operate, or freedom of movement for the organization's leaders and activists, the hierarchical structure of the organization and the control level of the organization's leadership over its activists were severely damaged.

Apart from direct, organized, and hierarchical processes of carrying out attacks, following the campaign in Afghanistan, the majority of Global Jihad attacks were carried out by affiliate organizations belonging to bin Laden's network, part of the "International Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders." Other attacks were carried out by independent Jihadist organizations that actively support Al-Qaeda's world view. Such "indirect attacks" are often initiated by Al-Qaeda's leadership, and on certain occasions are even supported by Al-Qaeda on the operational level. Ultimately though, the attacks are perpetrated by organizations functioning as proxies of Al-Qaeda.

In the past several years, Al-Qaeda has undergone an additional developmental process. In addition to its reliance on proxy organizations to conduct terror attacks, Al-Qaeda has focused on spreading its ideology through international media, mosques, and Islamic community centers, and – most significantly – through the world wide web. The organization seeks to inspire young Muslims around the world, and especially in Western countries, to perpetrate attacks in their immediate environment. This phenomenon, known as "homegrown terrorism," is the current trend in radical Islamic terrorism. It works to influence the hearts and brainwash the minds of many young people around the world – first- and second-generation Muslim immigrants, converts to Islam, and others – creating a radicalization process within various Muslim communities.

This method of operation is not a substitute for direct attacks in the 9/11 model or even for indirect attacks through proxies; rather it functions in addition to these

methods. Homegrown terrorism constitutes a dangerous threat to western society because it is carried out by Western citizens in their own countries. These local activists have a clear advantage over external actors: they are embedded within these societies, know the societies' weak points better than others, can move about freely, know the local language, and operate alone or as part of small local networks that are often very difficult to infiltrate.

Marc Sageman explains how such networks are assembled:

"A group of people can be viewed as a network, a collection of nodes connected through links. Some nodes are more popular and are attached to more links, connecting them to other more isolated nodes. These more connected nodes, called hubs, are important components of a terrorist network" (Sageman, 2004:137).

As earlier noted, the internet serves as a critical modern technology that in many cases connects various nodes of a terrorist network. Radical Islamic internet websites, blogs, forums, and chat rooms create virtual radical Islamic communities, facilitating the spread of materials of incitement, supporting the radicalization process and bridging geographic barriers. The internet allows such radical activists to circumvent censorship and prepare recruits to carry out attacks. Instead of the physical training facilities it lost in Afghanistan, Al-Qaeda has begun using "cyber replacements" in order to recruit and train terrorists. The internet provides the organization direct access to a much larger pool of potential activists, all without the ability of government authorities to effectively monitor or thwart their activities (Jessee, 2006:380).

Another source of concern stemming from the dynamic processes of modern terrorism is the possible use by Global Jihad organizations of nonconventional measures (CBRN) in their attacks. Today, the world is essentially witnessing an extended process of transition from modern terrorism to postmodern terrorism.<sup>20</sup> This transition is already apparent in the use of various poisons by radical Islamic activists in their attacks, such as attempts to use ricin and cyanide, and even more so in the dangerous phenomenon of using chlorine in mass casualty attacks, such as in Iraq in 2007. While studies indicate that past and current use of CBRN measures or weapons of mass destruction (WMD) by terrorist groups is actually quite rare,<sup>21</sup> many in the intelligence and academic community expect the trend will continue and even grow as radical Islamic terrorist organizations, who see themselves as fighting a total war to save Islam from the infidels – and do not hesitate to commit suicide in carrying out their attacks – will imitate these methods in an attempt to maximize the number of casualties in their attacks and heighten anxiety among the target population (Campbell, 2000:17–49).

---

<sup>20</sup>For definition of post-modern terrorism see (Ganor, 2005b).

<sup>21</sup>Of the more than 82,000 attacks analyzed in their database study, Lafree and Dugan found only 1.3% used weapons of mass destruction, which by their adopted definition includes nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons in addition to guided missiles and sophisticated explosives intended to kill a large number of people and to create mass disruption.

## Terrorism and the Democratic State

The threat posed by the Global Jihad movement is not limited to its dissemination of radical and uncompromising ideology, its willingness to commit suicide attacks, or even the possibility of its use of nonconventional weapons. Terrorist organizations pose an additional danger to liberal democratic states, which must protect the lives of their citizens while still maintaining the liberal values and democratic character of the country. Modern terrorist organizations perpetrate a large number of their attacks within the territories of democratic states or against their interests. In fact, in comparing the distribution of terrorist attacks within countries classified under four different levels of democracy (fully democratic, nearly democratic, mixed regimes, and mostly autocratic), Lafree and Dugan find that “fully democratic countries experience the most constant stream of attacks” in a comparative series.

It is in a democratic state, in which the population has the ability to change the regime or force it to change its policies to reflect the will of the people, that an act of terrorism holds the most significance. Only in a democratic state is there a mass-media free of censorship, which constitutes an essential component in modern terrorism strategy and serves to transmit a terrorist organization’s various messages, particularly those of intimidation.

A state’s liberal democratic values essentially limit its ability to utilize all available measures in thwarting terrorism. Terrorist organizations are aware of the fact that total efficiency in fighting terrorism, in many cases, runs contrary to democratic liberal values. A liberal democratic society is required to selectively choose measures to thwart terrorism, ensuring such measures do not harm innocent civilians or undermine values of equality among all citizens. Such measures cannot subject specific subgroups to unequal treatment on the basis of their ethnicity or religion. Freedom of movement, freedom of speech, the individual’s right to protect their body and possessions – all these are pillars of a liberal-democratic society, but, in effect, they limit the measures democratic states can use in the fight against terrorism (Bandura, 1998:166).

Many view terrorism as a form of asymmetric warfare in which a nonstate actor fights a state that is relatively stronger in terms of its military, economic, and intelligence capabilities. However, contrary to the traditional David-and-Goliath style confrontation, the balance of power between the two actors does not necessarily favor the state. The state (Goliath) is actually bound and shackled by its liberal beliefs and values, and undermining these values would constitute a victory for a terror organization. The state is unable to utilize its relative advantage in cutting-edge technologies, fire power, or military and economic resources, since the fight against a terrorist group does not necessarily supply defined targets, or high-powered attacks by state actors against terrorist targets could harm those with no connection to a terrorist group. A form of reverse asymmetry is established as a result: Goliath (the state) is bound by his hands and feet, while David (the substate actor) is exempt from all moral or legal restraints.

Schmid summarizes the dilemma as follows:

“We must make a difficult decision: do we wish to sacrifice some of our democratic values in order to be more efficient against terrorism or must we suffer a certain level of terrorism in order to preserve civil rights that we hold dear?” (Schmid, 1993:15).

It seems that the population of a democratic state is willing to tolerate a certain level of terrorism without demanding decision makers take severe steps against perpetrators, so long as terrorism serves as no more than an irritant. However, when terrorism becomes more than a nuisance – when the population’s daily life is affected – massive pressure is placed on the government to use all possible means to defeat the threat (Gal-Or, 1991:144), sometimes at the risk of undermining democratic values. Therefore, in addition to the danger modern terrorism poses in terms of human lives, terror attacks can also damage a state’s liberal democratic values.

## **The Economic Ramifications of Terrorism**

Modern terrorism also has a high economic price. In examining the economic effects of mass-casualty terror attacks, one should differentiate between two types of effects – direct and indirect. Direct economic effects include, *inter alia*, compensation for direct damage caused by an attack, including damage to property or from personal injuries. This cost is likely to be paid by insurance companies or directly by the government through compensation payments or a national insurance system, as is customary in Israel. In addition to the direct damage, however, an attack usually causes wide-scale collateral damage that can sometimes be greater than the direct damage. This damage is generally the result of the fear and anxiety that terror attacks create among the population. The “personalization” process, which causes people to feel there is a good chance they will be the next victims of a terrorist attack, naturally influences their behavior. People may avoid traveling abroad for a certain period of time, in particular to those countries where an attack has occurred. They may also avoid air travel in general or congregating in tourist sites. One’s local surroundings are perceived to be more familiar and therefore safer. Long trips may seem fraught with unnecessary danger. Such emotional effects influence world tourism and air travel.

These two industries were badly hit following the 9/11 attacks and those that occurred thereafter. In fact, they almost caused the financial collapse of several airlines and resulted in heavy economic damage to countries where tourism is considered a central source of income. As a result of such harsh blows to the tourism sector and the decrease in international flights, the leisure industry also suffered. A decline in tourism hurts restaurants, cafes, clubs, etc. The situation in Israel following the wave of terror attacks from 2000 to 2003 provides a particularly applicable case study in understanding the economic ramifications of terrorism. The process began with a halt in tourism following the terror attacks, which led to an economic recession for the entire leisure industry. The despondent mood in the business sector caused by the terror attacks quickly affected the capital market and thereafter the



commercial sector. Finally, as a result of the mounting recession, the real estate sector also suffered (Melnick and Eldor, 2004:367–386).

In addition, a significant portion of a country's budget and many national resources are allocated to the prevention and defense against terrorism activities. While the cost of terrorism itself is extremely low – and is in fact becoming even lower – billions of dollars are invested in defense against terrorism (Horgan, 2005:9).

The long-term economic effects of terrorism are no less severe than the direct and indirect short-term economic ramifications. This includes severe damage to development and investment activities, such as the prevention of business expansion, identification of new markets, recruitment of personnel, etc.

One question terrorism researchers are seeking to answer is whether harming the economy is a primary or only secondary strategic goal of terrorism, and of radical Islamic terrorism in particular. Websites that serve bin Laden's followers have reiterated the influence terrorism has on the Western economy. They contend that Islam must attack the American enemy and the entire Western world exactly where it hurts the most, i.e., in their pockets. This strategy has even been dubbed "economic jihad," and its ostensible goal is not only to cause a large number of casualties, but also to trigger the collapse of the world's economic centers.<sup>22</sup>

The 9/11 attacks and the events that took place thereafter demonstrated the enormous damage that international terrorism can cause to the world economy, particularly in the private business sector. However, it is unknown whether or not this was bin Laden's primary goal when he initiated the 9/11 attacks. The World Trade Center (WTC) could have been chosen as a target because it served as the business hub of New York and one of the most important economic centers worldwide, or could have been selected because of the perpetrators' assessment that attacking the WTC would cause a large number of casualties and would instill fear and panic in the American population and the entire world. The twin towers may have been a symbolic target representing Western economic power, while an attack on the Pentagon would demonstrate radical Islam's ability to target the center of Western military power. A planned attack on Congress or the White House could arguably symbolize the perpetrators' ability to harm the political nerve center.

Most likely, all these goals were considered by Al-Qaeda when they chose to attack the specific targets on 9/11. The subsequent economic damage, therefore, may not necessarily have been the terrorists' primary goal. However, terrorist organizations are quick learners. They are constantly learning about their enemy – gathering information from the press, their sympathizers worldwide, and from any other possible source. Economic explanations for their actions, therefore, may have been adopted retroactively. Terrorist organizations understand that the way they

---

<sup>22</sup>Dr. Abd al Aziz Rantisi published a written statement on Hamas' official web site calling on Muslims all over the world to wage an "economic jihad" against the United States. Muslims must recruit their financial resources and capabilities to strike and weaken the US economy. See: Col. (res.) Jonathan Figchel, "Hamas calls for "Economic Jihad" against the U.S.", [www.ict.org.il/index.php?sid=119&lang=en&act=page&id=5954&str=jonathan%20figchel](http://www.ict.org.il/index.php?sid=119&lang=en&act=page&id=5954&str=jonathan%20figchel)

frame an attack, largely dependent on the content of their declarations following an attack, can increase their power to instill fear of future threats, ultimately advancing their goals. Many attacks in recent years have in fact been against economic, tourism, or commercial targets. Aside from the example of September 11, other such cases include the attack on a hotel in Mombassa and the firing of anti-aircraft missile at an Israeli passenger plane in November 2002, the attack against tourists in Sharm-al-Sheikh (July 2005) and in Dahab (April 2006) in Egypt, an attack in a dance club in Bali (October 2005), attacks against hotels in Amman (November 2005), etc.

These attacks, as well as others, had severe economic consequences on tourism and air travel worldwide. It still appears however that the economic goal in these cases was secondary to the aim of seeking crowded venues where an attack would result in a large number of casualties. The victims' international identities and the large number of injured were meant to produce mass-media coverage. Since the victims were not local (Australians in Bali, Israelis in Mombassa, etc.), the organizations' message would reach an international audience, maximizing its impact.

## **Responding to Terrorism – Recommendations**

Effectively coping with the phenomenon of terrorism requires local and international action on two levels – addressing both terrorists' motivation and their operational capabilities. It is a state's responsibility and duty to protect its citizens, and so it must work to reduce terrorist organizations' operational capabilities through preventative and offensive action (and sometimes also defensive action) based on intelligence resources. With the development of modern terrorism and its continuing international reach, the physical and moral damage incurred by terrorist acts has increased to such an extent that it arguably threatens the proper functioning of open society, the world economy, and the maintenance of humanitarian and liberal values – making counter-terrorism efforts all the more crucial.

Effectively countering the threat of terrorism and Global Jihad networks requires a well-coordinated and multidisciplinary campaign that takes advantage of all possible resources – intelligence, economic, security related, and diplomatic. According to Hoffman and Taw (1992), countries that have political, diplomatic, and economic ties or interests with countries that support terrorism, may not pressure them to stop granting political asylum to terrorists or allow the extradition of terrorists (1992:121).

It is important to recognize that it takes a network to defeat a network, which is only possible if the world community agrees together on the nature of the terrorist threat, prioritizing counter terrorism on their national agendas and coordinating in all their efforts. Sharing pieces of the intelligence puzzle and declaring joint sanctions on states that support terrorism – without taking into account economic considerations or diplomatic interests – is critical in developing a cohesive and effective response to terrorism. This requires not only agreement on the part of a

number of states, but the advancement of international legislation against terrorism and the strict enforcement of applicable conventions and laws. As a prerequisite, the international community must agree on one international objective and comprehensive definition of terrorism, which is not broad or vague, that refers to terrorism as an outlawed method of operation that no goal can justify. Such a definition would differentiate between terrorism and other violent measures intended to achieve criminal or political aims. The implications of such efforts – which require the cooperation of the academic, security, and intelligence communities – lie in the perpetuation or termination of the threat; only when such coordination is established can the world community deal effectively with the operational capabilities of the Global Jihad movement and the modern terrorist threat.

Establishing an alliance of countries that share the common goal of effectively countering global terrorism would be one step in creating a broad-based and international response to terrorism. Such an alliance could reflect the NATO model, but, unlike NATO would include third-world, Arab and Muslim states in addition to Western countries.

In past years, the international community has in many cases been able to effectively thwart terrorist plots. A window of opportunity has been created as a result of such short-term achievements, allowing the international community to potentially deal with the roots of terrorism – the motivations that breed terrorism, propaganda and incitement to violence based on radical Islamic justifications, and the radicalization process as a whole, which has continued over generations by radical Islamic movements, organizations, and individuals all over the world.

International radical Islamic terrorism is primarily the result of a systematic process of fundamentalist indoctrination that has taken place for over two decades all over the Arab and Muslim world. It is the product of two primary factors. First, after Khomeini's revolution in Iran in 1979, the new Iranian regime's primary goal was to "export the revolution," first and foremost to Shiite Muslim populations in other countries. The regime invested tremendous amounts of resources in this venture. Second, many other resources, based on petrodollars, were invested to strengthen radical Islamic education among the Sunni-Wahabbi communities. These resources were used to establish educational, religious, and welfare services all over the Muslim world in order to provide the population with basic services. The masses, who had difficulty providing their families with basic needs, rushed to accept help from the Islamic movements, even when aid was provided only on condition that they submit to radical Islamic indoctrination.

For more than two decades, the radical Islamic movement has succeeded in establishing a solid base within many communities of the Muslim world. The movement first preached religious fundamentalism, but soon started to support and preach violence against its enemies – the "infidels" – without differentiating between Christians, Jews, or even Muslims who do not support a radical interpretation of Islam.

In order to counter the motivations behind the Global Jihad movement, the radical Islamic movement and associated political parties may need to be uprooted. This task should not be placed on the shoulders of Western states,

however. Rather, it would most appropriately and effectively be a task for the pragmatic Islamic world, which is still by far the majority within the Islamic world. However, vast resources are needed in order to strengthen alternative educational, religious, and welfare systems within the Muslim world. A possible approach would be to task the West, headed by the U.S., with assisting in the development of, in essence, a new “Marshall Plan,” available to pragmatic Muslim regimes. The budget for such a program could be supervised and would not intend to interfere with the religious, educational, and cultural content of the Islamic world. As such, efforts to counter radical Islamic terrorism would be based in the Muslim world, with Muslims themselves preventing the hijacking of their religion by radicals.

In recent years, the U.S. has worked to implement a plan of democratization in the Muslim world, aiming to advance reforms that would encourage democracy in the political lives of Arab and Muslim states. The premise, similar to the Helsinki Accords between the Western and Eastern blocs in 1975, was based on establishing relations between the two sides while stressing the issue of human rights. Just as with the eventual fall of the Communist regime, such democratic reforms are meant to bring about a desired regime change in Islamic states. However, the American democratization program could potentially “throw the baby out with the bath water.” Demanding increased democratization in Arab and Muslim countries instead of demanding more pragmatism actually plays into the hands of the Islamic fundamentalists.

American decision makers would be better positioned if they remembered how American pressure on the Iranian Shah’s regime to implement democratic reforms was a decisive factor in the fall of the regime and Khomeini’s rise to power. Despite the inherent benefits of a democratic system, the U.S. must understand that imposing democratic reforms on a nation that has not gone through its own process of liberalization, pragmatism, and democratization can be dangerous and counter-productive. Forcing Arab and Muslim regimes to adopt a democratic regime and the criteria accepted in Western society could add fuel to the radical Islamic fire. It could cause the downfall of regimes that are not hostile to the west and the subsequent rise of Khomeinistic juntas that bear no resemblance to a democracy.

Efforts to eradicate radical Islamic terrorism and encourage democracy in the Muslim world should start with a long and thorough stage of pragmatic liberal education and legal restrictions on incitement to violence and terrorism. Such efforts can take place both within Muslim countries and internally in western states with large Muslim communities. Countries that host large Muslim immigrant communities can work to strengthen the moderate majority, also working to integrate and assimilate these communities and prevent discrimination against them. A host country may insist on demanding loyalty from the Muslim community, in terms of accepting the country’s values, learning the language of the host country, and, above all, rejecting radical incitement to violence.

## Research Implications and the Future

Academic research in the field of terrorism has been ongoing since the 1970s, but experienced a boost after 9/11, when governments began to re-evaluate the nature and level of the terrorist threat. Yet there is still significant room for further research, necessary in order to effectively counter and anticipate future threats. Comprehensive research on terrorism and counter terrorism requires multidisciplinary approaches that combine several fields within the behavioral sciences. Special emphasis should be placed on researching the radicalization process of terrorists in general and radical Islamic terrorists in particular, with specific focus on Muslim immigrants and converts. This should be combined with an ongoing effort to understand terrorists' rationale, cost-benefit evaluations, belief systems and considerations, decision-making processes, and modus operandi.

As part of this effort, exploring the direct and hidden messages sent by radical Islamic groups and movements can provide researchers significant insight into the radicalization process. The internet plays a crucial role in disseminating those messages, serving as a platform for radical virtual communities and ideology, in addition to being used for operational needs.

Within the academic field of counter terrorism, further research should also focus on gauging how much a country's counter terrorism policies and strategies stress the operational capabilities of terrorists as opposed to the motivational factors behind terrorism. The weight placed on each approach can be compared across countries. In addition, research must focus on the different forms of regional and international cooperation – both experiences and apparatuses – in order to suggest new policies for effective international cooperation regimes. In this respect, there is also a need to analyze and compare the role of the police and military in countering the phenomenon of terrorism, outlining the methods and boundaries of cooperation between these two agencies.

## References

- Abadie, A. 2004. *Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism*. KGS Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP04–043. Cambridge: Harvard University.
- Abd Al-Rahim Hassan Nazzal and others vs. the Commander of the IDF forces in Judea and Samaria. 1994. Israeli High Court of Justice 94/6026, verdict 48 (5):338.
- Al-Mukarramah, M. 2001. *Terrorism – The Islamic Point of View*. Distributed at the NGO conference in Durban. Durban, South Africa: Muslim World League.
- Atran, S. 2006. The moral logic and growth of suicide terrorism. *Washington Quarterly* 29 (2):127–147.
- Bandura, A. 1973. *Aggression: A Social Learning Analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, London: Prentice-Hall.
- Bandura, A. 1998. Mechanisms of moral disengagement. In *Origins of Terrorism*, ed. W. Reich, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center.

- Campbell, J. K. 2000. On not understanding the problem. In *Hype or Reality? The "New Terrorism" and Mass Casualty Attacks*, ed. B. Roberts, Alexandria, VA: The Chemical and Biological Arms Institute.
- Cooper, H. H. A. ("Tony") 1978. Psychopath as terrorist: A psychological perspective. *Legal Medical Quarterly* 2:253–262.
- Crenshaw, M. 1992. Decisions to use terrorism: Psychological constraints on instrumental reasoning. In *Social Movements and Violence: Participation in Underground Organizations*, ed. D. D. Porta, Greenwich, London: JAI.
- Crenshaw, M. 1998. The logic of terrorism: Terrorist behavior as a product of strategic choice. In *Origins of Terrorism*, ed. W. Reich, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center.
- Crenshaw, M. 2000. The psychology of terrorism: An agenda for the 21st century. *Political Psychology* 21(2):405–420.
- De la Corte, L., A. Kruglanski, J. de Miguel, J. M. Sabucedo, and D. Diaz. 2007. Siete principios psicosociales para explicar el terrorismo (Seven Psychosocial principles to explain terrorism). *Psicothema* 19(3):366–374.
- Federman, and others vs. the Attorney General and others. 1993. Israeli High Court of Justice 93/4162.
- Friedland, N. 1992. Becoming a terrorist: Social and individual antecedents. In *Terrorism: Roots, Impact, Responses*, ed. L. Howard. New York: Praeger.
- Gal-Or, N. 1991. Do western societies tolerate terrorism? In *Tolerating Terrorism in the West: An International Survey*, ed. N. Gal-Or, London: Routledge.
- Ganor, B. 2005. *The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Ganor, B. 2005b. The feasibility of post-modern terrorism. In *Post Modern Terrorism*, ed. B. Ganor, Israel: The Interdisciplinary Center – the International Policy institute for Counter-Terrorism.
- Gibbs, J. P. 1989. Conceptualization of terrorism. *American Sociological Review* 54 (3):329–340.
- Hacker, F. 1976. *Crusaders, Criminals, Crazies: Terror and Terrorism in Our Time*. New York: Norton.
- Harmon, C. 2000. *Terrorism Today*. London: Frank Cass.
- Hasisi, B., and A. Pedahzur. 2000. State, policy, and political violence: Arabs in the Jewish state. *Civil Wars* 3:64–68.
- Henkin, L. 1989. General course on public international law, 216/IV Collected Courses (1989) 9, as referenced in Sassoli, Marco. 2006. Terrorism and war. *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 4:959–981.
- Heskin, K. 1984. The psychology of terrorism in Ireland. In *Terrorism in Ireland*, eds. Y. Alexander and A. O'Day. New York: St. Martin's.
- Hoffman, B. 1995. Holy terror: The implications of terrorism motivated by a religious imperative. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 18(4):271–284.
- Hoffman, B. 1998. *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hoffman, B. 2004. Defining terrorism. In *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, eds. R. D. Howard and R. L. Sawyer, Dubuque: McGraw-Hill.
- Hoffman, B. 2006. *Inside Terrorism, Revised and Expanded Edition*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hoffman, B., and J. M. Taw. 1992. *A Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Insurgency, a Rand Note; N-3506-DOS*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.
- Holmes, L. 2007. *Terrorism, Organized Crime and Corruption: Networks and Linkages*. Cheltenham: Elgar.
- Horgan, J. 2005. *The Psychology of Terrorism*. London: Routledge.
- Hubbard, D. G. 1971. *The Skyjacker: His Flights of Fantasy*. New York: Macmillan.
- Hudson, R. A. 2003. *Terrorist and Organized Crime Groups in the Tri-Border Area (TBA) of South America*. Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS49424> (accessed November 2, 2008).

- Jessee, D. D. 2006. Tactical means, strategic ends: Al Qaeda's use of denial and deception. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18 (3):367–388.
- Juergensmeyer, M. 2003. *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. London: University of California Press.
- Kahn, J., and T. Weiner. 2002. World leaders rethinking strategy on aid to poor. *The New York Times*, 18 March, sec. A1, p. 3.
- Kinsley, M. 2001. Defining terrorism: It's essential, it's also impossible. *Slate*, 5 October. <http://www.slate.com/id/116697> (accessed November 19, 2008).
- Klein, M. W., and C. L. Maxson. 2006. *Street Gang Patterns and Policies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Klein, M. W., F. M. Weerman, and T. P. Thornberry. 2006. Street gang violence in Europe. *European Journal of Criminology* 3(4):413–437.
- Krueger, A. B., and D. D. Laitin. 2008. Kto Kogo?: A cross-country study of the origins and targets of terrorism. In *Terrorism, Economic Development and Political Openness*, eds. P. Keefer and N. Loayza, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krueger, A. B., and J. Maleckova. 2002. *Education, Poverty, Political Violence, and Terrorism: Is There a Connection? Working Paper No. w9074*. US: National Bureau of Economic Research. <http://papers.nber.org/papers/w9074> (accessed November 18, 2008).
- Krueger, A. B., and J. Maleckova. 2003. Education, poverty and terrorism: Is there a causal connection? *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(4):119–144.
- Lafree, G. 2007. Expanding criminology's domain: The American Society of Criminology 2006 Presidential Address. *Criminology* 45(1):1–31.
- Laqueur, W. 1987. Terrorism and the media. In *The Age of Terrorism*, ed. W. Laqueur, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Lasch, C. 1979. *The Culture of Narcissism*. New York: Warner Books.
- Levitt, G. 1986. Is terrorism worth defining? *Ohio Northern University Law Review* 13:97–115.
- Madani, B. 2002. Hezbollah's global finance network: The triple frontier. *The Middle East Intelligence Bulletin* 4(1). [www.meib.org/articles/0201\\_12.htm](http://www.meib.org/articles/0201_12.htm) (accessed November 19, 2008).
- Melnick, R., and R. Eldor. 2004. Financial markets and terrorism. *European Journal of Political Economy* 20(2):367–386.
- Merari, A. 2004. Suicide terrorism. In *Assessment, Treatment, and Prevention of Suicidal behavior*, eds. R. I. Yufit and D. Lester, Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Mili, H. 2006. Tangled webs: Terrorist and organized crime groups. *Terrorism Monitor* 4:(1). <http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369866> (accessed November 3, 2008).
- Millon, T. 1981. *Disorders of Personality: DSM-III, Axis II*. US: Wiley.
- Morgan, S.J. 2001. The supporters of Terrorism – Cultneurosis. In *The Mind of the Terrorist Fundamentalist*. <http://www.terrorpsychology.com/supporters.htm>
- Nacos, B. 1994. *Terrorism and the Media: From the Iran Hostage Crisis to the World Trade Center Bombing*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Netanyahu, B. 1987. *Terrorism, How the West Can Win*. Tel-Aviv: The Jonathan Institute.
- Noble, R. K. 2003. *The Links Between Intellectual Property Crime and Terrorist Financing*. Text of public testimony before the United States House Committee on International Relations, July 16, 2003. <http://www.interpol.int/Public/ICPO/speeches/SG20030716.asp> (accessed November 18, 2008).
- Pearce, K. I. 1977. Police negotiations – new role for community psychiatrist. *Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal* 22(4):171–175.
- Piazza, J. A. 2006. Rooted in poverty? Terrorism, poor economic development, and social cleavages. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18(1):159–177.
- Pollard, N. 2005. Illegal drug trade a world force – UN. *Reuters News Service*, 29 June. [http://www.csdp.org/news/news/reut\\_un05\\_062905.htm](http://www.csdp.org/news/news/reut_un05_062905.htm) (accessed November 19, 2008).
- Post, J. M. 1987. Rewarding fire with fire – effects of retaliation on terrorist group-dynamics. *Terrorism* 10(1):23–35.

- Post, J. 1998. Terrorist psycho-logic: Terrorist behavior as a product of psychological forces. In *Origins of Terrorism*, ed. W. Reich, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center.
- Raine, A. 1993. *The Psychopathology of Crime: Criminal Behavior as a Clinical Disorder*. San Diego, CA: Academic.
- Ranstorp, M. 1996. Terrorism in the name of religion. *Journal of International Affairs* 50(1):41–63.
- Rapoport, D. C. 1984. Fear and trembling – terrorism in 3 religious traditions. *American Political Science Review* 78(3):658–677.
- Rasch, W. 1979. Psychological dimensions of political terrorism in the Federal-Republic-of-Germany. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 2(1):79–85.
- Roth, K. 2004. The law of war in the war on terror – Washington’s abuse of “enemy combatants”. *Foreign Affairs* 83(1):2.
- Sageman, M. 2004. *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sandler, T., and H. E. Lapan. 1988. The calculus of dissent: An analysis of terrorist’s choice of targets. *Synthese* 76(2):245–261.
- Sandler, T., J. T. Tschirhart, and J. Cauley. 1983. A theoretical analysis of transnational terrorism. *American Political Science Review* 77(1):36–54.
- Schmid, A. P. 1983. *Political Terrorism: A Research Guide to the Concepts, Theories, Databases and Literature*. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Schmid, A. P. 1993. Terrorism and democracy. In *Western Responses to Terrorism*, eds. A. P. Schmid and R. D. Crelinsten, London: Frank Cass.
- Schmid, A. P., and A. J. Jongman. 1988. *Political Terrorism*. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company.
- Shprinzak, E. 1998. The psychopolitical formation of extreme left terrorism in democracy: The case of the weathermen. In *Origins of Terrorism*, ed. R. Walter, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center.
- Silke, A. 1998. Cheshire-cat logic: The recurring theme of terrorist abnormality in psychological research. *Psychology Crime & Law* 4(1):51–69.
- Stahelski, A. 2004. Terrorists are made, not born: Creating terrorists using social psychological conditioning. *Journal of Homeland Security* March:1–7. <http://www.homelandsecurity.org/journal/Default.aspx?oid=109&ocat=1> (accessed November 18, 2008).
- Taylor, M. 1988. *The Terrorist*. London: Brassey’s Defense.
- Thomson, J. A. 2003. Killer apes on American airlines, or how religion was the main hijacker on September 11. In *Violence or Dialogue: Psychoanalytic Insights on Terror and Terrorism*, eds. S. Varvin and V. D. Volkan London: International Psychoanalytical Association.
- Tri-border Transfers “funding terror”. 2006. *BBC News*, 14 Dec. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/6179085.stm> (accessed November 19, 2008).
- Victoroff, J. 2005. The mind of the terrorist – A review and critique of psychological approaches. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1):3–42.
- Vidino, L., and S. Emerson. 2006. *Al Qaeda in Europe: The New Battleground of International Jihad*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Webb, G. R. 2002. Sociology, disasters, and terrorism: Understanding threats of the new millennium. *Sociological Focus* 35(1):87–95.
- Wedgwood, R., and K. Roth. 2004. Combatants or criminals? How Washington should handle terrorists. *Foreign Affairs* 83(3):126.
- Wilson, M. A. 2000. Toward a model of terrorist behavior in hostage-taking incidents. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(4):403–424.