



**NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA**

**SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**COURSE CODE: PCR 415**

**COURSE TITLE: THE NATURE OF GLOBAL  
TERRORISM**

**COURSE  
GUIDE**

**PCR 415  
THE NATURE OF GLOBAL TERRORISM**

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## INTRODUCTION

**Welcome to PCR 415: The Nature of Global Terrorism.** PCR 415 is a three-unit course that has minimum duration of one semester. It is suitable for all students of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution. This course consists of 20 units.

It examines in detail the nature of global terrorism. And cover such diverse topics as definition of terrorism, history or genesis of terrorism, perception and ideological streams of terrorism, elements and anomalies of terrorism, local, regional and global factors that allow and support terrorism continuation, profile of terrorists and their organisations, terrorist weapons, resources, and equipment. The types of terrorist acts, terrorist tactics, and targets and victims, were also addressed in this course in addition to others.

There are compulsory prerequisites for this course. The course guide tells you briefly what the course is all about, what you are expected to know in each unit, what course materials you need to use and how you can work your way through these materials. The course guide also emphasises the necessity for tutor–marked assignments. There are also periodic tutorial classes that are linked to this course.

## WHAT YOU WILL LEARN IN THIS COURSE

The overall objective of **PCR 415: The Nature of Global Terrorism** is to expose you to the whole gamut of issues surrounding the phenomenon of Terrorism particularly at the global level. It seeks to acquaint you with the basic concept of terrorism - what distinguishes terrorism from other forms of violence, types of terrorism, history of terrorism, causes and factors that support terrorism continuation and the challenges of controlling or managing terrorism especially in the age of globalisation.

## COURSE AIMS

The basic aim we intend to achieve in this course is to expose you to the complex phenomenon of global terrorism, its various perceptions and interpretations, to show you how global terrorism has contributed in undermining international peace. The course is geared towards exposing you to how local, regional and global factors allow and support terrorism continuation, the global war on terrorism or counter-terrorism efforts and the challenges in controlling the spread of terrorism to various parts of the world

## COURSE OBJECTIVES

Several objectives can be delineated from this course. In addition, each unit has specific objectives. The unit objectives can be found at the beginning of a unit. You may want to refer to them during your study of the particular unit to check on the progress you are making. You should always look at the unit objectives after completing a unit. In this way, you can be sure that you have covered what is required of you in that unit.

At the end of this course, you should be able to:

- define the concept of terrorism
- differentiate between guerrilla warfare and terrorism
- discuss the origin of the word terrorism
- discuss the nature of global terrorism
- discuss the relationship between anti-colonialism and terrorism
- identify and discuss the various approaches to terrorism analysis
- identify and discuss the different types of terrorism
- identify and describe the types of tactics
- identify and discuss the various explanatory perspectives on the causes of terrorism
- differentiate between the broad and specific targets and victims of terrorism
- identify various terrorist organisations
- discuss the characteristics of terrorist organisations
- describe the links between terrorist organisations
- define the concept of ideology
- describe the relationship between ideology and terrorism
- identify the elements of terrorism
- describe the anomalies associated with terrorists
- identify and discuss the local, regional and global factors that allow and support terrorism continuation
- know the profile of prominent terrorists and their organisations
- to identify their base and areas of operations
- list some terrorists' attacks
- know the types of weapons used by terrorist organisations
- identify and discuss sources of terrorist resources and funding
- describe terrorism during the cold war period
- discuss the relationship between terrorism and the media
- explain the global war on terrorism
- discuss the role of the UN in combating global terrorism
- identify the Counter-Terrorism Instruments of the UN

- discuss the role of the AU in combating terrorism on the African continent
- identify and explain the challenges in controlling global terrorism.

## **WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE**

To complete this course, you are advised to read the study units, read recommended books and other materials provided by NOUN. Each unit contains self-assessment exercises, and at points in the course you are required to submit assignments for assessment purposes. At the end of the course, there is a final examination. The course should take you about 20 weeks to complete. You need to allocate your time in order to complete the course successfully and on time.

## **COURSE MATERIALS**

The major components of the course are:

1. Course Guide
2. Study units
3. Textbooks and References
4. Assignment File
5. Presentation Schedule

## **STUDY UNITS**

There are 5 modules and 20 study units in this course, as follows:

### **Module 1**

Unit 1	Definition of Terrorism
Unit 2	History of Terrorism
Unit 3	The Nature of Terrorism
Unit 4	Approaches to Terrorism Analysis

### **Module 2**

Unit 1	Types of Terrorist Acts
Unit 2	Terrorist Tactics
Unit 3	Causes, Targets and Victims
Unit 4	Terrorist Organisations
Unit 5	Links among Terrorist Organisations

**Module 3**

- Unit 1 Perception and Ideological Streams of Terrorism
- Unit 2 Elements and Anomalies of Terrorism
- Unit 3 Local, Regional and Global factors that allow and support Terrorism Continuation

**Module 4**

- Unit 1 Profile of Terrorists and their Organisations
- Unit 2 Terrorist Weapons, Resources, and Equipment
- Unit 3 Terrorism and the Cold War
- Unit 4 Terrorism and the Media

**Module 5**

- Unit 1 Anti-Terrorism and War on Terrorism
- Unit 2 Terrorism, the United Nations and the Global Order
- Unit 3 The AU and Counter-Terrorism
- Unit 4 Challenges in Controlling Global Terrorism

Each unit contains a number of self-assessment exercises. In general, these self-tests question you on the materials you have just covered or require you to apply it in some way and, thereby, assist you gauge your progress as well as reinforce your understanding of the material. Together with tutor-marked assignments, these exercises will assist you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units and of the course.

**TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCES**

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- Gérard, C. & Arnaud, B. (2007). *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al-Qaeda*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Guelke, A. (2009). *The New Age of Terrorism and the International Political System*. London and New York: I.B Tauris and Co Ltd.
- Huntington, S.P. (1996). *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Jane, B. & Thomas, G. W. (Eds.). (2004). *Terrorism and the UN: Before and After September 11*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Kavoori, A.P. & Fraley, T. (2006). *Media, Terrorism, and Theory: A Reader*. USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Mamdani, M. (2004). *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Oche, O. (2006). *The Phenomenon of Terrorism*. Lagos: Fog Ventures.
- Smith, P. J. (2005). *Terrorism and Violence in Southeast Asia: Transnational Challenges to States and Regional stability*. New York: M.E Sharpe Inc.
- Walter, R.(Ed.). (1998). *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, and States of Mind*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Weinberg, L. (2009). *Global Terrorism*. New York: The Rosen Publishing Group.
- Wilkinson, P. (2011). *Terrorism versus Democracy*. USA and Canada: Routledge.

## **ASSIGNMENT FILE**

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. In this file, you will find all the details of the work you must submit to your tutor for marking. The marks you obtain for these assignments will count towards the final mark you obtain for this course. Further information on assignment will be found in the assignment file itself, and later in this Course Guide in the section on assessment. There are many assignments for this course, with each unit having at least one assignment. These assignments are basically meant to assist you to understand the course.

## ASSESSMENT

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. First, are the tutor-marked assignments; second, is a written examination. In tackling these assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The assignments must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the assignment file. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will account for 30 per cent of your total course mark.

At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final examination of three hours duration. This examination will account for the other 70 per cent of your total course mark.

## TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

There are 25 tutor-marked assignments in this course. You only need to submit some of the assignments. The best four (i.e. the highest four of what you submit) will be counted. Each assignment counts for 20 marks but on the average when the five assignments are put together, the score will count 30% towards your total course mark. The Assignments for the units in this course are contained in the Assignment File.

You will be able to complete your assignments from the information and materials contained in the reference books, reading and study units. However, it is always desirable at this level of your education to research more widely, and demonstrate that you have a very broad and in-depth knowledge of the subject matter. When each assignment is completed, send it together with a TMA form to your tutor. Ensure that each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline given in the Assignment File. If, for any reason you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor before the assignment is due to discuss the possibility of an extension. Extensions will not be granted after the due date unless there are exceptional circumstances warranting such.

## FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination for **PCR 415: The Nature of Global Terrorism** will be of three hours and has a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions, which reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. Use your time between the completion of the last unit and sitting for the examination to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-

marked assignments and comment on them before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

## COURSE MARKING SCHEME

**Table 1: Course Marking Scheme**

<b>ASSESSMENT</b>	<b>MARKS</b>
Assignments	Four submitted, best three accounts for 30% of course marks.
Final examination	70% of overall course marks
<b>Total</b>	<b>100% of course marks</b>

## HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units tell you when to read, and which are your text materials or reference books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise. Each of the study unit follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives allow you to know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course. The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from the reference books or from a reading section.

The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

1. Read this Course Guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.
2. Organise a Study Schedule. Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the Course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. Important information, e.g. details of your tutorials, and the date

of the first day of the Semester is available from the NOUN web site. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.

3. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late to get help.
4. Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
5. Assemble the study materials. You will need your set books and the unit you are studying at any point in time. Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
6. Up-to-date course information will be continuously posted there.
7. Well before the relevant due dates (about 4 weeks before due dates), access the Assignment File on the NOUN web site and download your next required assignment. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.
8. Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.
9. When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.
10. When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule. When the Assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor-marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.
11. After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).

## **FACILITATORS, TUTORS AND TUTORIALS**

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must mail your tutor-marked assignments to your tutor well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible. Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone, e-mail, or discussion board. The following might be circumstances in which you will find help necessary. Contact your tutor if:

- i. you do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings
- ii. you have difficulties within the exercises
- iii. you have a question or problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

### **SUMMARY**

You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face-to-face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefits from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn quite a lot from participating in the discussions.

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## MODULE 1

Unit 1	Definition of Terrorism
Unit 2	History or Genesis of Terrorism
Unit 3	The Nature of Terrorism
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### UNIT 1 DEFINITION OF TERRORISM

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#### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall examine the concept of terrorism, noting the various definitions provided by scholars and international institutions such as the United Nations and the African Union. We shall also attempt to locate how terrorism became increasingly recognised as a global problem since the events of September 11, 2001.

#### 2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define the concept of terrorism
- explain why it has been difficult for the international community to arrive at consensus on definition of terrorism
- differentiate between guerrilla warfare and terrorism
- explain how terrorism became increasingly recognised as a global problem
- discuss the origin of the word terrorism.

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.1 Definition of Terrorism

The world of the 21st century in which we are today, is more precarious, unpredictable and more dangerous than at any time in the history of mankind. Terrorism has become pervasive and its effects are felt all over the world, with no nation being immune from acts of terrorism. While the problem posed by terrorism has been recognised globally, the international community has not necessarily agreed about the nature of terrorism. According to Hoffman (1998), the word terrorism is politically and emotionally charged, and this greatly compounds the difficulty of arriving at an exact meaning.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the United Nations attempted to define the term, but failed to reach a consensus mainly due to the differences of opinion between member states about the use of violence in the context of conflicts over national liberation and self-determination. For example in the 1980s, the American CIA attempted to overthrow President Fidel Castro of Cuba. Still in the 1980s, it attempted to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Also, on many occasions, America used right-wing elements in various countries to illegally kill a lot of people. In Angola, the US actively supported the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (in Portuguese: *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*) (UNITA) rebels against the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola Party (in [Portuguese](#): *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola – Partido do Trabalho*) (MPLA) and it was defeated. On the other hand, many African, Arab and East European countries supported the liberation movements that fought against apartheid regime in South Africa, the white minority government in Rhodesia (Now Zimbabwe) and the Portuguese colonial administration in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe. Some also supported the Palestinian Liberation Organisation in its struggle for self determination. It is on account of these contradictions that some have observed that 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter', remains a common perspective on the definitional problem of terrorism. Foreign relations even indicate that though most people can recognise terrorism when they see it, experts have had difficulty coming up with a universally accepted definition.

Studies conducted by Schmid and Jongman (1988) found that there are over 1000 definitions of terrorism. The US Terrorist Research Centre equally admits that terrorism 'by nature is difficult to define'. The following definitions are provided by various experts in the field:



<b>Table 1: Definitions of Terrorism</b>	
<b>Definition</b>	<b>Author (s)/Source (s)</b>
Terrorism is the unlawful use or threat of violence against persons or property to further political or social objectives. It is usually intended to intimidate or coerce a government, individual or groups, to modify their behaviour or politics.	Vice President Task Force (USA), 1986.
Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against a person or property to intimidate or coerce a government, civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.	FBI
Terrorism is the premeditated, deliberate, systematic murder, mayhem, and threatening of the innocent to create fear and intimidation in order to gain a political or tactical advantage, usually to influence an audience.	James M. Poland
Terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted.	Walter Laqueur.
Terrorism is the use or threatened use of force designed to bring about political change.	Brian Jenkins.
Terrorism can be seen as ‘criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular person for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them’	United Nations, 1994
Terrorism is defined as political violence in an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and psychic fear (sometimes indiscriminate) through the violent victimisation and destruction	Carsten Bockstette, George C. Marshall Centre for European Security Studies.

<p>of noncombatant targets (sometimes iconic symbols). Such acts are meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organisation. The purpose of terrorism is to exploit the media in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity as an amplifying force multiplier in order to influence the targeted audience(s) in order to reach short and midterm political goals and/or desired long term end states.</p>	
<p>Terrorism is the use or threat of action . . . designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public . . . for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause.</p>	<p>United Kingdom Terrorist Act 2000</p>
<p>Terrorism is violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that . . . appear to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping.</p>	<p>United States Federal Statute under United States Code, Title 18, Section 2331 (18 USC 2331).</p>
<p>Canada designates “terrorist activity” as “an act or omission . . . that is committed in whole or in part for a political, religious or ideological purpose, objective or cause and in whole or in part with the intention of intimidating the public, or a segment of the public, with regard to its security, including its economic security, or compelling a person, a government or a domestic or an international organisation to do or to refrain from doing any act, whether the person, government or organisation is inside or outside Canada . . . .”</p>	<p>Canada’s Anti-terrorism Act (Bill C-36)</p>
<p>A terrorist organisation is “a body of persons resorting in its activities to acts of violence calculated to cause</p>	<p>Israeli’s Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance No. 33.</p>

<p>death or injury to a person or to threats of such acts of violence.”</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is premeditated and planned in advance, rather than an impulsive act of rage,</li> <li>• It is political-not criminal, like the violence that groups such as the Mafia use to get money, but designed to change the existing political order,</li> <li>• It is aimed at civilians-not military targets or combat-ready troops,</li> <li>• It is carried out by sub-national groups not by the army of country.</li> </ul>	<p>Paul Pillar, a former CIA deputy Chief of the Counterterrorism</p>
<p>Terrorism is an act or threat of violence against non-combatants with the objective of exerting revenge; intimidating or otherwise influencing an audience</p>	<p>Stern, 1999</p>

Although terrorism has haunted the world for a long time, it was the terrorist attack directed on the United States of America on September 11, 2001 that brought significant global attention to the phenomenon. This was as a result of extent of damage, which accompanied the attack on the world’s super power that was hitherto thought to be invincible, the huge number of lives lost and different foreign nationals involved. Following the events of September 11, 2001, many states that hitherto did not consider terrorism as a serious social and political issue within their territory, felt obliged to support the global movement to eliminate the menace. No doubt countries have recognised that the phenomenon of terrorism poses serious challenges to their foreign policies.

The advent of globalisation as a new world order (or disorder) and, in particular the 9/11 attacks in the US have also brought the world closer to a near unanimous view of terrorism in the spirit and character of the new global village. Terrorism has now assumed international or global stature and has, more or less, been transformed into a non-state problem, with the actors pitted against state or states in pursuing agendas that transcend national boundaries.

African leaders under the auspices of the OAU, now AU have also attempted to define terrorism from the African context. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (AU), at its Algiers meeting in 1999, defined terrorism as:

- a. any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a state party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to, any person, any member or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:
  - i. intimidate, put fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint or act according to certain principles; or
  - ii. disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or create a public emergency; or
  - iii. any promotion, sponsoring, contribution to, command, aid, incitement, encouragement, attempts, threats, conspiracy, organising or procurement of any person, with the intent to commit any act referred to in paragraph (a) (i)-(iii).

The 1999 Algiers Convention significantly expanded the 1992 OAU Heads of State and Government Declaration against Extremism and the Code of Conduct for Inter-African Relations adopted at the 30th Ordinary Assembly in Tunis in 1994, which rejected fanaticism and all forms of extremism. The OAU definition of terrorism provides a useful guide, even though other definitions are also be examined below.

Most countries have tended to rely on the definition provided by United Nations as a working definition. On December 17, 1996, the non-binding United Nations Declaration to Supplement the 1994 Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, annexed to the UN General Assembly Resolution 51/210, condemned terrorist activities in the following terms:

1. The States Members of the United Nations solemnly reaffirm their unequivocal condemnation of all acts, methods and practices of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, wherever and by whomsoever committed, including those that jeopardise friendly relations among States and peoples and threaten the territorial integrity and security of States.
2. The States Members of the United Nations reaffirm that acts, methods and practices of terrorism are contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations; they declare that knowingly financing, planning and inciting terrorist acts are also contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations;
3. Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for

political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.

In 2004, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1566 condemned terrorist acts as:

criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organisation to do or to abstain from doing any act, which constitute offences within the scope of and as defined in the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, are under no circumstances justifiable by considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other similar nature.

It is evident that the definitions of terrorism are limitless. There are perhaps as many definitions as there scholars working on the evolving phenomenon of terrorism. The definition provided by Thomas Imobighe (2005:361) is that terrorism is the 'indiscriminate use of different levels of violence to strike fear on an opponent in an adversarial relationship in order to tailor the action of the latter towards a desired goal'. Ogaba Oche (2007:7) also agrees with the point that terrorists are groups of individuals involved in creating a state of fear, which gives rise to the very essence of terrorism. Though some have argued that terrorism is essentially the weapon of the weak against the strong, it is evident that both the powerful and the weak, as well as both government and non-governmental actors within the society have applied terrorism at some point in time. Such terrorist acts may include bombing of selected places, hostage taking, hijacking of planes, assassinations, and many others. It has been noted that different groups such as freedom fighters, nationalists, and ethnic groups, insurgents and even national armed forces and other state security agents, have applied some terrorist tactics at one time or the other. It is on account of these contradictions that some observers have argued that 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.' Most terrorists will accept this view because they do not see their acts as evil but fighting for what they believe in by using whatever means possible. What is clear is that the UN General Assembly as noted above condemns all acts of terrorism and described them as criminal and unjustifiable.

Boaz Ganor, an Israeli expert on terrorism, defines terrorism as the intentional use of, or threatened use of violence against civilians or against civilian targets in order to attain political aims. In an attempt to clarify the term terrorism, Ganor differentiates guerrilla warfare from terrorism and briefly defines the state's involvement in terrorism. On the issue of guerrilla warfare and terrorism, Ganor contends that the two concepts serve as 'alternative designations of the same phenomena'. However, he emphasises that 'the term terrorism has a far more negative connotation, seemingly requiring one to take a stand, whereas the term guerrilla warfare is perceived as neutral and carries a more positive connotation'. If terrorism purposely targets civilians in order to achieve political goals, Ganor regards guerrilla warfare as "purposeful targeting of military personnel and military installations in order to achieve a political goal."

### 3.2 Origin of the Word Terrorism

Terrorism comes from the French word *terrorisme*, and originally referred specifically to state terrorism as practiced by the French government during the Reign of Terror. The French word *terrorisme* in turn derives from the Latin verb *terreo* meaning 'I frighten'. The *terror cimbricus* was a panic and state of emergency in Rome in response to the approach of warriors of the Cimbric tribe in 105 BC. The word *terrorism* was first used in France to describe a new system of government adopted during the French Revolution of 1789-1799. The Jacobins cited this precedent when imposing a Reign of Terror during the Revolution. The *regime de la terreur* (Reign of Terror) was intended to promote democracy and popular rule by ridding the revolution of its enemies and thereby purifying it. However, the oppression and violent excesses of the *terreur* transformed it into a feared instrument of the state. From that time on, *terrorism* has had a decidedly negative connotation. The word, however, did not gain wider popularity until the late 19th century when it was adopted by a group of Russian revolutionaries to describe their violent struggle against tsarist rule. Sergey Nechayev who founded the Russian terrorist group - 'People's Retribution' in 1869, described himself as a "terrorist". Since then, *terrorism* assumed the more familiar anti-government associations it has today.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

- i. What do you understand by the word terrorism?
- ii. Why has it been difficult for the international community to arrive at a consensus on the meaning of terrorism?

## 4.0 CONCLUSION

This first unit of our course has tried to help you understand the meaning of terrorism, which is a concept that is very much debated and discussed in contemporary times. Essentially, terrorism is the systematic use of terror, extreme violence, especially as a means of coercion. That is why common definitions of terrorism refer only to those violent acts which are intended to create fear (terror), are perpetrated for a religious, political or, ideological goal; and deliberately targeted or disregard the safety of non-combatants (civilians). You should not only be current about developments in this area, but should learn how to analyse them.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

We have discussed the concept of terrorism. We noted that scholars such as Schmid and Jongman had recorded more than 100 definitions in the 1980s and the number has doubled since then. There is also a plethora of literature, yet there is no universally accepted definition of the concept and nothing suggests the possibility of an agreed upon definition emerging in the near future. Definitions are coloured by political ideology, location, and perspective. The term has been used selectively and attached as a label to those groups whose political objectives one finds objectionable. Most of the studies on terrorism tend to describe the event and the identity of the terrorist with few concentrating on how and why terrorism emerged. The array of definitions provided is to help you understand the phenomenon under discussion better. The concept has continued to evolve as terrorism spreads to other parts of the world. This has led some to conclude that the phenomenon of terrorism has come to stay in the international system.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Discuss the concept of terrorism and what you understand by global terrorism.
2. Discuss the origin of the word terrorism.

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## **UNIT 2 HISTORY OF TERRORISM**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 History of Terrorism
    - 3.1.1 Early Beginnings of Terrorism
    - 3.1.2 Terrorism in the 1920s and 1930s
    - 3.1.3 'Anti-colonial' Terrorism in the 1940s -1950s
    - 3.1.4 Terrorism in the Late 1960s-1970s
    - 3.1.5 Terrorism in the 1980s-1990s
    - 3.1.6 Terrorism as from 2000: The Case of September 11
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In the last unit, we discussed exhaustively the concept of terrorism, the origin of the word terrorism and nature of terrorism. In this unit we intend to examine the history of terrorism over the years. It is evident that terrorism is an age long phenomenon that humanity has been grappling with. We shall attempt to trace the history of terrorism from its early beginnings to the 2000s.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- trace the historical origin of terrorism
- discuss how terrorism has evolved over the years
- discuss the relationship between anti-colonialism and terrorism.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 History of Terrorism**

##### **3.1.1 Early Beginnings of Terrorism**

The phenomenon of terrorism dates back to thousand years on the global setting. While some have traced the history of terrorism to the Roman Empire, others trace it to Zealot fighters during the First Century AD.

The Roman emperors had used diverse forms of terrorism to control domestic dissent and eliminated suspected enemies. Various methods were used including the use of poisoning, crucifixion and mass public executions.

The act of terrorism was also perpetrated by a radical offshoot of Zealots, a Jewish sect that was active in Judea during the 1st Century AD. The Zealots who were opposed to the Roman Empire's rule engaged in a campaign primarily involving assassination. The Zealot fighters who were also fearless had used the *sica* - a primitive dagger to attack their enemies in broad daylight. The assassinations were often carried out in crowded market places, on feast days, and at other public gatherings where the people present can witness the violence so as to send a strong message to the Romans and other Jews who may sympathise with the Romans.

An Islamic movement known as the Assassins had used similar tactics in their struggle against the Christian Crusaders between 1090 and 1272. Just as the Zealots viewed the Romans as invaders, the Assassins had also viewed the Crusaders as invaders in parts of Syria. The Assassins sacrificed everything to eliminate the Crusaders including suicidal martyrdom which is still evident in some Islamic terrorist groups today. They regarded violence as a sacramental or divine act that ensured its perpetrators would ascend to a glorious heaven should they perish during the task.

Before the French Revolution of 1789-1799, religion was used to justify the use of terrorism; however, this was to change when nationalism, anarchism, Marxism and other secular political movements emerged during the 1800s to challenge Divine Rights of Kings. What is regarded as modern terrorism began as a movement against monarchical rule by those regarded as rebels and constitutionalists during the late stages of the French Revolution and in Russia by the People's Will also known as Narodnaya Volya organisation which was active between 1878 and 1881. The People's Will revolution and anti-government orientation became the model for future terrorists. The group selected targets that represented the State's oppressive instruments of power, and used propaganda to educate the public about the inequities imposed on them by the state and to rally their support for revolution. Several targets were assassinated by the terrorist including the Governor General of Saint Petersburg, the Head of the Tsarist Secret Police, and the Tsar Alexander II, who was killed in March 1881.

The terrorists became more emboldened following the assassination of Alexander II. This led the group to inspire another group of political radicals who met in London in July 1881, to discuss how to achieve a

revolution that was worldwide. Their idea was to coordinate and support a global terrorist campaign that would overthrow both monarchies and elected governments of democratic states. Between 1881 and the first decade of the 20th century, anarchists succeeded in assassinating President William McKinley of America; the President of France and Spain's Prime Minister; Empress Elisabeth of Austria and King Humbert I (Umberto I) of Italy. The terrorists also succeeded in organising several revolts in Chicago, Bosnia, and Serbia

### **3.1.2 Terrorism in the 1920s and 1930s**

While early terrorism was more associated with the violence of non-state groups like the anarchists, in 1920s and 1930s, terrorism became associated more with the repressive practices employed by dictatorial regimes such as the Nazi, fascist, and totalitarian regimes that came to power in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union. These regimes employed various forms of repressions against their citizens including torture, beatings, unlawful detentions, death squads, and other forms of intimidation.

### **3.1.3 'Anti-colonial' Terrorism in the 1940s-1950s**

During the 1940s and 1950s and even up to 1960s, 'terrorism' was used to describe the violence perpetrated by indigenous nationalists and anti-colonialist movements that sprang up in opposition against European colonial rule. These included anti-colonial groups in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Countries such as Kenya, Angola, Cyprus, and Algeria, for example, owe their independence at least in part to nationalist movements that used terrorism. An example of terrorist incident of the anti-colonial period is the 1946 bombing of Jerusalem's King David Hotel, by a Jewish underground group known as the Irgun Zvai Le'umi; other nationalist organisations that used terrorist tactics include National Military Organisation; Mau-Mau led by Jomo Kenyatta, who later became Kenya's President; Cyprus's Archbishop Makarios, and Algeria's President Ahmed Ben Bella.

### **3.1.4 Terrorism in the Late 1960s-1970s:**

During the late 1960s and 1970s, terrorism assumed more clearly ideological motivations; various disenfranchised or exiled nationalist minorities such as the PLO, embraced terrorism as a means to draw attention to their plight and generate international support for their cause. The PLO sought to create a Palestine State covering the territory of the land that became Israel in 1948 and the West Bank and Gaza Strip - territories occupied by Israel since the Six-Day War of 1967. A Palestinian group, in fact, was responsible for the incident that is

considered to mark the beginning of the current era of international terrorism. On July 22, 1968, three armed Palestinians belonging to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), hijacked an Israeli El Al commercial flight en route from Rome, Italy, to Tel Aviv, Israel. Although commercial planes had often been hijacked before, this was the first clearly political hijacking. The act was designed to create an international crisis and thereby generate publicity. Over the years the PLO and other Palestinian groups have staged several dramatic international incidents, including hijack of commercial airliners, murder of Israeli athletes in 1972 Olympic Games, and hostage taking. In 1974, PLO leader Yasser Arafat received an invitation to address the UN General Assembly and the UN subsequently granted special observer status to the PLO.

### **3.1.5 Terrorism in the 1980s-1990s**

Right-wing groups or neo-fascist and neo-Nazi terrorism movements sprang up in many Western European countries and the United States during the late 1970s. These groups were said to have risen in opposition and in response to the violence perpetrated by left-wing organisations. Unfortunately, the right-wing groups did not have the numbers and popular support that their left-wing counterparts enjoyed.

Thus the right wing engaged in terrorist acts such as the bombing of a crowded rail station which killed 84 people and wounded 180 others in 1980 in Bologna, Italy; in Munich, Germany, a bomb was planted by a member of a neo-fascist group, which exploded at Munich's Oktoberfest celebration; and in 1995 white supremacists carried out a truck-bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, which claimed the lives of 168 people.

Examples of important developments in international terrorism during the 1980s were the rise in state-sponsored terrorism and the resurgence of religious terrorism. An example of an attack believed to be state sponsored was the attempted assassination in 1981 of Pope John Paul II by a Turkish citizen, who allegedly was working for the Soviet and Bulgarian secret services. Other examples include the Iranian-backed car - and truck -bombings of the American Embassy and U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1983 and Libya's role in the in-flight bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988. In some of the terrorist acts carried out, religion was used to justify terrorist violence. Examples include the assassinations of Egypt's President Anwar al-Sadat in 1981 by Islamic extremists and the assassination of Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1994 by a Jewish militant. The terrorists often consider it a religious duty to destroy their victims.

### **3.1.6 Terrorism as from 2000: The Case of September 11**

The events of September 11, 2001, were unprecedented in the history of global terrorism. About 19 terrorists belonging to the Al-Qaeda, a terrorist group led by Osama Bin Laden hijacked four passenger aircraft shortly after they departed from airports in Boston, Massachusetts; Newark, New Jersey; and Washington, D.C. The first plane crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Centre in New York City, the second aircraft struck the south tower, and the third plane crashed into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. The fourth aircraft crashed into a field in rural Pennsylvania. The events of September 11, 2001, brought into sharper focus the extent to which terrorist groups could go to achieve their goals.

Even though Al-Qaeda as a group had existed, and had attacked civilian and military targets before then, it was the September 11, 2001 attacks that led the USA, and the international community as a whole to redefine the war on global terrorism. The attacks, which were linked to the emergence of the high-profile leadership of the Al-Qaeda, under Osama bin Laden, led popular reaction to be directed towards seeking justice through the capture or killing of Al-Qaeda leaders, primarily Osama bin Laden. Before September 11, terrorists had killed not less than 1,000 Americans, in the United States and abroad, during the modern era of international terrorism. Approximately three times that number perished on September 11, 2001.

The attacks revealed detailed planning by the terrorists before attacking their targets. The United States reacted by declaring a global war against terrorism. In the first phase of the war, U.S. forces launched a massive attack on Al-Qaeda's training and logistics bases in Afghanistan and toppled Afghanistan's ruling Taliban movement. The Taliban had provided bin Laden and his followers with sanctuary and an opportunity to plan and orchestrate their worldwide terrorist campaign.

In the second phase of the war, the US mounted a serious man-hunt for Osama Bin Laden. The US and its allies had strongly believed that Osama bin Laden, with the support of the Taliban, was still hiding in Afghanistan. However, after many years of hunting for bin Laden in Afghanistan, on May 2, 2011, the U.S. through its President, Barack Obama, announced that Osama bin Laden was killed by a team of US Navy SEALs in a covert operation in Abbottabad, Pakistan.

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Identify and discuss the various periods in the development of global terrorism.

- ii. How and why did nationalist used terrorism in their anti-colonial struggles.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Even though terrorism has been in existence for a very long time, the idea of international terrorism came into existence in the second half of the 21st century. This occurred against the background of the airline hijackings carried out in the name of the Palestinian cause. Never before these incidents, had a terrorist movement ever carried out such forms of terrorist activity on such a global scale. The world witnessed a new form of international terrorism when the September 11 terrorist attacks were carried out in the US. This new form of terrorism had not been predicted by most experts, even though indications of it had been emerging throughout the years especially in the 1990s.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have discussed the history of terrorism and noted that it is centuries old. Its early examples include the Assassins during the 11th and 12th centuries, 19th century European Anarchists and Social revolutionaries, terrorist groups in the United States, and many others. The term was first employed in France at the time of the Reign of Terror from 1789 to 1794. Since then, the term has undergone major evolution so that it now seems to be mainly applied to actions by individual or group of individuals. Terrorism moved dramatically to centre stage in international relations in the aftermath of September 11, 2001.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. Identify the various periods in the development of global terrorism.
2. Briefly discuss anti-colonial terrorism and give examples of countries whose nationalists used terrorism in their anti-colonial struggles.
3. Briefly discuss terrorism in the 2000s, with particular reference to the events of September 11, 2001.

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## **UNIT 3 THE NATURE OF TERRORISM**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Nature of Terrorism
  - 3.2 The Nature Changing of Global Terrorism in the 20th and 21st Centuries
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In the last unit, we examined the history of Terrorism. In this unit, you will study the nature of global terrorism. You will also learn about the changes in the nature of global terrorism between the 20th and 21st century.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the nature of terrorism
- discuss the nature of global terrorism in the 20th and 21st centuries.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Nature of Terrorism**

Acts characterised as terrorist in nature can occur both in conflict and peace-time. They may constitute crimes in domestic and international law, and they are motivated by a complex milieu of reasons and ideals. Their characterisation can also depend upon the person or institution using the label and may even change over time. To give two important examples, the list of most wanted terrorists kept by the United States of America featured, at one time, Yasser Arafat and Nelson Mandela. These two personalities were subsequently awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This confirms that the issue of terrorism and who is a terrorist is a highly political and controversial matter. Having considered the complex nature of terrorism and the political and popular conceptions held about the term and about those who perpetrate terrorist acts, care



must be taken when considering and assessing situations and how they might impact upon the subject of terrorism. It is therefore imperative to examine the nature of terrorism in detail and we begin by distinguishing between terrorism and crime and warfare. We shall also look at the features of terrorism, and its ideological motivation.

**Terrorism, Crime and Warfare:** Scholars are divided in their opinions on whether terrorism should be considered a criminal act or a political-military act. If one looks at terrorism as a crime, there will be a need to gather evidence, arrest perpetrators and put them on trial. This approach provokes problems of international cooperation, and is not a suitable response for acts of terrorism perpetrated by a distant organisation or a country involved in terrorism. Terrorism should also not be confused with traditional warfare. In terrorism, the group is of little account, but the fact that they are killed is the point. Terrorism should not be confused with war crimes. An example of a war crime is an army advancing into some town with the objective of purging the town of enemy forces, and while doing so, they kill unarmed civilians and noncombatants. Although such action is illegal and a crime, it is not considered terrorism; people were killed because the destruction was designed to intimidate other towns or the society as a whole. In distinguishing the difference between war and terrorism, the focus is on the reason for the attack and the impact of the attack, not the target of the attack itself.

**Features of Terrorism:** Whether treated as crimes or acts of warfare, terrorist conduct is distinguishable by reason of its focus, participants, and victims. Each of those factors has parallels with warfare and crime, but terrorism is distinct by virtue of its combination of factors. First, apart from organised crime, criminal conduct is normally focused upon a particular goal. Terrorist acts have, in contrast, shown themselves to be generally continuous, given the much longer-term motivations of terrorist organisations; developing, with individuals perhaps starting as youths throwing stones but eventually moving to sophisticated operations such as that undertaken on 11 September 2001. Sometimes terrorist acts escalate, such as the intensification of acts by Al-Qaeda from the bombing of US Embassy in Nairobi in 1998, to the attack on the USS Cole in the Yemen in 2000, to the attacks on 11, 2001 September in New York, Washington DC, and Pennsylvania. Terrorist conduct is unique by virtue of its participants. Again, apart from organised crime, most criminal enterprises are undertaken by the few and as quietly as possible. Terrorist organisations, while being secretive about impending operations and the identity of secret cells and the like, instead rely on publication of their causes and the recruitment of as many as possible to further those objectives. Finally, while criminal acts

are targeted, terrorist ones are often indiscriminate. The nature of terrorism exhibits the following elements:

- terrorism is an international act
- a premeditated act
- an act of violence
- it causes fear
- it aims at a specific target audience or society
- it intends to change behaviour in that audience or society.

**The Ideological Nature of Terrorism:** Ideology is the most important feature of terrorism. This distinguishes it from other criminal acts or conduct during armed conflict. It is understood that criminal offences are driven by for some personal motivation or gain. In contrast, the primary motivation of terrorists is altruistic, motivated by a higher cause or ideology that is greater than his or her personal impulses or gains. A terrorist acts for the furtherance of an external cause, whether it be a localised secessionist movement or global jihad, and for the benefit this has to both the cause and the people of it. Terrorists measure their conduct against the yardstick of the ideology they are pursuing. If the ideology mandates the killing of Jews or Christians, then that killing is not murder but, instead, a legitimate and appropriate act. The consequence of these features is significant. Standard criminal law does not apply neither does the notion of personal deterrence since it is almost irrelevant, with the language of terrorists often entirely divorced from that of the ordinary criminal offender.

### **3.2 The Changing Nature of Global Terrorism in the 20th and 21st Centuries**

In discussing the nature of global terrorism, it is important to highlight changes that have taken place over the years. One of the most often used terrorist methods in the 20th century was the use of assassination. During this period, the target was often the authorities. The terrorists, by targeting a significant individual, aimed to undermine the authorities. Assassinations during this period included Umberto I of Italy, who was assassinated in July of 1900 and Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria Hungary was assassinated in 1914. During World War I, Irish Republican Army (IRA) was formed by Irish volunteers. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) who waged a guerilla war against the British in Ireland, later took their cause to England, in 1920 and attacked shipping and the docks in Liverpool, and at the same time targeting police stations and police officers. After First World War I terrorism increased in the Middle East, especially with Anti-Zionist terrorist groups using small arms and bombs to target the British occupiers and Jewish settlers. The plan was to scare potential settlers off the idea of moving into

Palestine and to make the British reconsider their support for the settlers. In the 1930's, several countries adopted what is termed 'State Terrorism'. Here the government uses instruments of terror to impose its will on the people. The Soviet Union and Nazi Germany both made use of Concentration Camps (Gulags in the USSR) and a heavy handed approach in law enforcement.

During World War II many terrorist methods were deployed by armed forces and resistance movements. Accordingly, this made effective use of the terrorist ability to emerge from a civilian population, attack, and then quickly return to their civilian cover. After World War II there was resurgence in Middle East terrorism. Several groups emerged which aimed to secure Palestine for the Arabs. Their methods included continued bombing of military and government targets but saw new forms of terrorism being introduced. These groups hijacked aircraft with civilian passengers, attacked the Israeli Olympic team, killing 11 athletes and shot Israeli schoolchildren. In 1988 a bomb exploded onboard Pan Am Flight 103, over the Scottish Town of Lockerbie killing all on board and several people on the ground.

There were further changes in the way terrorists worked. An Armenian terrorist group entered an airport and opened fire on civilians waiting to board planes. The IRA planted large bombs in several British cities, killing many in Birmingham, Manchester and London. They also targeted Loyalist groups in Northern Ireland and returned to the terrorist tactic of assassination by killing Lord Louis Mountbatten and bombing the hotel in Brighton in which many leading politicians were staying for a conference. Following the Lebanese Civil War a new method of terrorism was deployed by radical Islamic groups in the area: the suicide bomber. About 41 suicide bombings killed 659 victims in the region during the 1980's. These attacks included the attack on the US Marine base in Beirut along with attacks on the civilian population.

Terror organisations also began looking at targets that had a cultural significance. Visitors to the Temple at Luxor were shot in 1997, and in 1993 Al-Qaeda targeted what was widely perceived as being the most obvious symbol of American wealth and dominance. This occurred when a bomb was placed in the underground car park of the World Trade Centre. In 1994, Japanese terrorists made use of biological weapons in Matsumoto. In the 21st century, the Al-Qaeda was responsible for an attack on USS Cole, in which a suicide bomber killed 17 US personnel. Al-Qaeda then went on to launch the 9/11 attacks. In October 2002, Chechnya rebels took 850 people hostage in a Moscow Theatre. Russian Special Forces stormed the building but 170 people were killed. In 2004, 1300 hostages were taken at a school in Beslan.

Over 300 people died. In 2008, Islamic Terrorists launched a series of attacks in the Indian City of Mumbai.

### **Changes and Continuities in Terrorist Tactics in the 20th and 21st Centuries**

The main changes and continuities in terrorist tactics between the 20th and 21st centuries include:

- i. assassinations of political leaders has been used throughout the period
- ii. hostage taking has remained a constant tactic deployed by terrorist groups
- iii. bombing political and military targets has been used throughout
- iv. suicide bombings have emerged as a strategy during the 20th century
- v. targeting civilians is more common now than it was in the past
- vi. terrorism is more 'global' now than previously, due to developments in technology and communications
- vii. terrorist groups now have access to biological weapons
- viii. terrorist groups now have interest in acquiring nuclear weapons
- ix. targets are now often chosen because of their symbolic significance (eg the World Trade Centre)
- x. the development of technology, particularly aviation technology, has led to new forms of terrorist attacks.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Discuss the nature of global terrorism
- ii. Discuss the changing nature of global terrorism

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

We conclude this unit by noting that the nature of terrorism is the indiscriminate and indirect targeting of individuals with a specific goal and purpose. Terrorism is distinguishable from crime and warfare and a major feature of terrorism is ideology. Terrorism is indiscriminate, in that people killed may or may not be targeted specifically and are of no account to the terrorist; however, the fact that people are killed is of consequence. The targets are chosen because they will cause the desired impact either the destruction of infrastructure, causing massive death, or disruption of society.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

We discussed the nature of terrorism. In order to make the unit comprehensive, we distinguished between terrorism and crime and war. We also discussed the ideological nature of terrorism and proceeded to examine the changing nature of global terrorism especially between the 20th and 21st century. What is important for you to note the nature of modern terrorism is that anyone can be a victim. The goal of the terrorist is to cause public anxiety, fear and changes in behaviour, which are exactly what the terrorist wants to accomplish.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What do you understand by the nature of global terrorism?
2. Briefly discuss the nature of global terrorism, highlighting the changes in the 20th and 21st century.

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## UNIT 4      APPROACHES TO TERRORISM ANALYSIS

### CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Approaches to Terrorism Analysis
    - 3.1.1 The Multi-Causal Approach
    - 3.1.2 The Political or Structural Approach
    - 3.1.3 The Organisational Approach
    - 3.1.4 The Psychological Approach
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we intend to discuss the different approaches to terrorism analysis. Disagreement between scholars studying terrorism seems to suggest that it may be too simplistic and erroneous to explain an act of terrorism by a single cause. A detailed examination of the literature on terrorism reveal that even though some scholarly works include the words such as ‘theory of terrorism’ or ‘models of terrorism’, they are quite few considering the huge literature on the phenomenon of terrorism. Moreover, many of these studies can hardly be considered theoretical as they contain superficial descriptions or future scenarios.

In the studies of terrorism, progress has been made over the past few decades. Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s the general assumption was that terrorists were mentally disturbed, today there is a much more diverse picture of ‘the terrorist’ painted by different academic disciplines - political science, sociology, economics, psychology, philosophy, conflict studies and several others. In fact, the outstanding common characteristic of individuals involved in terrorism is their normality. Additional comparative research is thus needed to further understand causality. In contrast to the 1960s and 1970s when theoretical thinking on the cause of terrorism was dominated almost exclusively by political scientists and sociologists, today a much broader range of scholars emerged. From theological scientists to economists and psychologists, academics have pushed the construction of terrorism theories into new directions. The increase of groups interested in the phenomenon however, has not resulted in many publications that contain elements of a comprehensive theoretical framework. Considering the fact that development of a comprehensive theoretical

framework of terrorism is still a work in progress, scholars have developed a number of approaches in the analysis of the phenomenon.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the various approaches to terrorism analysis
- discuss each of the approaches to terrorism analysis.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Approaches to Terrorism Analysis**

Terrorism is a phenomenon of multi-causal factors. However, so far a concrete theory is yet to be developed. Notwithstanding the divergence of considerations on the root causes of terrorism, it is possible to categorise some of the more generally accepted views. Scholars have identified four categories of approaches to terrorism analysis:

1. The multi-causal approach
2. The political or structural approach
3. The organisational approach; and
4. The psychological approach.

#### **3.1.1 Multi-Causal Approach**

Emphasising the presence of multiple causal variables, this approach incorporates psychological considerations, economic, political, religious and sociological factors as contributors to understanding the causes of terrorism. Some scholars, Paul Wilkinson (1977) for example, view the causes of political violence including ethnic, religious and ideological conflicts as causes of terrorism. Of the four categories, the multi-causal approach provides the least insight into the root causes of terrorism, contending that terrorism is the result of a combination of factors. The authors who fall within this category, such as Alan Krueger and Jitka Malečková, combine factors of previous approaches to explain the root causes of terrorism, or introduce new factors in combination with some of the aforementioned ones.

#### **3.1.2 Political or Structural Approach**

A political approach presupposes that the causes of terrorism can be found in environmental factors. For example, national or international arenas, as well as sub-national spheres like universities, can be conducive to the rise of terrorism (Hudson, 1999: 16). This approach,

which was mostly adhered to by left-wing researchers in the sixties and the seventies, including Ross (1996) and Ted Robert Gurr (1970; 2006) indicate poverty, oppression and inequality as causes of terrorism. Central to Gurr's research is the notion of relative deprivation, a term often used to describe feelings of economic, political, or social deprivation that are relative rather than absolute. Gurr suggests that the inability to obtain what is felt to be justified, triggers feelings of frustration that ultimately facilitates the emergence of collective violence. In addition to environmental factors, scholars have sought to identify preconditions – issues that set the stage for terrorism in the long term, and precipitants – mechanisms that activate the occurrence of terrorism. In a similar vein, preconditions are further subdivided into permissive factors which provide opportunities for terrorism to happen, and situations or reasons that directly inspire terrorist campaigns (Crenshaw, 1981: 381). This use of preconditions implies a political approach, as it seeks to distinguish what in the surrounding atmosphere can contribute to an individual's involvement in terrorism.

### **3.1.3 Rational or Organisational Approach**

With a focus on terrorism as a rational strategic choice, this approach rests on the idea that organisations consciously make the decision to use the instrument of terrorism as the best option to attain certain political goals. Adherents to the rational approach, including Martha Crenshaw, would argue that terrorism is most definitely not the product of individual decisions or personal developments, but rather the result of a group process and its collective, rational decisions. This is highly speculative since hardly any empirical studies have provided evidence of how decisions are reached collectively in terrorist groups. However, as Hudson rightfully points out, the organisational approach may be more relevant for groups that exhibit more traditional structures with clear chains of command rather than loose terrorist networks (1999: 17).

### **3.1.4 Psychological Approach**

The psychological approach takes into account the motivation of individuals that resort to terrorism. Concerned with the personalities, beliefs and attitudes of terrorists and employed by scholars like Marc Sageman (2004) and Bruce Hoffman (1999), this approach focuses primarily on the features and characteristics of the individual perpetrator or terrorist group; examining the behaviour, recruitment methods, individual profiles, and 'careers' of terrorists. Another study using the psychological approach was conducted by Robert Pape (2003) in an effort to understand the impetus behind suicide terrorism. Through an analysis of 188 cases, Pape refuted traditional thinking that modern suicide terrorism is religiously motivated. In concord with the findings



of others, Pape was unable to establish a common profile for suicide terrorists. Based on the results of these studies one could conclude that resolving the so-called socio-political causes of terrorism would be futile, since terrorism, as a means of expression of specific ideas and needs, is part of the human disposition. In sum, it is clear that none of the four approaches provide us with all the answers on the root and trigger causes of terrorism. Thus, a lack of consensus on the interrelation of the different factors perseveres.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Identify and discuss the approaches to the analysis of terrorism.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Given the multi-faceted and diverse scope of terrorism, developing a comprehensive theory of the phenomenon has proven to be a complex undertaking. Bearing in mind the limited range of scholarly literature that go with the name theory or model, we can conclude that the question of ‘why’ and ‘how’ terrorism occurs are still not crystal clear.

Additional research is needed not only to serve as a fundamental theoretical framework on the topic, but also to bring us closer to understanding those aspects of causes that can eventually be isolated as specific root and trigger causes of terrorism and thus be sufficiently dealt with.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

The four categories of approaches to the analysis of terrorism identified and discussed above have contributed to a better understanding of the nature of the phenomenon. These include: the multi-causal approach; the political or structural approach; the organisational approach; and the psychological approach. According to the former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan - ‘we should not pretend that [...] the decision to resort to terrorism is unrelated to the political, social and economic situation in which people find themselves, but we are also mistaken if we assume, equally, that terrorists are mere products of their environment. The phenomenon is more complex than that’ (United Nations Secretary General, 2003). This statement further underscores the need for additional research to serve as a fundamental theoretical framework on the topic of global terrorism.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Briefly explain why it has been difficult for scholars to formulate a comprehensive theory of Terrorism.
2. Identify the four approaches to the analysis of terrorism and discuss one.

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## MODULE 2

Unit 1	Types of Terrorist Acts
Unit 2	Terrorist Tactics
Unit 3	Targets and Victims
Unit 4	Terrorist Organisations
Unit 5	Links among Terrorist Organisations

### UNIT 1 TYPES OF TERRORIST ACTS

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#### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

You have just completed your module one where you studied the various definitions of terrorism, history of terrorism and the different approaches to terrorism analysis. It is now time for you to study and recognise the different types of terrorism. A large number of terrorist groups surfaced and became active over the past few decades. Though these groups had some common characteristics, they have different

motives and objectives. Different types of terrorism have been identified by scholars and security experts. Zalman has noted that researchers in the United States began to distinguish different types of terrorism since the 1970s. Terrorist groups have not only increased in number since then, but also in their tactics, and sophistication.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the different types of terrorism
- discuss the different types of terrorism.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Types of Terrorist Acts**

Typologies of terrorism vary depending on the way that researchers, policy makers, lawmakers and others have defined the phenomenon. In today's globalising world, the types of terrorism that are common include, but not limited to the following:

1. Global/International terrorism
2. Domestic terrorism
3. Political terrorism
4. Revolutionary terrorism
5. State and state-sponsored terrorism
6. Bioterrorism
7. Cyber-terrorism
8. Agricultural terrorism
9. Eco-terrorism
10. Nuclear terrorism
11. Radiological terrorism
12. Chemical terrorism.
13. Narcoterrorism
14. Religious terrorism
15. Suicide terrorism
16. National terrorism.

#### **3.1.1 Global/international terrorism**

The term global/international terrorism means terrorism involving citizens or territories of more than one country. Drawing on information in the US Department of State report, *Patterns of Global Terrorism-2001*, six identifiable terrorist groups fall into the category of international or global terrorism:

- Abu Nidal Organisation (ANO)
- Al-Gama's al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group)
- Hizbollah (Party of God)
- Al-Jihad (Egyptian Islamic Jihad)
- Mujahedin-e Kalq Organisation (MEK)
- Al-Qaeda.

Each is a radical, Islamic-based organisation that supports the creation of an Islamist Palestinian State in place of Israel and the elimination of U.S. influence in all of the Middle East. Some of these groups advocate establishing a new world order under extremist Muslim views. These groups operate in a truly global fashion, with support networks spanning the world. Collectively, they have the ability to strike targets in virtually any country, and their ideological goals threaten security interests beyond their region. With modern communication technology, such as the Internet, and the ability to move freely in open societies, theirs is a 'virtual nation', which possesses many of the instruments of power, including informational, military, and economic means. Radical Islamic beliefs and a common abhorrence of Western culture tie these organisations together.

Terrorism has been the concern of the international community since 1937, when the League of Nations elaborated the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism. The international community since 1963 has however elaborated universal legal instruments related to prevention and suppression of international terrorism, which constitute the universal legal regime against terrorism. Measures to Eliminate Terrorism have been on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations for quite some time now. During the 56th Session of the UNGA on 'Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism', the lack of a working definition of terrorism was again an issue. In the course of the debate on the issue, it was noted that 'the absence of a definition seriously undermines international efforts to tackle a great threat to humanity'.

### **3.1.2 Regional terrorism**

Although regional terrorists focus on issues within their own region and draw much of their support from surrounding nations, they are nevertheless interconnected with terrorist groups at both the global and state levels. The international community is just now beginning to recognise how interconnected these terrorist groups have become. They are linked by more than mere sympathy for one another's causes; their mutual support extends to sharing financial, informational, and technological support when it is mutually beneficial to do so. Regional terrorists, while less threatening to states than global terrorists, remain a

significant concern to the international community and must be defeated in a manner that is integrated with actions being taken against global terrorist groups.

### 3.1.3 Domestic terrorism

Domestic terrorism takes place within the confines of a single country and are, therefore, the primary responsibility of the applicable government. Domestic terrorist organisations, however, have been known to support regional and global terrorist groups. For example, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone is believed to have sold diamonds to the Al-Qaeda, which resells them at a profit. This arrangement benefits both Al-Qaeda and the RUF, and it establishes a relationship for future support. Once again, a pattern of interconnectedness and mutual dependence emerges.

Domestic terrorism is the broadest form of terrorism and sometimes national governments are more concerned about domestic terrorism. Domestic terrorism may take the form of Internet, car bombing, Internet hacking, and others. For instance, before the 1990s, the US government was more concerned about the domestic terrorist activities perpetrated by US citizens without foreign involvement. Examples of domestic terrorist groups in Nigeria include militants groups in the Niger Delta that had resorted to the use of terror in confronting the Nigerian State; the *Jama'atu Ahlus Sunnah Lidda'awati wal- Jihad* (People Committed to the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad), also known as the *Boko Haram*.

The Boko Haram, a domestic terrorist group is fast gaining international recognition due to series of targeted attacks on individuals and bombings carried out by its members especially in the states in the Northern parts of Nigeria. There is clear national concern on the activities of the Boko Haram and widespread fear among people concerning their safety and security. The Boko Haram attacks has targeted individuals, places of worship, public and private organisations including media organisations, military barracks, the police headquarters and stations as well as the United Nations building in Abuja.

### 3.1.4 Political terrorism

Political terrorism is a politically motivated form of terrorism. Majority of the act embarked upon by terrorists are politically motivated. Terrorism is a political tactic, which is used by activists, when they believe that no other means will effect the kind of change desire. According to Hoffman (2006), terrorism is essentially political in aims and motives. The Task Force of the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice and Goals of the United States describes political

terrorism as a 'violent criminal behaviour designed primarily to generate fear in a community or substantial segment of it, for political purposes'.

Political terrorists systematically used murder and destruction or threat of these to terrorise individuals, groups, communities or governments into conceding to their political demands. The main aim is to inculcate fear, which is done deliberately to achieve their aims. Terrorist violence communicates a political message; it goes beyond just damaging an enemy's material resources. The victims of the terrorists attack have little intrinsic value to the terrorists or their group, but represent a large human audience whose reaction the terrorist seek (Abolurin, 2011:23).

Igbinovia *et al.* (2003) has attempted to distinguish between limited political terrorism and real political terrorism. He points out that limited political terrorism refers to acts of terrorism which are committed for ideological motives but which is not part of a concerted campaign to capture state power. On the other hand, real political terrorism is strongly predicated on the revolutionary basis which sole aim may be the overthrow of the political order.

### **3.1.5 Revolutionary terrorism**

Revolutionary terrorism is aimed at revolution or to the achievement of tactical revolutionary objectives. According to Paul Wilkinson (1977:56), its characteristics are:

- a) always a group phenomenon, however, tiny the group, with a leadership and an ideology or programme, however crude
- b) develops alternative institutional structures
- c) the organisation of violence and terrorism is typically undertaken by specialist conspiratorial and Para-military organs within the revolutionary movement.

Revolutionary terrorists always have their ultimate goal, the capture of political power and seek to restructure both the sub-structure and super-structure of the society. The African revolutionary groups included the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, the Mau-Mau Movement in Kenya, revolutionary groups that fought for the independence of Zimbabwe, Guinea Bissau, Angola, Algeria and Mozambique. These groups, whose leading lights included Franz Fanon, Amilcar Cabral, Oliver Thambo and Joshua Nkomo, engaged violent means in either forcefully capturing power from the colonialists or compelling them to the negotiation table.

### 3.1.6 State and state-sponsored terrorism

States can use force or threat of force to terrorise citizens within their country or back terrorist groups within their territory to attack other countries. State terrorism can take two forms: domestic or state sponsored. State terrorism may occur when the state terrorise its own citizens with a view to achieve selfish goals. In some cases, the government had also used political terrorism to instill fear on the masses to achieve their aim and eliminate any perceived or actual enemy that is against their political aspirations. For instance, during the military regime of General Ibrahim Babangida, the assassination of Dele Giwa, the founding Chief Executive and Editor-in-Chief of the Newswatch magazine, through a letter bomb on Sunday, October 19, 1986, was an act of terrorism. So also were the political assassination of persons such as the late Chief Alfred Rewane, on October 6, 1995, and late Kudirat Abiola on June 4, 1996. Apart from the assassinations, several bomb explosions also occurred during the regime of General Sani Abacha in cities such as Ilorin and Lagos (Saliu, 1999).

State-sponsored terrorism has been used to refer to terrorist acts by governmental agents or forces. This involves the use of state resources employed by a state's foreign policies, such as using its military to directly perform acts of terrorism. State-sponsored terrorism can be described as a form of secret warfare, a means to wage war secretly through the use of terrorist surrogates. Examples may include Germany's bombing of London and the U.S. atomic destruction of Hiroshima during World War II. State sponsorship of terrorism is a worrisome trend which has emerged more openly over the past decade. The term 'surrogate warfare' is one consequence and refers to support of terrorist groups by one state to promote its aims in relation to another state. While Gaddafi-led Libya has been singled out as a prominent example of state-sponsored terrorism, other nations such as Syria, Iran, North Korea, Bulgaria and Afghanistan have also been accused of sponsoring terrorism.

### 3.1.7 Bioterrorism

Terrorist may use biological agents to cause mass death. It is not easy to acquire technical skills to develop biological weapons. There are at least four primary acquisition routes that terrorists could conceivably pursue in acquiring a biological warfare capability. They are:

- Purchasing a biological agent from one of the world's 1,500 germ banks.



- Theft from a research laboratory, hospital, or public health service laboratory, where agents are cultivated for diagnostic purposes.
- Isolation and culturing of a desired agent from natural sources.
- Obtaining biological agents from a rogue state, a disgruntled government scientist, or a state sponsor. The viruses, bacteria and toxins that can be used in an attack as identified by the US Centre for Disease and Control include:
  - Anthrax (*Bacillus anthracis*)
  - Botulism (*Clostridium botulinum* toxin)
  - The Plague (*Yersinia Pestis*)
  - Smallpox (*Variola major*)
  - Tularemia (*Francisella tularensis*)
  - Hemorrhagic fever due to Ebola Virus or Marburg Virus.

### **3.1.8 Cyber-terrorism**

The latest threat from the front of new terrorism is posed by cyber terrorists. Today's world is extremely dependent on the computer. In fact, use of computer technology is all pervasive in our everyday life. Modern finance, industry and defense cannot function without computers. Skilled hackers can gain control of these systems; we have already seen the impact of isolated hackers penetrating the system. A concerted attack coordinated terrorist motives can end up in cyber madness with devastating consequences or cyber paralysis with equally negative impact.

Cyber terrorism involves the use of information and communications technology (ICT) to attack civilians and draw attention to their cause (Abolurin, 2011). It can also be described as a computer-based crime targeting computer networks without affecting real world infrastructures, lives or property. Cyber terrorists use information such as computer systems or telecommunications to perpetrate their act. For instance, cyber terrorists could disable networked emergency systems, totally disrupting its services by means of computer viruses. A large chunk of vital or strategic information may be lost as a result, which may be impossible to recover.

### **3.1.9 Agricultural terrorism.**

Weaponising pathogenic agents to destroy livestock and crops is far easier than creating munitions designed to kill hundreds. Sabotaging organic agricultural material is potentially easy. All major food crops come in a number of varieties, each generally suited to specific soil and climatic conditions and with differing sensitivities to particular diseases.

Plant pathogens in turn, exist in different strains with varying degrees of contagion to individual crop types. A terrorist could take advantage of these properties to isolate and disseminate disease strains that are most able to damage one or more of a state's major arable food supplies.

### **3.1.10 Eco-terrorism**

Similar to the agriculture terrorism is the threat to environment and ecological system. Eco terrorists may easily damage the eco-system of a country causing immediate death and destruction with far reaching consequences. These terrorist acts will also have devastating consequences beyond the immediate target area. On the other hand eco-terrorism may take the form of violence in the interests of environmentalism. Even though this is a recent coinage, environmental extremists sometimes sabotage property to inflict economic damage on industries or actors they see as harming animals or the natural environment. It can also be viewed as an environmental damage for political ends (Abolurin, 2011:25).

### **3.1.11 Nuclear terrorism**

This form of terrorism refers to a number of different ways that nuclear materials might be exploited and used for terrorism purposes. These include attacking nuclear facilities, purchasing nuclear weapons and building nuclear weapons. A real danger of mass destruction comes from the specter of nuclear terrorism. In recent times, especially with the advent of the Internet, nuclear technology and skills are not difficult to find. One can even piece together all the information needed from open literature. Terrorists can easily muster a few disgruntled scientists to do the job for them. In the post-Cold War period there could be many such scientists available to be hired. Terrorists may even steal a small nuclear device or buy one in the black market. In either way, it is quite possible for a terrorist group to acquire a nuclear device to use it for terrorist purposes with catastrophic results.

### **3.1.12 Radiological terrorism**

It is quite possible for the terrorist to disperse radiological material in an effort to contaminate a target population or a distinct geographic area. The material could be spread by radiological dispersal devices (RDD) like dirty bombs, etc. There are a number of possible sources of the material that could be used to make a radiological terrorist device like the nuclear waste stored at a power plant or radiological medical isotopes found in many hospitals and research laboratories.

### **3.1.13 Chemical terrorism**

Terrorists could use chemical agents to cause mass casualty. Although the technicalities involved in some of the chemical process would be quite complicated, the intensity of the purpose makes it possible. The use of Sarin gas by Aum Shinrinko in Japan demonstrates the capability of the new terrorists.

### **3.1.14 Narcoterrorism**

Narcoterrorism since it was coined in 1993 by President Fernando Belaunde Terry of Peru has had series of reinterpretation of its meaning. It has been used to indicate situations in which terrorists use drug trafficking to fund their activities. In the original meaning, narcoterrorism is understood to mean attempts of narco traffickers to influence the policies of a government or society. This they seek to achieve through such means as violence and intimidation to hinder the enforcement of law and the administration of justice by systematic threat or actual use of violence. Narcoterrorism therefore, means the use of violence by drug traffickers to influence governments or prevent a government's efforts to stop the drug trade. An example in this regard is Pablo Escobar's ruthless violence in his dealing with the Colombian and Peruvian governments.

### **3.1.15 Religious terrorism**

Religious terrorism is rooted in faith-based tenets. Religious terrorism also defines an individual's or group's view or interpretation of that belief system teaching and does not in itself necessarily define a particular religious view. It must be noted also that religious terrorist acts have been carried out for many centuries now. Religious terrorism may take two forms: political or milleniaristic. While the political religious terrorist aims at achieving political goals, using religion as a cover, the milleniaristic religious terrorists aim at achieving an abstract sacred goal, which could be heaven.

### **3.1.16 Suicide terrorism**

Suicide terrorism is a politically motivated violent attack perpetrated by a politically-aware individual (or individuals) that actively and purposely causes his own death through blowing himself up along with his chosen target. The suicide bomber is aware of the consequences of the act. The perpetrator ensures death is a precondition for the success of his mission. In other words, the success of the attack is based on the death of the perpetrator. The suicide terrorist sacrifices his or her life in the process of destroying or attempting to destroy a target to advance a

political goal. The aim of the psychologically and physically war-trained terrorist is to die while destroying the enemy target. This unique characteristic of suicide terrorism makes it different from any other types of political violence such as conventional war, assassination, revolution, and guerrilla warfare. Examples of suicide terrorism include the attack of the US on September 11, 2001, in the 1980s, the Hezbollah suicide bombing of the US marine barracks and the French paratrooper HQ in Beirut that killed a total of nearly 300 personnel. Several other examples exist at the domestic level involving the Boko Haram using Vehicle- Borne Improvised Explosive Device (VBIED), manned by a suicide bomber in carrying out various attacks in Nigeria.

### **3.1.17 National terrorism**

This form of terrorism is designed to foster or promote the interest of minority ethnic or religious groups, who have been persecuted under majority rule. In Nigeria's Niger Delta region, groups such as the Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC), Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), the Egbesu Boys and Niger Delta Vigilante amongst others, began as agitation against environmental degradation, unemployment, poverty, deprivation and marginalisation, it later took the form of militancy and the use of violence including kidnapping and demand of ransom from individuals and oil companies.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Identify and discuss the types of terrorism you know.
- ii. What is the difference between domestic and international terrorism?

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The typologies of terrorism identified and discussed above are not exhaustive. Different scholars on terrorism have identified different types of terrorism based on their own understanding of the phenomenon and depending from the angle they approach the study. Other types which scholars have identified may include: civil disorder, political and non-political terrorism, quasi-terrorism, sub-state terrorism, right wing/left wing terrorism, single issue terrorism, criminal terrorism and pathological terrorism. The various types of terrorism identified and discussed above exposes you to the various types of terrorism in the literature.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

In this Unit you have learned the different types of terrorism that have sprung up over the decades. For example you have learned the differences between international terrorism and domestic terrorism - while international terrorism involves citizens or territories of more than one country, domestic terrorism takes place within the confines of a single country or state. Other types of terrorism were also explained. You will agree that each of the types discussed present a different variant employed by terrorists in achieving their goal.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Distinguish between 'international' and 'domestic' terrorism.
2. List 10 types of terrorism you know and discuss any one of your choice.
3. What do you understand by state-sponsored terrorism? Give examples.

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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## **UNIT 2     TERRORIST TACTICS**

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### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In the first unit of this module, you studied the different types of terrorism; this unit focuses on the terrorist tactics. You should not lose sight of the fact that just as there are many types of terrorism, so also, the tactics employed by terrorists are diverse. By general comparison, groups that were operating in the past were not lethal as they are today. New methods, for example, the attack on Twin Tower and Pentagon on September 11, 2001 have added a new dimension to the technique evolved by the terrorist with regards to the high level of lethality that includes large populations. The real potential of terrorist groups using WMD brings extremely horrible possibilities and consequences. A new breed of techno-terrorists using high technology skills is also beginning to make its mark. In an age of information and technology the potential threat that this new breed can pose is enormous. One basic feature common to terrorism is the use of violence and fear to weaken their enemies. The use of terrorist tactics therefore allows terrorists individuals and groups to feel powerful against their much larger adversaries.

## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the types of tactics employed by terrorist individuals and organisations
- describe the different types of terrorist tactics.

## 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

### 3.1 Terrorist Tactics

Terrorists have at their disposal a wide variety of tactical options. They can bomb buildings, hijack airlines, carry out assassinations, etc. Terrorist operations are carried out in spectacular fashion by coordinated and synchronised waves of simultaneous actions. The context within which terrorist tactics are used is often a large-scale unresolved conflict. Terrorist attacks are often targeted to maximise fear and publicity. The different types of terrorist tactics are discussed below:

#### 3.1.1 Bombs

Bombs are the main tool of the terrorists. More than half of all terrorist incidents involve explosive devices and, as with other terrorist tactics, bombs are being used to kill more and more innocent people. Most terrorists today have moved beyond these homemade improvised explosive devices. They use construction explosives that can be easily stolen from construction sites all over the world, or they use military explosives that can be purchased on the international black market or stolen from military installations. The increase in state-sponsored terrorism has resulted in more sophisticated terrorist bombs. The vehicle bomb detonated at the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut on 23 October, 1983 is a prime example of this technology.

#### Why terrorists bomb

Over the years, bombings have remained a tactic of choice by terrorist groups, with the number of spectacular bomb attacks on the increase in various parts of the world. Hardly a day passes without the media reporting news of bombing in different parts of the world. Terrorists commit bombings for a number of reasons:

1. to gain media attention, particularly if the target is highly visible or symbolic
2. bombing is a cost-effective and efficient way to attack a facility
3. bombing can be accomplished with a small number of personnel



4. there is minimal risk of bombers being detected or apprehended
5. bombing is inexpensive in comparison to alternatives such as kidnapping or hostage-taking
6. random bombings make a considerable impact on the population, because more people fear a bomb attack than being kidnapped or taken hostage
7. explosives are readily available through theft, sympathetic supporters, or purchase. In addition, explosives can be constructed through the use of legitimately purchased chemicals, fertilisers, and other material.

In mounting a bomb, terrorists undertake a great deal of exploration and typically select whichever target looks most vulnerable, but still holds some symbolic or publicity value.

### **Types of Bombers**

There are four types of bombers:

1. Amateur
2. Professional
3. Psychopathic
4. Suicidal

Amateur bomb-makers can best be described as experimenters. The devices amateurs construct are crude and unsophisticated. They are usually delivered against targets of inconsequential value or targets of opportunity, meaning those with low levels of security awareness. The professional bomber builds or bombs or does both for profit and on behalf of an organised crime syndicate. It is distinguished from an amateur by the higher quality of his or her operational techniques. The devices are more sophisticated and reconnaissance, including the use of strict timetables, is an integral part of the operation. The placement of the device is done to ensure that maximum damage is inflicted on the intended target. The psychopathic or mad bomber acts without reason. There is little or no predictability to his or her actions. Equally unpredictable is the construction of the explosive device or the rationale behind target selection. The types of devices constructed by these individuals may range from extremely crude to very sophisticated. The description 'mad bomber' has been applied to several different individuals, including Theodore Kaczynski, known for years as the Unabomber, a name coined by the FBI after a device was planted and exploded aboard a United Airlines plane. The suicide bomber has emerged as a major attack weapon in recent years, particularly among Islamic terrorist groups. Most of the well-publicised suicide bomb

attacks have been attributed to the Hamas organisation, carried out against Israeli and Western targets.

### **Motivations of bombers**

There are a variety of motivations for persons who construct and plant improvised explosive devices:

1. **Ideology:** Ideological bombings are carried out on behalf of, or in defense of, a wide range of political and/or philosophical beliefs from the extreme left wing to the radical right wing, and all sorts of permutations between. Ideological bombers are generally professional bombers motivated by radical politics, racial or ethnic hatred, or religious, environmental, or ecological fanaticism, or even a distorted fondness for animals. The bombing itself may be a gesture of protest or a purely symbolic attack.
2. **Experimental:** Experimental motivation is common among youthful offenders and immature adults. The experimental bomber is drawn by the excitement and noise created by the explosion, curiosity as to whether the device will actually work, and what the results of an explosion will be, and the thrill of seeing an explosion as a reward for the efforts involved. Bombers motivated by experimentation are usually amateurs.
3. **Vandalism:** Destruction for the sake of destruction is particularly common at times of the year when fireworks are readily available and can be used in bomb making. Alcohol and drug use may also be involved. Targets of these bombers tend to be small, such as mail boxes and store windows, but public so the handiwork can be observed. Vandals will tend to use larger fireworks devices joined together to fashion pipe bombs and similar devices. As with experimentation bombers, they are usually amateurs, often youthful or immature adults.
4. **Profit Motive:** Profit bombings occur for either direct or indirect monetary gain. The largest number of profit bombings is associated with organised crime operatives extorting money by intimidating or destroying businesses associated with the wrong side in a power struggle. Profit bombers can also be employed by terrorist or radical organisations that lack the expertise to carry out a particular action. Profit motive bombings usually are associated with the professional bomber. A mercenary carrying out the wishes of a client in bombing a target, such as for insurance fraud purposes, is also included in this category.

Insurance may also be a profit factor in bomb attacks on commercial airliners. In addition, there is arson by bombing and the use of bombs to cover up a robbery or burglary, all of which are profit motivated.

5. **Emotional release:** These bombings are usually associated with psychopathic bombers seeking to let go of real or imagined frustrations. The Unabomber falls into this category because of his pathological hatred of technology. There are cases of bombers who have had a love/hate relationship with someone associated with the target. Jealousy and revenge on the part of a dysfunctional family or a jilted lover would fall into this category. The bombs in these cases range from the extreme of anti-personnel devices to small charges used to harass the target by causing minor property damage.
6. **Revenge:** These bombings are closely associated with emotional release. The revenge bomber is motivated by earlier transgressions, real or imagined, committed by the intended target. Many psychopathic bombers are motivated by revenge.
7. **Recognition:** These bombings often overlap with other motivation categories, particularly emotional release. The bomber seeking recognition will place a device in a location where he or she can discover it and thus be recognised for performing a heroic act. What is so dangerous about this type of motivation is that the target is being attacked from within, often by an employee who is bored or wishes to draw attention to himself or herself in the hope of achieving public honor or advancement. A classic case of this motivation occurred during the 1984 summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles when a municipal police officer who was in trouble with his superiors used the ploy in an attempt to work his way back into their good graces. He planted an explosive device on one of the buses carrying Olympic athletes from a politically sensitive nation. He then called in a bomb threat, located the bomb himself, and became the hero of the day.

### 3.1.2 Arson

Arson is another tactic that has been a favourite of certain terrorist groups. Over the past 20 years, almost 14 percent of all terrorist incidents have been arsons, and in most cases an incendiary device was used to start the fire. The Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist groups use it as part of their subversive campaigns. Other groups around the world have repeatedly proven their proficiency in manufacturing and using Molotov cocktails.

### **3.1.3 Assassination**

Assassination was the earliest tactic used by terrorists. In fact, the word 'assassin' is derived from the Hashshasin, or the Society of Assassins, whom were the Islamic terrorists who operated in the Middle East during the tenth century. Diplomats and politicians have always been the favourite target of assassins, with military and police personnel coming next. Today's terrorists, however, also assassinate business and cultural leaders, high ranking government officials and military personnel, and even innocent women and children.

### **3.1.4 Armed Attacks**

Armed attacks by terrorists have become increasingly lethal in the past few years. Sikh terrorists in India have stopped bus loads of people on numerous occasions and murdered all of the Hindus on the buses by machine-gunning them to death. The victims usually include children, women, and older Hindus, who are indiscriminately slaughtered by their attackers. The same tactic is used by Tamil groups operating in Sri Lanka. In Peru, the Shining Path has been responsible for more than 10,000 deaths.

### **3.1.5 Hostage-Taking**

Hostage-taking is an art that has been fine-tuned by international terrorists operating in the world today. They have learned to create spectacular events that are guaranteed to capture the attention of the media. When we examine the tactics being used during those events, several alarming trends emerge. Most of today's hostage-taking events occur in a mobile environment. We no longer see the embassy takeovers of the 1970s. Instead, we find that hostage-taking and hijackings have been combined into a single tactic.

### **3.1.6 Kidnapping**

Kidnapping is one of the tactics employed by terrorists. Kidnapping has been described as forceful seizure or abduction of someone against his own wish and rather illegally while at the same time keeping them as prisoners in most cases, in return for ransom or their release is hinge on a positive answer to a demand from government or personalities/individuals. Kidnapping take many forms based on different reasons. Primarily kidnappings take two broad forms-economic and political:

- i. Economic kidnapping is a kind of kidnapping basically for profit making. The victims are purposefully held hostage in order to

- extort money from their families, relations, and corporate organisation.
- ii. Political kidnapping is politically motivated. Political kidnapping is aimed at drawing attention to, or influencing or changing government policies resented by the kidnappers.

### **3.1.7 Sabotage**

Sabotage is an effective terrorist tactic against other nations. Utility systems are one of the targets most frequently selected because they are extremely vulnerable and almost impossible to protect. More important is the fact that when they are hit correctly, a lot of people know it.

### **3.1.8 Threats**

Threats can be an effective tool when used by an established terrorist group or its state sponsor. If a telephone caller claiming to be a member of the Boko Haram or Al-Qaeda, says there is a bomb in any part of a state, that area will probably be evacuated. Vehicular and human movement in that area will temporarily be halted even if no bomb is discovered. Such are the threats of terrorist to create fear in their victims. In some cases such threats are actually carried out by the terrorist groups.

### **3.1.9 Hijacking**

Hijacking has been defined as the illegal seizure of an aircraft, ship or vehicle in transit in order to send it to another destination, frequently with the intention of taking passengers hostage. Terrorists use this tactic because of its effectiveness in the sense that it draws widespread attention. Hostage taking also serves as a bargaining chip for hijackers seeking to fulfill specific demands.

It is possible to identify the following as reasons/explanations why hijacking is undertaken:

- a. Hijacking for retention. Passengers on board of an aircraft, ship or vehicle are the primary objects of this category of actions. The aim is to achieve political objective, create propaganda, and psychological effect.
- b. Hijacking for movement. The aircraft, ship or vehicle is used as a means of transportation is the primary target of this category of actions, with passengers acting as an additional factor enhancing safety guarantees for terrorists. The aim is to ensure the movement of terrorists from a territory that they are restricted or

prohibited from exiting for some reason to another geographical point.

- c. Hijacking for annihilation/destruction. Using an aircraft, ship or vehicle itself as a weapon for hitting a previously selected target is a primary object of this category of actions.

Aircraft hijackings remain a weapon in the terrorist arsenal. Terrorist aircraft hijacking is the take-over of an aircraft, by a person or group, usually armed with the primary objective of using the aircraft itself as a weapon for hitting a previously selected target. The terrorists in this regard use passengers act as a factor in ensuring that an additional level of overall damage will ultimately result from the attack. The aim is to incur direct material damage to an adversary, in combination with collateral political and psychological damage. This category of actions is directly attributable to the parameters of asymmetrical warfare. The first operational precedent occurred in December 1994, when gunmen from the Algerian terrorist organisation Armed Islamic Group (GIA) captured an Air France Airbus A-300 with 240 people on board in an attempt to explode it over Paris. It was a rescue operation at the intermediate landing point in Marcel mounted by a SWAT team that helped avoid potentially grave consequences. The terrorist attack within this category was the capture of four passenger airliners on September 11, 2001 and their subsequent use as cruise missiles against targets in Washington, D.C. and New York City.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Identify the types of tactics employed by terrorist individuals and organisations.
- ii. Discuss the types of tactics employed by terrorist individuals and organisations.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

What should be of interest to you is to understand the various tactics that has been used by terrorists over the years. Bombings are the most frequent accounts for much of terrorist-related violence. Currently, massive vehicle-borne explosive devices are frequently used involving suicide attack, which result in a large number of casualties. Although airliner hijackings are less frequent, terrorist groups used the tactics to garner publicity as exemplified by the September 11, 2001 events. Other tactics such as hostage-takings have been on the increase in some parts of the world. Assassinations and assaults tend to be more selective in order to include symbolic targets such as kings, presidents or heads of states and several others. Kidnappings by terrorists have included the taking of high government officials, such as ambassadors and consular

officials of foreign countries in an effort to embarrass their governments. Business executives and their families have also been targets of terrorist operatives.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

We have identified and discussed different terrorist tactics including bombs, kidnappings, hijacking, assassination, and threats. The unit also explained the motivations or reasons behind some of these terrorist actions.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Identify the types of tactics employed by terrorist individuals and organisations and describe any two.
2. 'Bombs are the main tool of the terrorists'. Why is this so?
3. List the type of bombers and explain the motivations behind bombing.
4. What is kidnapping and why do terrorists engage in kidnapping as a tactic?

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Abolurin, A. (2011). *Terrorism: Nigerian and Global Dimensions*. Ibadan, Golden-Gems Unique Multi-Ventures.
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## **UNIT 3 CAUSES, TARGETS AND VICTIMS**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Causes, Targets and Victims
    - 3.1.1 Causes of Terrorism
    - 3.1.2 Targets and Victims of Terrorism
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In the last unit, you studied the different terrorism tactic. In this unit you will learn the causes, targets and victims of terrorism. You will learn that many explanations have been given for terrorism, and that scholars and other experts have devoted a great deal of effort to explaining terrorist behaviour. Scholars have considered many factors, including political history, government policy, contemporary politics, cultural tensions, ideological trends, economic trends, individual idiosyncrasies, and other variables in the search for explanations of the causes of terrorism. The same applies to the choice of target and victims of terrorism.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify and discuss the various explanatory perspectives regarding the causes of terrorism
- differentiate between the broad and specific targets and victims of terrorism.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Causes, Targets and Victims**

##### **3.1.1 Causes of Terrorism**

There are different explanations of the causes of terrorism. Some scholars have linked terrorism to economic deprivation. They argue that



structural economic conditions such as poverty and economic inequality create frustration which in turn makes violence more likely (Gurr, 1970). Other scholars argue that terrorism is rooted in the economic and socio-psychological dimensions of human motivations (Gupta, 1998). According to Gupta, 'political violence takes place when a leader gives voice to frustration by formulating a well defined social construction of collective identity and paints in a vivid colour the images of 'we' against 'them''. The cause of terrorism has also been located in the psychological thinking of individuals. Such scholars have sought to investigate and analyse the extent of conditions and characteristics that can increase risk that a radical group will shift to terrorism. Rasso argues that political, religious and philosophical considerations are the causes of terrorism. He further points that poverty, ignorance, misery, famine, social exclusion, marginalisation are underlying factors that makes people amenable to be recruited as terrorists.

The causes of terrorism are varied. There does not appear to be one single factor that leads people to engage in acts of terror. We can therefore say that terrorism is a phenomenon from multi-causal factors. Broadly speaking, scholars have examined at the causes of terrorism from various perspectives including psychological, ideological, and strategic perspectives.

### **Psychological perspective**

Those who engage in terrorism may do so for purely personal reasons, based on their own psychological state of mind. Their motivation may be nothing more than hate or the desire for power. For example, in 1893, Auguste Vaillant bombed the French Chamber of Deputies. Prior to his conviction and subsequent execution Vaillant explained his motivation in terms of hate for the middle classes. Vaillant wanted to spoil the sense of economic and social success, by tainting it with his violence. In many respects this terrorist is interested in getting attention from others for his or her act, rather than some grand ideological or strategic goal.

### **Ideological perspective**

Ideology is defined as the beliefs, values, and/or principles by which a group identifies its particular aims and goals. Ideology may encompass religion or political philosophies and programmes. Examples of terrorist groups motivated by ideology include the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland, the Liberation Tigers of Tamal Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka, and the Bader Meinhoff in Germany. The IRA is motivated by a political programme to oust the United Kingdom from Ireland and unite Ireland under one flag. Similarly the LTTE, seek to establish a separate state for their people, the Tamals in Sri Lanka. Finally, the Bader

Meinhoff was a terrorist group made up of middle-class adults, who opposed capitalism and sought to destroy capitalist infrastructure in Germany.

### **Strategic perspective**

Terrorism is sometimes seen as a logical extension of the failure of politics. When people seek redress of their grievances through government, but fail to win government's attention to their plight, they may resort to violence. From this viewpoint, terrorism is the result of a logical analysis of the goals and objectives of a group, and their estimate of the likelihood of gaining victory. If victory seems unlikely using more traditional means of opposition, then one might calculate that terrorism is a better option. For example, in South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) only turned to the use of terrorism after political avenues were explored and failed. Of course, not just individuals may feel let down by the political process. States may use terrorists in the pursuit of their own strategic interests. States may sponsor terrorist groups, especially when the objectives of the state and the terrorist group are similar. For example, Libya used terrorists to explode a bomb aboard Pan Am 103 flying from London to New York in 1988, allegedly in response to U.S. and British bombing of Libya.

### **3.1.2 Targets and Victims of Terrorism**

The targets and victims of terrorism may be categorised into broad and specific targets and victims:

#### **Broad targets and victims**

##### **Innocent civilians**

Terrorism often targets innocent civilians in order to create an atmosphere of fear, intimidation, and insecurity. Some terrorists deliberately direct attacks against large numbers of ordinary citizens who simply happen to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

##### **Selected targets**

More selective terrorist attacks target diplomats and diplomatic facilities such as embassies and consulates; military personnel and military bases; business executives and corporate offices; and transportation vehicles and facilities, such as airlines and airports, trains and train stations, buses and bus terminals, shopping malls, and subways.

## **Symbolic targets**

Terrorist attacks on buildings or other inanimate targets often serve a symbolic purpose: They are intended more to draw attention to the terrorists and their cause, than to destroy property or kill and injure persons, although death and destruction nonetheless often result. An example of such targets was the attack by the Boko Haram on the UN building in Abuja on Friday, August 26, 2011.

## **Specific targets and victims of terrorism**

### **Business**

Businesses are defined as individuals or organisations engaged in commercial or mercantile activity as a means of livelihood. Terrorists may target a business or private citizens patronising a business such as a restaurant, gas station, music store, bar, café, and many others. This includes attacks carried out against corporate offices or employees of firms like mining companies, or oil corporations. Furthermore, they include attacks conducted on business people or corporate officers. Other targets in this category are hospitals, chambers of commerce and cooperatives.

### **The government**

The government or its building, government member, former members, including members of political parties in official capacities, their convoys, or events sponsored by political parties; political movements; or a government sponsored institution may be targeted for attack which is expressly carried out to harm the government. Such attacks may also focus on judges, public attorneys, courts and court systems, politicians, royalty, head of state, government employees, election-related attacks, intelligence agencies and spies, or family members of government officials when the relationship is relevant to the motive of the attack. The targets and victims may also be foreign missions, including embassies, consulates, etc. This includes cultural centres that have diplomatic functions, and attacks against diplomatic staff and their families and property. The United Nations is a diplomatic target.

### **Police, military and other security forces**

Terrorists may also target their attacks on members of the police force or police installations; this includes police boxes, patrols headquarters, academies, cars, checkpoints, etc. Includes attacks against jails or prison facilities, or jail or prison staff or guards. Such attacks may also be against army units, patrols, barracks, and convoys, jeeps, etc. Also

includes attacks on recruiting sites, and soldiers engaged in internal policing functions such as at checkpoints and in anti-narcotics activities.

### **Airports and airlines**

Another target and victim of terrorist attacks are either an airplane or against an airport. Attacks against airline employees while on board are also included in this category. Such targets also include airport business offices and executives.

### **Transportation (other than aviation)**

Public transportation systems are also targets of terrorism. Terrorists may assault public buses, minibuses, trains, metro/subways, highways, bridges, roads, etc.

### **Educational institutions**

Increasingly educational institutions are becoming targets of terrorists. Attacks are carried out against schools, teachers, or guards protecting school sites. This also includes attacks against university professors, students, pupils, teaching staff and school buses.

### **Food and water supply**

Food and water may be targeted by terrorists. Such attacks focus on food and water supplies or reserves and the infrastructure related to food and water for human consumption.

### **Journalists and media**

Yet other target and victims of terrorism are reporters, news assistants, photographers, publishers, as well as attacks on media headquarters and offices. Such attacks also focus on transmission facilities such as antennae or transmission towers, or broadcast infrastructure.

### **Maritime (includes ports and maritime facilities)**

Maritime facilities including ports, ships, civilians working in the maritime sector, fishing ships, oil tankers, ferries, yachts, may be target for attack by terrorists.

## **NGO**

International and local NGOs are also targets of terrorists. Such terrorist attacks also includes on offices and employees of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). NGOs here include large multinational non-governmental organisations such as the Red Cross and Doctors without Borders.

## **Private Citizens and property**

Such targets in this category include attacks on individuals, the public in general or attack in public areas including markets, commercial streets, busy intersections and pedestrian malls. Terrorist may target specific individuals at various places including ceremonial events, such as weddings and funerals.

## **Religious figures/institutions**

This includes attacks on religious leaders, such as priests, bishops, and Imams; religious institutions such as mosques, churches; religious places or objects such as shrines, and relics. This value also includes attacks on organisations that are affiliated with religious entities such as missionaries.

## **Telecommunication**

This includes target on facilities and infrastructure for the transmission of information. More specifically such targets include things like cell phone towers, telephone booths, television transmitters, radio, and microwave towers.

## **Tourists**

This includes the targeting of tour buses and tourists. Tourists are persons who travel primarily for the purposes of leisure or amusement. Government tourist offices are included in this value. Usually terrorist clearly target the tourists and not just the business or transportation system used by tourists.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Discuss the causes of terrorism.
- ii. What are the various targets and victims of terrorism?

#### 4.0 CONCLUSION

What causes terrorism remains a subject of debate among scholars. While some terrorists are motivated by their psychological make-up, some are terrorists because of their ideological or religious beliefs and others simply because it appears to be a useful strategic alternative. Indeed, terrorism may occur for psychological, ideological, and strategic grounds put together. It is worthy to note that there has been a radical change in the targeting and choice of victims by terrorist groups. Traditional politically motivated terrorist groups often seen in the west such as the IRA or the Italian Red Brigades chose to strike at high profile political targets or victims that would guarantee media attention like the bombing of commercial centres. The targeting was determined mainly to attract maximum media attention and to cause a change of policy by government. Western style terrorists were less motivated by religion and few had a desire to become a martyr so escape was a priority for the terrorist in his calculations. With the growth of religious fundamentalist terrorism, the nature of terrorist targets has changed. Not only is suicide terrorism on the increase, but also attacks which now result in a large number of deaths and civilian victims are now firmly on the agenda for many terrorist groups, as the attacks of 9/11 horrifically demonstrated.

#### 5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, an attempt has been made to examine the causes, targets and victims of terrorism. We pointed out that terrorism is a multi-causal phenomenon and that the targets of terrorism can be categorised as either broad or specific.

#### 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What are the causes of terrorism?
2. List 10 specific targets and victims of terrorism and briefly discuss any two of your choice.

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## **UNIT 4 TERRORIST ORGANISATIONS**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 List of Terrorist Organisations
  - 3.2 Characteristics of Terrorist Organisations
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit will focus on terrorist organisations. Various countries have outlawed certain groups within and outside their region as terrorist groups. The lists of foreign terrorist groups therefore differ from one country to another. While some terrorist groups are commonly outlawed such as the Al-Qaeda, one country may either have more or less terrorist groups in their list. This unit focused on the list of designated terrorist organisations in the United States of America. The unit also discussed the characteristics of terrorist organisations and also examined the links among terrorist organisations.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify various terrorist organisations
- discuss the characteristics of terrorist organisations
- describe the links between terrorist organisations.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 List of Terrorist Organisations**

As a result of lack of international consensus on the legal definition of terrorism, many organisations that are accused of being a terrorist organisation deny using terrorism as a tactic to achieve their goals. Several groups that have been designated as terrorist groups appear on the list of national governments and/or inter-governmental organisations, where the proscription has a significant impact on the group's activities. Numerous terrorist groups exist depending on the designating country or international organisation. For instance, the US

Secretary of State in accordance with section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) has designated certain groups as Foreign Terrorist Organisations (FTOs). As at October 2012, these include:

### **List of some International Terrorist Organisations**

Abu Nidal Organisation (ANO)  
 Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)  
 Aum Shinrikyo (AUM)  
 Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)  
 Gama'a al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group) (IG)  
 Hamas  
 Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM)  
 Hizbollah  
 Kahane Chai (Kach)  
 Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) (Kongra-Gel)  
 Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)  
 National Liberation Army (ELN)  
 Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)  
 Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)  
 Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)  
 PFLP-General Command (PFLP-GC)  
 Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)  
 Revolutionary Organisation 17 November (17N)  
 Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C)  
 Shining Path (SL)  
 Al-Qaida (AQ)  
 Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)  
 Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA)  
 United Self Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC)  
 Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM)  
 Lashkar-e Tayyiba (LeT)  
 Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade (AAMB)  
 Asbat al-Ansar (AAA)  
 Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)  
 Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA)  
 Jemaah Islamiya (JI)  
 Lashkar i Jhangvi (LJ)  
 Ansar al-Islam (AAI)  
 Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA)  
 Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG)  
 Al-Qaida in Iraq (AQI)  
 Islamic Jihad Union (IJU)  
 Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (GICM)  
 Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami/Bangladesh (HUJI-B)  
 Al-Shabaab



Revolutionary Struggle (RS)  
 Kata'ib Hizballah (KH)  
 Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)  
 Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami (HUJI)  
 Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP)  
 Jundallah  
 Army of Islam (AOI)  
 Indian Mujahedeen (IM)  
 Jemaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT)  
 Abdallah Azzam Brigades (AAB)  
 Haqqani Network (HQN)

### 3.2 Characteristics of Terrorist Organisations

Terrorist groups are organised in many different ways, including the traditional pyramidal power structure with a leader or small clique at the top and ever-widening tiers of authority moving down the chain of command. Various other configurations for depicting the organisation of terrorist groups include circles, squares, and bulls-eye target designs. One thing they all have in common is a leadership surrounded by an active cadre; then, moving further from the centre, a broader group of active supporters, and outside that, an even broader level of passive support. In the shifting nature of terrorist groups or at least the vocal justification they provide for their actions, religion and ethnicity seem to have replaced politics as the driving force toward their stated goals. Hiding behind the shield of accepted religious organisations, support groups are free to operate with virtual impunity, in different parts of the world. In addition to fundraising, religious and ethnic front groups provide cover for covert activities of more militant representatives of terrorist organisations. Communication and cooperation exist between and among terrorist groups all around the world, regardless of political stripe or ethnicity. There is ample evidence of training camps organised for terrorist operatives with the support of some states. One of the most publicised gatherings of terrorists occurred in 1983 in Benghazi, Libya, when Muammar Gaddafi brought together more than 1000 representatives from such disparate organisations as the Palestine Liberation Army (PLO), Abu Nidal, Irish Republican Army, the Puerto Rican independence group FALN, the Black Liberation Army, the American Indian Movement, the Nation of Islam, and several unaffiliated terrorists.

In recent times, most terrorist organisations exhibit a feature that is hybrid character - centralised and decentralised (network). The most distinctive feature of terrorist organisation is central control that works effectively on the basis of very general directives. This mode of control is the only feasible one which clandestinely requires that relations

remain latent, but it can be effective only under special conditions. The following are structural characteristics of centralised hierarchical organisation:

1. They have a clearly defined leadership such as the army executive (IRA), majlis shura (Islamic Jihad), council, or again majlis shura (Al Qaida).
2. They are differentiated both vertically and functionally. All terrorist organisations covered (again including Al Qaida) have specialised units directly below the top leadership level. In some cases the main distinction is between a military and a support branch, in other cases various units distinguished by functions such as finances, procurement, propaganda, etc. are related to the operative units in a matrix-like fashion. All terrorist organisations have furthermore, a clearly circumscribed third level of operative units, the famous cells.
3. Vertical communication dominates.

On the other hand the following are generally held to be characteristic of a decentralised, network form of organisation:

1. There is no detailed central steering of operations; the operative units, or cells, enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy in planning their day-to-day actions and in the execution of acts of terrorism, sabotage, etc.
2. The organisation reacts quickly and flexibly to situational exigencies (threats as well as opportunities) by changing plans and the function of individual members.
3. The organisation has a relatively open and fluid boundary. New cells are continuously created, and dissolved.

At all levels, except the top leadership, there are members with different grades of identification with the organisation:

- a. Activists - core members, professional terrorists who, in the extreme case, have no exit option,
- b. Persons identifying themselves as members, but leading at the same time a normal life in the legal world, and
- c. Persons rendering ad hoc services, often without knowing to whom and to what purpose.

The contemporaneous existence of such features is sometimes considered contradictory and a source of tension. However, different forms of governance normally coexist, at the societal and the organisational level. The different features of a hybrid organisation can counteract each other, and in this way contain the negative effects

following from each pure type, such as the rigidity of hierarchy and the centrifugal force of network structure. In the case of terrorist organisations, the addition of network elements to a basically hierarchical structure is held to be necessary to maintain operational effectiveness in the face of constant threats of discovery and repression.

### Some Leaders of Terrorist Organisations

Name	Organisation
Abu-Abbas	Leader of the Palestine Liberation Front...Known as the Palestinian Rambo...Broke away from PFLP-GC over political differences...Responsible for the hijacking of the Achilles Lauro cruise ship
Omar Abdel-Rahman	Blind Islamic cleric and spiritual leader of the deadly Egyptian group Jamaat al-Islamaya...Came to the U.S. in 1990, arrested in 1995...Sentenced to life in prison for “seditious conspiracy to wage urban war”
Sabrie-Banna, a.k.a. Abu Nidal	Although not a founder, a prominent member of Fatah’s leadership...Linked to Black September, Hamas, and Osama bin-Laden
Osama bin-Laden	Arch-terrorist and the most sought after terrorist in the world...Suspected mastermind of a number of attacks against U.S. targets, including embassies in East Africa and the U.S.S. Cole in Yemen...Has issued a “fatwa” calling on Muslims around the world to slay Americans and their allies.
George Habash, a.k.a. al-Hakim	Established the PFLP in 1967 as an alternative to Fatah...An uncompromising Marxist-Leninist implicated in a number of airplane hijackings...Led takeover of OPEC headquarters in Vienna in 1977.
Ahmed-Jabril	Leader of PLFP-GC...Trained with Syrian Army...Considered an

	expert bomb maker...Suspected of helping bomb Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland
Hassan Nasrallah	Active with Hezbollah and believed to be the head of its military arm, Islamic Resistance...Keeps in close contact with Hamas leadership.
Ahmed Yassin	Known as Sheikh or the Intifada...Founding member and spiritual leader of Hamas...Active in Damascus, Syria...Released by Israelis in 1985 in a prisoner exchange
Ramzi Ahmed Yousef	Active in Philippine terrorist group Abu Sayyaf...Came to U.S. in 1992, masterminded World Trade Centre bombing in New York and fled to Philippines... Active in Project Bojanga aimed at blowing U.S. airliners out of Asian air space...Arrested in Pakistan, tried in the United States, serving a life sentence

**Source:** Frank Bolz, Jr., Kenneth J. Dudonis & David P. Schulz (2002). *The Counterterrorism Handbook: Tactics, Procedures, and Techniques*. London: CRC Press, p.21.

### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

- i. Identify and discuss the characteristics of terrorist organisations you know.
- ii. What is the difference between a centralised and decentralised terrorist organisation?
- iii. What is the difference between hard and soft links among terrorist organisations?

### 4.0 CONCLUSION

We can conclude this unit by stating that while some terrorist groups seem to be centralised in structure (with clear chain of command, leadership, communication, etc.), others present a picture of a decentralised organisation. This can be seen in the long list of foreign terrorist organisations designated as terrorist organisations by various countries such as the US. The point to note, also, is that irrespective of

whether the organisations are centralised or not they seem to have certain links, which are discussed in the next unit.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have listed the terrorist organisations, and examined the characteristics of terrorist organisations. In addition, we also identified the leadership of some of the terrorist groups.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. List at least 10 terrorist organisations you know and discuss the characteristics of terrorist organisations.
2. Describe the difference between a centralised and decentralised terrorist organisation.

## **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING**

Frank Bolz, Jr., Kenneth J. D. & David P. Schulz (2002). *The Counterterrorism Handbook: Tactics, Procedures, and Techniques*. London: CRC Press.

Renate, M. (2004). *Organisational Forms of Terrorism, Hierarchy, Network, or a Type sui generis?* MPIfG Discussion Paper, 2004.



and knowledge, are scarce and therefore terrorists seek allies in order to be effective.

Desouza and Hengsen (2007:595) have also identified the links between terrorists as both hard and soft in nature. The hard links are the most concrete features of collaboration between terrorist groups and includes financial support, information sharing, coordinated activities, safe havens and sharing materials, resources, and personnel. Soft links can more or less be defined as intangible, while hard links are tangible. Soft links between terrorists include shared ideologies and beliefs, opportunities and chances, and even media strategy. The following section further elaborates on the soft and hard links. These hard and soft links are further discussed below.

### 3.1.1 Discussion of Links among Terrorist Organisations

Terrorist organisations are linked together in two distinct ways. The first is through *hard links* in which there is direct interaction and cooperation among terrorist groups. These links can be detected, analysed, and acted upon. The second is through *soft links*, which are difficult to detect or influence.

#### Hard links

Terrorist organisations work together when it is in their interest to do so. These organisations may have different ideologies, goals, adversaries, or sponsors, but there may be compelling reasons to cooperate. The following describes some of the hard links identified among terrorist organisations:

*Financial support:* This occurs in many forms, ranging from direct financial transfers to engaging in such mutually beneficial business deals as illegal drug trafficking or diamond sales, charitable organisations that funnel money to terrorist groups and legitimate businesses that launder money from illicit sources.

*Sharing intelligence:* Terrorist organisations sometimes share information regarding U.S. and allied military operations, critical vulnerabilities, intelligence-gathering methods, counter-terrorism capabilities, and political activities. They share information to maintain situational awareness and improve the fidelity of their terrorist planning.

*Coordinating activities:* Terrorist organisations have coordinated their efforts to maximise the psychological impact of terrorist operations or to demonstrate the ability to conduct sustained operations over time.

*Sharing safe havens:* A number of terrorist organisations operate training camps and maintain bases of operations near one another. Safe havens have been shared by like-minded terrorist organisations, taking advantage of governments willing to sponsor them.

*Sharing materials and resources:* Terrorists exchange technology to construct bombs and the techniques to deploy them. Key materials also are shared among some terrorist organisations. This becomes particularly worrisome as terrorist organisations pursue weapons of mass destruction.

*Sharing personnel:* Closely linked terrorist organisations share personnel for training or intelligence purposes or to develop a key capability within the organisation such as encrypted or encoded communications, falsifying documents, or traveling incognito.

### **Soft links**

This category attempts to characterise the manner in which terrorist organisations operate without direct communication or coordination. Although difficult to delineate, the following attempts to capture the concept of soft links:

*Sharing opportunities:* As one organisation strikes, other organisations may take advantage of an emerging opportunity. For example, while the United States was coping with the events of September 11, 2001, a terrorist or terrorist organisation sent anthrax through the mail system, displaying the ability to strike with effectiveness despite heightened defense postures or a desire to shift blame for an attack onto an unrelated terrorist group.

*Sharing responsibility:* One terrorist organisation may commit an act of terrorism while another organisation claims responsibility. This may serve to confuse retaliation measures, cloak those who are truly responsible, and draw attention to the terrorist organisation that elected to claim responsibility.

*Public diplomacy:* Some terrorist organisations have access to or are able to influence broad-reaching media mechanisms to communicate rationale or support for other terrorist organisation activities.

*Sharing ideological views:* Ideological leaders associated with a particular terrorist organisation or a specific country sponsoring terrorism may communicate support of other terrorist organisation activities or incite demonstrations supporting specific causes or opposing common foes.



## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Identify and discuss the main links among terrorist organisations.

### 4.0 CONCLUSION

In the aggregate, these hard and soft links work together to create a spectrum of terrorism that ranges from state-level terrorist organisations seeking to modify their government's behaviour to global terrorist. Although terrorism at the global level poses the gravest threat to the global community, it is supported by terrorist organisations at lower levels. These lines are not sharp, and the international response may require a myriad of responses at every level.

### 5.0 SUMMARY

This unit focused on the concrete features of collaboration between terrorist groups which we identified as hard and soft links. Soft links can more or less be defined as intangible while hard links are tangible.

### 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Identify the main links among terrorist organisations.
2. Write short notes on hard and soft links among terrorist organisations.

### 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Desouza, K.C. & Hengsen T. (2007). Connectivity among Terrorist Groups: A Two- Model Business Maturity Approach, in *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 30, Issue 7.

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## **MODULE 3**

Unit 1	Perception and Ideological Streams of Terrorism
Unit 2	Elements and Anomalies of Terrorism
Unit 3	Local, Regional and Global Factors that Allow and Support Terrorism Continuation

### **UNIT 1 PERCEPTION AND IDEOLOGICAL STREAMS OF TERRORISM**

#### **CONTENTS**

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
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3.1.1	Ideology and Terrorism in the Past Three Decades
3.1.2	Ideology and Terrorist Targeting
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
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#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Ideology is defined as a set of ideas, doctrines and beliefs that characterises the thinking of an individual or group and may transform into political and social plans, actions or systems. While the ideological views and beliefs of those involved in terrorist activities are extremist, by definition, this is probably the only aspect of the ideological basis and support of terrorism that is not disputed by analysts. All other issues related to the role of ideology for violent groups involved in terrorist activity remain unclear and are endlessly debated. There is no agreement even on the basic issue of whether there is any specific ‘terrorism ideology’ or whether terrorists are, instead, driven by various extremist ideologies and exploit them to provide grounds for the use of terrorist means. The following categories are used to classify ideologies: separatism, religion, liberalism, anarchism, communism, conservatism, fascism, single-issues, and organised crime.

## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define the concept of ideology
- describe the relationship between ideology and terrorism
- explain using historical examples, how terrorism has been influenced by ideology over the years.

## 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

### 3.1 Perception and Ideological Streams of Terrorism

Terrorism is often perceived through a narrow lens without ever truly examining who is the terrorist, where the terrorist come from, the background, and why the terrorist committed the act. Understanding the mindset of the terrorist is vital in understanding terrorism. There are common traits found in the individuals who commit these types of violent acts. One is that the terrorist feels inferior to his larger enemy, but morally superior. He feels as if he has been wronged and terrorism is a means through which he can retaliate. The act of terrorism is the result of this distaste for the larger enemy. Through terrorist acts, the terrorist believes that they can gain power through the use of fear. Second is that terror gives a feeling of power to the powerless. There is no real way to understand and predict human behaviour. A terrorist act is even harder to understand. That is why the definition of terrorism is constantly in a state of change. It evolves based on the new political situations and the way that states and political entities process and respond to these events.

For the terrorist, there is usually an ongoing personal struggle. This may include events of embarrassment, repression, or harassment. Third, the terrorist is expected to have extreme views and beliefs. His or her beliefs are more extreme than others in his or her situation. Fourth, for the terrorist, there is very little room for flexibility. Events and decisions are seen in terms of black and white. There is a need for responsibility, blame and retaliation. Lastly, a terrorist usually holds a capacity to suppress all moral constraints against harming innocents whether due to instinct or acquired factors, individuals, or group forces.

Beliefs of morality are discarded in order to achieve the act of violence. Many terrorists may have experienced violence growing up. They often come from marginalised communities, where they feel neglected. Often these areas experience violence, death and destruction as a part of everyday life. They know from firsthand experience that violence hurts those involved. Terrorists believe that if they use violence against their

mighty enemy, it will hurt them as well. Acts of terror allow individuals, who feel wronged to feel powerful through the use of fear.

Naturally, the ideologies that terrorist groups claim to use as a basis for their terrorist activities are related to their socio-political, nationalist or religious motivations, often employed in various combinations. However, regardless of a terrorist group's specific motivations and ideologies, their politico-ideological beliefs tend to display some common features. Among them is an idea that it is primarily the state which practices violence and terror.

### **3.1.1 Ideology and Terrorism in the Past Three Decades**

In the 19th and much of the 20th centuries, the ideologies of groups involved in terrorist activities were dominated by various radical socio-revolutionary, leftist and anarchist concepts. The ideologues of many left-wing terrorist groups, including socio-revolutionary organisations, often had eclectic views, integrating elements from different concepts and ideologies. These ranged from the anarchist motto of 'propaganda by deed', doctrines of the 19th century groups such as the Blanquists and revolutionary *narodniki*, and radical Marxism, Stalinism, Trotskyism and Maoism to theories of anti-colonial struggle and the concepts of 'classic' rural or mountain and 'new' urban guerrilla activity.

The ideologies of left-wing terrorists of the second half of the 20th century (such as the West German Red Army Faction and the Italian Red Brigades) did not include many motives and ideas beyond the 'classic' ideologies of radical revolutionary and anarchist groups of the 19th century. Among the few innovations were the Maoist concept of protracted civil war and, consequently, that of the use of terrorist means on a long-term, systematic basis rather than as a temporary tactic. Over the 30-year period 1968–97, communist/leftist groups were together responsible for the largest number of international terrorist incidents.

At the end of the 20th century some socio-revolutionary leftist groups whose ideology did not have a clear nationalist, let alone religious, aspect continued or started armed activity, including terrorism, especially in developing countries. Cases range from the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) and Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN, National Liberation Army) in Colombia, who have been fighting continuously for several decades, to the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) militants, who took up arms against the state in 1996. Throughout the 1990s some marginal leftist terrorist groups resurfaced

in the developed world too, sporadically committing classic acts of 'peacetime' terrorism.

In the last decade of the 20th century, following the end of the cold war, communist, radical socialist and other leftist ideologies suffered an overall decline. This was mainly a result of the disintegration of the Soviet bloc, the end of the East–West ideological confrontation and the collapse of the bipolar world system. The role of these ideologies as a basis for groups involved in terrorist activity decreased. While communist and other leftist terrorism remained significant and even increased in 1998–2006, its overall importance declined relative to the sharply rising nationalist and religious terrorism.

This relative decline coincided in time and was connected with the gradual decline in state support for terrorism in line with the bipolar division. For much of the cold war period, many radical groups driven by communist and other leftist ideologies had enjoyed some political and financial support from the states where those ideologies were dominant. In the 1990s, the ideological currents of radical leftism were increasingly replaced by radical nationalism, especially separatist ethno-nationalism, and by religious extremism, which became the two most influential ideological pillars of terrorism (Herman and O'Sullivan, 1991).

As terrorism emerged in the last third of the 19th century, and systematically employed asymmetrical tactic of political violence, it took no single form. Instead it was used by organisations of many political orientations in the name of many goals formulated in accordance with their various ideologies. Even at this early stage, terrorism was employed not only by socio-revolutionary groups, such as the Russian revolutionary *narodniki* or European and North American anarchists, but also by national liberation movements in the Balkans, India, Ireland and Poland. In both the 19th and 20th centuries, most anti-colonial national liberation movements employed armed violence at some stage and in more than one form. Broad national liberation movements often had extremist factions that, alongside other tactics, employed terrorist means, both against the colonisers and against the more moderate nationalists. In the mid-20th century, both prior to World War II and in the first post-war decades, terrorism was widely employed by anti-colonial and other national liberation movements in the Middle East, North Africa and parts of Asia. At that stage, several national liberation and nationalist groups that combined terrorist means with other violent tactics managed to achieve all or most of their declared goals. Some even came to power in their newly established states. The best known example of this period is the Algerian Front de libération nationale (FLN, National Liberation Front). The FLN led the armed

struggle for independence from France after 1954 and at a certain point decided to turn to terrorist tactics in urban areas. It became the ruling party after Algeria's independence in 1962. In sum, radical nationalism came to the fore alongside extreme leftwing ideologies as an ideology of groups that employed terrorist tactics. Even so, until the early 1980s various forms of radical left-wing internationalised socio-political ideology, ranging from Maoism to anarchism, still played a significant part as an ideological basis for groups engaged in terrorist activity.

In the 19th and much of the 20th centuries such a combination was the rule rather than the exception. It was facilitated by the ambiguous approach to nationalism on the part of most socio-revolutionary ideologies, including Marxism (Smith, 2001). The only left-wing ideology that rejected nationalism was anarchism. Anarchists remained the most consistent and committed internationalists, proposing to replace nation states with cooperative communities based on free association and mutual assistance of people regardless of their ethnic and national origin. Finally, radical nationalism, especially in its racist forms, was often an essential part of the ideologies of extreme right-wing sociopolitical organisations, including those that used terrorist means, such as the Ku Klux Klan movement in the USA.

In the late 20th century, National liberation, especially anti-colonial movements were replaced by radical ethno-nationalist movements, often with separatist aims. This new kind of ethno-nationalism was now rarely tied to left-wing ideology. Instead, it was more and more often linked to religious extremism. Along with the latter, radical ethno-nationalism and ethno-separatism moved to the fore as the ideologies most commonly employed by terrorist organisations. Ethno-separatist groups usually displayed a higher degree of intra-organisational coherence, continuity and resolve than, for instance, groups of a purely left-wing character. Ethno-separatist movements also proved able to remain active for decades without even changing their leaders.

In the early 21st century, radical ethno-nationalism, and especially ethno-separatism, has retained its importance as one of the most widespread ideologies of groups employing terrorist means. However, it has gradually yielded primacy to religious, especially Islamist extremism. Religious extremism has more and more often served as an ideological basis for terrorist groups active in more localised settings and, above all, for the emerging transnational violent Islamist movement. Sometimes, as in the case of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), violent Islamism has served as a counter balance and an alternative to nationalism; in other cases, as in Kashmir or Chechnya, it has been employed in combination with radical ethno-separatism. Nationalism is a very powerful ideology that may provide the

ideological framework for all kinds of ambitious political goals, including the break-up or formation of states. It is also one of the most widespread ideologies in the world and takes many forms.

In the post-colonial era, in addition to narrow ethno-nationalist and ethno-separatist movements, another form of armed nationalism has been national liberation from foreign occupation. While some such movements may be dominated by the prevailing ethnic group in the 'occupied' state, in contrast to radical ethno-nationalists they are usually multi-ethnic (and inter-confessional). However, the supra-ethnic nature of most modern armed national liberation movements, especially in Muslim-populated regions, is not civic in nature and is increasingly tied to their Islamicised character. Ongoing armed national liberation movements have either continued from the 20th century after having undergone some changes such as Islamicisation in the case of the Palestinian armed resistance, or have newly emerged in the early 21st century such as the post-2003 resistance in Iraq.

In the 1990s, following the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the end of the cold war and the decline of leftist movements, a global vacuum in secular protest ideology emerged. This vacuum quickly started to be filled with radical currents-the explicitly extremist ethno-nationalist or religious ideologies. Much has been written about the 'sharp' rise of 'religious terrorism' during the last decades of the 20th century and about its growing internationalisation and international impact.

There are certain problems of studying the role of religious ideology or religious radicalism in motivating support for terrorist activity. The first major problem in studying the role played by religious radicalism in motivating, supporting, attempting to justify and guiding a certain group's terrorist activity. The problem is that, while religious extremism may serve as a powerful driving force and may also be effectively instrumentalised to guide and justify terrorist activity, it does not necessarily or automatically lead to terrorism or, indeed, to violence. In some national orientalist and Islamologist traditions, a basic distinction is made between Islamic fundamentalism, primarily in its theological sense, and political Islamism. According to this interpretation, Islamic fundamentalism is practised by groups and individuals that may be very strict in scriptural terms but do not engage in political activism.

Political Islamism implies direct political action taken to advance fundamentalist goals. The prevailing view, however, seems to question this distinction as artificial (Mamdani, 2004). The term 'Islamic fundamentalism' is frequently used interchangeably with 'Islamism', with the latter being the preferable term to denote politically active and resurgent Islam. Despite their harsh criticism of and reservations about

the existing order, movements such as most national branches of the Muslim Brotherhood or the Pakistan-based Jamaat-e-Islami are by and large ready to work within the system, principally in their own states, in order to change it. More radical Islamism is represented by a set of extremist currents that are most commonly and directly associated with 'violent jihad' and are often, although not necessarily engaged in violent activity. Thus, while in the late 20th and early 21st centuries Islamist terrorism has become the main form of transnational terrorism, Islamist movements and networks engage in a variety of activities dominated by different priorities.

### **3.1.1 Ideology and Terrorist Targeting**

The influence of ideology on terrorist targeting can be seen by comparing the targets attacked by different groups. Differences between groups with different ideologies, and similarities between groups with similar ideologies, may demonstrate to a degree the extent to which ideology affects target selection. In Northern Ireland, the groups concerned were either republican terrorists - primarily the Provisional IRA, but also including the Official IRA (OIRA), the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), and other smaller groups, and loyalist terrorists. Although their ideologies have altered over the years, the republicans have aimed at achieving a united Ireland by excluding British rule from Northern Ireland. In addition, both republicans and loyalists sought to protect the communities from which they almost exclusively derive their support - the Catholic community for republicans, the Protestant community for loyalists - from what they see as the depredations of the other side.

Communist ideology provides terrorists with a ready list of targets because, although it purports to be an objective, scientific theory of history, it also confers a strong moral sense of what is good and what is bad, and defines those people who are bad. Essentially, the capitalist ruling classes and those people and institutions who support them are bad and form the enemy. However, in most communist terrorist campaigns, ideology and strategy have been adapted to local conditions.

This is in line with the thinking of communist ideologists such as Mao and Debray, who have both emphasised that the military strategy to be adopted in any given conflict is specific to that conflict. Looking specifically at the ideology of communist terrorist groups in Italy and West Germany, in particular the Red Brigades and the Red Army Faction, one finds that their ultimate aims were similar - to overthrow the capitalist political and economic system

Terrorist's commitment to his ideology is unbending. There is no room for negotiation or compromise. In many ways terrorists do not grow,



they are unwavering and stuck to their unbending ideology. A terrorist holds onto an unbreakable idea or passion. This indestructible passion is what drives the individual into violence. Many terrorists also suffer from a thinking or conviction that a greater gain exist somewhere. They are convinced that somehow the destruction of that which they despise or hate will somehow cure the ills of the world. Their beliefs are set on achieving unrealistic goals and they see themselves as sacrifices for their deities, and they count on the approval and the backing of their culture (Soares, 2007). These beliefs give sense to their lives, symbolic forms to achieve immortality through their own deaths. The rigidity of the terrorist's ideology ultimately forces the terrorist into seclusion. Family, friends and hobbies are eventually pushed out of the individual's life because of their greater commitment to their ideology. This leaves the individual further isolated and longing for a group that shares similar interests and beliefs. A group provides its members the emotion of invulnerability, which ensures them some degree of encouragement for obvious risks of dangers. Additionally, the group helps to rationalise the wrong doing and gives morality to its members to justify themselves.

Stereotyping allows members of the group to dehumanise their enemies and justify killing the others in mind. The terrorist's dissatisfaction with the world around him is advanced by his stubbornness and in his unwillingness and inability to adapt to the conditions that surround him.

His unbreakable ideology makes the world and its processes into black and white terms. The group reaffirms the terrorist's beliefs, isolating the individual further from reality. An example is Ramzi Yousef, a conspirator in the 1993 World Trade Centre bombings. Yousef was stubborn, unchanging in his ideology and was dissatisfied with the world around him. Yousef's beliefs became unbending road maps or templates to action which he pursued without remorse supremely committed to their respective ideologies, he remains defiantly unrepentant. Yousef is a clear example of how ideology pushes individuals into extremist measures such as terrorism.

### **Radical doctrines**

These can profoundly affect how people interpret their situation, respond to efforts to mobilise them, and choose among alternative strategies of political action. Terrorist organisations respond to cyclical declines in economic performance by using an ideological message to increase their recruitment. The presence of charismatic ideological leaders able to transform widespread grievances and frustrations into a political agenda for violent struggle is a decisive factor behind the emergence of a terrorist movement.

### **Extreme nationalism**

Like *Jihadist* doctrines and militant Hinduism, frames disaffected people's ideas about what is possible, permissible, and required. Such ideologies seek to convince militants that their sacrifices will have payoffs – if not in this life, then in the next. People whose lives are disrupted by rapid modernisation, for example, when sudden oil wealth precipitates a change from tribal to high-tech societies, are especially susceptible to extremist ideologies. When traditional norms, social patterns and identities are threatened, people are ripe for conversion to new radical ideologies based on religion or nostalgia for a glorious, mythic past or promised future. Ideologies derived from Islamic principles are powerful because, for traditional people in Arab societies, religion covers all aspects of life and gives meaning, counsel, and justifications for action.

In a global world, ideologies help members of far-flung groups to coordinate action. Ideologies of Palestinian or Kurdish or Chechen nationalism connect dispersed communities in support of a common objective, and also facilitate the provision of international support. Similarly, *Jihadist* doctrine helps Islamist militants connect with marginalised people throughout the Muslim world. Ideologies differ in type as well as function. They may be used to justify nationalist aspirations, calls for revolution, cultural purification, or a mix of these. Several group members say it is essential to recognise that only some Muslim activists are concerned about *Jihad*; others have more limited political and welfare goals. In the Middle East and its diasporas, political and religious motivations often run in parallel.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Explain the concept of ideology.
- ii. What is the relationship between ideology and terrorism?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

To terrorise, a terrorist must have an idea, a thought, a passion, a hatred, an ideology so fixed and rigid, that he can carry out a violent act without reflection, remorse, or hesitation”. The idea is set in stone and the terrorist’s mind is unchanging: even hard evidence will fail to impact his core beliefs. Ideology plays a crucial role in terrorist's target selection; it supplies terrorists with an initial motive for action and provides a prism through which they view events and the actions of other people. Those people and institutions that they deem guilty of having transgressed the tenets of the terrorists' ideologically-based moral framework are considered to be legitimate targets which the terrorists feel justified in

attacking. As an extension of this, ideology also allows terrorists to justify their violence by displacing the responsibility onto either their victims or other actors, whom in ideological terms they hold responsible for the state of affairs which the terrorists claim led them to adopt violence.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we defined the concept of ideology and discussed how ideologies have influenced terrorist activities over the last three or four decades. In addition, we discussed how ideology also influences target selection and choices among terrorists and terrorist organisations.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Define the word ideology.
2. What is the relationship between ideology and terrorism?
3. Discuss how ideology has influenced the terrorism in past decades.

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## UNIT 2 ELEMENTS AND ANOMALIES OF TERRORISM

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## **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In the last unit, you studied perception and ideological streams of terrorism. As earlier discussed, different perceptions and ideological streams (such as separatism, religion, liberalism, anarchism, communism, conservatism, fascism, single-issues, etc.) have influenced the activities of terrorist groups in the past years. Accordingly, while terrorists' organisations may vary in terms of approach, tactic and choice of target depending on ideological leaning, certain elements are common to all terrorist groups. In this unit, we also attempted to examine anomalies of terrorism by presenting terrorist typology based on the psychological approach.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the elements of terrorism
- describe the anomalies associated with terrorists.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Elements of Terrorism**

By elements of terrorism, we refer to some commonalities of terrorism which are identifiable. There are a number of elements which are almost universal in terrorist activities. These include:

### **The use of violence to persuade**

Terrorists use bombings or other attacks to violently persuade their targeted victims. The target victims may not necessarily be those who are injured or killed in the cause of the attack. Instead, the attack may have been carried out to influence a government, or a group of governments, to take a certain course of action or perhaps to terminate or cease a course of action.

### **Selection of targets and victims**

Terrorists choose targets and victims which will assure the heaviest possible media coverage. This consideration was particularly evident with terrorist attacks such as the World Trade Centre bombing in New York City in 1993 and the hostage-taking of Israeli athletes during the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich.

### **The use of unprovoked attacks**

An element of terrorism is that they are unprovoked. Even though most terrorists groups try to provide reasons for their attack on innocent population, the targets are usually victims who may not be the original target. Apart from that, attacks are generally unprovoked.

### **Maximum publicity at minimum risk**

This is one of the principles behind many terrorist actions, particularly those involving explosive devices. Bombings typically generate a good deal of publicity, depending upon time and placement, so targets are usually selected for symbolic value, such as embassies, internationally known tourist attractions, and similar facilities. The use of sophisticated timing elements allows detonation to be programmed well in advance, reducing the risk to the bomber or bombers, who can be long gone by the time the devices are discovered or exploded. Moving up on the list of favoured terrorist activities, kidnapping or assaults and assassinations may generate greater or prolonged publicity, but they also present a higher risk for the attackers. Terrorists always want to remain in the forefront, so they will switch tactics in order to maximise publicity.

### **The use of surprise attack**

Generally, terrorist attacks are planned and executed in a surprise manner possibly to circumvent counter-measures. This is an effective way through which terrorist try to attack hardened targets such as military barracks, police stations and even heavily guarded government territories or embassies. Even though there are guards, detection devices,

and increased perimeter security, the element of surprise can be employed to undermine the hardware and overwhelm the human factor in an equipped security system. Time is considered by the terrorist to be of essence. Even a well-protected and hardened target will experience slackened security measures during long periods of terrorist inactivity.

### **Disregard for women and children as victims**

The fact that children and women may be hurt or killed in the cause of an attack is not of any value to the terrorist. In fact, terrorist locations with innocent and unsuspecting victims are selected particularly to heighten the outrage, and fear by the people. This is yet another tactic to garner wider publicity and media coverage of the suffering and death of non-combatants. This characteristic differentiates the terrorist from a soldier or guerrilla. In a guerrilla fight, a soldier fights using techniques and code of behaviour that does not specifically target women and children. A terrorist, on the other hand, will focus on women and children, specifically, just to create a greater atmosphere of fear.

### **The use of propaganda**

Another common element of terrorism is the use of propaganda to maximise the effect of violence, particularly for economic or political goals. To carry out a particular operation without getting any publicity out of the action would be wasteful to a terrorist's cause. Thus, Black September, at the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972, and all those groups that mimicked that hostage-taking by claiming responsibility for attacks in other high-profile circumstances, wanted worldwide publicity for both political and economic goals. A terrorist group will want to score a political point; to show that it is a viable organisation, a power to be reckoned with and a force to be feared. To ensure its economic survival, the terrorist group tries to draw sympathy of governments, and other terrorist groups that it is worthy of funding.

### **Loyalty**

A common element of terrorist groups is the loyalty they show to themselves and related groups. For instance, several terrorist groups linked to the Al-Qaeda show this form of loyalty to the terrorist organisation. The loyalty is so strong that the more radical elements of an otherwise peaceful movement will commit unspeakable criminal acts on behalf of that loyalty and associated cause. Many of them engage in terrorism as a form of gratification and perpetuate criminal activity as an end in itself.

### 3.2 Anomalies of Terrorism

Abnormality is behaviour that is outside the norms of the social and cultural context within which it takes place. Terrorism is considered as an abnormal behaviour within society. It is common for people to condemn terrorism in these words: ‘crazy people’, ‘they must be crazy’ or ‘they are evil’. The literature on the psychology of terrorism agrees that terrorists may be alienated from society and that some terrorist groups may have been led by mentally unstable individuals. Most scholars, especially political scientist, in the 1950-1970s theorising on terrorism had either ignored individual psychological factors or had conceptualised the terrorist mind as mentally disordered by definition. But an analysis in terms of psychology need not automatically imply severe terrorist anomaly.

In this unit, we attempt to examine the personality of the terrorists based on the psychological approach to terrorism (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). A psychological approach to terrorism or any other kind of violent behaviour does not imply that such behaviour is committed only by mentally disordered persons. Rather, psychological traits occur along a continuum, from normal variations on the theme of human diversity to extreme aberrations of thought, feeling, and action.

Accordingly, an individual’s personality may influence the course and direction of an otherwise perfectly rational and volitional choice to commit harmful acts in the name of either self-gratification or some higher purpose. The varying elements of thought, feeling, and action are encoded in the genetic structure of each individual, but the personality that emerges is molded and hardened by the familial, social, economic, and political context in which the person develops. When features of character become more than minor variations psychologists regard them not just as personality traits, but as personality disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). We will attempt to discuss some of abnormal personality types of leaders and followers within the context of terrorism.

#### **Anomalies of terrorist leaders: narcissistic and paranoid personalities**

##### *Narcissistic personality*

This is a pattern of grandiosity, sense of entitlement, arrogance, need for admiration, and lack of empathy for others’ feelings or opinions (Miller, 2006). These are the classic cultic terrorist leaders, convinced of their own authority and infallibility and regarding themselves as above the law because of their special powers of perception, insight, and judgment

in matters of absolute truth and justice. They are often quite engagingly charismatic and able to ensnare impressionable devotees with their unshakable certitude, conviction of infallibility, and infectious zeal for the cause. These are the leaders who give the orders and expect the followers to obey without question.

### ***Paranoid personality***

This is a pattern of pervasive distrust and suspiciousness so that others' actions and motives are almost invariably interpreted as deceptive, persecutory, or malevolent. The paranoid is less of an inviting charmer than the pure narcissist, who wants to be liked and admired above all. Instead, the paranoid leader's philosophy is more likely to have a racial or religious exclusionary focus as well as a darkly conspiratorial tinge, in contrast to the expansive narcissist's Universalist philosophy that is often broad enough to encompass the whole wide world. The paranoid leader is already convinced that it is him or her against everyone else and thus feels no compulsion to ingratiate oneself with the mass of inferior underlings except insofar as this will cement whatever allegiance among in-group members is necessary to accomplish the aims.

The paranoid person may be the most dangerous type of terrorist leader or group member because perceived external threats and the group's holy mission justify committing any kind of violent act to further his or her absolutist religious or political philosophy. Thus, terrorist acts against religious infidels, political rivals, or racial inferiors are justified as perfectly legitimate defenses of the faith, social structure, or ethnic purity. Paranoid terrorist leaders or group members are not likely to alter their fixed beliefs, which at extremes may attain a frankly delusional quality, and this renders them essentially impervious to logic or intimidation.

### **Anomalies of followers: the true believers and unstable deceivers**

#### ***Borderline personality***

This is a pattern of erratic and intense relationships, alternating between over idealisation and devaluation of others; self-damaging impulsiveness; emotional instability, including inappropriately intense anger and/or depressive mood swings and suicidal; persistent identity disturbance in self-image and interpersonal relationships; and a chronic feeling of emptiness that may lead to the quest for stimulation through provocation or escalation of conflict (Miller, 2006). Initially, borderlines may form ferociously powerful allegiances to group leaders and ideologies. Although the characteristic changeability of their



attachments makes them unreliable long-term loyalists, their intervals of intense idealistic devotion and their willingness to take great risks in its service may make them useful—and expendable—functionaries for dangerous terrorist missions.

### ***Antisocial personality***

This is a pattern of consistent disregard for, and violation of, the rights of others. It is typically associated with impulsivity, criminal behaviour, sexual promiscuity, substance abuse, and an exploitive, parasitic, and/or predatory lifestyle. Although possessed of similar qualities of entitlement and self-importance as the narcissist, antisocial personalities are distinguished by their complete lack of empathy and conscience, which allows them to treat other people simply as sources of their own gratification. They may join terrorist organisations for the sheer thrill of being able to wreak destruction on inferior, helpless citizens, and they are often the skilled assassins or bombers of the group.

### **Anomalies of followers: the good soldiers and worker bees**

#### ***Avoidant personality***

This is a pattern of social inhibition, feelings of inadequacy, and hypersensitivity to criticism. Even relatively neutral interpersonal interactions or confrontations are approached with trepidation. Although it is unlikely that many individuals with this personality pattern would choose a murderous vocation such as terrorism, some members may have initially been attracted to the helping and social justice aspects of some religious and political movements as a form of self-therapy or to garner good will and admiration from citizens and camaraderie from fellow group members. Many terrorist political and religious organisations are sublimely comforting to avoidant personalities, affording them respite from the moral ambiguities of the outside world while allowing them to perform an ostensibly useful function within a group of supportive comrades (Horgan, 2003).

#### ***Dependent personality***

This is a pattern of submissive and clinging behaviour stemming from an excessive need for care and nurturance. Whereas avoidant suspects fear people and prefer to be away from them, dependent personalities desperately need people and fear only their rejection or insufficient support. Dependent personalities cling to others to provide guidance and direction, and a charismatic cult leader is the perfect object of this desire. Dependent members of terrorist groups may actually be good, dedicated soldiers, so long as independent decision making is kept to a

minimum. Interactions with colleagues or leaders are apt to be taken more personally than with other group members, as dependents are always hungry for validation of their usefulness and worthiness. This need can be exploited to great effect by group leaders, because although the daringness of dependents will not likely be as great as with borderline or anti-social members, dependent personalities' loyalty and perseverance will likely be more dogged and persistent. Facing questioning by authorities, dependent personalities may retain their loyalty to the terrorist group because of the sense of meaning, purpose, and validation the group has given them (Miller, 2006; Horgan, 2003).

### **Anomalies of followers: limelight seekers and loose cannons**

#### ***Histrionic personality***

This is a pattern of excessive emotionality, attention seeking, need for excitement, flamboyant theatricality in speech and behaviour, an impressionistic and impulsive cognitive style, and the use of exaggeration to maintain largely superficial relationships for the purpose of getting emotional needs met by being admired and cared for by others (Miller, 1987). They are less strong on discipline and less willing to get their hands dirty than other types, but terrorist organisations may solicit these individuals as front men or women in the legitimate worlds of entertainment, the media, or politics to take their case to the larger world or to infiltrate mainstream organisations. The risk is that histrionics' hunger for recognition may eclipse their loyalty to the group, in which case they may draw too much attention to the group's activities and thus become an expendable liability.

#### ***Schizoid personality***

This is a pattern of aloof detachment from social interaction with a restricted range of emotional expression (Miller, 2006). These are people who do not need people and are perfectly happy being left to themselves. The *schizotypal personality*, in addition, includes more serious disturbances of thinking and more bizarre behaviour. It is thought that these two personality disorders really represent points on a continuum from schizoid to schizotypal to outright schizophrenia; the latter characterised by severe distortions of thought, perception, and action, including delusions and hallucinations. In fact, schizoid and schizotypal personality disorders may episodically deteriorate into psychotic states, especially under conditions of stress. Although such individuals are typically not joiners, the unstable identity structure of many schizoids and schizotypals may lead them on philosophical and spiritual quests that end up in social and religious movements with terrorist ties.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. What are the elements of terrorism?
- ii. How does abnormality relate to terrorism?

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

In the final analysis, there are some elements of terrorism which are identifiable. They include, but not limited to the use of violence to persuade; selection of targets and victims; the use of unprovoked attacks; maximum publicity at minimum risk; disregard for women and children as victims; loyalty and the use of propaganda. That said, there are some form of behaviour that is regarded as odd or an anomaly within a given culture, society or group. While this does not mean that terrorism are only carried out by mentally disordered persons, there are suggestions that some terrorist leaders as well as followers are far from being normal as they exhibit features of character that reveal more than minor variations, thus having personality disorders.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

In this unit, we discussed the elements of terrorism. We also examined the anomalies of terrorism. We concluded by noting that though the act of terrorism are not committed by only people with mental disorder, studies by various psychologists, reveal that most leaders and followers of terrorist groups, exhibit certain personality disorders which affects the roles they are likely to play, should they find themselves as either leaders or followers of certain terrorist groups.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. Identify the elements of terrorism.
2. What do you understand by abnormality as it relates to terrorism?
3. Briefly discuss any of the personality disorder within the context of terrorism.

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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## **UNIT 3 LOCAL, REGIONAL AND GLOBAL FACTORS THAT ALLOW AND SUPPORT TERRORISM**

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- 5.0 Summary
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### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Factors that create and nurture terrorism or motivate terrorists are varied. Sometimes they exist in a welter that cannot be easily categorised as local, regional or international/global. This unit discusses the local,

regional and global causal factors that allow and support terrorism continuation.

## **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify and discuss the local factors that allow and support terrorism continuation
- identify and discuss the regional factors that allow and support terrorism continuation
- identify and discuss the global factors that allow and support terrorism continuation.

## **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

### **3.1 Local Factors that Allow and Support Terrorism Continuation**

The reasons that allow terrorism and its support are as diverse as the types of people who commit terrorist attacks. Terrorists often believe that they have exhausted all attempts at legitimate religious or political change and have no other option to bring recognition to their cause and change to the society they live in. Political oppression, religious intolerance and divine revelation are a few of the most commonly cited reasons for terrorist attacks.

The lack of democracy, disrespect for human rights, armed conflicts, blocked democratic transitions, underdevelopment, poverty and the lack of respect for the right to self-determination may all provide the setting for the discontent and frustration that lead to terrorism.

#### **Economic deprivation, poverty and ignorance**

Some scholars have suggested that one of the main causes of terrorism is economic deprivation - that it is rooted in poverty and within-country inequality. Others have added that monetary incentives and religious indoctrination are used by terrorists as veritable tools where poverty and ignorance have taken roots. Gurr (1970) puts forward the idea of 'relative deprivation', where violence is generated, when there is a discrepancy between what individuals think they deserve and what they actually receive through the economic distributive process. Poor structural economic conditions create frustration, which in turn makes violence more likely. This link from economic deprivation to terrorism is very important in the explanation why terrorists are recruited.

Terrorist organisations find it easier to recruit frustrated followers or to receive funding from supporters when economic deprivation prevails.

### **Rapid modernisation and urbanisation**

Some other scholars have argued that terrorism is encouraged by the process of modernisation and urbanisation. Modernisation includes, amongst others, economic change, new forms of communication and lifestyles, a shift from agricultural based to urban societies, and new ideas such as Western ideology. These factors may create grievances associated with socio-economic and demographic strain. Most grievances are generated during the transition from a traditional to a modern society. Modern forms of communication may challenge traditional elements of a society, generating social conflict. This may be particularly important in countries where sudden wealth - such as from oil - has precipitated a change from tribal to high-tech societies in one generation or less. When traditional norms and social patterns crumble or are made to seem irrelevant, new radical ideologies that are sometimes based on religion or perhaps nostalgia for a glorious past, may become attractive to certain segments of society. While terrorist organisations may use modern means of communication to disseminate their opinions more effectively and at the same time resist change. Terrorists are able to capitalise on the grievances of linked modernisation - economic dissatisfaction, new forms of alienated living or other challenges to traditional societal patterns, thus making recruitment, financing or other forms of support more likely.

### **Bad governance and non-democracy**

The issue of bad governance and non-democracy also promote and sustain terrorism. The argument put forward by some scholars is that certain political systems (such as democracies) that practice good governance are more prepared to deal with terrorism. A democratic government is supposed to represent the people and provide political means to voice grievances, hence essentially providing a sphere where terrorism has no place. This may make terrorism production less likely, but may also increase the probability of terrorist attacks. On the other hand, autocratic regimes can capitalise on their capability of repression which may at the same time generate grievances linked to political disenfranchisement. Generally, the most democratic and the most totalitarian societies have the lowest levels of oppositional violence. A low level of political openness may make the genesis of terrorism more likely but lessens the likelihood of terrorist attacks. In general, there is no consensus on which political regime can fend off terrorism most effectively. However, this should not be perceived as simply a lack of democracy or democratic processes. Long standing liberal democracies

with established traditions of free speech and tolerance have been the targets of both domestic and foreign terrorism.

### **Political transformation, instability and the absence of central authority**

Political transformation, instability and the absence of central authority are also named as causes of terrorism. The main idea is that political change may create political vacuums which terrorist groups use to push their agendas. Such vacuums are attractive as radical groups are less likely to be challenged by an instable, thus weak government, making terrorism a less costly venture. Also, an individual may find it more attractive to join or support a radical organisation because there are few non-violent alternatives. Failed or weak states lack the capacity and sometimes the will to exercise territorial control. This often leaves a power vacuum that can be exploited by terrorist organisations to maintain safe havens and training facilities or serve as bases for launching terrorist campaigns. Instable or failed states may even serve as schools of international terrorism, where in phases of domestic instability such as civil war individuals gain an 'education' in violence that they can also use for internationalised terrorist campaigns. Political transformation may generally amplify terrorist behaviour, where this process influences both the production of terrorism and terrorists' target decisions. An example in this regard is northern Mali, which became a haven for terrorists linked to the Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM).

Northern rebel groups, primarily the Tuaregs, took advantage of the instability in Mali in 2012 and the absence of a central government following the coup by Malian military against a democratically elected government and took control of several towns in the northern part of Mali and later sought to declare an independent state of Azawad.

### **Religious extremism as a factor**

Religion is one of the factors that allow and support terrorism continuation not just at the local level, but also at regional and international level. Religious radicalism is the most notorious form of the new culture of terrorism. Hoffman asserted that - the religious imperative for terrorism is the most important characteristic of terrorist activity today. That is not to say that it is entirely a new phenomenon. Until the emergence of political motives such as nationalism, anarchism, and Marxism, religion provided the only acceptable justifications for terror. Although other faiths have their own fundamentalists and extremists, international terrorism is perceived to be closely linked to Islamic fundamentalism. The political desire of fundamentalist groups in the Islamic world is to overthrow their secular governments and replace



them with theocratic ones. This has been responsible for terrorism and violence in countries such as Algeria, Egypt, Indonesia, and northern Nigeria.

Such terrorists increasingly resort to suicide and look at their acts of death and destruction as sacramental or transcendental on a spiritual level. For religious terrorists, indiscriminate violence may not be only morally justified, but constitute a righteous and necessary advancement of their religious cause. As Hoffman observed, the constituency itself differs between religious and secular terrorists. Secular terrorists seek to defend or promote some disenfranchised population and to appeal to sympathisers or prospective sympathisers. Religious terrorists are often their own constituency, having no external audience for their acts of destruction. There is no constituency of more moderate adherents to share common beliefs with the radical group, while at the same time posing a restraining influence. For the fundamentalist Islamic or Christian radical, authoritative figures from either of those religions can condemn violence and de-legitimise the terrorist, at least in the eyes of the average faithful. They perceive their objective as a defense of basic identity and dignity; losing the struggle would be unthinkable; and the struggle is in deadlock and cannot be won in real time or in real terms.

In the past, right-wing Christian terrorists conducted racially motivated or religiously motivated acts of violence discriminately against chosen victims, and confrontation with the state was limited to instances when the state interfered with the political or religious agenda of the terrorist groups. While Islamic terrorism is the most salient threat to the United States, it is not the only danger posed by the new trend of a culture of religious violence and extremism.

### **Perceived oppression and violation of human rights**

Groups which use oppression as an excuse for terrorism believe they are not getting a fair share of the resources available to the state, or consider themselves as being inadequately represented in the central government and their fundamental rights are being violated by the central government. Some may also claim inability to practice their faith or express their views as reasons for their actions. Typical examples of this phenomenon can be found in the agitation for resource control in the Niger-Delta, clamour for religion in China, the desire to establish an Islamic state by the Boko Haram in Nigeria and the Israeli/ Palestinian crisis. The Niger Delta militants used terrorist techniques to drive home their points of demands for justice, by kidnapping expatriates, hijack of helicopters belonging to oil companies or attack and killing of security forces and oil workers.

### **Nationalist, separatist or ethnic considerations**

The experience of discrimination on the basis of ethnic or religious origin is the chief root cause of ethno-nationalist, and separatist terrorism. When sizeable minorities are systematically deprived of their rights to equal social and economic opportunities; obstructed from expressing their cultural identities - forbidden to use their language or practice their religion - or excluded from political influence, this can give rise to secessionist movements that may turn to terrorism or other forms of violent struggle. These groups have clearly defined political objectives, which include self-determination and independence for their territory. Examples include the Irish Republic Army (IRA) of Britain and the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka.

### **3.2 Regional factors that allow and support terrorism continuation porous borders and contagion effect as a factor**

The existence of porous borders is critical for understanding the spread and support of terrorism at the regional level. The main idea is that terrorism exhibits a strong self-energising nature with respect to both time and space. Temporal contagion means that past terrorism breeds new terrorism within one country. For a terrorist organisation, it is more beneficial to run a terrorist campaign because this increases the benefits from terrorist activity. Spatial contagion means that if one country suffers from terrorism, it is also likely to infect neighboring countries. Terrorist activity in one country may lead to imitational behaviour in neighboring countries. Some countries within a region share boundaries and have ethnic groups with similar identities or historical backgrounds. For instance, the Yoruba are found in Nigeria and Benin Republic; the Hausa in Benin, Niger, Ghana, Chad and Cameroon; the Tuareg in Mali, Algeria and parts of Chad. Emerging terrorist groups may capitalise on the experience of existing groups in adjacent countries. Additionally, when terrorist organisations cooperate, they may reduce their costs by sharing know-how and weapons and increase their impact through joint terrorist operations.

### **Illegitimate or corrupt governments in pursuit of political objectives**

Illegitimate or corrupt governments frequently give rise to opposition that may turn to terrorist means if other avenues are not seen as realistic options for replacing these regimes with a more credible and legitimate government or a regime which represents the values and interests of the opposition movement. The greater part of terrorism at the regional level are caused by the pursuit of political objectives, especially political power, by different ethnic groups, political parties, or political blocks. In

line with this, could be the prolongation of stay in power by leaders, who change the constitution several times to legitimise their rule, and also the nullification of elections. For instance, in Africa, this became a feature of political power struggles between 1991 and 1995, as witnessed in Nigeria in 1993. The nullification of the June 12 presidential election results in 1993 led to the hijack case in which a Nigerian Airways plane was hijacked to Niger (Oche, 2007:80).

**Repression by foreign occupation or support for illegitimate governments** Colonialism has given rise to a great many national liberation movements that have sought recourse in terrorist tactics and other political means. Despite their use of terrorist methods, some liberation movements enjoy considerable support and legitimacy among their own constituencies, and sometimes also from segments of international public opinion. Powerful external actors upholding illegitimate governments may be seen as an insurmountable obstacle to needed regime change. Such external support to illegitimate governments is frequently seen as foreign domination through puppet regimes serving the political and economic interests of foreign sponsors. Opposition groups in such countries may resort to terrorist tactics to push for regime change.

### **Political violence and civil wars**

Historical antecedents of political violence, civil wars, revolutions, dictatorships or occupation, may lower the threshold for acceptance of political violence and terrorism, and impede the development of non-violent norms among all segments of society. The victim role as well as longstanding historical injustices and grievances may be constructed to serve as justifications for terrorism. When young children are socialised into cultural value systems that celebrate martyrdom, revenge and hatred of other ethnic or national groups, this is likely to increase their readiness to support or commit violent atrocities when they grow up.

### **External terrorist groups fighting foreign powers in other regions**

The next important factor generating and supporting terrorism at the regional level is the problem of external terrorist groups fighting foreign powers in various regions of the world (Oche, 2007:82). In Africa, this began essentially with the importation of the fall-out of the Middle East crisis into Africa, when Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) militants hijacked planes to Africa. A typical example is the hijacking of June 27, 1976 of a French Airbus by Palestinian militants to Uganda. The August 1998 bombing of US Embassy in Kenya and Tanzania by Islamic militants, as well as detonation of bombs at the entrance of US Franchised Planet and a Hollywood Restaurant in Cape Town, South

Africa, by Muslim Action Against Global Oppression (MAAGO), were terrorist activities directed at a foreign power (USA), yet were executed in another region (Africa). The continuous presence of foreign interests (such as multinational corporations, embassies and missions) and foreign nationals in other regions have also made such regions targets as a result.

### **3.3 Global factors that allow and support terrorism continuation**

A number of developments on the international scene have created conditions ripe for mass-casualty terrorism. Gross inequalities in economic resources and standards of living, clash of civilisations, and globalisation are a popular reason given for the ardency and viciousness of contemporary terrorists

#### **Identity and cultural clash**

The argument was put forward by Samuel Huntington in 1996, that civilisation clash may also result in violence. When groups exhibit different identities such as different religions or ethnicities, this may lead to more conflict either between different groups within a country or between different country groups organised along civilisational lines such as between Islamic countries versus the West. For terrorist groups, it should be easier to muster support against antagonistic identity groups. This holds even more when terrorists build on identity-related ideologies that stress the supremacy of their respective identity as representing the 'only true faith'.

#### **Global economic and political order**

The global political and economic order, such as globalisation, may also matter to terrorism, where terrorism driven by global factors is more likely to be of an international nature. Economic integration, measured by trade openness; foreign policy, indicated by political proximity to the West; and alliance structures, indicated by membership in alliances; may play a role when developing grievances and resistance against globalisation. Traditionalist or disenfranchised segments of a society may use violence to counter foreign dominance such as Western supremacy and global modernisation. If individuals are incited by an existing global order that is perceived as 'unfair', it should be easier for terrorist organisations to find support by building on related grievances in the source countries of terrorism. However, the targets of terrorism may also be chosen in response to the existing global order, especially if this order is perceived as 'unjust' from the perpetrators' perspective. For instance, a conflict between a government and an opposing group may

be exported to a foreign ally of the government. Terrorism may also be used as a foreign policy tool to fight antagonistic world views, as observed during the Cold War.

### **Leadership and organisational factors**

In addition to international political changes, the leadership and developments in organisational practice have enhanced the lethality of terrorists. As corporations have evolved organisationally, so have terrorist organisations. Terrorist groups have evolved from hierarchical, vertical organisational structures, to more horizontal, less command-driven groups. Terrorist leadership is derived from a set of principles that can set boundaries and provide guidelines for decisions and actions, so that members do not have to resort to a hierarchy - 'they know what they have to do. The authors describe organisational designs that may sometimes appear without a head and sometimes with many heads. Paul Smith observed that the multi-cellular structure of Al-Qaeda gave the organisation agility and cover and has been one of its key strengths. This flexibility has allowed Al-Qaeda to establish bases using indigenous personnel all over the world. It has infiltrated Islamic nongovernmental organisations in order to conceal operations. Jessica Stern recently commented on Al-Qaeda's ability to maintain operations in the face of an unprecedented onslaught: The answer lies in the organisation's remarkably protean nature. Over its life span, Al-Qaeda has constantly evolved and shown a surprising willingness to adapt its mission. This capacity for change has consistently made the group more appealing to recruits, attracted surprising new allies, and most worrisome from a Western perspective made it harder to detect and destroy.

### **Globalisation as a factor**

The process of globalisation, which involves the technological, political, economic, and cultural diminution of boundaries between countries across the world, has insinuated a self-interested, inexorable, corrupting market culture into traditional communities. Many see these forces as threatening their way of life. At the same time it has been argued that globalisation has provided a motivation or aggravated the incidences of terrorism. In this day and age, it has become easier to target large populations of people globally. Globalisation has great potential to provide economic benefits that can be realised by disadvantaged groups and provides openings for the incorporation of women. The process of globalisation has also vastly increased incentives and opportunities for terrorism, and makes it easier to organise, finance, and sustain terrorist strategies.

One of the major consequences of globalisation has been a deterioration of the power of the state. The exponential expansion of non-state actors, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs), regional alliances, and international organisations has solidified this trend. The Al-Qaeda has distinguished itself as among the most “successful” of non-state-actor in pursuing its privately-funded global agenda. The trend among terrorists to eschew direct connections with state sponsors, has had several advantages for the enterprising extremist. Another factor of globalisation that benefits terrorism is targeting: “In today’s globalising world, terrorists can reach their targets more easily; their targets are exposed in more places, and news and ideas that inflame people to resort to terrorism spread more widely and rapidly than in the past.” Among the factors that contribute to this are the easing of border controls and the development of globe-circling infrastructures, which support recruitment, fund-raising, movement of material; and other logistical functions.

***Globalisation as cause and motivation for terrorism:*** The counterpart to successful integration into the global economy is the growth of ‘weak globalisers’ who become less competitive, whose populations have falling or stagnant incomes, and – as a result – experience growing unemployment, political tension, and religious fundamentalism. A number of African and Muslim countries have steadily ‘deglobalised’ over the last 25 years. The general effects are an increase in inequalities and social polarisation among states. Such growing inequality may lead to terrorist acts justified by the perpetrators in the name of a more equitable distribution of wealth.

***Cultural resistance to globalisation:*** The permeability of cultural boundaries and the global spread of market culture is interpreted by some militants as the ‘infiltration of alien and corrupt culture’, which is then used as a justification for nationalist and radical religious movements that aim at cleansing their societies and cultures of foreign influence.

***Globalisation fosters the development of new minorities:*** Globalisation facilitates the movement of workers and refugees across borders, leading to new minority groups in ‘settled’ societies, many of which are linked politically to kindred elsewhere.

***Globalisation increases opportunities for militant and terrorist groups:*** The cross-border movement of activists, information, and money from supporters (governments, Diasporas, political sympathisers) to terrorist groups is facilitated by globalisation. Simultaneously, the ligaments of globalisation – from pipelines to communication networks – become ‘soft targets’ for transnational terrorists.

## **Technological factors**

Terrorists at all times have embraced the newest technologies to serve their purposes. At the same time, technology has evolved in ways that provide unprecedented opportunities for terrorists. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the possibility of proliferation of nuclear weapons to non-state users is the primary factor that has significantly increased the danger of nuclear terrorism. However, non-nuclear weapons of mass destruction and information technology also have created opportunities for terrorists that are in many ways more threatening than radiological terrorism because these alternatives are more probable. Aside from the nuclear variety of WMD, biological and chemical weapons pose serious dangers. Biological weapons are limited because human contact is required to spread the effects, but as the Asian experience with Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) demonstrated, the associated panic and uncertainty can take a large economic and political toll. Also terrorists may take advantage of biological weapons, chemical toxins and other weapons to achieve their objectives.

Another key development is recent advances in communications and information technology. This technology provides assistance to the terrorists and an opportunity for targeting as both developing and developed nations place greater reliance on information infrastructures. Terrorists are likely to also use the Internet for their own communication and propaganda activities. At the same time terrorists may resort to systemic disruption rather than the total destruction of information networks. Information technology's biggest impact on terrorists has involved the everyday tasks of organising and communicating, rather than their methods of attack. But nothing was more helpful to terrorists everywhere than the advances in those technologies that were the basis for the establishment of global satellite TV networks such as CNN and Al Jazeera, national and international cellular phone connections, and, most importantly, the Internet. To be sure, a few hate groups in the United States and Europe began to utilise the Internet in the 1980s, but it took several more years before terrorists everywhere were able to exploit the Internet, cell phones, and global TV networks for their purposes. Technology has generally increased the ability of terrorists to conduct mass-casualty attacks. Technological developments and their availability as spread by the globalised market economy have unavoidably expanded the dangers of terrorism in the new century.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Identify and discuss the local, regional and global factors that allow and support terrorism continuation.

- ii. What do you understand by concept of globalisation, and how does it affect terrorism?

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

What should be of interest to you is that globalisation and modern technology have increased the opportunities for terrorist groups to achieve their goal of wider publicity, fast transfer of money, access to information and weapons of mass destruction, amongst others. With the advent of the ICT, computers and the Internet are increasingly being used for planning terrorist activity, recruiting, and fundraising.

Unfortunately, while some terrorists' organisations can afford the latest technological equipment, law enforcement and government officials in some countries, especially the developing countries are lagging behind, making it difficult for them to keep up with the terrorists. The evidence is that no single nation can fight terrorism, successfully without the support of other local or national governments, as well as cooperation at regional and global levels.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have discussed the factors that create and nurture terrorism or motivate terrorism local, regional and international/global levels. Most importantly examples were cited for better comprehension of each of the factors. It is important to note also that these factors are not mutually exclusive.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. Identify the local factors that allow and support terrorism continuation and discuss anyone of your choice.
2. How do porous border encourage the spread of terrorism at the regional level?
3. Briefly write on globalisation as factor that allows and support terrorism continuation.



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## MODULE 4

Unit 1	Profile of Terrorists and their Organisations
Unit 2	Terrorist Weapons, Resources, and Equipment
Unit 3	Terrorism and the Cold War
Unit 4	Terrorism and the Media

### UNIT 1 PROFILE OF TERRORISTS AND THEIR ORGANISATIONS

#### CONTENTS

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4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
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#### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit will expose you to the profile of terrorists and their organisations. It will also highlight the activities of these organisations and how it is impacting global relationships.

#### 2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the profile of prominent terrorists and their organisations
- identify their base and areas of operations
- list some terrorists attacks.

### 3.0 MAIN CONTENT

#### 3.1 Al-Qaeda

The Al-Qaeda is an umbrella body consisting of world-wide network of a number of Islamic extremist organisations, which was established by Osama Bin Laden in the late 1980's. It comprises of Islamic radicals from North Africa, the Middle East, South and South East Asia. They also recruit local converts to Islam living in Europe, Africa, Latin America and North America, who are in solidarity to the Al-Qaeda ideology. The goal(s) of this movement is basically to ally with like-minded organisations to overthrow regimes it deems 'un-Islamic' and to expel non-Muslims and westerners from Muslim countries.

Osama Bin Laden, who led the group before his death, was said to have been born on March 10, 1957 to a Saudi Arabian father, Muhammad bin Laden, and a Syrian mother. Bin Laden appears to have been prompted into terrorism by extreme exposure to Islamic fundamentalism from his early days in school, which helped to shape his philosophy of life. He orchestrated a number of terrorist attacks, prominent among which was the September 11, 2001 bombing of the World Trade Centre and Pentagon, which claimed quite a number of lives. He was killed by US Navy SEALs on Sunday May 1st, 2011 in Abbotabad, Pakistan.

#### **Terrorist attacks by the Al-Qaeda**

Since 9/11, Al-Qaeda and other affiliated radical Islamist groups have executed major attacks in several parts of the world.

- 2002 Bali bombings in Indonesia
- 2003 and 2007 Casablanca bombings in Morocco
- 2003 Istanbul bombings in Turkey
- 2004 Madrid train bombings in Spain
- 7 July 2005 London bombings and 2007 Glasgow International Airport attack in the United Kingdom
- 11 April 2007 Algiers bombings in Algeria
- 2009 Fort Hood shooting
- 2011 Cirebon bombing in Indonesia
- 2011 Marrakech bombing in Morocco
- 25 June 2011 Logar province bombing in Afghanistan
- 30 June 2011 Nimruz province bombing in Afghanistan
- 2 July 2011 Zabul province bombing in Afghanistan
- 2011 Charsadda bombing, 2011 Faisalabad bombing, 2011 Dera Ghazi Khan bombings, July 2011 Karachi target killings, June 2011 Peshawar

- bombings, March 2011 Peshawar bombing, PNS Mehran attack, in Pakistan
- 21 June 2011 Al Diwanayah bombing, 24 January 2011 Iraq bombings, 27 January 2011 Baghdad bombing, January 2011 Baghdad shootings, January 2011 Iraq suicide attacks, 5 July 2011 Taji bombings in Iraq
- 2012 U.S. Consulate attack in Benghazi

### 3.2 Hamas

The *Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya* (Hamas), Islamic Resistance Movement, is a Palestinian militant organisation formed in late 1987. Its charter calls for the destruction of the state of Israel and the creation of a Palestinian Islamic state in the area that is now Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza. Hamas has been targeting Israeli civilians since 1993. Hamas militants have carried out dozens of suicide bombings in Israeli property as well as in occupied Palestinian territories, claiming hundreds of lives. Since 2002, the group has also been firing Qassam rockets into Israel, in a campaign that has not been very fatal but has nevertheless terrorised Israeli citizens in southern Israel. Hamas has been listed as a terrorist organisation by the U.S., the European Union, and a few other countries. Hamas is certainly not the most militant, but it is the most influential because of its size, social network, and popular support.

### 3.3 PKK

The *Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan* (PKK) Kurdistan Workers' Party is a Kurdish militant organisation that was established in the 1970s by a marginal group of Kurds in Turkey with the aim of creating an independent Kurdish state in the area that the PKK referred to as historical Kurdistan (an area that covers much of southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq, northwestern Iran, and northeastern Syria). The PKK defined its ideology as Marxist-Leninist. The PKK and its wings sporadically fought against Iran and rival Kurdish groups in northern Iraq, but its main target has been the Turkish state and military. The PKK also ruthlessly targeted hundreds of Turkish civilians as well as hundreds of unsupportive Kurdish civilians. The three-decade fight between the PKK and the Turkish State has claimed over 35,000 lives. Along with Turkey, about two dozen countries and organisations, including the U.S. and the European Union, have listed the PKK as a terrorist organisation.

### 3.4 Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK)

The Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK), which literally means people's fighters, is an Iranian militant organisation founded in the 1960s to fight against

the pro-Western regime of Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi. Its ideology is an interesting blend of Marxism, feminism, and Islam. The MEK targeted and killed dozens of military and political figures as well as civilians during the Shah era. Although, since they were joint dissidents of the Shah regime, the MEK members and Ayatollah Khomeini's followers joined forces during the Shah era, the MEK (along with other leftist groups such as the communist Tudeh Party) found itself sidelined by the Khomeini regime after the 1979 revolution.

### **3.5 Ansar al-Islam (AI)**

Ansar al-Islam was formerly known as Ansar al-Sunna (AS). It's a Sunni extremist group of Iraqi Kurds and Arabs intent on establishing a Salafi Islamic State in Iraq under Sharia, a strict interpretation of Quranic instruction. This group has collaborated with Al-Qaeda in the past to carry out joint operations. It operates primarily in northern Iraq and targets coalition forces, Iraqi government, security forces and Iraqi political parties.

### **3.6 Al-Shabaab**

The Harakat Shabaab al-Mujahidin (al-Shabaab) is also known as al-Shabaab among other names. The group is based in Southern and central Somalia. Its major objective is to cripple the activities the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia and its allies, African Union Peace-keepers and nongovernmental organisations. Its membership is drawn from disparate clans, making the group susceptible to internal rivalries and shifting alliances.

### **3.7 Hezbollah**

The group emerged in response to the invasion of Lebanon by Israel. It is also known as 'the party of God', Islamic resistance among others. It is a Lebanon-based radical shia group, which supports Shia empowerment within Lebanon. It is known to have launched attacks on Israel, sparking off confrontation between Lebanon and Israel. It has established cells in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, South America, North America and Asia.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Identify prominent terrorist organisation discussed in this unit.
- ii. Discuss the profile of any prominent terrorist and terrorist organisation that you know.

#### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

From the profiles of the terrorist groups, it is clear that terrorism has become a global phenomenon. These groups examined as a matter of fact are geographically spread and highly connected. When the terrorist organisations of the early 1970s are compared with the terrorist organisations of the early 1990s, it will be observed that, not only has religious fundamentalism emerged as a new trend, but also the world has witnessed the proliferation of terrorist groups. The personality of Osama Bin Laden and the activities of Al-Qaeda seem to have cast a shadow on the operations of other terrorist organisations. However, this has not in any way denied their existence nor their activities.

#### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit highlighted the profile of some notorious terrorists and their organisations, their objectives, antecedents, and areas of operation. These organisations are by no means exhaustive. Deliberate effort has been made to focus on the more 'prominent' ones. This unit has also highlighted a number of terrorist incidences perpetrated by these terrorist organisations in the past. While the terrorist groups are many and found in different countries and regions of the world, the few examined are to expose you to some of these groups and their activities over the years.

#### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. Discuss the profile of any prominent terrorist and organisation that you know.
2. List attacks some terrorist attacks conducted by the Al-Qaeda.

#### **7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING**

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## **UNIT 2 TERRORIST WEAPONS, RESOURCES, AND EQUIPMENT**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Weapons and Equipment of Terrorism
  - 3.2 Resources/Funding
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In the last unit, you studied the profile of terrorists and their organisations. In this unit we shall focus attention on terrorist weapons, equipment and resources. Terrorist groups have used a variety of weapons to carry out their attacks. They include amongst others conventional weapons such as bombs, explosives, and firearms. Other weapons include nuclear, biological, chemical and radiological weapons by terrorists. The point to note is that terrorist groups try to obtain and use weapons that can create maximum destruction. To acquire these weapons, terrorists require huge funds and resources, which are generated through a variety of sources, both legitimate and illegitimate.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the types of weapons used by terrorist organisations
- identify and discuss sources of terrorist resources and funding.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Weapons and Equipment of Terrorism**

Bombing historically has been the most common terrorist tactic. Terrorists have often relied on bombs because they provide a dramatic, yet fairly easy and often risk-free, means of drawing attention to themselves and their cause. Few skills are required to manufacture a crude bomb, surreptitiously plant it, and then be miles away when it explodes. Bombings generally do not require the same planning, organisation, and knowledge required for more sophisticated operations,

such as kidnapping, assassination, and assaults against well-defended targets. Not surprisingly, the frequency of various types of terrorist attacks decreases in direct proportion to the complexity or sophistication required. Armed attacks historically rank as the second most-common terrorist tactic, followed by more complex operations such as assassination of heads of state or other well-protected people, kidnapping, hostage taking, and hijacking.

### 3.1.1 Bombs and other Explosives

Bombs can consist of commercially produced explosives such as black powder, TNT, or dynamite; military supplies such as plastic explosives; or commercially available materials made into homemade explosives, such as fertiliser (ammonium nitrate) mixed with diesel fuel. Bombs can be either explosive or *incendiary* (designed to cause a fire upon impact).

The most effective bombs typically employ a shaped *charge* (explosive) that channels the force of the blast in a specific direction. Bombs are *detonated* (made to explode) by a variety of means. Time-delay detonators use a clock, wristwatch, or other timing device. Remote-control detonators rely on radio or other electronic signals. In command-wire detonation, a button is pressed or a plunger pushed to trigger the explosion. Car and truck-bombs have become very powerful weapons, especially in suicide attacks. Terrorists use both explosive bombings and incendiary bombings. They also make use of letter and parcel bombs. General few military bombs, other than those dropped by aircraft, are currently manufactured on the scale and with the diversity encountered in World War II. Most bombs assembled by terrorists are improvised. The raw material required for explosives is stolen or misappropriated from military or commercial blasting supplies, or made from fertiliser and other readily available household ingredients. Such assembled bombs are known as Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs).

### 3.1.2 Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs)

IEDs have a main charge, which is attached to a fuse. The fuse is attached to a trigger. In some types of IEDs, these three components are almost integrated into a single whole. The trigger is the part which activates the fuse. The fuse ignites the charge, causing the explosion. The explosion consists of a violent pulse of blast and shock waves. The effects of the IED are sometimes worsened by the addition of material, such as scrap iron or ball-bearings. Sometimes the trigger is not the only component that activates the fuse; there is also an anti-handling device that triggers the fuse when the IED is handled or moved. The purpose of most IEDs is to kill or maim. Some IEDs, known as incendiaries, are intended to cause damage or destruction by fire. The format of the



charge in some IEDs (some of which have no casing to contain the components of the IED) can be shaped or directional, rendering a measure of control over the explosion.

### **3.1.3 Firearms**

Many terrorists have favoured firearms, including automatic weapons such as assault rifles, submachine guns, and pistols; revolvers; sawed-off shotguns; hunting rifles with sniper sights, especially for assassination; and machine guns.

Terrorists use both manufactured and improvised firearms. The term manufactured designates those arms made professionally by arms factories, while improvised describes those manufactured by non-professional arms manufacturers, or by illicit workshops.

Manufactured firearms are divided into sub-categories:

### **3.1.4 Small Arms**

Most firearms under the level of medium machine guns, or as a loose rule, belt-fed machine guns. They include pistols (which are now all semi-automatic or self re-loading), revolvers, rifles, submachine guns and light machine guns. Small arms also include so-called assault rifles, which are in fact either submachine gun mechanisms or mechanisms providing the same firing facilities in the body, stock or woodwork of a short rifle or carbine. The hand-guns (pistols and revolvers) are sometimes known as side-arms.

### **3.1.5 Medium-size Infantry Weapons**

These are medium-sized machine guns (many of which are belt-fed), smaller sized mortars, rocket-propelled grenades and smaller calibre wire-guided missiles.

### **3.1.6 Heavy Infantry Weapons**

These are heavy calibre machine guns, heavy calibre mortars, larger calibre wire-guided missiles, shoulder-held anti-tank missile launchers and some rockets below the category of artillery.

### **3.1.7 Improvised Firearms**

These weapons include any of the above which are made outside professional and legal arms factories. Not all types of the above weapons have been privately manufactured or improvised, but weapons such as the AK-47 Kalashnikov assault rifle or the M-60 heavy machine gun are within the manufacturing capabilities of local arms artificers on

the north-west frontier of the Indian subcontinent. Primitive mortars and rocket launchers are also sometimes manufactured by different entities. During the 1990s, terrorists increasingly used rocket-propelled grenades and other armor-piercing projectiles in their attacks. These weapons, more powerful forms of the bazookas used in World War II (1939-1945), can penetrate successive layers of ceramic and reinforced-steel that protect vehicles used by the police and military forces. Another favourite terrorist weapon is the hand grenade or its homemade equivalent, the Molotov cocktail. This crude grenade is made by filling a glass bottle with gasoline, stuffing a rag down the bottle's neck, and igniting the rag just before tossing the bottle at a target.

### **3.1.8 Chemical and Biological Weapons**

Concern over terrorist use of chemical and biological weapons increased after the 1995 sarin nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subway and the discovery in 2001 of anthrax spores mailed in the United States. Chemical weapons consist of toxic chemical compounds, such as nerve gas or dioxin, whereas biological weapons are living organisms or their toxins, such as anthrax spores.

Chemical weapons can be divided into five main classes: incapacitating, choking, blistering, blood, and nerve agents. Incapacitating agents are the only deliberately nonlethal chemical weapon. They include the tear gases and pepper sprays typically used by police and other law enforcement agencies for crowd control or to subdue a person temporarily. Choking agents attack the victim's respiratory system and hamper breathing, leading to death by suffocation. Blister agents produce large blisters on exposed skin that do not heal readily and therefore easily become infected. Blood agents, which victims absorb through breathing, enter the bloodstream and lead to convulsions, respiratory failure, and death as they shut down the body's functioning. Nerve agents are especially effective. They can be either inhaled or absorbed through the skin and quickly attack the central nervous system, obstructing breathing. Biological agents are disease-carrying organisms that infect people through inhalation, contaminated food or water, or contact with the skin. They include bacterial toxins, such as anthrax, *Clostridium botulinum* (botulism), and *salmonella*; plant toxins such as ricin; and viruses, such as tularemia, yellow fever, and smallpox.

## **3.2 Resources/Funding**

Terrorism is funded from various sources and in many different ways. The methods and sources used vary from country to country or region to region as well as terrorist groups to terrorist groups. Especially in the past, one way of funding terrorism was the support provided by states.

However, as a result of the constant response of the international community, especially of UNSC resolutions authorising economic sanctions used to persuade state sponsors to stop their support for terrorism, state sponsorship of terrorism has diminished significantly. With the decline of the state sponsorship, terrorists turned towards and relied increasingly on private financing. The private funding of terrorism fall into two categories on the basis of their origin: Illegitimate and legitimate sources.

### **Illegitimate sources**

The main source of terrorist financing comes from a great variety of criminal actions, such as smuggling, fraud, theft, stolen cars, drug trafficking, kidnapping, robbery, extortion, petty crime, ID theft, money laundering, and smuggling of money. In the past, some terrorist groups derived much of their funding and support from state sponsors. With increased international pressure, many of these funding sources have become less reliable and, in some instances, have disappeared altogether. In addition, newer decentralised, independent cells often do not have the same level of access to foreign funding as traditional terrorist groups. As a result, terrorist groups have turned to alternative sources of financing, including criminal activities such as arms trafficking, kidnap-for-ransom, extortion, identity theft, credit card fraud, racketeering and drug trafficking. Discussed below are some of the illegitimate sources of terrorist funding:

#### **Drug trafficking**

Drug Trafficking is an attractive source of funds for terrorist groups, enabling them to raise large sums of money. The degree of reliance on drug trafficking as a source of terrorist funding has grown with the decline in state sponsorship of terror groups. This trend has increasingly blurred the distinction between terrorist and drug trafficking organisations. Both criminal organisations and terrorist groups continue to develop international networks and establish alliances of convenience. Globalisation has enabled both terror and crime organisations to expand and diversify their activities, taking advantage of the internationalisation of communications and banking systems, as well as the opening of borders to facilitate their activities.

#### **Extortion**

Terrorist also raise money through both internal and external extortion. Internal extortion is generally targeted against their own communities where there is a high level of fear of retribution should anyone report anything to the authorities. They may also threaten harm to the relatives,

politicians, businessmen/women and other victims. External extortion involves the use of supporters of terrorist and paramilitary groups, who exploit their presence within expatriate or Diaspora communities to raise funds through extortion. A terrorist organisation would make use of its contacts to tax the Diaspora on their earnings and savings.

### **Credit card fraud**

Terrorist may source funds through credit cards fraud. This method involves making dishonest purchases through the use of someone else's credit card details. Credit cards are vulnerable to abuse by terrorists for financing purposes and other illegal activities. There is a market for illegally obtained personal details, including credit card account number as well as personal information such as the card holder's full name, billing address, telephone number, start and expiry dates, the security number on the rear of the card, and many others.

### **Cheque fraud**

One of the illegitimate sources of terrorist funds is through the use of cheque fraud. Several cases have been reported in which a bank fraud has been applied to generate funds for terrorism. These cases involved bank accounts being opened using false identity documents and fraudulent deposits. Cheque book fraud, which has noted in a number of terrorist finance cases, allows terrorists to raise and move significant amounts of cash quickly. There are often limited preventive measures in place to obviate what appears to be an ordinary crime, rather than terrorist finance. It can be perpetrated alone or in concert with others to maximise the amount taken.

### **Legitimate sources**

Besides illegal funding activities, legal sources are also being used for the financing of terrorism. Legitimate businesses are used by terrorist groups and their supporters either to raise funds in support of logistic and operational requirements or to cover some activities of terrorist groups and as a front for money laundering. The abuse of some charities constitutes another legitimate terrorist funding source. Possible indirect fund transfers to terrorists from local authorities under the umbrella of legitimate business, door-to-door requests, personal donations, cultural events indirectly organised by terrorist groups, investments in stocks, real estate, sale of publications, appeals to wealthy members of the community, collection of membership dues can also be exemplified for the financing of terrorism in the sense of legitimate funding. In order to move funds, terrorists have been using formal banking systems. The legitimate sources of terrorist funding are further discussed below.

## **Businesses**

Osama bin Laden funded the Al-Qaeda through various businesses he set up and financial transactions in various countries. He had set up a large number of companies in Sudan, including Wadi-al-Aqiq, (a corporate shell that he referred to as the “mother” of all the other companies), Al Hijra Construction (a company that built roads and bridges); Taba Investment, Ltd., (a currency trading group); Themar al-Mubarak, (an agriculture company); Quadarat, (a transport company); Laden International, (an import-export business). According to a member of the Al-Qaeda, Al-Fadl, the group controlled the Islamic bank al Shamal and held accounts at Barclays Bank in London as well as unnamed banks in Sudan, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Cyprus, the United States, and Dubai. According to the United States, these companies were operated to provide income and to support Al-Qaeda, and to provide cover for the procurement of explosives weapons, and chemicals, and for the travel of Al-Qaeda operatives. Like many terrorist groups, Al-Qaeda is involved in both licit and illicit enterprises.

## **Charitable donations**

Charities, purportedly unaffiliated with the terrorist groups, seek funding for humanitarian relief operations, some of which is used for that purpose, and some of which is used to fund terrorist operations. Many Jihadi groups use charities for fund-raising abroad or as a front for terrorist activities. Members of the Al-Qaeda used ID cards issued by a humanitarian relief organisation based in Nairobi called Mercy International Relief Agency. The organisation was involved in humanitarian relief efforts, but it also served as a front organisation for operatives during the period they were planning the Africa embassy bombings. By soliciting charitable donations abroad, groups draw attention to the cause among Diaspora populations. The Gulf States, North America, the United Kingdom, and European countries are important sources of funding for terrorist groups. The IRA had engaged in fund-raising dinners in the United States, but that did not stop the groups from killing American citizens. The United States has designated 15 charitable organisations as having ties to Al-Qaeda or other terrorist groups. The 15 charities which have been designated by the United States government as supporters of terrorism include:

- Afghan Support Committee
- Al Haramain Islamic Foundation—Bosnia Herzegovina
- Al Haramain Islamic Foundation—Somalia
- Al Rashid Trust
- Benevolence International Foundation
- Benevolence International Fund

- Bosanska Idealna Futura
- Global Relief Foundatio
- Holy Land Foundation
- Makhtab al-Khidamat / Al Kifah
- Rabita Trust
- Revival of Islamic Heritage Society
- The Aid Organisation of the Ulema
- Ummah Tameer E-Nau
- Wafa Humanitarian Organisation

### **Self-funding**

In some cases, terrorist groups have been funded from internal sources, including family and other non-criminal sources. The amounts of money needed to mount small attacks can be raised by individual terrorists and their support networks using savings, access to credit or the proceeds of businesses under their control. Terrorist organisations can be highly decentralised, and self-funding can include cases in which a relatively autonomous external financial facilitator who is not directly involved in planning or carrying out an attack nevertheless contributes funding.

To date, the United States and her allies have frozen over \$13 million of these organisations' assets. The Financial Action Task Force (FATF), an international body dedicated to combating money laundering and comprised of 31 key countries around the world, recently recommended steps on how to protect charities from abuse or infiltration by terrorists.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Mention types of weapons used by terrorist organisations
- ii. Mention and discuss types of terrorist funding you know.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Terrorists have been known to have carried out most of their attacks through the use of conventional weapons; however, there have been threats to use more destructive weapons such as nuclear, biological, chemical or radiological weapons by terrorists. Several terrorist groups have professed a determination to obtain weapons of mass destruction and some have even used them. The issue of terrorist resources, particularly funding of terrorist activities is discussed in this unit. It notes that terrorists generate funds in many ways, with monies moved through both formal and informal sectors. Whereas some terrorist groups may fund their activities from drug cultivation and trafficking, terrorists operating through decentralised networks that once raised and moved money through formal channels and otherwise legitimate sources

such as private business and charities are turning to methods that are more difficult to monitor, such as the use of cash couriers.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we discussed the weapons, equipment and resources of terrorism. We noted that in their desire to achieve the destruction or create mass casualties, destroy critical resources and heightened fear, terrorist organisations have moved beyond the use of conventional weapons to more destructive ones. We also discussed the various sources of terrorist funding and efforts of the international community to counter terrorism by blocking sources of their funds.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. List five types of weapons used by terrorist organisations and discuss any one of your choice.
2. What do you understand by terrorist resources and funding?
3. Mention and discuss two types of terrorist funding you know.

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## **UNIT 3      TERRORISM AND THE COLD WAR**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Terrorism during the Cold War
  - 3.2 International Terrorism in Africa during the Cold War
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit focuses on the phenomenon of terrorism during the cold war. Often, terrorism during the cold war period is associated with the ideological rivalry between the capitalist bloc led by US and the socialist bloc led USSR. This was so because the vast majority of states, dependent and independent were influenced politically, economically and security wise by the cold war. Some of the states that were still under colonial domination also adopted terrorist tactics in their struggle for independence. It is important therefore, that we clarify some of the issues surrounding terrorism during the cold war period.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- describe terrorism during the cold war period
- discuss terrorism in Africa during the cold war.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Terrorism during the Cold War**

The cold war reduced the global security environment into a bipolar model. According to Ayoob (1995:6) this bipolar model is seen as a 'western concept' of security. Alliance security was the concept for states and also a dominant feature of the cold war period. The security of the major developed states in Europe and North America, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact became the fundamental focus of the international structure as the whole. The vast majority of all the states in the globe, independent and dependent, developing and developed, were influenced politically and economically



by the cold war. During the cold war, many terrorist organisations derived support from their allies, depending on which side they supported. State support and sponsorship was therefore a feature of the cold war terrorism. The Soviet Union and its allies such as Syria and Libya were significant sources of money, weapons, and safe havens for terrorist groups. East Germany before the unification with West Germany was also an important sanctuary and supplier of money and weapons for terrorist groups. So also were countries such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania.

Revolutionary groups, nationalist movements and other political extremists across the globe realised during this period that international terrorist activities provided them with a higher level of propaganda and coverage than domestic terrorist strategies had achieved (Ayoob, 1985).

International terrorism strategies allowed these groups to gain vital and dramatic propaganda material and revolutionary status through utilising low-cost incidents such as hijackings and assassinations. Thus, international terrorism became a dominant feature during the cold war especially in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Popular terrorist methods during the 1970s included hijacking and hostage taking. International terrorists' targets included mostly individuals or groups of people who had affiliations to a desired audience. These included political leaders and industrial leaders. During this period, an increased internationalisation of terrorism took place in relation to the conflict in the Middle East. This process of internationalisation was due both to the Cold War and to the PLO's use of bases in various Middle Eastern countries and their use of terrorism in third countries. Examples of PLO's terrorist attacks in foreign countries are the Munich Olympics massacre in 1972, the kidnapping of OPEC ministers in Vienna in 1975 and the airplane hijackings in Uganda in 1976 and Somalia in 1977 and assassination of President Sadat of Egypt. At the same time, there occurred a change in tactics. During the 1970s more than 100 plane hijackings took place each year, the goal of which was to take hostages.

Internationalisation of terrorism during the cold war period was also linked the rise of radical Marxist, Leninist and Maoist movements that emerged in the late 1960s. Over time these movements evolved into anti-American and anti-capitalist groups that were willing to use terrorism against their own citizens in order to achieve their objectives.

The Vietcong's victory over the United States functioned as a call to action for revolutionary enthusiasts worldwide. The belief that terrorism and revolutionary violence could destabilise Western societies gave birth to terrorist groups such as the Red Army Faction (RAF) and the Red Brigades, which operated with the Soviet Union's moral support. A

revolutionary ethos could be linked together with a separatist project, examples being the Basque organisation Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) and the Irish Republican Army (IRA). On the other side of the political spectrum were right-wing terrorist groups, such as the Nicaraguan Contras, which were supported by the United States as a deterrent to the revolutionary groups and to fight the spread of international communism.

### **3.2 International Terrorism in Africa during the Cold War**

In the late 1960s, as international terrorism started becoming an international phenomenon, African states witnessed countless acts of political violence. This was mostly in the form of assassination of political leaders. By the 1980s, the continent of Africa had witnessed several acts of terrorism. Airliner hijacking was one of the primary international terrorist tactics during the cold war. The first aircraft hijacked in Africa occurred in 1961 when six men diverted a domestic Portuguese airliner to Tangier in Morocco. Many other airline hijackings occurred or were diverted to Africa during the cold war. A Pan-American airliner was seized in 1970 by three Arab men, and later blown up in Cairo. Another incident was the seizure of a South African airliner that was diverted to Malawi by two Lebanese men in 1972. Other incidents of airliner hijacking that were quite spectacular during the cold war were the Entebbe incident of 1976 and the Mogadishu incident of 1977.

The Entebbe incident started on the 27th of June 1976 when an Air France airliner, its flight having originated in Tel Aviv, Israel, was hijacked by four terrorists who were members of the PFLP and the German RAF, who demanded the release of 40 Palestinians being held in Israel and dozens of prisoners across Europe and Kenya. By July 4th, the Israeli used '*Operation Entebbe*' and battled to rescue the hostages held by the terrorists (Thomas, 1999). The Mogadishu incident began on October 13th, 1977, when a Lufthansa airline, flying from Palma de Mallorca in Spain to Frankfurt, was hijacked by four PFLP terrorists.

The terrorist demanded for the release of eleven RAF terrorists being detained at a German prison, and 15 million US dollars. The airline following the killing of the pilot flew to Mogadishu in Somalia. It took a 60-man team of elite German commandoes to free the hostages after suffering for six days in the hands of the terrorists.

State-sponsored terrorism also played a key role in international terrorism in Africa during the cold war. Libyan under its former leader, Muammar Gaddafi was noted as one of the state sponsors of international terrorism (Cline and Alexander, 1986). Gaddafi

particularly supported groups that were anti-American and anti-Israel during the cold war. Several thousands of African and Arab volunteers were trained with soviet weapons in training camps in Libya. One of the examples of such sponsorship was the case of Lockerbie disaster of 1988. Pan Am Flight 103, en route from London to New York, exploded mid air and crashed into the Scottish village of Lockerbie, 15 miles north of the English border killing 259 people on board and 11 on the ground and several others injured. Three Libyans were charged by the US and UK for the bombing. Though Libya had initially refused to extradite the suspects, but following sanctions imposed on the country by the UN and diplomatic negotiations, it did so after many years.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Discuss the nature of terrorism during the cold war era.
- ii. How did the phenomenon of terrorism affect Africa during the cold war?

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

It is necessary that you clearly understand how and why international terrorism became dominant during the period of the cold war. One significant point to note is that state support and state sponsorship of terrorism was a feature of the cold war period and so terrorist groups were able to source for money, weapons, and protection from states. However things were later to change with the collapse of the cold war in 1990s.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

We have examined the phenomenon of global terrorism during the cold war era. The lessons we can draw from our examination of terrorism during the period of the cold war is that international terrorist movements and their activities are also greatly influenced by the international security climate. The cold war period influenced their ideologies, movements, targets selection, funding and communication.

## **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. What is the relationship between the cold war and global terrorism?
2. Briefly discuss the phenomenon of terrorism in Africa during the cold war.

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## **UNIT 4     TERRORISM AND THE MEDIA**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 Terrorism and the Use of Media as Channel of Communication
  - 3.2 Terrorism and the Media as the Enemy
  - 3.3 Terrorism and the Media in a Democratic Society
  - 3.4 The Media and Anti-Terrorism
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this unit, you will study the relationship between terrorism and the media. You will learn how terrorist seek to expose issues that would otherwise be ignored by the media. Terrorist attacks are carefully designed to attract the attention of the media. In turn, the media, in its desire to reach its public with some attractive news is always quick to respond. Some consider this to be manipulation and exploitation of the media by terrorist groups to their advantage. Globalisation has created a new media culture including the use of the Internet, satellite TV, radio transmissions and other new channel for terrorist groups to spread their messages.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the relationship between terrorism and the media
- explain how terrorist manipulate the media to their own advantage
- identify types of media use by terrorists for their activities.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Terrorism and the Use of Media as Channel of Communication**

The mass media refers to all the methods or channels of information and entertainment. It encompasses newspapers, radio, television, Internet and other important forms of communications such as books, films, music, theatre and the visual arts. The late twentieth century has seen the globalisation of the mass media culture. In the process of attempting to spread terror among a wider target group some channel or medium of transmitting information, however informal and localised, will inevitably be involved. An example of the informal means through which terrorist transmit their messages was the case of Assassin of Shia Islam, who attempted to sow terror in the Muslim world in the Middle Ages, he relied extensively upon word of mouth in the mosques and market places to relay news of their attacks. Similar methods of transmitting fear were used by the Russian and Balkan terrorists of the nineteenth century.

Terrorists believe that the media would serve their cause, as a political weapon of terror, not that of media practitioners. Some have argued that there is a strong relationship between the media and terrorism. However, this has been an issue of contention. The terrorists want to appear on TV to obtain massive, if possible world-wide publicity. The terrorist would want to use the media to obtain an aura of legitimisation that such media attention gains for them in the eyes of their own followers and sympathisers. For the mass media organisations, the coverage of terrorism, especially prolonged incidents such as hijackings and hostage situations, provides an endless source of sensational and visually compelling news stories capable of boosting audience/readership

Once terrorist violence is under way, the relationship between the terrorists and the mass media tends inevitably to become quite close. There is no denying the fact that modern media technology, communications satellites, Internet and the rapid spread of television have had a marked effect in increasing the publicity potential of terrorism. An illustration of this fact was the seizure and massacre of Israeli athletes by Black September terrorists at the Munich Olympics. The events were watched on TV by an audience not less than 500 million. For as long as the mass media exist, terrorists will continue to seek wider publicity of their activities through the media.

### **3.2 Terrorism and the Media as the Enemy**

In some cases, the terrorists come to view the media organisations, editors, journalists and broadcasters as enemies to be punished and destroyed. Those working in the media have often been the targets of terrorist violence in areas of severe conflict. Examples include, the attack on the sections of the media in countries such as Nigeria in April, 2012, Italy and Turkey in the 1970s and Lebanon in the 1970s and 1980s. Some journalists and editors have been attacked for in some way offending terrorist movement. The Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria bombed some media houses including ThisDay's office in Abuja and the Sun and Moment newspapers in Kaduna. Others have been threatened and attacked in an attempt, to prevent them from exposing some detail of terrorist activity which they may wish to suppress.

The terrorists' hostility towards the mass media organisations depends on the mass media's coverage of their attacks. If the mass media serve their purpose, they may not be attacked but terrorists may attack particular media enemies into silence and to coerce the rest of the media into submission, or at least into passive neutrality.

### **3.3 Terrorism and the Media in a Democratic Society**

In dealing with the relationship between terrorism and the mass media, it is useful to try to understand the terrorist view of the use of communications. Terrorism has proved remarkably effective as the major weapon or means of publicising a political cause and relaying the terrorist threat to a wider audience, particularly in the democratic society. For terrorism by its very nature, is a psychological weapon which depends upon communicating a threat to the wider society. This, in essence, is why terrorism and the media enjoy a symbiotic relationship. The free media clearly do not represent terrorist values.

Generally they tend to reflect the underlying values of the democratic society. But the media in an open society are in a fiercely competitive market for their audiences, constantly under pressure to be first with the news and to provide more information, excitement and entertainment than their rivals. Hence, they almost bound to respond to terrorist propaganda of the deed because it is dramatic bad news.

Terrorists view the mass media in a free society in entirely cynical and opportunistic terms. They have nothing but contempt for the values and attitudes of the democratic mass media. For example, they view the media's expressed concern for the protecting human life as mere hypocrisy and sentimentality. However, many terrorist leaders are well

aware that their cause can be damaged by unfavourable publicity. On the part of the media there are a number of other important ways in which responsible media in a democracy serve to frustrate the aims of terrorists.

### **3.4 The Media and Anti-Terrorism**

Terrorists sometimes present themselves as champions of the oppressed and downtrodden. By showing the savage cruelty of terrorists' violence and the way in which they violate the rights of the innocent, the media can help to shatter this myth. The media can also show photographic evidence, how terrorists have failed to observe any laws or rules of war, how they have murdered women and children, the old and the sick, without remorse. Frequent, responsible and accurate reporting of incidences, both local and international can create heightened vigilance among the public to observe unusual packages, suspicious persons or behaviour. The media can also help the police inform the public on instructions as to how they should react to an emergency. On the international stage, the media can provide valuable data and leads concerning foreign movements, links between personalities and different terrorist personalities and different terrorist organisations, new types of weaponry and possible future threats, such as the planning of an international terrorist 'spectacular' or warning signs of a new threat.

Finally, the media also provide an indispensable forum for informed discussion concerning the social and political implications of terrorism and the development of adequate policies and counter-measures.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Discuss the relationship between terrorism and the media.
- ii. Why do terrorists sometimes regard the media as the enemy?
- iii. What role can the media play in the global efforts to combat terrorism?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The relationship between media and terrorism using the words of Marshall McLuhan, is such that 'without communication, terrorism would not exist.' Though terrorism existed prior to mass media, it was always about making a public statement, and that new technologies have simply allowed the dissemination of terrorist messages to reach a broader audience with a more concise message. The fact is that terrorist take advantage of the media to create publicity about their activities.



## 5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we examined the relationship between terrorism and the media. We began by explaining the generic concept of media and proceeded to discuss how terrorist groups take advantage of the media for the purpose of communication and propaganda. We also noted that terrorist groups sometimes attack media organisations that may be perceived as enemies, with a view to silencing them. The media in a democratic society in a bid to keep up competition with others, act as a voice to all members of the society including terrorist organisations.

This sometimes pits the media against members of the society who regard the media as acting in symbiosis with terrorist organisation. However, the point to note is that this need not be so, as the media often plays a critical and commendable role in the anti-terrorism campaign by frustrating the aims of the terrorist. This it does by informing and enlightening the public and creating a platform for discussion of the social, political and economic implications of terrorism.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What do you understand by the concept of media? Discuss the relationship between terrorism and the media.
2. Briefly explain, with relevant examples, why terrorists and terrorist organisations sometimes see the media as the enemy.
3. Write a short note on the media and anti-terrorism.

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**MODULE 5**

Unit 1	Anti-Terrorism and War on Terrorism
Unit 2	Terrorism, the United Nations and the Global Order
Unit 3	The AU and Counter-Terrorism
Unit 4	Challenges in Controlling Global Terrorism

**UNIT 1 ANTI-TERRORISM AND WAR ON TERRORISM****CONTENTS**

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1.	Anti-Terrorism and War on Terrorism
3.2	The USA Patriot Act of October 2001
3.3	Military Operations in the War against Terror
3.4	International Support in the War on Terror
3.5	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the War on Terror
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	Reference/Further Reading

**1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this segment, we examine the war on terrorism. Under this unit, we will also discuss the role of the US and NATO in the global war on terrorism. The US declared a war on terrorism following the attack on the country on September 11, 2001, by the Al-Qaeda.

**2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the global war on terrorism
- discuss the role of the US and other actors in the war on terrorism.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 Anti-Terrorism and War on Terrorism**

The War on Terrorism, which is also known as the Global War on Terror, is a term that refers to the global efforts to eliminate terrorism with support and cooperation of all members of the international community. The term basically refers to an international military campaign led by the [United States](#) and the [United Kingdom](#), with the support of other countries to eliminate the [Al-Qaeda](#) and other terrorist organisations. The military campaign followed the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 in US.

In addition to military efforts abroad, in the aftermath of 9/11, the Bush Administration increased domestic efforts to prevent future attacks. A new cabinet level agency called the United States Department of Homeland Security was created in November 2002 to lead and coordinate the largest reorganisation of the US federal government since the consolidation of the armed forces into the Department of Defense. The Justice Department launched the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System for certain male non-citizens in the US, requiring them to register in person at offices of the Immigration and Naturalisation Service.

#### **3.2 The USA Patriot Act of October 2001**

The Act dramatically reduces restrictions on law enforcement agencies' ability to search telephone, e-mail communications, medical, financial, and other records; eases restrictions on foreign intelligence gathering within the United States; expands the Secretary of the Treasury's authority to regulate financial transactions, particularly those involving foreign individuals and entities; and broadens the discretion of law enforcement and immigration authorities in detaining and deporting immigrants suspected of terrorism-related acts. The act also expanded the definition of terrorism to include domestic terrorism, thus enlarging the number of activities to which the USA PATRIOT Act's expanded law enforcement powers could be applied. A new Terrorist Finance Tracking Programme monitored the movements of terrorists' financial resources (discontinued after being revealed by The New York Times newspaper). Telecommunication usage by known and suspected terrorists was studied through the NSA electronic surveillance programme. The Patriot Act is still in effect.

#### **Objectives of the American war on terror**

In 2003, George W. Bush's administration defined the following objectives in the War on Terror:

1. Defeat terrorists such as Osama bin Laden, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and destroy their organisations
2. Identify, locate and destroy terrorists along with their organisations
3. Deny sponsorship, support and sanctuary to terrorists:
  - a. end the state sponsorship of terrorism
  - b. establish and maintain an international standard of accountability with regard to combating terrorism
  - c. strengthen and sustain the international effort to fight terrorism
  - d. work with willing and able states
  - e. enable weak states
  - f. persuade reluctant states
  - g. compel unwilling states
  - h. interdict and disrupt material support for terrorists
  - i. eliminate terrorist sanctuaries and havens.
4. Diminish the underlying conditions that terrorists seek to exploit:
  - a. partner with the international community to strengthen weak states and prevent (re)emergence of terrorism
  - b. win the war of ideals.
5. Defend US citizens and interests at home and abroad:
  - a. implement the National Strategy for Homeland Security
  - b. attain domain awareness
  - c. enhance measures to ensure the integrity, reliability, and availability of critical physical and information-based infrastructures at home and abroad
  - d. integrate measures to protect US citizens abroad
  - e. ensure an integrated incident management capability.

### 3.3 Military Operations in the War against Terror

Since the declaration of the war on terror, several military operations have been carried out by the US and its allies on various suspected terrorist locations in various countries. These include:

#### **Operation active endeavour**

This is a [naval operation](#) of NATO, started in October 2001 in response to the 11 September attacks. It operates in the [Mediterranean Sea](#) and is designed to prevent the movement of militants or [weapons of mass destruction](#) and to enhance the security of shipping in general.

#### **Operation enduring freedom**

Operation Enduring Freedom is the official name used by the Bush administration for the [War in Afghanistan](#), together with similar military actions (in Philippines, Horn of Africa, Trans Sahara, Iraq), under the

umbrella of the Global War on Terror. These global operations are intended to seek out and destroy any Al-Qaeda fighters or affiliates.

### **Operation new dawn**

The war on terror entered a new phase on 1 September 2010, with the official end of US combat operations. The last U.S. troops exited Iraq on 18 December 2011.

## **3.4 International Support in the War on Terror**

Following the 11 September 2001 attacks, former President of Pakistan [Pervez Musharraf](#) sided with the US against the Taliban government in Afghanistan after an ultimatum by former US President George W. Bush. Musharraf agreed to give the US the use of three airbases for Operation Enduring Freedom. He condemned Islamic extremism and all acts of terrorism and pledged to combat Islamic extremism and lawlessness within Pakistan itself. The [Pakistan Army](#) launched a campaign in the [Federally Administered Tribal Areas](#) of Pakistan's [Waziristan](#) region, sending in 80,000 troops. The goal of the campaign was to remove the Al-Qaeda and Taliban forces in the region.

After the fall of the Taliban regime many members of the Taliban resistance fled to the Northern border region of Afghanistan and Pakistan where the Pakistani army had previously little control. With the logistics and air support of the United States, the Pakistani Army captured or killed numerous Al-Qaeda operatives. The United States has carried out a campaign of Drone attacks on targets in Pakistan, leading to the killing of Osama bin Laden, the founder of Al-Qaeda, on 2 May 2011, during a raid conducted by the [United States special operations forces](#) in [Abbottabad](#), Pakistan.

The United Kingdom is a major ally of the US in the war on terror and the second largest contributor of troops in [Afghanistan](#). The invasion of Afghanistan had initially involved forces from the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Afghan Northern Alliance. Since the initial invasion period, these forces were augmented by troops and aircraft from Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand and Norway amongst others. The US also gave various forms of military and financial assistance and training to some countries including Pakistan and Lebanon in the war on terrorism.

## **3.5 North Atlantic Treaty (NATO) and the War on Terror**

Following the events of September 11, 2001, NATO took a wide range of measures to respond to the threat of terrorism. On 12 September 2001, less than 24 hours after the 11 September attacks in New York

City and Washington, D.C., NATO invoked Article 5 of the NATO and declared the attacks to be an attack against all 19 NATO member countries. NATO started naval operations in the Mediterranean Sea designed to prevent the movement of terrorists or weapons of mass destruction as well as to enhance the security of shipping in general called Operation Active Endeavour. Since the declaration of the war on terror in 2001, various casualties have been recorded. A number of terrorists have been killed in Afghanistan, Iraq and other countries. Similarly, the US and its allies have also lost a number of soldiers and other officials in the course of the war.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Discuss the global war on terrorism
- ii. How would you describe the role of the US and its allies in the war on terrorism?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

What is important in this unit is to be aware of the global war on terrorism led by the United States and supported by various countries and the NATO. Since the attack on the US on September 11, 2001, the US has undertaken a number of operations in various parts of the world with a view to destroying the basis of terrorists and their allies.

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit familiarised you with the global war on terrorism, the role of the US, support by various countries and the NATO. You should also consult other materials for more information in order to gain more understanding of the politics of global war on terrorism.

### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

1. What do you understand by the global war on terrorism?
2. What role has the US and its allies played in the war on terrorism?

### **7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING**

The White House (2003). *President Bush Releases National Strategy for Combating Terrorism*. 14 February 2003.

## **UNIT 2     TERRORISM, THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GLOBAL ORDER**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Role of the UN in Combating Global Terrorism
  - 3.2 Counter-Terrorism Committee
  - 3.3 The UN, Anti-money Laundering (AML) and Counter Terror Financing (CTF)
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit examines the broad role of the UN in combating global terrorism. It provides an overview of the UN's efforts to fight global terrorism through the establishment of a Counter-Terrorism Committee and fighting terrorist financing.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the role of the UN in combating global terrorism
- identify the counter-terrorism instruments of the UN.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Role of the UN in Combating Global Terrorism**

The UN has been active in the fight against global terrorism for more than four decades. Over the years, the level of awareness of the phenomenon of terrorism by the international community has increased. Following the attack on Lod Airport, near Tel Aviv, and the kidnapping and killing of 11 Israeli athletes during the Olympic Games at Munich in 1972, the issue of terrorism gained greater attention. The General Assembly, on 8 September 1972, at the request of then Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, was asked to include in the agenda of its 26th Session an additional item that was both important and urgent in character titled: 'Measures to prevent terrorism and other forms of violence which endanger or take innocent human lives or jeopardise



fundamental freedom'. The General Assembly, considering its diverse membership and decision-making norms, reflects the global view of terrorism over the past four decades. Three different periods may be identified in the UN's struggle to fight terrorism:

### **The first period (1972 to 1991)**

This period was characterised by the terms used in resolutions of the period: proposals of 'measures to prevent terrorism'. During this period, the consideration of terrorism as a general problem was assigned primarily to the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly under an agenda item named: 'Measures to prevent international terrorism'. At that time, there was a lack of consensus among members of the UN as to whether terrorism should be prevented through cooperation in suppressing its manifestations or removal of its root causes.

### **Second period (1993-2001)**

During the second period, the focus of the UN were on human rights and terrorism and measures to eliminate international terrorism, reflecting broader agreement that the existence of root causes did not justify terrorist acts. Since then, the General Assembly has issued numerous resolutions condemning acts of terrorism and calling on member states to cooperate with each other in order to prevent and eliminate terrorism.

### **Third Period (2001-Date)**

Following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, in the USA, there was greater cooperation on the part of the international community in the fight against terrorism. In the third period, the concept and terminology are evolving towards discussion of measures to eliminate terrorism. The end of the cold war has had a favourable impact on the Organisation and its ability to act. This development is a reminder that it is the standard setting activity of the General Assembly that has given rise to the international conventions and protocols on terrorism, whose implementation the Security Council upholds today as fundamental in the global counter-terrorism effort.

The Security Council is the United Nations organ that has borne most of the responsibility for addressing the problem of terrorism. In the late 1980s, a number of shocking terrorist acts shocked humanity. In December 1988, Pan-Am flight 103 crashed in the Scottish village of Lockerbie when a bomb placed on board the aircraft exploded. The 259 passengers on board and 11 persons on the ground were killed. In September 1989, the French UTA flight 772 crashed in the Niger after a device on board the aircraft exploded; a total of 171 persons died. In

both cases, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was alleged to have been involved in the attacks. On 26 June 1995, a group of terrorists made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, who was attending a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa. Three of the suspects sought refuge in the Sudan, whose Government declined to grant Egypt's request for their extradition.

In January 1992, Security Council resolution 731 (1992) warned the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya of the consequences if it failed to hand over the suspects. In March of that year, resolution 748 (1992), which characterised the Libyan actions as a threat to international peace and security and invoked Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations in imposing a broad range of sanctions, was adopted. It was later reinforced by resolutions 883 (1993) and 1192 (1998). As a result of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, France obtained from Libya partial satisfaction of its demands in 1996 and six Libyan nationals were tried and convicted of participation in the attacks on the UTA plane. The two Libyan citizens suspected of having organised the attacks on the Pan-Am flight were handed over to the Netherlands on 5 January 1999 to be tried by Scottish judges under Scottish law. One defendant, Abdel Basset al-Megrahi, was convicted of murder in 2001 and sentenced to life in a Scottish prison. On 12 September 2003, after the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya formally stated that it accepted responsibility for the actions of its officials and agreed to pay billions of dollars to the victims' families, the Security Council lifted the sanctions imposed on it.

Following the Sudan's refusal to grant extradition of the individuals suspected of carrying out the attacks on the life of President Mubarak, the Security Council imposed economic sanctions and a ban on commercial flights. The sanctions, which had a marked effect on the conduct of the Sudanese authorities, were lifted on 28 September 2001 after the government decided to expel various individuals suspected of terrorism, including Osama Bin Laden himself.

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania was another shock to mankind. The UN's in response on 12 September 2001, through the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1368 (2001), whose main and novel feature lay in its invocation of the right to individual or collective self-defense under the terms of Article 51 of the Charter and which solemnly called upon all Member States to work together "to bring to justice the perpetrators, organisers and sponsors" of terrorists acts and to "redouble their efforts to prevent and suppress" them. This resolution is considered a turning point as it legitimised the use of force to fight terrorism. A few days later, on 28 September 2001, the Security Council invoked Chapter VII of the Charter and unanimously adopted resolution 1373 (2001), which

represented a major qualitative and quantitative advance in the new approach to terrorism that the United Nations was seeking to impose. The resolution, which is binding on all Member States, imposes a wide range of legal, financial, police and cooperation measures. It also requires all Member States to ratify and implement the provisions of the international counterterrorism instruments.

The contributions of the Security Council and the General Assembly to United Nations policy on the issue of terrorism have been supported by the work of the Secretary General of the UN. Then Secretary-General Kofi Annan played an active role in the development of a United Nations stance against terrorism. In October 2001, shortly after the attacks of 11 September and the Security Council's adoption of resolution 1373 (2001), the Secretary-General decided to establish a Policy Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism. The Group made 31 recommendations in August 2002 under a "tripartite strategy" that sought to:

- i. Dissuade groups of discontents from adopting terrorism
- ii. Deny groups or individuals the means to carry out terrorist acts;  
and
- iii. Promote broad cooperation in the fight against terrorism.

Kofi Annan also outlined five elements of principled and comprehensive strategy to combat terrorism in his keynote address at the international summit on democracy, terrorism and security in 2005. These elements tagged the 'five Ds' are:

- dissuade disaffected groups from choosing terrorism as a tactic to achieve their goals
- deny terrorists the means to carry out their attacks
- deter them from supporting terrorists
- develop capacity to prevent terrorism; and
- defend human rights in the struggle against terrorism.

The UN and its agencies have developed a wide range of legal agreements that enabled the international community to take action to counter terrorism and bring those responsible to justice. Treaties, mainly in form of conventions, oblige member states to take stringent steps to root out terrorism across the globe. Since 1963, the international community has elaborated 13 instruments related to the prevention and suppression of international terrorism. These are outlined below:

<b>Counter-Terrorism Instruments (1963-2005)</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed On Board Aircraft (1963)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Applies to acts affecting in-flight safety</li> <li>• Authorises the aircraft commander to impose reasonable measures, including restraint, on any person he or she has reason to believe has committed or is about to commit such an act, where necessary to protect the safety of the aircraft, and</li> <li>• Requires contracting states to take custody of offenders, and to return control of the aircraft to the lawful commander</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Convention for the Suppression of the Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (1970)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Makes it an offence for any person on board an aircraft in flight to ‘unlawfully, by force or threat thereof, or any other form of intimidation, [to] seize or exercise control of that aircraft’ or to attempt to do so</li> <li>• Requires parties to the convention to make hijackings punishable by ‘severe penalties’</li> <li>• Requires parties that have custody of offenders to either extradite the offender or submit the case for prosecution, and</li> <li>• Requires parties to assist each other in connection with criminal proceedings brought under the convention</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (1971)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Makes it an offence for any person unlawfully and intentionally to perform an act of violence against a person on board an aircraft in flight, if that act is likely to endanger the safety of the aircraft; to place an explosive device on an aircraft; to attempt such acts; or to be an accomplice of a person who performs or attempts to perform such acts</li> <li>• Requires parties to the convention to make offences punishable by ‘severe penalties’, and</li> <li>• Requires parties that have custody of offenders to either extradite the offender or submit the case for prosecution</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Convention on</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Defines an ‘internationally protected</li> </ul>

<p>the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons (1973)</p>	<p>person' as a Head of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs, representative or official of a State or international organisation who is entitled to special protection in a foreign State, and his or her family, and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Requires parties to criminalise and make punishable 'by appropriate penalties which take into account their grave nature' the intentional murder, kidnapping or other attack upon the person or liberty of an internationally protected person, a violent attack upon the official premises, the private accommodations, or the means of transport of such person; a threat or attempt to commit such an attack; and an act' constituting participation as an accomplice</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Convention against the Taking of Hostages (1979)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provides that any person 'who seizes or detains and threatens to kill, to injure, or to continue to detain another person in order to compel a third party, namely, a state, an international inter-governmental organisation, a natural or juridical person, or a group of persons, to do or abstain from doing any act as an explicit or implicit condition for the release of the hostage, commits the offence of taking of hostage within the meaning of this convention'</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (1980)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Criminalises the unlawful possession, use, transfer or theft of nuclear material and threats to use nuclear material to cause death, serious injury or substantial property damage</li> <li>• Amendments to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material add the following:– Makes it legally binding for states parties to protect nuclear facilities and material in peaceful domestic use, storage as well as transport, and – Provides for expanded cooperation between and among states regarding rapid measures to locate and recover stolen or smuggled</li> </ul>

	nuclear material, mitigate any radiological consequences or sabotage, and prevent and combat related offences
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation (1988)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extends the provisions of the Montreal Convention to encompass terrorist acts at airports serving international civil aviation</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf (1988)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishes a legal regime applicable to acts against international maritime navigation that is similar to the regimes established for international aviation, and</li> <li>• Makes it an offence for a person unlawfully and intentionally to seize or exercise control over a ship by force, threat, or intimidation; to perform an act of violence against a person on board a ship if that act is likely to endanger the safe navigation of the ship; to place a destructive device or substance aboard a ship; and other acts against the safety of ships</li> <li>• The 2005 Protocol to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation:</li> <li>• Criminalises the use of a ship to further an act of terrorism – Criminalises the transport of various materials knowing or intending that they be used to cause death or serious injury or damage– Criminalises the transporting on board a ship of persons who have committed an act of terrorism</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Convention on the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation (1988)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishes a legal regime applicable to acts against fixed platforms on the continental shelf that is similar to the regimes established against international aviation (The 2005 Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf adapted the changes to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against</li> </ul>

	<p>the Safety of Maritime Navigation to the context of fixed platforms located on the continental shelf)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection (1991)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Designed to control and limit the use of unmarked and undetectable plastic explosives (negotiated in the aftermath of the 1988 Pan Am Flight 103 bombing)</li> <li>• Parties are obligated in their respective territories to ensure effective control over ‘unmarked plastic explosives’</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings (1997)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creates a regime of expanded jurisdiction over the unlawful and intentional use of explosives and other lethal devices in, into, or against various defined public places with intent to kill or cause serious bodily injury, or with intent to cause extensive destruction of the public place</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Financing (1999); and</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Requires parties to take steps to prevent and counteract the financing of terrorists, whether direct or indirect</li> <li>• Commits states to hold those who finance terrorism criminally, civilly or administratively liable for such acts, and</li> <li>• Provides for the identification, freezing and seizure of funds allocated for terrorist activities, as well as for the sharing of the forfeited funds with other states on a case-by-case basis. Bank secrecy is no longer an adequate justification for refusing to cooperate</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism (2005).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Covers a broad range of acts and possible targets, including nuclear power plants and nuclear reactors</li> <li>• Covers threats and attempts to commit such crimes or to participate in them as an accomplice</li> <li>• Stipulates that offenders shall be either extradited or prosecuted</li> <li>• Encourages states to cooperate in preventing terrorist attacks by sharing information and assisting each other in connection with criminal investigations and extradition proceedings, and</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Deals with both crisis situations (assisting states to solve the situation) and post-crisis situations (rendering nuclear material safe through the IAEA)</li> </ul>
<p><b>Source:</b> Ford Jolyon, <i>Africa Counter-Terrorism Legal Frameworks A Decade after 2001</i>. ISS Monograph, March 2011, pp 21-23.</p>	

These instruments create international obligations for states parties to adopt, in their own laws, substantive criminal and procedural criminal law measures to counter various forms of conduct, to exercise jurisdiction, and to provide for international cooperation that enables states parties to either prosecute or extradite alleged offenders. The conventions therefore provide the basis for international cooperation that is regularised, rather than unbounded by law in a fashion that brings counter-terrorism into disrepute and undermines the rule of law generally. The instruments also provide the basis for national criminal justice initiatives, in keeping with the understanding that global problems require each country to ensure its own 'house' is in order. Some of the instruments have been essential for building legal consensus on acceptable definitions of terrorism.

Following the 2005 World Summit, the UN General Assembly unanimously adopted the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy as a resolution promoting comprehensive and coordinated responses to international terrorism. The strategy is premised on the following four pillars:

1. Measures to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism
2. Measures to prevent and combat terrorism
3. Measures to build states' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the UN system in this regard
4. Measures to ensure respect for human rights and the rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism.

A role for ratification in providing the foundation for national justice system-based responses is at the heart of the global strategy, with UN members agreeing to:

... make every effort to develop and maintain an effective and rule of law-based national criminal justice system that can ensure, in accordance with our obligations under international law, that any person who participates in the financing, planning, preparation or



perpetration of terrorist acts or in support of terrorist acts is brought to justice, on the basis of the principle to extradite or prosecute, with due respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and that such terrorist acts are established as serious criminal offences in domestic laws and regulations...

The strategy led to the creation of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force to support all activities under the strategy.

To this end, several working groups were established dealing with a variety of issues including countering terrorist financing, human rights and counter-terrorism, and integrated implementation of the strategy (which has evolved into the Integrated Assistance for Countering Terrorism working group). Before 2001, resolution 1267 of 1999 had dealt with sanctions against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, and this issue has been the subject of further resolutions. Since 2001 a number of other significant UNSC resolutions have been passed including resolutions 1267 (1999), 1456 (2003), 1535 (2004), 1540 (2004), and 1566 (2004). The effect of the resolutions was not to license states to pursue counter-terrorism measures by any means, but to create binding obligations upon states to:

- Reform their national laws, law enforcement and border control systems, and financial systems
- Criminalise the commission, funding, incitement to, or preparation of, terrorist attacks
- Detect and freeze assets of terrorists and their supporters
- Deny safe havens and free movement to terrorists
- Deny terrorists access to weapons and explosives and other means
- Cooperate with other justice systems, including through extradition and other forms of exchange of suspects or information by legal means
- Ratify and implement the universal legal instruments.

### **3.2 Counter-Terrorism Committee**

Resolution 1373 (2001) also established the Counter-Terrorism Committee, a subsidiary organ of the Security Council comprising all 15 of its members and charged with monitoring compliance with the resolution. The Committee was instructed to begin its work by requesting all member states to submit reports on the measures that they had adopted in implementation of the Council's decisions. In adopting resolution 1373 (2001), the Security Council was entering a virtually new area of the Organisation's political and legal life by requiring, inter

alia, the criminalisation of terrorism and the acts of perpetrators, accomplices and financiers. At the same time, the resolution calls upon States to ratify the international counter-terrorism conventions and incorporate them into domestic law.

Resolution 1373 (2001), unlike those referred to previously, does not impose penalties on States which are responsible for acts considered reprehensible by the Council or which collaborate with such States; instead, it represents a decision on the measures that all Member States should adopt in the fight against terrorism. In the four years of its existence, the Counter-Terrorism Committee has maintained an active, rigorous correspondence with member states. It is clear that Resolution 1373 (2001) has contributed to the development of an environment in which no one dares any longer to question the obligation of all States to cooperate in the effort to isolate terrorists and terrorism.

### **3.3 The UN, Anti-money Laundering (AML) and Counter Terror Financing (CTF)**

As terrorist financing has become a critical issue in international security, there is growing attention, within and beyond the UN systems, to dealing with money laundering and terrorist financing. The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and its associated regional financial institutions have emerged as the integral features of an evolving financial regime. The Paris-based FATF is an inter-governmental body, which sets the international standards and policies to combat money laundering and terror financing. The forty nine recommendations (forty on money laundering and nine on terror financing) issued by the FATF are internationally recognised standards on anti-money laundering (AML) and counter terror financing (CTF).

The global financial regime on anti-money laundering and counter-terror financing is further strengthened by the joint cooperation among various institutions-the FATF, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the Basel Committee on banking supervision. In addition, there is a growing trend in the formation of FATF style regional bodies, which are designed to develop and improve financial collaboration among the member countries. The list includes the Asia Pacific Group on Money Laundering (APG), the European Committee of Experts on the Evaluation of Anti-Money Laundering Measures and Financing of Terrorism (MONEYVAL), the Middle East & North Africa Financial Action Task Force (MENAFATF), the Eastern and Southern African Anti-Money Laundering Group (ESAAMLG), the South American Financial Action Task Force (GAFISUD), and the Anti-Money Laundering Group in West Africa (GIABA).

These global financial instruments are focused on several critical areas of concern, such as *hawala* or alternative remittance system (ARS), and “shadow banking” or informal financial system. In addition, the lack of effective oversight on charitable donations and trade based money laundering has also emerged as important concerns for terror financing. The operations of the global and regional financial institutions show that dealing with the porous financial systems would require well-structured collaboration among international private and public institutions. Beyond the regional and multilateral institutions, stated above, the security strategies of powerful states may also contribute to a transnational counter-terrorism regime. The U.S. is an important example here. The United States has institutionalised assistance programmes to combat transnational organised crime and terrorism. These programmes are designed to complement the international counterterrorism frameworks. For instance, the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL) and the Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism (SCT) are the lead agencies in streamlining logistics, training, and relevant support to allies and partner countries. Other major government bodies involved in the field of internal security cooperation are: the departments of Justice, Homeland Security, Treasury, and the Internal Revenue Service. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Financial Crime Enforcement Network (FINCEN) also play important roles in capacity building for foreign countries’ financial intelligence units. Given the fact that violent Islamist groups have become a major security concern, it is worth exploring the extent of security cooperation between the United States and the Muslim majority countries.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Discuss the role of the UN in combating global terrorism.
- ii. List the Counter-Terrorism Instruments of the UN, highlighting what each seek to combat.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

After reviewing the role of the UN in combating terrorism, it is now evident to you that global response to terrorism, on the platform of the UN, has evolved over the years. The events of September 11, 2001, led to a dramatic shift in the UN’s efforts at combating terrorism. After many years of foot-dragging, there was an increased commitment on the part of the UN to work out a substantive vision of a holistic, rule of law based approach to counterterrorism by its own institutions and its member states. The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy remains the touchstone of this approach. The global war on terrorism needs the support of all regions and countries of the world.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have studied the role of the UN in combating global terrorism. For the purpose of simplifying the subject of study and enhancing comprehension and understanding, we reviewed the efforts of the UN in combating terrorism through ‘periodisation’, with the first period covering 1972 to 1991; second period, 1993-2001; and third period from 2001-Date. We also looked at the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee, the UN Anti-money Laundering (AML) and Counter Terror Financing (CTF) efforts.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Briefly discuss the role of the UN in combating global terrorism.
2. List five Counter-Terrorism Instruments of the UN, highlighting what each seek to combat.

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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## **UNIT 3 THE AU AND COUNTER-TERRORISM**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objective
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The AU and Counter-Terrorism
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This unit provides an overview of AU's role in combating terrorism on the African continent. It discusses the efforts by African leaders under the platform of the AU to work in concert with the global community to fight global terrorism at the regional level.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVE**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the role of the AU in combating terrorism on the African continent.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The AU and Counter-Terrorism**

The AU was inaugurated in July 2002, shortly after the 11 September 2001 attacks and the global response through resolution 1373. The sceptre of terrorism had a formative influence on the organisation. This is illustrated in the Constitutive Act of the African Union of 2002. It states that the AU shall function in accordance with several principles, one of these being 'respect for the sanctity of human life, condemnation and rejection of impunity and political assassination, acts of terrorism and subversive activities'. One of the first steps the AU took to develop and improve its counter-terrorism strategies was the development of the AU Protocol to the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism of 2002 (Algiers Convention). This was the first African instrument on preventing and combating terrorism which provided an African definition of terrorism. The OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism (Algiers Convention) was earlier adopted by African Heads of State in Algiers in July 1999 and came into force in

December 2002 once 30 states had ratified. The Protocol was adopted as a supplement to the Algiers Convention. The main purpose of the Protocol is to 'enhance the effective implementation' of the Algiers Convention. It also describes the establishment of the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC), and the 'need to coordinate and harmonise continental efforts in the prevention and combating of terrorism in all its aspects, as well as the implementation of other relevant international instruments'. Article 4 of Protocol states that the PSC 'shall be responsible for harmonising and coordinating continental efforts in the prevention and combating of terrorism'. The Protocol states that the PSC is required to:

- i. establish operational procedures for information gathering, processing and dissemination
- ii. establish mechanism to facilitate the exchange of information among State Parties on patterns and trends in terrorists acts and the activities of terrorist groups and on successful practices for combating terrorism
- iii. present an annual report to the Assembly of the Union on terrorist activities on the continent
- iv. monitor, evaluate and make recommendations on the implementation of the Plan of Action of the African Union High Level Inter-Governmental Meeting on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Africa (Plan of Action) of 2002 and Programmes adopted by the African Union.
- v. examine all reports submitted by state members on the implementation of the Plan of Action and programmes adopted by the AU
- vi. examine reports submitted by the state members on the implementation of the Protocol; and
- vii. establish an information network with national, regional and international focal points on Terrorism (AU, 2002).

Basically, the Plan of Action of 2002 describes the commitments and obligations of African states to combat terrorism and to facilitate access to appropriate counter-terrorism resources. It prevents African states with guidelines and strategies on how to collectively and individually counter terrorism threats through integrating continental and national counter-terrorism strategies. It also requires member states to exchange information and intelligence relating to terrorist activities in and around the continent. The plan was given further impetus two years later by the Declaration of the second High Level Intergovernmental Meeting on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Addis Ababa in October 2004. One focus of the AU's counter-terrorism effort has been the establishment of the African Centre for the Study and Research of Terrorism (ACSRT or CAERT), conceived as an independent research

centre for cooperation, capacity building and consensus on counter-terrorism issues in the AU.

The AU's counter-terrorism framework is a significant element of Africa's overall counter-terrorism scheme. The AU framework and institutional action has 'helped place global counter-terrorism norms into an African context' including illustrating that terrorism is not simply an externally imposed post-9/11 agenda. AU and the African Commission have acted mainly as a catalyst and interface with the global counter-terrorism system, as well as a clearing house for norm advancement. The role has primarily been a coordinating one, whether in terms of policy or technical assistance.

The AU's Peace and Security Council has model counter-terrorism legislation in the pipeline, currently in draft form. This model law will provide a template for African states to implement both the AU and global counter-terrorism regime. In addition to the AU Peace and Security Council, other AU institutions that could play a significant role in furthering implementation of both the AU framework and the UN strategy are the Early Warning System and the Panel of the Wise, along with the new African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights. Despite being African instruments, the Algiers Convention and protocol suffer from the same low levels of ratification and implementation as the global counter-terrorism instruments in Africa.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

Discuss the role of the AU in combating terrorism on the African continent.

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

Africa also played a highly significant role in the post cold war global efforts to counter terrorism. The point to note is that Africa had developed the 1999 Algiers Convention based on the realities on the continent. This helps to illustrate that the efforts to counter terrorism in Africa did not simply start after the events of September 11, 2001.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

This unit discussed how counter terrorism strategies were strengthened in Africa after several significant acts of international terrorism occurred, especially the attack of September 11, 2001. This unit also highlighted Africa's increasing significant role in global counter terrorism strategies.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

What role has the AU played in combating terrorism on the African\ continent?

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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## **UNIT 4 CHALLENGES IN CONTROLLING GLOBAL TERRORISM**

### **CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
  - 3.1 The Challenges of Controlling Global Terrorism
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this last unit of your study, we shall focus on the challenges in combating global terrorism. Even though the scourge of terrorism has assumed a global dimension, it is widely recognised as having the capability of destroying the socio-economic and political fabric of a country or even region. It is even more worrisome that controlling terrorism presents humanity with numerous challenges. The reality of the situation is stark that some have argued that terrorism has come to stay.

### **2.0 OBJECTIVES**

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the challenges in controlling global terrorism
- explain the challenges in controlling terrorism in your country.

### **3.0 MAIN CONTENT**

#### **3.1 The Challenges of Controlling Global Terrorism**

##### **The challenge of definition**

The biggest challenge in controlling global terrorism is the lack of a clear and specific definition for 'terrorism'. Although, the term might seem self-evident, in practice it has been difficult for the international community to agree upon a definition at the international level. This remains so despite the fact that the first attempt to define terrorism took place with the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism in 1937. Regardless of the different opinions on terrorism, it

is clear that it is a crime which has been condemned across the globe. The importance of defining a common terminology for use when seeking agreement concerning the shared problem of terrorism is obvious. This is especially so given human diversity, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Agreement on the importance of definition often affects the global war on terror.

### **The legal framework for fighting terrorism**

The second problem faced by humanity in fighting terrorism is the legal framework. In part, this framework depends on who carries out the terrorist attacks. Actors fall mainly into four categories.

- Attacks carried out by a State through its regular army or its citizens, or by foreign organisations housed and provisioned by this aggressor state.
- Actions committed by local organisations within the state, including those with foreign nationals in their ranks because they hold the same beliefs or work as mercenaries.
- Actions committed within the state by an individual or by a group that lacks a clear and organised structure when such actions are motivated by mental, emotional, or doctrinal reasons.
- Assaults carried out by international organisations that are associated with other organisations that might or might not share common beliefs. Such networks seek to create a *de facto* situation for their direct benefit or for the benefit of a State, criminal organisation, financial organisation or intelligence agency.

The first three categories are easy to deal with through the domestic legal framework during peacetime and IHL during armed conflict. Such events are covered by IHL to the extent it condemns terror (Geneva Protocol I, Art. 51/2, & the Fourth Geneva Convention, Art. 33) and treats attacks on civilians as war crimes (GPI, Art. 85). They are even covered during a local conflict (GPII, Art. 4/ d). The fourth causes great concern. There are numerous reasons for this. Usually, these acts take place during peacetime. There is seldom a legal framework to deal with them.

It is difficult to locate and tie these organisations to a geographical location due to their ability to organise, depending on the international circumstances, throughout different regions of the world. Certain local intelligence agencies use them to carry out what is known as dirty work. A lack of international co-operation can occur because of differing levels of interests and occasionally conflicting political benefits.

## **The challenges of implementing the UN counter-terrorism strategy**

Identifying the roots of terrorism in different geographic sets of the world remains a strong challenge. This strategy is too general and unable to contextualise the differences in terrorist hotspots of the world such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq, all of which have different causes of terrorism and need to be dealt with accordingly. It can hence be concluded that the UN counter-terrorism strategy needs to be delegated according to domestic requirements in some respects. Other reasons behind terrorism are international - for example, the political behaviour of superpowers especially in issues such as the Israel-Palestine conflict and these could be targeted through more global tactics. To conclude, the UN counter-terrorism strategy is a good and much-needed initiative. However, the challenges are complex and require the strategy to be reviewed in order to achieve practical gains in the reduction of terrorism through both local and global contextualised strategies.

### **The challenge of 'means' to fight terror**

The means of fighting terror are diverse. Among the most important are quiet diplomacy, security measures, public awareness, economic pressures (such as trade embargo), political positions, and direct military actions. They can be grouped into two categories: politico-economic and military. Implementation of such means raises several problems.

#### ***Military measures***

The strength of terrorist organisations is in how they choose the target, time, and way to carry out an attack. In the 1937 Convention, the use of the word "prevention" was straight to the point in describing the need to confront these situations. Hence, the need to take advantage of new military technologies, intensify regional and international security co-operation, and infiltrate terrorist organisations and other measures. The new reality in the fight against terrorism creates a confrontation, felt the most in democracies, between privacy and security. To ease this conflict, two different techniques can be employed. The first is to keep the population in constant fear so that it will not object to measures that infringe on its rights or privacies. The second depends on educating the people to believe that these measures are for their own benefit, and that co-operation is their contribution to the long battle against terrorism. The use of either of these approaches depends heavily on the trust of the people in their government. It also relies on the political regime, society, and culture. The media, or whoever controls it, plays a prominent role. In particular, the media is the main communication channel between governments and terrorists, while at the same time serving as the only

available way for the terrorists to show off their “work” and satisfy their egos. Security agencies can even use the media to guide terrorists towards defined targets in order to intercept them.

### ***Political measures***

Terrorist organisations, like regimes, try to gather support to help in their activities. Initially, the group will try to rally support for a particular cause. This cause might be just and fair, especially in light of the world’s many injustices. It might be political, ideological, racial, religious, social or any combination thereof. On the other hand, there might be some countries of regional or international influence that benefit, either for internal or external reasons, from terrorism without having direct contact with the networks that carry it out. This heightens the need to effectively control borders between countries in order to confine the movement and actions of a terrorist group. As a result, terror is an international problem that must be dealt with accordingly.

### ***Economic measures***

These economic measures are closely related to the nature of targets chosen by terrorists; the economic means used has direct and indirect implications for the security measures. They are also related to aid provided to some countries or organisations in their fight against terror and to economic embargoes placed on others. In this regard, it is necessary to understand that such measures themselves can be the cause of tension between nations.

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. List and discuss the challenges in controlling global terrorism.
- ii. How can the international community overcome the challenges of global terrorism?

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

The phenomenon of global terrorism seems to lack a global solution. There is no doubt that overcoming the challenges identified above require that countries of the world should work together (such as sharing information on movements, profiles, methods, and plans of terrorist), it equally requires local efforts to deal with local factors that support and encourage terrorism (Okeke, 2005:110). Countries should therefore ‘Think Globally but Act Locally’. The lack of a universally accepted definition was noted. This gives room for sweeping generalisation and stereotyping and in turn brings in more resentment. As terrorism is a global phenomenon, a major challenge facing statesmen and decision-

makers is how to maximise international cooperation and support without unduly compromising the national security interest of their countries.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

We have discussed the challenges in controlling global terrorism. We noted problems such as the lack of a universally accepted definition for terrorism; the legal framework of fighting terrorism; the challenges of implementing the UN Counterterrorism Strategy and the choice of an appropriate measure or combination of measures to use in addressing various cases or incidents of terrorist attacks.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. List and discuss three challenges in controlling global terrorism.
2. Suggest five practical ways of overcoming the challenges in controlling terrorism within your country.

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Abolurin, A. (2011). *Terrorism: Nigerian and Global Dimensions*. Ibadan: Golden-Gems Unique Multi-ventures.
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