6 Edition

ESSENTIALS OF TERRORISM

CONCEPTS AND CONTROVERSIES

GUS MARTIN

Essentials of Terrorism

6th Edition

This book is dedicated to the peacemakers.
Peace cannot be achieved through violence, it can only be attained through understanding.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

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Concepts and Controversies

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Gus Martin
California State University, Dominguez Hills

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Prior to joining academia, Dr. Martin served as Managing Attorney for the Fair Housing Partnership of Greater Pittsburgh, where he was also director of a program created under a federal consent decree to desegregate public and assisted housing. He was also Special Counsel to the Attorney General of the U.S. Virgin Islands on the island of St. Thomas. As Special Counsel, he occupied a personal and confidential position in the central office of the Department of Justice, sat as hearing officer for disciplinary hearings and departmental grievances, served as chair of the Drug Policy Committee, served as liaison to the intergovernmental Law Enforcement Coordinating Committee as well as to the Narcotics Strike Force, and provided daily legal and policy advice to the attorney general. Prior to serving as Special Counsel, he was a "floor" Legislative Assistant to Congressman Charles B. Rangel of New York. As Legislative Assistant, he researched, evaluated, and drafted legislation in areas of foreign policy, foreign aid, human rights, housing, education, social services, and poverty; he also drafted House floor statements, *Congressional Record* inserts, press releases, and news articles, and he composed speeches, briefing materials, and legislative correspondence.

Dr. Martin received his AB degree from Harvard College, JD from Duquesne University School of Law, and PhD from the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh.

PREFACE

Welcome to the sixth edition of *Essentials of Terrorism: Concepts and Controversies*. This edition has been revised in several respects to enhance the educational quality of the study of terrorism. In the same spirit as the previous editions of *Essentials of Terrorism: Concepts and Controversies*, the sixth edition is designed as a foundational textbook to enhance the educational quality of the study of terrorism. It is a concise textbook for students and professionals who wish to explore the phenomenon of modern terrorist violence and who wish to use additional resources adapted for their specific instructional needs. Readers will acquire a solid foundation for understanding the nature of terrorism in a manner best suited for their classroom or professional program.

This book is also designed to be a resource for university students and professionals who require fundamental expertise in understanding terrorist violence. The content of the sixth edition of *Essentials of Terrorism: Concepts and Controversies* is directed to academic and professional courses whose subject areas have been selected for their specific educational program, including the study of terrorism, homeland security, international security, criminal justice administration, political conflict, armed conflict, and social environments. It can be incorporated into a variety of classes and seminars covering security studies, the administration of justice, the sociology of terrorism, conflict resolution, political theory, and other instruction in the social sciences. The intended level of instruction is undergraduate and master's students, as well as professionals with a need to understand terrorism.

No prerequisites are specifically recommended, but grounding in one of the following disciplines would be helpful: political science, government, administration of justice, sociology, history, or philosophy.

As will become readily apparent to instructors and students, the sixth edition of *Essentials of Terrorism: Concepts and Controversies* is an ideal anchor textbook for investigating the many aspects of terrorism, political violence, and homeland security. That it is easily adapted to these subjects means that instructors will be able to design a variety of instructional packages around it. In this way, the sixth edition is a versatile resource.

COURSE OVERVIEW AND PEDAGOGY

The sixth edition of *Essentials of Terrorism: Concepts and Controversies* introduces readers to terrorism in the contemporary era, focusing on the post-World War II period as its primary emphasis. It is a review of nations, movements, and individuals who have engaged in what many people would define as terrorist violence. It is also a review of the many kinds of terrorism that have existed in the post-World War II era. A serious exploration is made of the underlying causes of terrorism—for example, extremist ideologies, religious intolerance, and traumatic episodes in the lives of nations and people.

The pedagogical approach of the sixth edition is designed to stimulate critical thinking in readers. Students, professionals, and instructors will find that each chapter follows a sequence of instruction that builds on previous chapters and thus incrementally enhances the reader's knowledge of each topic. Chapters incorporate the following features:

- *Learning Objectives.* Using Bloom's taxonomy, chapter objectives are summarized at the beginning of each discussion.
- *Chapter Introduction.* Each chapter begins with an overview of the subject under investigation. The introduction provides perspective for the incorporation of each chapter's topic into the broader themes of the textbook.
- *Chapter Perspectives.* Chapters incorporate focused presentations of perspectives that explore people, events, organizations, and movements that are relevant to the subject matter of each chapter.
- *Discussion Box.* This box presents provocative information and poses challenging questions to stimulate critical thinking and further debate.
- *Chapter Summary.* A concluding discussion recapitulates the main themes of each chapter and introduces the subject matter of the following chapter.
- *Key Terms and Concepts.* Important terms and ideas introduced in each chapter are listed for review and discussion. These are further explored and defined in the book's Glossary.
- *Recommended Readings.* Suggested readings listed at the end of each chapter provide either further information on or avenues of research into each topic.

CHAPTER GUIDE

This volume is organized into three thematic parts, each consisting of several chapters. An Appendix and a Glossary are included after the substantive chapters.

Part I. Understanding Terrorism: A Conceptual Review

The first section of the book is a comprehensive discussion of definitions of terrorism and the root causes of violent political extremism. Readers develop comprehensive, contextual, and critical skills for defining terrorism and for understanding the many causes of terrorist behavior. The discussion includes the informational war waged between adversaries and the role of the mass media. Readers investigate how the applications of the concepts of propaganda by deed and armed propaganda have been historically common to extremist violence.

Chapter 1. Defining Terrorism

This chapter investigates the reasons underlying why certain groups, movements, and individuals are labeled as terrorists or freedom fighters. It compares and contrasts radical and reactionary ideological tendencies as well as defines and investigates the characteristics of

extremism. Terrorism is discussed at length by sampling official definitions, reviewing the American context, and summarizing several types of terrorism. Readers are introduced to several perspectives of terrorism that pose problems for definitional issues.

Chapter 2. Historical Perspectives and Ideological Origins

This chapter explores the historical and ideological origins of modern terrorism. Historical perspectives and the era of the New Terrorism are discussed in the context of conceptual themes used throughout the book. Ideological foundations for modern terrorist violence are also discussed at some length. The causes of left-wing and right-wing terrorism are identified, as are the qualities of ideological violence. Because both ideological poles were inextricably entwined during the 20th century and adherents continue to be active in the 21st century, it is important for readers to grasp the importance of the ideologies of class struggle, national liberation, order, and race. This chapter also discusses regional examples of ideological terrorism.

Chapter 3. Causes of Terrorist Violence

Readers become familiar with central factors in the personal and group histories of individuals and groups who become associated with terrorism. The motives of extremists and several explanations of terrorism are explored, including acts of political will, sociological explanations, and psychological explanations. An important discussion probes the degree to which a fresh generation of new terrorists is being forged in reaction to how the West and its allies have conducted the post-September 11, 2001, war on terrorism.

Chapter 4. Terrorist Violence and the Role of the Media

This chapter investigates and evaluates the centrality of the media and mass communications in the modern era of political violence. It first discusses the nature of mass communications and reporting in the context of terrorist environments. It also investigates the war of manipulation for favorable media coverage. In particular, readers assess the manipulation of information technologies and the media by modern terrorists. A discussion is also presented on the efficacy of regulating the media.

Part II. Terrorist Environments

Part II educates readers about the many manifestations of terrorism by helping them develop skills to critically assess and understand historical and modern examples of political violence. In particular, state- and dissident-initiated terrorism are discussed, compared, and contrasted. An examination is conducted of the availability of high-yield weaponry in the arsenals of dissident terrorists. Readers are also guided through how to distinguish between religious and international terrorism. Domestic terrorism in the United States is also explored.

Chapter 5. Terrorism by the State

This chapter investigates state-initiated repression and terror. A detailed discussion explores terrorism as foreign policy and terrorism as domestic policy. Important examples

of state terrorism include the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia and the link between Janjaweed fighters and the government in Sudan.

Chapter 6. Terrorism by Dissidents

This chapter critically evaluates terrorism emanating from dissident movements. Several typologies and the morality of the New Terrorism are investigated. Finally, a detailed discussion explores antistate dissident terrorism and communal terrorism. Important examples include the modern use of child soldiers by extremists and Chechen terrorism against Russia.

Chapter 7. Religious Terrorism

This chapter evaluates the historical and modern origins and quality of religious terrorism. The goal is to engender critical discussion on the subject and to develop a contextual perspective for it. Because religious terrorism has become so prominent, it is important for readers to investigate different manifestations and to understand the contexts of regional case studies.

Chapter 8. International Terrorism

This chapter discusses recent and historical examples of international terrorism, defines what is meant by international terrorism, and explores the reasons for terrorist spillovers. Both the phenomenon of international terrorist networks and the concept of stateless revolutionaries are discussed. In this regard, readers evaluate newly emerging threats from groups and networks that have adapted the Al Qaeda example as a model.

Chapter 9. Domestic Terrorism in the United States

This chapter presents an overview of terrorism in post-World War II America. It probes the background to political violence and presents a detailed discussion of leftist and rightist terrorism in the United States. The chapter also evaluates prospects for violence emanating from modern extremists on the left and right and from religious extremism.

Part III. The Terrorist Battleground

Part III discusses the nuts and bolts of the terrorist trade, including counterterrorism and related responses to terrorist environments. Readers investigate how the applications of the concept of homeland security are applied in the United States and other countries. The future of terrorism is also explored.

Chapter 10. Counterterrorism and the War on Terrorism

This chapter explores counterterrorist options and security measures. Several categories of responses are assessed: the use of force, repressive operations other than war, conciliatory operations other than war, and legalistic responses. Contemporary controversies, such as the status and treatment of captured suspects, are explored.

Chapter 11. Homeland Security

This chapter provides readers with a fundamental introduction to homeland security in the United States. It prepares a contextual overview of the purpose of homeland security, defines the concept, and explains the mission of the homeland security bureaucracy.

Chapter 12. Future Trends and Projections

Readers are challenged to critically assess trends and other factors that can be used to project the near future of terrorism. In particular, this chapter presents theoretical models for evaluating terrorist environments and applying these models to project and evaluate emerging trends. Fresh discussions and data are offered for assessing the near future of ideological terrorism, religious terrorism, international terrorism, gender-selective political violence, and criminal dissident terrorism. A theoretical model is offered for assessing the decline and ending of terrorist campaigns.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

Updated information and other revisions are found throughout this volume. New introductory discussions are included for tables and figures. Detailed overviews of terrorist objectives, tactics, targets, and weapons are included in Chapters 1 and 6. Updated theoretical and historical information has been incorporated in Chapters 2, 6, 7, and 12. A discussion of hate crimes in the United States is found in Chapter 9. Updated information and data are included in each chapter. The discussion of homeland security in Chapter 11 has been updated, as has the discussion of future trends in Chapter 12.

DIGITAL RESOURCES

edge.sagepub.com/martiness6e

This new *Essentials* edition comes with a variety of ancillaries to supplement instructor course preparation and student learning.

SAGE edge offers a robust online environment you can access anytime, anywhere, and features an impressive array of free tools and resources to keep you on the cutting edge of your learning experience.

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SAGE edge for Instructors supports teaching by making it easy to integrate quality content and create a rich learning environment for students.

- **Original videos** feature interviews with the author to provide students with contemporary examples that relate back to the chapter content.
- **A Microsoft® Word test bank** is available containing multiple-choice, true/false, short-answer, and essay questions for each chapter. The test bank provides a diverse range of prewritten options, as well as the opportunity for editing any question and/or inserting personalized questions to assess students' progress and understanding.
- **Sample course syllabi** for semester courses provide suggested models for use when creating the syllabi.
- **Editable, chapter-specific Microsoft® PowerPoint® slides** offer complete flexibility in easily creating a multimedia presentation for courses and highlight essential content and features.
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- **Multimedia content** includes videos that appeal to diverse learners.

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Sara Miller McCune founded SAGE Publishing in 1965 to support the dissemination of usable knowledge and educate a global community. SAGE publishes more than 1000 journals and over 800 new books each year, spanning a wide range of subject areas. Our growing selection of library products includes archives, data, case studies and video. SAGE remains majority owned by our founder and after her lifetime will become owned by a charitable trust that secures the company's continued independence.

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PART ONE

UNDERSTANDING TERRORISM

A Conceptual Review

U.S. Department of Defense

Asymmetrical warfare. The remains of a vehicular bomb inside the heavily fortified Green Zone of Baghdad. A suicide bomber attacked the U.S.-occupied area during the post-2003 insurgency phase of the war in Iraq.

CHAPTER ONE

DEFINING TERRORISM

Learning Objectives

This chapter will enable readers to do the following:

1. Explain the importance of identifying the common characteristics of extremism and understanding the world view of extremist adherents.
2. Demonstrate knowledge of the common features of formal definitions of terrorism.
3. Discuss whether violence should be classified as terrorism by recognizing the contextual perspectives of perpetrators and participants in terrorist environments.
4. Apply the Political Violence Matrix as a conceptual tool to interpret the quality of violence.

Terrorism, however defined, has always challenged the stability of societies and the peace of mind of everyday people. In the modern era, the impact of terrorism—that is, its ability to terrorize—is not limited to the locales or regions where the terrorists strike. In the age of television, the Internet, satellite communications, and global news coverage, graphic images of terrorist incidents are broadcast instantaneously into the homes of hundreds of millions of people. Terrorist groups understand the power of these images and manipulate them to their advantage as much as they can. Terrorist states also fully appreciate the power of instantaneous information and thus try to control the spin on reports of their behavior. In many respects, the 21st century is an era of globalized terrorism.

Some acts of political violence are clearly acts of terrorism. Most people would agree that politically motivated bombings of marketplaces, massacres of enemy civilians, and routine government use of torture are terrorist acts. However, as we begin our study of terrorism, it is important to appreciate that we will encounter many definitional gray areas. Depending on which side of the ideological, racial, religious, or national fence one sits on, political violence can be interpreted either as unmitigated terrorist barbarity or as freedom fighting for national liberation. These areas will be explored in the chapters that follow.

This chapter investigates definitional issues in the study of terrorism. Readers will probe the nuances of these issues and learn that the truism "one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter" is a significant factor in the definitional debate. It must be remembered that this debate occurs within a practical and real-life framework—in other words, a nontheoretical reality that some political, religious, or ethno-nationalist beliefs and behaviors are so reprehensible that they cannot be considered to be mere differences in opinion. Some violent incidents are *mala in se* acts of terrorist violence. For example, the New Terrorism of today is characterized by the threat of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), indiscriminate targeting, and efforts to inflict intentionally high casualty rates—as occurred in attacks on September 11, 2001, in the United States; March 11, 2004, in Spain;

July 7, 2005, in Great Britain; November 26–29, 2008, in India; January and November 2015 in France; March 22, 2016, in Belgium; and repeated attacks in Nigeria, Syria, Iraq, and Pakistan. The use of indiscriminate targeting and tactics against civilians is indefensible, no matter what cause is championed by those who use them. The New Terrorism is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

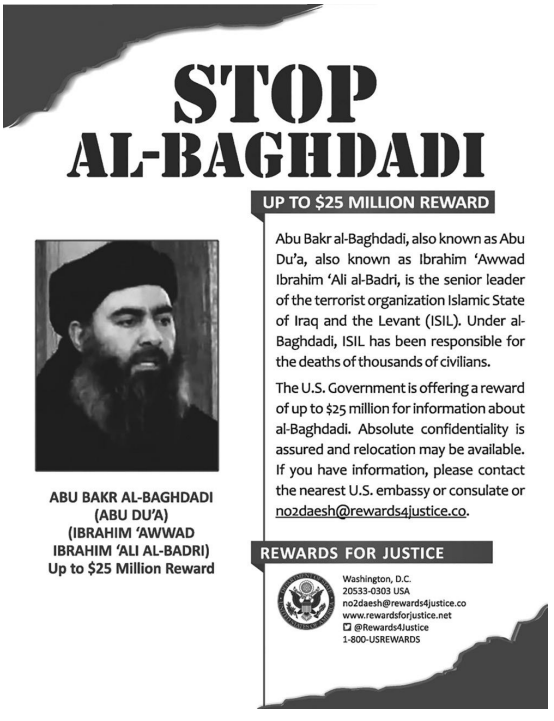
The discussion in this chapter will review the following:

- Understanding Political Extremism
- Formal and Informal Definitions
- Objectives and Goals of Terrorism
- Terrorists or Freedom Fighters?
- The Political Violence Matrix

UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL EXTREMISM

An important step toward defining terrorism is to develop an understanding of the causes of terrorism. To identify them, one must first understand the important role of extremism as a primary feature of all terrorist behavior.

Behind each incident of terrorist violence is some deeply held belief system that has motivated the perpetrator. Such systems are, at their core, extremist systems characterized by intolerance. One must keep in mind, however, that although terrorism is a violent expression of these beliefs, it is by no means the only possible manifestation of extremism. On a scale of activist behavior, extremists can engage in such benign expressions as sponsoring debates or publishing newspapers. They might also engage in vandalism and other disruptions of the normal routines of their enemies. Though intrusive and often illegal, these are examples of political expression that cannot be construed as terrorist acts. Our focus in this and subsequent chapters will be on violent extremist behavior that many people would define as acts of terrorism. First, we must briefly investigate the general characteristics of the extremist foundations of terrorism.



U.S. Department of State, Rewards for Justice Program

▶ Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, founder and leader of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS). Wanted poster from the U.S. Department of State Rewards for Justice website.

Defining Extremism

Extremism is a quality that is "radical in opinion, especially in political matters; ultra; advanced."[1] It is characterized by intolerance toward opposing

interests and divergent opinions and is the primary catalyst and motivation for terrorist behavior. Extremists who cross the line to become **terrorists** always develop noble arguments to rationalize and justify their acts of violence toward nations, people, religions, or other interests.

Extremism is a radical expression of political values. Both the content of one's beliefs and the style in which one expresses them are fundamental to extremism. Laird Wilcox summed up this quality as follows:

> Extremism is more an issue of style than of content. . . . Most people can hold radical or unorthodox views and still entertain them in a more or less reasonable, rational, and nondogmatic manner. On the other hand, I have met people whose views are fairly close to the political mainstream but were presented in a shrill, uncompromising, bullying, and distinctly authoritarian manner.[2]

Extremism is a precursor to terrorism—it is an overarching belief system terrorists use to justify their violent behavior. It is characterized by what a person's beliefs are as well as how a person expresses those beliefs. Thus, no matter how offensive or reprehensible one's thoughts or words are, they are not by themselves acts of terrorism. Only those who violently act out their extremist beliefs are terrorists.

The World of the Extremist

Extremists have very different—and at times fantastic—world views compared with non-extremists. They set themselves apart as protectors of a truth or as the true heirs of a legacy. They frequently believe that secret and quasi-mystical forces are arrayed against them and that these forces are the cause of worldwide calamities. One conspiracy theory widely believed among Islamist extremists in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, for example, was that Israeli agents were behind the attacks, that 4,000 Jews received telephone calls to evacuate the World Trade Center in New York, and that no Jews were among the victims of the attack.

As in the past, religion is often an underlying impetus for extremist activity. When extremists adopt a religious belief system, their world view becomes one of a struggle between supernatural forces of good and evil. They view themselves as living a righteous life that fits with their interpretation of God's will. Those who do not conform to the belief system are opposed to the one true faith. Those who live according to it are chosen, and those who do not are not chosen. These interpretations of behavior include elements of the underlying social or political environment. For example, as one student at a Pakistani religious school explained, "Osama [bin Laden] wants to keep Islam pure from the pollution of the infidels. He believes Islam is the way for all the world. He wants to bring Islam to all the world."[3]

Extremists have a very clear sense of mission, purpose, and righteousness. They create a world view that sets them apart from society. Extremist beliefs and terrorist behaviors are thus logical to those who accept the belief system but illogical to those who reject it. For example, as discussed in Chapter Perspective 1.1, racial supremacy has historically promoted the extremist belief that some races are inherently superior to other races. Chapter Perspective 1.1 illustrates the rigid intolerance of a faction of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 1.1

We the Klan Believe

The United Klans of America (UKA) were a particularly violent and dogmatic faction of the KKK. The UKA arose in opposition to the civil rights movement in the United States during the 1950s to 1970s, and the organization actively tried to defeat the movement through the use of terrorist violence and other intimidation. For example, members of the UKA were linked to the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, which caused the deaths of four young African American girls. Members of the UKA were also linked to the 1965 murder in Alabama of Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker from Michigan. The UKA ultimately failed to halt the civil rights movement through violence and intimidation, and members of the faction were eventually prosecuted for these acts of violence.

The following excerpts are from a pamphlet distributed by the UKA during the 1970s.

We the Klan Believe

We believe in the eternal separation of the church and state:

> Roman Catholicism teaches the union of church and state with the church controlling the state. . . .
>
> Every Roman Catholic holds allegiance to the Pope of Rome, and Catholicism teaches that this allegiance is superior to his allegiance to his country. . . .

We believe in white supremacy:

> The Klan believes that America is a white man's country, and should be governed by white men. Yet the Klan is not anti-Negro, it is the Negro's friend. The Klan is eternally opposed to the mixing of the white and colored races. Our creed: Let the white man remain white, the black man black, the yellow man yellow, the brown man brown, and the red man red. God drew the color line. . . .
>
> The Klan believes in England for Englishmen, France for Frenchman, Italy for Italians, and America for Americans. . . . The Klan is not anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, anti-Negro, anti-foreign, the Klan is pro-Protestant and pro-American. . . .
>
> We the Klan will never allow out [sic] blood bought liberties to be crucified on a Roman cross: and we will not yield to the integration of white and Negro races in our schools or any where else. . . .

The foregoing passage typifies racial supremacist belief systems that claim to be motivated by religious principles. The history, ideology, and activity of the Ku Klux Klan are discussed further in Chapter 9.

Source: Excerpts from "The Principle of the United Klans of America" (Tuscaloosa, AL: Office of the Imperial Wizard, 1974), in *Extremism in America: A Reader*, ed. Lyman Tower Sargent (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 139–43.

in the United States, which justified its racism with references to its ideology of ethno-nationalist and religious authority.

Common Characteristics of Violent Extremists

Scholars and other experts have identified common characteristics exhibited by violent extremists. These characteristics are expressed in different ways, depending on a movement's particular belief system. The following commonalities are summaries of traits that experts have identified but are by no means an exhaustive inventory.[4]

Intolerance. Intolerance is the hallmark of extremist belief systems and terrorist behavior. The cause is considered to be absolutely just and good, and those who disagree with it (or some aspect of it) are cast as the opposition. Terrorists affix their opponents with certain negative or derisive labels to set them apart. These characterizations are often highly personalized so that individuals are identified who symbolize the opposing belief system or cause. Thus, during the Cold War, the American president was referred to by the pro-U.S. camp as the "leader of the free world" and by Latin American Marxists as the embodiment of "Yankee imperialism."[5]

Moral absolutes. Extremists adopt moral absolutes so that the distinction between good and evil is clear, as are the lines between the extremists and their opponents. The extremists' belief or cause is a morally correct vision of the world and is used to establish moral superiority over others. Violent extremists thus become morally and ethically pure elites who lead the oppressed masses to freedom. For example, religious terrorists generally believe that their one true faith is superior to all others and that any behavior committed in defense of the faith is fully justifiable.

Broad conclusions. Extremist conclusions are made to simplify the goals of the cause and the nature of the opponents. These generalizations are not debatable and permit no exceptions. Evidence for them is rooted in a belief system rather than based on objective data. For example, ethno-nationalists frequently categorize all members of their opponent group as having certain broadly negative traits.

New language and conspiratorial beliefs. Language and conspiracies are created to demonize the enemy and set the terrorists apart from those not part of their belief system. Extremists thus become an elite with a hidden agenda and targets of that agenda. For example, some American far-right conspiracy proponents express their anti-Semitic beliefs by using coded references to international bankers or a Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG). Neo-Nazi rightists degrade members of non-European races by referring to them as Mud People.

FORMAL AND INFORMAL DEFINITIONS

There is some consensus among experts—but no unanimity—on what kind of violence constitutes an act of terrorism. Governments, individual agencies within governments, and private agencies have each developed, adopted, and designed their own definitions, and

academic experts have proposed and analyzed dozens of definitional constructs. This lack of unanimity, which exists throughout the public and private sectors, is an accepted reality in the study of political violence.

Terrorism would not, from a layperson's point of view, seem to be a difficult concept to define. Most people likely hold an instinctive understanding that terrorism is

- politically motivated violence,
- usually directed against **soft targets** (i.e., civilian and administrative government targets),
- intended to affect (terrorize) a target audience.

This instinctive understanding would also hold that terrorism is criminal, unfair, or an otherwise illegitimate use of force. Laypersons might presume that this is an easily understood concept, but defining terrorism is not that simple. Experts have for some time grappled with designing (and agreeing on) clear definitions of terrorism; the issue is, in fact, at the center of an ongoing debate. The result is a remarkable variety of approaches and definitions. Walter Laqueur noted that "more than a hundred definitions have been offered," including several of his own.[6] Even within the U.S. government, different agencies apply several definitions.

Tracy Woodward/*Washington Post*/Getty Images

▶ Anwar al-Awlaki. American-born cleric who became a recruiter and propagandist for Al Qaeda in Yemen. Assassinated during an American drone strike in Yemen in September 2011.

A significant amount of intellectual energy has been devoted to identifying formal elements of terrorism, as illustrated by Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman's surveys, which identified more than 100 definitions.[7]

Establishing formal definitions can, of course, be complicated by the perspectives of the participants in a terrorist incident, who instinctively differentiate freedom fighters from terrorists, regardless of formal definitions. Another complication is that most definitions focus on political violence perpetrated by dissident groups, even though many governments have practiced terrorism as both domestic and foreign policy.

Guerrilla warfare. One important observation must be kept in mind and understood at the outset: Terrorism is not synonymous with guerrilla warfare. The term ***guerrilla*** (little war) was developed during the early 19th century when Napoleon's army fought a long, brutal, and ultimately unsuccessful war in Spain. Unlike the Napoleonic campaigns elsewhere in Europe, which involved conventional armies fighting set-piece battles in accordance with rules of engagement, the war in Spain was a classic unconventional conflict. The Spanish people, as opposed to the Spanish army, rose in rebellion and resisted the invading French army. They liberated large areas of the Spanish countryside. After years of costly fighting—in which atrocities were common on both sides—the French were driven out. Thus, in contrast to *terrorists*, the term *guerrilla fighters* refers

> to a numerically larger group of armed individuals, who operate as a military unit, attack enemy military forces, and seize and hold territory (even if only ephemerally during the daylight hours), while also exercising some form of sovereignty or control over a defined geographical area and its population.[8]

Dozens, if not scores, of examples of guerrilla warfare exist in the modern era. They exhibit the classic strategy of hit-and-run warfare. Many examples also exist of successful guerrilla campaigns against numerically and technologically superior adversaries.

A Sampling of Formal Definitions

The effort to formally define terrorism is critical because government antiterrorist policy calculations must be based on criteria that determine whether a violent incident is an act of terrorism. Governments and policy makers must piece together the elements of terrorist behavior and demarcate the factors that distinguish terrorism from other forms of conflict.

In Europe, countries that endured terrorist campaigns have written official definitions of terrorism. The British have defined terrorism as "the use or threat, for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, or ideological cause, of action which involves serious violence against any person or property."[9] In Germany, terrorism has been described as an "enduringly conducted struggle for political goals, which are intended to be achieved by means of assaults on the life and property of other persons, especially by means of severe crimes."[10] The European Interior Ministers have noted that "terrorism is . . . the use, or the threatened use, by a cohesive group of persons of violence (short of warfare) to effect political aims."[11] Scholars have also tried their hand at defining terrorism. For example, Ted Gurr has described it as "the use of unexpected violence to intimidate or coerce people in the pursuit of political or social objectives."[12] J. P. Gibbs described it as "illegal violence or threatened violence against human or nonhuman objects," so long as that violence meets additional criteria such as secretive features and the use of unconventional warfare.[13] Bruce Hoffman wrote the following:

> We come to appreciate that terrorism is ineluctably political in aims and motives; violent—or, equally important, threatens violence; designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target; conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial structure (whose members wear no uniform or identifying insignia); and perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity.
>
> 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 change.[14]

To further illustrate the range of definitions, Whittaker noted the following descriptions by terrorism experts:[15]

- contributes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted (Walter Laqueur)

- a strategy of violence designed to promote desired outcomes by instilling fear in the public at large (Walter Reich)
- the use or threatened use of force designed to bring about political change (Brian Jenkins)

From this discussion, we can identify the common features of most formal definitions:

• the use of illegal force	• political motives
• subnational actors	• attacks against soft civilian and passive military targets
• unconventional methods	• acts aimed at purposefully affecting an audience

The emphasis, then, is on terrorists adopting specific types of motives, methods, and targets. One fact readily apparent from these formal definitions is that they focus on terrorist groups rather than terrorist states. As will be made abundantly clear in Chapter 5, state terrorism has been responsible for many more deaths and much more suffering than terrorism originating in small bands of terrorists.

Defining Terrorism in the United States

The United States has not adopted a single definition of terrorism as a matter of government policy, instead relying on definitions developed from time to time by government agencies. These definitions reflect the U.S. traditional law enforcement approach to distinguishing terrorism from more common criminal behavior. The following definitions are a sample of the official approach.

The U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of violence or threat of violence, often motivated by religious, political, or other ideological beliefs, to instill fear and coerce governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are usually political."[16] The U.S. Code defines terrorism as illegal violence that attempts to "intimidate or coerce a civilian population; . . . influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or . . . affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping."[17] The **Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)** has defined terrorism as "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a Government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."[18] For the U.S. State Department, terrorism is "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience."[19] Section 802 of the USA PATRIOT Act defines domestic terrorism as "activities that involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State; appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States."[20] The USA PATRIOT Act is discussed further in Chapter 11.

Using these definitions, the following common elements can be used to construct a composite American definitional model:

> Terrorism is a premeditated and unlawful act in which groups or agents of some principle engage in a threatened or actual use of force or violence against human or property targets. These groups or agents engage in this behavior intending the purposeful intimidation of governments or people to affect policy or behavior with an underlying political objective.

These elements indicate a fairly narrow and legalistic approach. When they are assigned to individual suspects, the suspects may be labeled and detained as terrorists. Readers, in evaluating the practical policy implications of this approach, should bear in mind that labeling and detaining suspects as terrorists is not without controversy. Some post-September 11 counterterrorist practices have prompted strong debate. For example, when enemy soldiers are taken prisoner, they are traditionally afforded legal protections as prisoners of war. This is well recognized under international law. In the war on terrorism, many suspected terrorists have been designated as enemy combatants and not afforded the same legal status as prisoners of war. Such practices have been hotly debated among proponents and opponents. Chapter Perspective 1.2 discusses the ongoing problem.

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 1.2

The Problem of Labeling the Enemy in the New Era of Terrorism

When formulating counterterrorist policies, policy makers are challenged by two problems: first, the problem of defining terrorism, and second, the problem of labeling individual suspects. Although defining terrorism can be an exercise in semantics—and is often shaped by subjective political or cultural biases—there are certain fundamental elements that constitute objective definitions. In comparison, using official designations (labels) to confer special status on captured suspects has become a controversial process.

During the post-September 11, 2001, war on terrorism, it became clear to experts and the public that official designations and labels of individual suspected terrorists is a central legal, political, and security issue. Of essential importance is the question of a suspect's official *status* when they are taken prisoner.

Depending on one's designated status, certain recognized legal or political protections may or may not be observed by interrogators or others involved in processing specific cases.

According to the protocols of the third Geneva Convention, prisoners who are designated as *prisoners of war* and who are brought to trial must be afforded the same legal rights in the same courts as would soldiers from the country holding them prisoner. Thus, prisoners of war held by the United States would be brought to trial in standard military courts under the Uniform Code of Military Justice and would have the same rights and protections (such as the right to appeal) as all soldiers.

Suspected terrorists have not been designated as prisoners of war. Official and unofficial designations such as *enemy combatants, unlawful combatants,* and *battlefield detainees* have been used by U.S. authorities to differentiate them from prisoners of war. The rationale is that suspected terrorists are not soldiers fighting for a

sovereign nation and are therefore ineligible for prisoner-of-war status. When hundreds of prisoners were detained at facilities such as the American base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, the United States argued that persons designated as enemy combatants were not subject to the protocols of the Geneva Conventions. Thus, such persons could be held indefinitely, detained in secret, transferred at will, and sent to allied countries for more coercive interrogations. Under enemy combatant status, conditions of confinement in Guantánamo Bay included open-air cells with wooden roofs and chain link walls. In theory, each case was to be reviewed by special military tribunals, and innocent prisoners would be reclassified as *non-enemy combatants* and released.

Civil liberties and human rights groups disagreed with the special status conferred by the labeling system on prisoners. They argued that basic legal and humanitarian protections should be granted to prisoners regardless of their designation. In June 2008, the U.S. Supreme Court held that foreign detainees held for years at Guantánamo Bay had the right to appeal to U.S. federal judges to challenge their indefinite imprisonment without charges. At the time of the decision, about 200 foreign detainees had lawsuits pending before federal court in Washington, D.C.

In one interesting development, the DOD conferred *protected persons* status on members of the Iranian Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization (MKO) who were under guard in Iraq by the American military. The MKO is a Marxist movement opposed to the post-revolution regime in Iran. The group was regularly listed on the U.S. Department of State's list of terrorist organizations, and it was responsible for killings of Americans and others in terrorist attacks.

Nonterrorist Mass Violence in the United States

The United States periodically experiences incidents of nonterrorist mass homicides perpetrated by individuals who typically enter a facility and begin to randomly shoot victims, often using high-powered firearms such as assault rifles and high-caliber handguns. Perpetrators of mass firearm killings rarely justify their actions by citing political motivations, such as ideology, race, or religion, and thus do not fit the modern profile of terrorist operatives or political lone-wolf actors. Rather, those who commit crimes of mass homicide are driven by the same antisocial motivations typically cited by other criminals. The distinctive difference is that they act out their antisocial rationales by engaging in mass firearm killings.

Nonterrorist mass shootings are not common among the world's prosperous democracies. The frequency of these incidents and the overall rate of firearm-related homicides are much higher in the United States than in similar high-income nations.

Types of Terrorism

The basic elements of terrorist environments are uncomplicated, and experts and commentators generally agree on the forms of terrorism found in modern political environments. For example, the following environments have been described by academic experts:

- Barkan and Snowden describe vigilante, insurgent, transnational, and state terrorism.[21]
- Hoffman discusses ethno-nationalist/separatist, international, religious, and state-sponsored terrorism.[22]

- While undertaking the task of defining the New Terrorism, Laqueur contextualizes far-rightist, religious, state, exotic, and criminal terrorism.[23]
- Other experts evaluate **narco-terrorism**, toxic terrorism, and netwar.[24]

We will explore all of these environments in later chapters within the following contexts:

State terrorism. Terrorism from above committed by governments against perceived enemies. State terrorism can be directed externally against adversaries in the international domain or internally against domestic enemies.

Dissident terrorism. Terrorism from below committed by nonstate movements and groups against governments, ethno-nationalist groups, religious groups, and other perceived enemies.

Religious terrorism. Terrorism motivated by an absolute belief that an otherworldly power has sanctioned—and commanded—the application of terrorist violence for the greater glory of the faith. Religious terrorism is usually conducted in defense of what believers consider the one true faith.

International terrorism. **International terrorism** spills over onto the world's stage. Targets are selected because of their value as symbols of international interests, either within the home country or across state boundaries.

Ideological terrorism. Terrorism motivated by violent interpretations of political systems of belief. Some ideologies, such as anarchism and radical socialism, explicitly advocate the overthrow of perceived ideological opponents. Other ideologies, such as fascism, glorify the assertion of the natural supremacy of a particular nation, race, or ethnicity over nonmembers of the championed group.

Criminal dissident terrorism. Terrorism motivated by sheer profit or some amalgam of profit and politics. Traditional organized criminal enterprises (such as the Italian Mafia and the Japanese Yakuza) accumulate profits from criminal activity for personal aggrandizement. Criminal-political enterprises (such as Colombia's Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarios de Colombia [FARC] and Sri Lanka's Tamil Tigers) accumulated profits to sustain their movement.

Gender-selective political violence. Systematic violence explicitly directed against the males or females of enemy populations in order to eliminate potential fighters and culturally degrade or otherwise terrorize the enemy population.

OBJECTIVES AND GOALS OF TERRORISM

Objectives and goals are parts of the process toward a final outcome. An objective is an incremental step in the overall process that leads to an ultimate goal. A goal is the final result of the process, the terminal point of a series of objectives. Thus, an objective in a revolutionary campaign could be the overthrow of an enemy government or social order; the

goal could be to establish a new society. During a revolutionary campaign, many objectives have to be achieved to reach the final goal.

Typical Objectives

Politically violent groups and movements show certain similarities in their objectives. The following discussion identifies a few such commonalities. These are by no means either common to all violent extremists at all phases of their campaigns or exhaustive analyses. However, it is instructive to review a few central objectives:

- Changing the Existing Order
- Psychological Disruption
- Social Disruption
- Creating a Revolutionary Environment

Changing the Existing Order

At some level, all terrorists seek to change an existing order, even if it is simply a short-term objective to disrupt the normal routines of society by inflicting maximum casualties. When evaluating what it means to change an existing order, one must take into consideration the different profiles of terrorist movements, their motives, and the idiosyncrasies of individual terrorists. Here are a few examples:

- Ethno-nationalist terrorists seek to win recognition of their human rights, or a degree of national autonomy, from the present order.
- Nihilists wish to destroy systems and institutions without regard for what will replace the existing order.
- Religious terrorists act on behalf of a supernatural mandate to bring about a divinely inspired new order.
- Lone wolves have a vague and sometimes delusional assumption that their actions will further a greater cause against a corrupt or evil social order.

Psychological Disruption

An obvious objective is to inflict maximum psychological damage by applying dramatic violence against symbolic targets. "From the terrorists' perspective, the major force of terrorism comes not from its physical impact but from its psychological impact."[25] When terrorist violence is applied discerningly, the weak can influence the powerful, and the powerful can intimidate the weak. Cultural symbols, political institutions, and public leaders are examples of iconic (nearly sacred) targets that can affect large populations when attacked.

Social Disruption

Social disruption is an objective of propaganda by the deed. The ability of terrorists and extremists to disrupt the normal routines of society demonstrates both the weakness of the

government and the strength of the movement; it provides terrorists with the potential for highly effective propaganda. When governments fail to protect the normal routines of society, discontent may spread throughout society, thus making the population susceptible to manipulation by a self-styled vanguard movement. For example, bombing attacks on public transportation systems certainly cause social disruption. A group might be attacked specifically to deter its members from traveling through a region or territory. Tourists, for example, have been targeted repeatedly in Egypt, including the July 2005 bombing incident in the resort city of Sharm el Sheikh on the Sinai Peninsula, which killed approximately 90 people.

Creating a Revolutionary Environment

Dissident extremists understand that they cannot hope to win in their struggle against the state without raising the revolutionary consciousness of the people. For many terrorists, propaganda by the deed is considered the most direct way to create a broad-based revolutionary environment so that "the destruction of one troop transport truck is more effective propaganda for the local population than a thousand speeches."[26] Revolutionary theorists have suggested that terrorism can force the state to overreact, the people to understand the true repressive nature of the state, thus fomenting mass rebellion—led, of course, by the revolutionary vanguard.

PLAYING TO THE AUDIENCE: OBJECTIVES, VICTIMS, AND CONSTITUENCIES

Terrorists adapt their methods and selection of targets to the characteristics of their championed group and the idiosyncrasies of their environment. Targets are selected for specific symbolic reasons, with the objectives of victimizing specific groups or interests and sending symbolic messages to the terrorists' constituency. In a sense, the targeted groups or interests serve as conduits to communicate the extremist movement's message.

If skillfully applied, propaganda by the deed can be manipulated to affect specific audiences. These audiences can include the following segments of society:

Politically apathetic people. The objective of terrorist violence directed toward this group is to force an end to their indifference and, ideally, to motivate them to petition the government for fundamental changes.

The government and its allied elites. Terrorists seek to seriously intimidate or distract a nation's ruling bodies to force them to deal favorably with the underlying grievances of the dissident movement.

Potential supporters. An important objective of propaganda by the deed is to create a revolutionary consciousness in a large segment of society. This is more easily achieved within the pool of those who are sympathetic to the extremists' objectives but do not yet approve of their methods.

Confirmed supporters. Terrorists seek to assure their members and confirmed supporters that the movement continues to be strong and active. They communicate this through acts of symbolic violence.

Depending on whom they claim to champion, extremist movements adapt their tactics to their environment as a way to communicate with (and attract) their defined constituency. With a few exceptions, terrorists and extremists usually direct their appeals to specific constituencies. These appeals are peculiar to the environment and idiosyncrasies of the movement, although leftists and ethno-nationalists have sometimes championed the same groups out of a sense of revolutionary solidarity.

Terrorists select their methods within the context of their social and political environments. They appeal to specific constituencies and justify their choice of methods by championing the political cause of their constituencies. Their targeted interests (that is, enemy interests) can be defined narrowly or broadly, so that civilian populations can be included as legitimized targets.

Table 1.1 illustrates the relationship between several extremist groups and their constituencies, objectives, methods, and targeted interests.

Table 1.1 Constituencies and Enemies: Selecting Tactics and Targets

Group or Movement	Activity Profile			
	Constituency	Objectives	Methods	Targeted Interest
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade	Palestinians	Palestinian state	Suicide bombings; small-arms attacks	Israeli civilians; Israeli military
Iraqi and Syrian Islamist Insurgents	Iraqi People	Collapse of Syrian and Iraqi regimes; establishment of Islamist state	Terrorist attacks; guerrilla warfare	Regime institutions; non-Sunnis
Al Qaeda and affiliates	Devout Muslims	Worldwide Islamic revolution	Well-planned bombings; indigenous insurrections	The West; secular Islamic governments
Provisional Irish Republican Army (Provisional IRA, or Provos)	Irish Catholics	Union with the Irish Republic	Small-arms attacks; bombings	British; Ulster Protestants
Bosnian Serb Militias	Bosnian Serbs	Serb state	Ethnic cleansing; communal terrorism	Bosnian Muslims; Bosnian Croats
Tamil Tigers	Sri Lankan Tamils	Tamil state	Terrorist attacks; guerrilla warfare	Sri Lankan government; Sinhalese

TERRORISTS OR FREEDOM FIGHTERS?

It should now be clear that defining terrorism can be an exercise in semantics and context, driven by one's perspective and world view. Absent definitional guidelines, these perspectives would be merely personal opinion and the subject of academic debate.

Perspective is a central consideration in defining terrorism. Those who oppose an extremist group's violent behavior—and who might be its targets—would naturally consider them terrorists. On the other hand, those who are being championed by the group—and on whose behalf the terrorist war is being fought—often see them as liberation fighters, even when they do not necessarily agree with the methods of the group. "The problem is that there exists no precise or widely accepted definition of terrorism."[27] We will consider several perspectives that illustrate this problem.

Perspective 1: Four Quotations

The term *terrorism* has acquired a decidedly pejorative meaning in the modern era so that few if any states or groups who espouse political violence ever refer to themselves as terrorists. Nevertheless, these same states and groups can be unabashedly extremist in their beliefs or violent in their behavior. They often invoke—and manipulate—images of a malevolent threat or unjust conditions to justify their actions. The question is whether these justifications are morally satisfactory (and thereby validate extremist violence) or whether terrorism is inherently wrong.

Evaluating the following aphorisms critically will help address difficult moral questions:

- **"One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter."**
- **"One man willing to throw away his life is enough to terrorize a thousand."**
- **"Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice."**
- **"It became necessary to destroy the town to save it."**[28]

"One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter."

Who made this statement is not known; it most likely originated in one form or another in the remote historical past. The concept it embodies is, very simply, perspective. It is a concept that will be applied throughout our examination of terrorist groups, movements, and individuals.

As will become abundantly clear, terrorists never consider themselves the bad guys in their struggle for what they would define as freedom. They might admit that they have been forced by a powerful and ruthless opponent to adopt terrorist methods, but they see themselves as **freedom fighters**—or, in the case of radical Islamists, obedient servants of God. Benefactors of terrorists always live with clean hands because they present their clients as plucky freedom fighters. Likewise, nations that use the technology of war to attack known civilian targets justify their sacrifice as incidental to the greater good of the cause.

"One man willing to throw away his life is enough to terrorize a thousand."

This concept originated with Chinese military philosopher **Wu Ch'i**, who wrote,

> Now suppose there is a desperate bandit lurking in the fields and one thousand men set out in pursuit of him. The reason all look for him as they would a wolf is that each one fears that he will arise and harm him. This is the reason one man willing to throw away his life is enough to terrorize a thousand.[29]

These sentences are the likely source for the better-known aphorism **"kill one man, terrorize a thousand."** Its authorship is undetermined but has been attributed to the leader of the Chinese Revolution, **Mao Zedong**, and to the Chinese military philosopher **Sun Tzu**. Wu Ch'i and Sun Tzu are often discussed in conjunction with each other, but Sun Tzu may be a mythical figure. Sun Tzu's book *The Art of War* has become a classic study of warfare. Regardless of who originated these phrases, their simplicity explains the value of a motivated individual who is willing to sacrifice himself or herself when committing an act of violence. They suggest that the selfless application of lethal force—in combination with correct timing, surgical precision, and an unambiguous purpose—is an invaluable weapon of war. It is also an obvious tactic for small, motivated groups that are vastly outnumbered and outgunned by a more powerful adversary.

"Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice."

Senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona made this statement during his bid for the presidency in 1964. His campaign theme was staunchly conservative and anti-Communist. However, because of the nation's rivalry with the Soviet Union at the time, every major candidate was overtly anti-Communist. Goldwater simply tried to outdo incumbent President Lyndon Johnson, his main rival, on the issue.[30]

This aphorism represents an uncompromising belief in the absolute righteousness of a cause. It defines a clear belief in good versus evil and a belief that the end justifies the means. If one simply substitutes *any cause* for the word *liberty*, one can fully understand how the expression lends itself to legitimizing uncompromising devotion to the cause. Terrorists use this reasoning to justify their belief that they are defending their championed interest (be it ideological, racial, religious, or national) against all perceived enemies—who are, of course, evil. Hence, the practice of ethnic cleansing was begun by Serb militias during the 1991–1995 war in Bosnia to forcibly remove Muslims and Croats from villages and towns. This was done in the name of Bosnian Serb security and historical claims to land occupied by others.[31] Bosnian and Croat paramilitaries later practiced ethnic cleansing to create their own ethnically pure enclaves.

"It became necessary to destroy the town to save it."

This quotation has been attributed to a statement by an American officer during the war in Vietnam. When asked why a village thought to be occupied by the enemy had been destroyed, he allegedly replied that American soldiers had destroyed the village to save it.[32] The symbolic logic behind this statement is seductive: If the worst thing that can happen to a village is for it to be occupied by an enemy, then destroying it is a good thing. The village

has been denied to the enemy, and it has been saved from the horrors of enemy occupation. The symbolism of the village can be replaced by any number of symbolic values.

Terrorists use this kind of reasoning to justify hardships that they impose not only on a perceived enemy but also on their own championed group. For example, in Chapter 6, readers will be introduced to nihilist dissident terrorists, who are content to wage "revolution for revolution's sake." They have no concrete plan for what kind of society will be built on the rubble of the old one—their goal is simply to destroy an inherently evil system. To them, anything is better than the existing order. A historical example of this reasoning on an enormous scale is found in the great war between two totalitarian and terrorist states—Germany and the Soviet Union—from July 1941 to May 1945. Both sides used scorched-earth tactics as a matter of policy when their armies retreated, destroying towns, crops, roadways, bridges, factories, and other infrastructure as a way to deny resources to the enemy.

Perspective 2: Participants in a Terrorist Environment

Typically, the participants in a terrorist environment include the following actors, each of whom may advance different interpretations of an incident:[33]

The terrorist. Terrorists are the perpetrators of a politically violent incident. For them, the violent incident is a justifiable act of war against an oppressive opponent. "Insofar as terrorists seek to attract attention, they target the enemy public or uncommitted bystanders."[34] In their minds, this is a legitimate tactic, because in their view they are always freedom fighters, never terrorists. Propaganda by the deed, if properly carried out, carries powerful symbolic messages to the target audience and to large segments of an onlooker audience. Terrorists also attempt to cast themselves as freedom fighters, soldiers, and martyrs. If successful, their image will be of a vanguard movement representing the just aspirations of an oppressed people. When this occurs, political and moral pressure can be brought against their adversaries, possibly forcing them to grant concessions to the movement.

The supporter. Supporters of terrorists are patrons—in essence, persons who provide a supportive environment or apparatus. Supporters will generally refer to the terrorist participants as freedom fighters. Even if supporters disagree with the use or with the application of force in an incident, they will often rationalize it as the unfortunate consequence of a just war. Supporters and patrons of terrorists often help with spinning the terrorists' cause and manipulating how incidents are reported. Supporters with sophisticated information departments—such as Northern Ireland's **Sinn Féin** or Lebanon's **Hezbollah**—can successfully use the media to deliver their message to a wide audience. Supporters will always defend the underlying grievances of the extremists and will often allude to these as the reason for the group's decision to use terrorist methods. The key for activist supporters is to convey the impression that the terrorists' methods are understandable under the circumstances.

The victim. Victims of political violence, and of warfare, will rarely sympathize with the perpetrators, regardless of the underlying motive. From their perspective, the perpetrators are little better than terrorists. From the terrorists' point of view, high-profile attacks that

victimize an audience are useful as wake-up calls for the victims to understand the underlying grievances of the movement. Terrorists believe that although victims rarely sympathize with those who cause their suffering, propaganda arising from the deed can help educate them. Because they are the innocent **collateral damage** of a conflict, victims—with help from media commentators—will often question why they have become caught up in a terrorist environment. This process can theoretically cause public opinion shifts.

The target. Targets are usually symbolic. They represent some feature of the enemy and can be either property targets or human targets. Like the victims, human targets will rarely sympathize with the perpetrators. With the appropriate spin, terrorists can garner sympathy, or at least a measure of understanding, if the media convey their reasons for selecting the target. Assessing targeted interests is not unlike assessing the impact on victims, and media commentators assist with both. The difference is that the investigatory process is conducted with the understanding that targeted interests have been specifically labeled as an enemy interest. In many circumstances, targeted audiences can have a significant impact on public opinion and government policy.

The onlooker. Onlookers are the broad audience to the terrorist incident. They can be affected directly at the scene or indirectly by mass media. They may sympathize with the perpetrators, revile them, or remain neutral. Depending on the onlooker's world view, they might actually applaud an incident or an environment. Television is particularly effective for broadening the scope of who is an onlooker. This was evident during the live broadcasts of the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. The Internet also has become a primary medium for broadening the audience of terrorist acts, such as beheadings of hostages, bombings, and other incidents.

The analyst. Analysts are interpreters of the terrorist incident. Analysts are important participants because they create perspectives, interpret incidents, and label other participants. Analysts can include political leaders, media experts, and academic experts. Very often, the analyst will simply define, for the other participants, who is—or is not—a terrorist. The media play a strong role as interpreters of the terrorist incident. They also play a role in how non-media analysts will have their views broadcast to a larger audience. Political leaders, experts, and scholars all rely on the media to promulgate their expert opinions.

The same event can be interpreted a number of ways, causing participants to adopt biased spins on that event. The following factors illustrate this problem:

- *Political associations* of participants can create a sense of identification with either the target group or the defended group. This identification can be either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the political association.
- *Emotional responses* of participants after a terrorist incident can range from horror to joy. This response can shape a participant's opinion of the incident or the extremist's cause.
- *Labeling* of participants can create either a positive or negative impression of an incident or cause. Labeling can range from positive symbolism on behalf of the terrorists to dehumanization of enemy participants (including civilians).

- *Symbolism* plays an important role in the terrorist's selection of targets. The targets can be inanimate objects that symbolize a government's power or human victims who symbolize an enemy people. Other participants sometimes make value judgments about the incident based on the symbolism of the target, thus asking whether the selected target was legitimate or illegitimate.

Perspective 3: Terrorism or Freedom Fighting?

Members of politically violent organizations tend to adopt the language of liberation, national identity, religious fervor, and even democracy. For example, ethno-nationalist or religious organizations such as the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** in Israel, the **Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)** in Sri Lanka, and the **Provisional Irish Republican Army (Provisional IRA, or Provos)** in the United Kingdom have all declared that they were armies fighting on behalf of an oppressed people and were viewed by their supporters as freedom fighters. Conversely, many Israelis, Sinhalese, and British would label members of these groups as terrorists.

Governments have also adopted authoritarian measures to counter domestic threats from perceived subversives. Similarly, they rationalize their behavior as a proportional response to an immediate threat. Numerous cases of such rationalization exist, such as when the Chilean and Argentine armed forces seized power during the 1970s and engaged in widespread violent repression of dissidents. In Argentina, an estimated 30,000 people disappeared during the so-called **Dirty War** waged by its military government from 1976 to 1983.

Thus, from the perspective of many violent groups and governments, extremist beliefs and terrorist methods are logical and necessary, as well as rational and justifiable. They become mainstreamed within the context of their world view and political environment, which, in the minds of the extremists, offer no alternative to using violence to achieve freedom or maintain order. Conversely, those who oppose the practitioners of political violence reject their justifications of terrorist methods and disavow the opinion that these methods are morally proportional to the perceived political environment.

THE POLITICAL VIOLENCE MATRIX

To properly conceptualize modern terrorism, one must understand the qualities and scales of violence that define terrorist violence. The Political Violence Matrix is a tool that aids in this conceptualization.

Experts have identified and analyzed many terrorist environments. As readers will learn in the chapters that follow, these environments include state, dissident, religious, ideological, international, and criminal terrorism. One distinguishing feature in each model is the relationship between the *quality of force* used by the terrorists and the *characteristics of the intended target* of the attack. Figure 1.1 depicts how the relationship between quality of force and target characteristics often defines the type of conflict between terrorist and victim.

Figure 1.1 The Political Violence Matrix

The purpose of the Political Violence Matrix is to create a framework for classifying and conceptualizing political violence. This classification framework is predicated on two factors: Force and Intended Target.

When force (whether conventional or unconventional) is used against *combatant* targets, it occurs in a warfare environment. When force is used against *noncombatant* or passive *military* targets, it often characterizes a terrorist environment. Violent environments can be broadly summarized as follows:

- *Total War.* Force is indiscriminately applied to destroy the military targets of an enemy combatant to absolutely destroy them.
- *Total War/Unrestricted Terrorism.* Indiscriminate force is applied against noncombatant targets without restraint, either by a government or by dissidents.
- *Limited War.* Discriminating force is used against a combatant target, either to defeat the enemy or to achieve a more limited political goal.
- *State Repression/Restricted Terrorism.* Discriminating force is directed against noncombatant targets either as a matter of domestic policy or as the selective use of terrorism by dissidents.

The following figure summarizes factors to be considered when evaluating the application of different scales of force against certain types of targets.

Indiscriminate force, Combatant target	**Total war (WWII Eastern Front)**	**Limited war (Korean War)**	***Discriminate force, Combatant target***
Indiscriminate force, Noncombatant target	**Total war (WWII bombing of cities)** **Unrestricted terrorism (Rwandan genocide)**	**State repression (Argentine "Dirty War")** **Restricted terrorism (Italian Red Brigade)**	***Discriminate force, Noncombatant target***

Source: Adapted from Sederberg (1989), p. 34.

Combatants, Noncombatants, and the Use of Force

Definitional and ethical issues are not always clearly drawn when one uses terms such as *combatant target*, *noncombatant target*, *discriminate force*, or *indiscriminate force*. Nevertheless, the association of these concepts and how they are applied to each other are instructive references for determining whether a violent incident may be defined as terrorism.

Combatant and Noncombatant Targets

The term *combatants* certainly refers to conventional or unconventional adversaries who engage in armed conflict as members of regular military or irregular guerrilla fighting units. The term *noncombatants* obviously includes civilians who have no connection to military or other security forces. There are, however, circumstances in which these definitional lines become blurred. For example, in times of social unrest, civilians can become combatants. This has occurred repeatedly in societies where communal violence (e.g., civil war) breaks out between members of ethno-nationalist, ideological, or religious groups.

Spencer Platt/Getty Images News/Getty Images

▶ Hijacked United Airlines Flight 175 from Boston crashes into the south tower of the World Trade Center and explodes at 9:03 a.m. on September 11, 2001, in New York City.

Similarly, noncombatants can include off-duty members of the military in nonwarfare environments.[35] They become targets because of their symbolic status.

Indiscriminate and Discriminate Force

Indiscriminate force is the application of force against a target without attempting to limit the level of force or the degree of destruction of the target. *Discriminate force* is a more surgical use of limited force. Indiscriminate force is considered to be acceptable when used against combatants in a warfare environment.

However, it is regularly condemned when used in *any* nonwarfare environment regardless of the characteristics of the victim.[36] There are, however, many circumstances when adversaries define "warfare environment" differently. When weaker adversaries resort to unconventional methods (including terrorism), they justify these methods by defining them as being necessary during a self-defined state of war. Discriminate force is considered to be a moral use of force when it is applied against specific targets with the intention to limit so-called collateral damage, or unintended destruction and casualties.

DISCUSSION BOX

Cold War Revolutionaries

This chapter's Discussion Box is intended to stimulate critical debate about the role of perspective in labeling those who practice extremist behavior as "freedom fighters" or "terrorists."

The Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union lasted from the late 1940s until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. During the roughly 40 years of rivalry, the two superpowers never entered into direct military conflict—at least conventionally. Rather, they supported insurgent and government allies in the developing world (commonly referred to as the "**Third World**"),[a] who often entered into armed conflict. These conflicts could be ideological or communal in nature. Conflicts were often "proxy wars," wherein the Soviets or Americans sponsored rival insurgent groups (such as in Angola), or "**wars of national liberation**," which were nationalistic in nature (such as in Vietnam).

The following examples were several important "fronts" in the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Cuban Revolution

The American influence in Cuba had been very strong since it granted the country

independence in 1902 after defeating the Spanish in the Spanish–American War of 1898. The United States supported a succession of corrupt and repressive governments, the last of which was that of Fulgencio Batista. Batista's government was overthrown in 1959 by a guerrilla army led by **Fidel Castro** and **Ernesto "Che" Guevara**, an Argentine trained as a physician. Castro's insurgency had begun rather unremarkably, with significant defeats at the Moncada Barracks in 1953 and a landing on the southeast coast of Cuba from Mexico in 1956 (when only 15 rebels survived to seek refuge in the Sierra Maestra mountains).

It was Batista's brutal reprisals against urban civilians that eventually drove many Cubans to support Castro's movement. When Batista's army was defeated and demoralized in a rural offensive against the rebels, Castro, his brother Raul, Guevara, and Camilo Cienfuegos launched a multifront campaign that ended in victory when their units converged on the capital of Havana in January 1959. The revolution had not been a Communist revolution, and the new Cuban government was not initially a Communist government. But by early 1960, Cuba began to receive strong economic and military support from the Soviet Union. Castro and his followers soon declared the revolution to be a Communist one, and the Soviet–American Cold War opened a new and volatile front. American attempts to subvert Castro's regime included the Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961 and several assassination attempts against Castro.[b] The Soviets and Americans came close to war during the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962.

Cubans in Africa

In the postwar era, dozens of anticolonial and communal insurgencies occurred in Africa. During the 1970s, Africa became a central focus of the rivalry between Soviet- and Western-supported groups and governments. Thousands of Cuban soldiers were sent to several African countries on a mission that Fidel Castro justified as their "internationalist duty." For example, in the 1970s, Cuba sent 20,000 soldiers to Angola, 17,000 to Ethiopia, 500 to Mozambique, 250 to Guinea-Bissau, 250 to Equatorial Guinea, and 125 to Libya.[c]

Angola

Portugal was the colonial ruler of this southern African country for more than 500 years. Beginning in 1961, guerrillas began conducting raids in northern Angola, committing brutal atrocities that few can argue were not acts of terrorism. Three guerrilla movements eventually drove the Portuguese from Angola and declared independence in November 1975. These were the Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and the Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

In the civil war that broke out after the Portuguese withdrawal, the United States and China supported the FNLA, the Soviets and Cubans supported the MPLA, and the United States and South Africa supported UNITA. The MPLA became the de facto government of Angola. Cuban soldiers were sent to support the MPLA government, the United States and South Africa sent aid to UNITA, and South African and British mercenaries fought with UNITA. The FNLA never achieved much success in the field. Direct foreign support was withdrawn as the Cold War and South African apartheid ended, although the conflict continued through the 1990s. The MPLA finally forced UNITA to end its insurgency when UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi was killed in February 2002.

Nicaragua

U.S. influence and intervention in Nicaragua were common during most of the 20th century. Its governments had been supported by the United States, and its National Guard (the

(*Continued*)

(Continued)

"Guardia") had been trained by the United States. These pro-American Nicaraguan governments had a long history of corruption and violent repression. Cuban-oriented Marxist guerrillas, the Sandinista National Liberation Front, overthrew the government of ***Anastasio Somoza Debayle*** in 1979 with Cuban and Soviet assistance.

During much of the next decade, the United States armed, trained, and supported anti-Sandinista guerrillas known as the Contras ("counterrevolutionaries"). This support included clandestine military shipments managed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the mining of Managua harbor, and an illegal arms shipment program managed by Marine lieutenant colonel Oliver North.

Discussion Questions

- Che Guevara is revered by many on the left as a "principled" revolutionary. He believed that a revolutionary "spark" was needed to create revolution throughout Latin America. Guevara was killed in Bolivia trying to prove his theory. Was Che Guevara an internationalist freedom fighter?
- The United States used sabotage to destabilize Cuba's economy and government and plotted to assassinate Fidel Castro. Did the United States engage in state-sponsored terrorism? Compare this to Soviet support of *its* allies. Is there a difference?
- The Soviet Union sponsored the Cuban troop presence in Africa during the 1970s. The wars in Angola, Ethiopia/Somalia, and Mozambique were particularly bloody. Did the Soviet Union engage in state-sponsored terrorism? Compare this to U.S. support of *its* allies. Is there a difference?
- During the Soviet–U.S. rivalry in Angola, Jonas Savimbi commanded the pro-Western UNITA army. He was labeled as a freedom fighter by his U.S. patrons. Savimbi never overthrew the MPLA government. Promising efforts to share power after an election in 1992 ended in the resumption of the war when Savimbi refused to acknowledge his electoral defeat, and a 1994 cease-fire collapsed. From the U.S. perspective, has Jonas Savimbi's status as a freedom fighter changed? If so, when and how?
- The Sandinistas overthrew a violent and corrupt government. The Contras were presented by the Reagan administration as an army of freedom fighters battling a totalitarian Communist government. Contra atrocities against civilians were documented. Were the Contras freedom fighters? How do their documented atrocities affect your opinion?

a. At the time, the First World was defined as the developed Western democracies, the Second World was the Soviet bloc, and the Third World was the developing world, composed of newly emerging postcolonial nations.

b. At least one plot allegedly proposed using an exploding cigar.

c. See Cross, R. W., ed. *20th Century*. London: Purnell, 1979, p. 2365, and "The OAU and the New Scramble for Africa," pp. 2372–3.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented readers with the nature of terrorism and probed the definitional debates about the elements of these behaviors. Several fundamental concepts were identified that continue to influence the motives and behaviors of those who support or engage in political violence.

It is important to understand the elements that help define terrorism. Common characteristics of the extremist beliefs that underlie terrorist behavior include intolerance, moral absolutes, broad conclusions, and a new language that supports a particular belief system. Literally scores of definitions of terrorism have been offered by laypersons, academics, and policy professionals to describe the elements of terrorist violence.

Many of these definitions are value laden and can depend on one's perspective as an actor in a terrorist environment. The role of perspective is significant in the definitional debate. Terrorists always declare that they are fighters who represent the interests of an oppressed group. They consider themselves freedom fighters and justify their violence as a proportional response to the object of their oppression. Their supporters will often mainstream the motives of those who violently champion their cause. In addition, the underlying principles of long-standing ideologies and philosophies continue to provide justifications for the support and use of political violence.

In the United States, official definitions have been adopted as a matter of policy. No single definition has been applied across all government agencies, but there is some commonality among their approaches. Commonalities include premeditation, unlawfulness, groups or agents, force or violence, human or property targets, intimidation, and a political objective.

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

The following topics were discussed in this chapter and can be found in the Glossary:

Anastasio Somoza Debayle 24
Collateral damage 19
Dirty War 20
Ernesto "Che" Guevara 23
Extremism 3
"Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice." 16
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) 9
Fidel Castro 23
Freedom fighters 16
Guerrilla 7
Hezbollah 18
International terrorism 12
"It became necessary to destroy the town to save it." 16
"Kill one man, terrorize a thousand." 17
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) 20
Mao Zedong 17
Narco-terrorism 12
"One man willing to throw away his life is enough to terrorize a thousand." 16
"One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter." 16
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) 20
Provisional Irish Republican Army (Provisional IRA, or Provos) 20
Sinn Féin 18
Soft targets 7
Sun Tzu 17
Terrorism 7
Terrorists 4
Third World 22
Wars of national liberation 22
Wu Ch'i 17

RECOMMENDED READINGS

The following publications provide discussions for defining terrorism and terrorism's underlying extremist motivations.

Carr, M. (2007). *The infernal machine: A history of terrorism*. New Press.

Hamm, M. S. (Ed.). (1994). *Hate crime: International perspectives on causes and control*. Northern Kentucky University, Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Howard, L. (Ed.). (1992). *Terrorism: Roots, impact, responses*. Praeger.

Jackson, R. (2011). *Terrorism: A critical introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Kassimeris, G. (Ed.). (2007). *Playing politics with terrorism: A user's guide*. Hurst/Columbia University Press.

Laqueur, W. (1999). *The new terrorism: Fanaticism and the arms of mass destruction*. Oxford University Press.

Richardson, L. (2007). *What terrorists want: Understanding the enemy, containing the threat*. Random House.

Sederberg, P. C. (1989). *Terrorist myths: Illusion, rhetoric, and reality*. Prentice Hall.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES AND IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS

Terrorism has been a dark feature of human behavior since history was first recorded. Great leaders have been assassinated, groups and individuals have committed acts of incredible violence, and entire cities and nations have been put to the sword—all in the name of defending a greater good.

The modern era of terrorism is primarily, though not exclusively, a conflict between adversaries waging, on one side, a self-described war on terrorism and, on the other, a self-described holy war in defense of their religion. It is an active confrontation, evidenced by the fact that the incidence of significant terrorist attacks often spikes to serious levels. Although such trends are disturbing, it is critical for one to keep these facts in perspective because the modern terrorist environment is in no manner a unique circumstance in human history.

It will become clear in the following pages that the history of terrorist behavior extends into antiquity and that themes and concepts recur. State terrorism, dissident terrorism, and other types of political violence are common to all periods of civilization. It will also become clear to readers that certain *justifications*—rooted in basic beliefs—have been used to rationalize terrorist violence throughout history. The following themes are introduced here:

- Historical Perspectives on Terrorism
- Ideological Origins of Terrorism
- September 11, 2001, and the New Terrorism

Learning Objectives

This chapter will enable readers to do the following:

1. Demonstrate knowledge of the historical context of modern terrorist violence.
2. Understand the classical ideological continuum.
3. Classify some ideologies and activism as left-wing phenomena.
4. Explain the attributes and behavior of left-wing terrorism.
5. Classify some activism and extremism as right-wing phenomena.
6. Explain the attributes and behavior of right-wing terrorism.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON TERRORISM

It is perhaps natural for each generation to view history narrowly, from within its own political context. Contemporary commentators

and laypersons tend to interpret modern events as though they have no historical precedent. However, terrorism is by no means a modern phenomenon and has in fact a long history. Nor does terrorism arise from a political vacuum.

Antiquity

In the ancient world, cases and stories of state repression and political violence were common. Several ancient writers championed **tyrannicide** (the killing of tyrants) as necessary for the greater good of the citizenry and to delight the gods. Some assassins were honored by the public. For example, after Aristogeiton and Harmodius were executed for assassinating the Greek tyrant Hipparchus, statues were erected to honor them.[1] Conquerors often set harsh examples by exterminating entire populations or forcing the conquered into exile. An example of this practice is the Babylonian Exile, which followed the conquest of the kingdom of Judea. Babylon's victory resulted in the forced removal of the Judean population to Babylon in 598 and 587 BCE. Those in authority also repressed the expression of ideas from individuals they deemed dangerous, sometimes violently. In ancient Greece, Athenian authorities sentenced the great philosopher Socrates to death in 399 BCE for allegedly corrupting the city-state's youth and meddling in religious affairs. He drank hemlock and died among his students and followers.

The Roman Age

During the time of the Roman Empire, the political world was rife with many violent demonstrations of power, which were arguably examples of what we would now term *state terrorism*. These include the brutal suppression of Spartacus's followers after the Servile War of 73–71 BCE, after which the Romans crucified surviving rebels along the Appian Way. **Crucifixion** was a common form of public execution: The condemned were affixed to a cross or other wooden frame, either tied or nailed through the wrist or hand, and later died by suffocation as their bodies sagged.

Warfare was waged in an equally hard manner, such as the final conquest of the North African city-state of Carthage in 146 BCE. The city was reportedly allowed to burn for 10 days, the rubble was cursed, and salt was symbolically plowed into the soil to signify that Carthage would forever remain desolate. During another successful campaign in 106 CE, the Dacian nation (modern Romania) was eliminated, its population was enslaved, and many Dacians perished in gladiatorial games. In other conquered territories, conquest was often accompanied by similar demonstrations of terror, always with the intent to demonstrate that Roman rule would be wielded without mercy against those who did not submit to the authority of the empire. Julius Caesar claimed in his *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*[2] to have exterminated Germanic tribes numbering 430,000 people at the Rhine river in 55 BCE during his conquest of Gaul. In essence, Roman conquest was predicated on the alternatives of unconditional surrender by adversaries or their annihilation.

Regicide (the killing of kings) was also fairly common during the Roman period. Perhaps the best known was the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BCE by rivals in the Senate. Other Roman emperors also met violent fates: Caligula and Galba were killed by

the Praetorian Guard in 41 and 68 CE, respectively; Domitian was stabbed to death in 96 CE; a paid gladiator murdered Commodus in 193 CE; and Caracalla, Elagabalus, and other emperors either were assassinated or died suspiciously.[3]

The Ancient and Medieval Middle East

Cases exist of movements in the ancient and medieval Middle East that used what modern analysts would consider to be terrorist tactics. For example, in the *History of the Jewish War*—a seven-volume account of the first Jewish rebellion against Roman occupation (66–73 CE)—the historian Flavius Josephus described how one faction of the rebels, the **Sicarii** (who took their name from their preferred weapon, the *sica*, a short curved dagger), attacked both Romans and members of the Jewish establishment.[4] They were masters of guerrilla warfare and the destruction of symbolic property and belonged to a group known as the **Zealots** (from the Greek *zelos*, meaning ardor or strong spirit), who opposed the Roman occupation of Palestine. The modern term *zealot*, used to describe uncompromising devotion to radical change, is derived from the name of this group. Assassination was a commonly used tactic. Some Sicarii Zealots were present at the siege of Masada, a hilltop fortress that held out against the Romans for 3 years before the defenders committed suicide in 74 CE rather than surrender.

The Dark Ages

During the period from the Assassins (13th century) to the French Revolution (18th century), behavior that would later be considered terrorism was commonly practiced in medieval warfare. In fact, a great deal of medieval conflict involved openly brutal warfare. However, the modern terrorist profile of politically motivated dissidence attempting to change an existing order, or state repression to preserve state hegemony, was uncommon. Nation states in the modern sense did not exist in medieval Europe, and recurrent warfare was motivated by religious intolerance and political discord between feudal kings and lords. The post-Assassin Middle East also witnessed periodic invasions, discord between leaders, and religious warfare but not modern-style terrorism. It was not until the rise of the modern nation state in the mid-17th century that the range of intensity of conflict devolved from open warfare to include behavior that the modern era would define as insurgency, guerrilla warfare, and terrorism.

A particularly relevant and prescient case from England is a conspiracy led by Guy Fawkes to bomb the Palace of Westminster and assassinate the king and members of Parliament in 1605. Chapter Perspective 2.1 discusses this conspiracy, known as the Gunpowder Plot.

The French Revolution: Prelude to Modern Terrorism

During the French Revolution, British statesman and philosopher **Edmund Burke** coined the word *terrorism* in its modern context. He used the word to describe *La Terreur*, commonly known in English as the **Reign of Terror** (June 1793 to July 1794).[5] The Reign of Terror, led by the radical Jacobin-dominated government, is a good

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 2.1

The Gunpowder Plot of Guy Fawkes

The reign of James I, King of England from 1603 to 1625, took place in the aftermath of a religious upheaval. During the previous century, King Henry VIII (1509–1547) wrested from Parliament the authority to proclaim himself the head of religious affairs in England. King Henry had requested permission from Pope Clement VII to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon when she failed to give birth to a male heir to the throne. His intention was to then marry Anne Boleyn. When the pope refused his request, Henry proclaimed the Church of England and separated the new church from papal authority. The English crown confiscated Catholic Church property and shut down Catholic monasteries. English Catholics who failed to swear allegiance to the crown as supreme head of the Church were repressed by Henry and later by Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603).

When James I was proclaimed king, Guy Fawkes and other conspirators plotted to assassinate him. They meticulously smuggled gunpowder into the Palace of Westminster, intending to blow it up along with King James and any other officials in attendance on the opening day of Parliament. Unfortunately for Fawkes, one of his fellow plotters attempted to send a note to warn his brother-in-law to stay away from Westminster on the appointed day. The note was intercepted, and Fawkes was captured on November 5, 1605, while guarding the store of gunpowder.

Guy Fawkes suffered the English penalty for treason. He was dragged through the streets, hanged until nearly dead, his bowels were drawn from him, and he was cut into quarters—an infamous process known as hanging, drawing, and quartering. Fawkes had known that this would be his fate, so when the noose was placed around his neck he took a running leap, hoping to break his neck. Unfortunately, the rope broke, and the executioner proceeded with the full ordeal.

example of state terrorism carried out to further the goals of a revolutionary ideology.[6] During the Reign of Terror, thousands of opponents to the Jacobin dictatorship—and others merely perceived as enemies of the new revolutionary Republic—were arrested and put on trial before the **Revolutionary Tribunal**. Those found to be enemies of the Republic were beheaded by a new instrument of execution—the guillotine. With the capability to execute victims one after the other in assembly-line fashion, it was regarded by Jacobins and other revolutionaries of the time as an enlightened and civilized tool of revolutionary justice.[7]

The ferocity of the Reign of Terror is reflected in the number of victims. Between 17,000 and 40,000 persons were executed, and perhaps 200,000 political prisoners died in prisons from disease and starvation.[8] Two incidents illustrate the communal nature of this violence. In Lyon, 700 people were massacred by cannon fire in the town square. In Nantes, thousands were drowned in the Loire River when the boats they were detained in were sunk.[9] The Revolutionary Tribunal, a symbol of revolutionary justice and state terrorism, has its modern counterparts in 20th-century social upheavals. Recent examples