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## **Abstract**

The paper would briefly include the following: the basis of the terrorist's psychology; the historical elements of principle terrorist activities prior to and during the past (20th) century; and, finally, an evaluation of the current state of terrorism today. To achieve this objective, I intend to highlight the four revolutionary developments which, I contend, significantly affected the evolutionary process that terrorism has experienced in the past hundred years. These developments are: the discovery and subsequent use by terrorist elements of dynamite in the form of bombs; the discovery that the use of hijackings of airplanes and occasionally ships, not just as a method of transporting terrorists, but also as a viable terrorist weapon; the end of the Cold War, which opened up the world stage to purely terrorist ideologies - free of the former capitalist versus communist ideological constraints; and, finally, the breaching of the psychological barrier to the use of WMDs by the Tokyo subway Sarin nerve gas attack of 1995, which created a new apocalyptic potential to terrorist acts. In addition, the paper will consider the evolutionary process of terrorist attacks from discriminating, selective actions to indiscriminate mass murders. Similarly, it would suggest that, in some instances, violence has evolved from being a terrorist tool used to assist in the achievement of terrorist objectives into an end in itself.

The paper will conclude that, contrary to the recent American sentiment that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 represented a new cataclysmic and revolutionary upgrading

of terrorism, the use of airplanes, as man-guided missiles, does not really represent an new form of terrorism. Instead, it was simply an ingenious new terrorist delivery tactic for the evolutionary use of an old reliable terrorist tool, the bomb.

## **Terrorism in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution From a Subnational to a Transnational Entity**

*By Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon Greavette*

On September 11, 2001, with the coordinated terrorist attacks on: the World Trade Center's, which destroyed symbolic twin towers; the Pentagon, which dented 'Fortress America'; and, a Pennsylvania farmer's field, many Americans came to believe that an unprecedented era of terrorism had erupted and the world had changed forever. Some observers even claimed that the daring, yet tragic, events of this particular morning should be considered as an 'Epochal' moment in the history of the world.<sup>[1]</sup> The Americans were shocked by this apparently new phenomenon that had just struck their homeland. In fact, they were so outraged and took such a renewed interest in international terrorism that, just nine days after the September 11<sup>th</sup> tragedy, President Bush declared the start of a 'Global War on Terrorism': an open-ended war with an undefined terminal objective. In a speech to Congress, he committed all resources at his disposal, "every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, and every necessary weapon of war",<sup>[2]</sup> to defeating America's newest adversary in that nation's "first war of the twenty-first century".<sup>[3]</sup>

However, for most people in the world, terrorism was not new and these events, while spectacular and disturbing, did not constitute the dawn of a new era in terrorist activities. Instead, the attack represented a continuing and evolving violent reality that had been with them, in one form or another, for centuries. Therefore, for most people, terrorism was simply recognized and accepted as being another form of traditional asymmetric warfare.<sup>[4]</sup> Still, for most North Americans and many other Western observers, the radical novelty of the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks "represented a new form of terrorism for the 21st century".<sup>[5]</sup>

As a result, the question must be asked as to why there was such a discrepancy

between the American surprise and the rest of the world's acceptance and understanding of the existence of terrorism. This is an intriguing question and one which I will address in this essay. Consequently, this paper will examine the evolution of terrorism and terrorist thought throughout the twentieth century from an internal, subnational entity to its current status as an independent, non-state, borderless and transnational organization. It will also trace the four major revolutionary developments that significantly affected the evolutionary process that terrorism experienced. However, to achieve this objective will require an evaluation of the difficulty in defining what actually constitutes a terrorist act. It will also involve: a review of the psychology of the terrorist; a review of the historical elements of terrorist activities prior to and during the past century; and, finally, an evaluation of the current status of terrorism.

While historical examples of terrorist events can be traced, in writing, to biblical times, the Romans were known to have both practiced and been the recipients of terrorist activities. [6] However, the first truly non-state group to become known for their application of terror was an eleventh century religious cult group known as the Hashshashins. [7] This offshoot of the Isma'ilis, a Muslim cult, later became known in the Western world as the 'Order of Assassins', [8] and that term has stuck to the perpetrators of such acts of terrorist violence. Next, the events of the French Revolution in the last few years of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, and its associated 'Reign of Terror' of 1793-1794, can be considered as the first coordinated and concerted effort at internal, state terrorism. Robespierre and his revolutionaries on the Parisian 'Committee of Public Safety' were the first to attempt "the elevation of primitive passion into a high-flown political philosophy, and to create an organization that tried to systematize [sic] murder and other lawlessness into a set of rules". [9]

The next significant development in the evolution of terrorism was the approval of terrorist acts by Marx and Engels as another tool in their repertoire of revolutionary socialist activities. [10] They argued that revolutionary violence, in the form of "strikes, small-scale terrorism, or political assassinations", [11] was permissible, but only if it was geared towards a specific political objective. Consequently, the Bolshevik Revolutionaries, under the guidance of Lenin, the activist who initially translated Marxist theory into concrete action, chose to employ the terrorist tool in their pursuit of power in Tsarist Russian. [12] However, even prior to this development, the Anarchists, inspired by Mikhail Bakunin, a socialist reformer who rejected the establishment of any form of state government, acquired a dedicated following in Europe. [13] These radical Marxist and anarchist political organizations, with their periodic act of terrorism plagued many European countries during the transition into the twentieth century and through to the end of the First World War.

However, having briefly discussed the early foundations of terrorism and terrorist organizations, the more general question of just what constitutes terrorism needs to be discussed. Unfortunately, finding a definitive definition for terrorism is a significant problem because, even today, there is much debate occurring on this very issue. As many scholars in this field have stated, "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". [14] This opinion

is based on one's personal understanding and perception of the individual situation surrounding any terrorist activity. Simply put, if the observer identifies with the victim, then the violent act is seen as being terrorism. However, if the observer identifies with the perpetrator, then the act is not viewed as terrorism, but is seen in a more sympathetic and positive light as being either the act of a revolutionary or a freedom fighter.[\[15\]](#)

To better define the concept of what constitutes terrorism, one overview idea is that:

Terror is an intense paralyzing fear, or the dread of it. Terrorism is a deliberate attempt to create terror through a symbolic act involving the use or threat of abnormal lethal force for the purpose of influencing a target group or individual.[\[16\]](#)

However, a more specific definition views: "terrorism as politically motivated violence directed against non-combatant or symbolic targets which is designed to communicate a message to a broader audience".[\[17\]](#) Still, another angle to the definition is that:

terrorism is simply the contemporary name given to, and the modern permutation of, warfare deliberately waged against civilians with the purpose of destroying their will to support either leaders or policies that the agents of such violence find objectionable.[\[18\]](#)

Consequently, from this array of theoretical ideas, it is safe to assume that, at the very least, terrorism has four crucial elements: it is an act of violence; it has a political motive or goal; it is perpetrated against innocent persons, usually civilians; and, it is staged to occur before an audience whose reaction of fear and terror is the desired result.[\[19\]](#)

To complicate this discussion even further, five types of terrorist activities have been identified. They are: mass terror, which includes endemic, authorized, repressive and enforcement terror; dynastic terror, also known as assassination or, in an earlier incarnation, tryannicide; random terror; focused terror; and tactical terror.[\[20\]](#) This variety of terrorist activity can be further divided into seven specific categories of terrorism: psychotic, criminal, mystical, revolutionary, repressive, military and state-sponsored.[\[21\]](#) Whereas, the first three categories, the psychotic, the criminal and the mystical terrorism, are deemed to be apolitical, in that they normally do not have a clear political objective as their basic source, the remaining four categories do have some political motivation as their root source. Consequently, these last four forms generally describe the most commonly accepted forms of terrorist activity.[\[22\]](#)

Furthermore, in its most general theoretical sense, terrorism can be said to represent a clash of wills between two contending parties. If both of these parties decide to use force to resolve this clash of wills and seek to impose a political solution through conflict, then a state of war could be said to exist between these two parties. By extension, it could also be

concluded that the terrorism, or other violent acts, used by either or both belligerents constitutes a form of warfare.<sup>[23]</sup> Therefore, by employing terrorism as a form of minimalist warfare, a perpetrator is actually making an extremely efficient and persuasive use of violent force. This realization is especially relevant since, "the true product of the terroristic process, then, is not the physical attack on the [symbolic] victim, but the psychological impact on the [real] target".<sup>[24]</sup>

Next, the psychological motivation behind the terrorist's actions will be examined, because terrorism is, in the final analysis, a human activity. Therefore, it must be seen as being a distorted by-product of both individual and group thinking, interaction and motivation. By committing terrorist acts, perpetrators of this type of violent warfare are, in their view, merely pursuing their extreme interests in the political arena in an unorthodox manner.<sup>[25]</sup> They are often motivated by either religious or cultural considerations, which manifests itself in their need to pursue changes to the existing political societal structure through their heinous terrorist activities.

In an early examination of the psychological factors that inspire terrorist to act as they do, Dr. Lawrence Freedman concludes that, at the most basic individual level, the terrorist is motivated by his desire to reaffirm his masculinity because, in his pre-terrorist situation, there had been severe blows to that individual's self-image. Female terrorists are apparently motivated by a similar desire to improve their self-image. Next, the terrorist possesses a desire to submerge their individuality into that of a group. They want to become depersonalized and abandon their individuality by acting as an instrument of a terrorist group. Then, they seek an ambivalent closeness to their victims, whom they see as seemingly being so powerful and high above them in status. Finally, these individuals want to perform an act of terrorist sacrament: an act of violence that proves the dedication of their human powers to the service of their god.<sup>[26]</sup>

In the larger group context, terrorist activities are often the result of the cultural milieu that provides the medium in which the political factors are interrupted. Therefore, "terrorism with an authentic popular base is never a purely political phenomenon".<sup>[27]</sup> Consequently, "the legitimacy of terrorist movements may stem from a mythological model adopted by the terrorists and endorsed by large segments of society".<sup>[28]</sup> This assumption is made because past events are often perpetrated, disseminated and experienced by a particular culture and not merely accepted as political events. As a result, such significant events are described as national narratives that transcribe historical fact into moral and ethical paradigms of ethnic conduct and behaviour. This is especially true when such narratives are internalized in the minds of individuals as part of the mental perspective with which they are raised to perceive the meaning of these significant events, to interpret them and, subsequently, to launch new ones.

Similarly, with respect to the specific features of large cultural groups, their identities

are formed based on: collective memories, of a significant event or time period; collective grievances, which are based on 'chosen traumas' that reinforce a sense of group victimization which must be avenged;[\[29\]](#) collective myths, which are based on 'chosen glories' from the past which enhances the group's self-esteem;[\[30\]](#) and, 'time collapse', through which centuries-old events are reenacted and presented as vivid themes for contemporary audiences.[\[31\]](#) Therefore, when considering the actions of a terrorist group or an individual, it might be necessary to temporarily separate the political and ideological behaviour of terrorist movements from the larger and more innocuous political culture of the ethnic group from which the terrorist originates and for which he probably seeks either: revenge, retribution, renewal or reform.[\[32\]](#)

When considering the behaviour of conspiratorial groups that practice terrorism, it is acknowledged that their employment of terrorist acts is a deliberate strategic choice made by these political actors who intentionally want to use terrorism to help them achieve some political end or respond to some external stimuli.[\[33\]](#) Therefore, the terrorism traditionally used by these small groups is a form of violent coercion to compensate for their weakness in numbers and destructive capacity.[\[34\]](#) It is based on the key element of its surprise value[\[35\]](#) and, because the small group cannot rely on superior conventional strength to make its point, the terrorist acts form part of the overall terrorist bargaining process by using the threat of hurting and intimidating the offending party[\[36\]](#) as a lever to gain either status or concessions.

Within the terrorist organization itself, there exists an internal political struggle that often supercedes the rationale for the group's existence. As with all groups, terrorist organizations experience a constant struggle to survive, often within a fairly competitive environment. In addition to organizing the group so that it can pursue its ideological objectives, "leaders of terrorist organizations struggle to maintain the viability of the organization as much as to challenge governments",[\[37\]](#) or other entities against which it has a grievance and has vowed to fight. Therefore, to maintain the group's internal dynamics and to prevent both dissent and defections, leaders employ incentives such as: enhancing the feeling and support of belonging to a special group; the acquisition of social status and reputation; and, the provision of both comradeship and excitement not available within regular social circles.[\[38\]](#)

While terror from above, from the state's ruling elite, was the predominant form of terror from Roman times through the French Revolution up to the present,[\[39\]](#) by the turn of the twentieth century, the term terrorism started to become synonymous with terror acts from below that "attempt to disrupt, overthrow, or simply express rage against the existing political order".[\[40\]](#) Generally, scholars agree that modern terrorism from below first surfaced as an identifiably significant entity with the emergence of the Narodnaya Volya (the People's Will) in Russia, at the close of the nineteenth century. This group of intellectual ideologues believed in the institution of the state, but tried to ferment revolution in Russia to thoroughly cleanse the system. They tried to achieve this by, amongst other terrorist acts, assassinating numerous

Tsarist officials, including the Tsar himself, Alexander II, on March 13, 1881.<sup>[41]</sup> Even though they possessed an abiding hatred for their victims, the members of this group showed remorse and regret for their actions, inflicting self-torture and beatings as punishment for taking the lives of their victims.<sup>[42]</sup> In fact, they were so conscientious, discriminating and scrupulous about only killing their intended victim that, if their target was accompanied by a family member or if there was a danger that innocents might be killed, they would call off the attack and wait for a better situation to present itself.<sup>[43]</sup> Still, they persevered in their actions because they realized that, "political terror is unavoidable, moral and effective and that organized terror movements are the preferred alternative to a blind, witless insurrection of 'dumb people' ".<sup>[44]</sup> Consequently, it can be concluded that the real theoretical "conflict is between a worship of the masses and of revolutionary spontaneity, on the one hand, and the consciousness of mission and constituting a revolutionary elite, on the other".<sup>[45]</sup>

At the same time as ideological groups like Narodnaya Volga were plying their terrorist trade in an attempt to reform the system, another group of extreme leftists, the Anarchists, were trying to wrench it apart. In rapid succession and without any coordinated linkage or concrete objectives, over the next two decades, during the reputed 'high tide' of early twentieth century terrorism, the anarchist put into practice their "propaganda of the deed"<sup>[46]</sup> philosophy by murdering: American Presidents James Garfield and William McKinley; President Sadi Carnot of France; Prime Minister Canovas del Castillo of Spain; Elizabeth, the wife of Franz Joseph II and Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary; King Humbert I of Italy; King Carlos I and his heir, Prince Luis Filipe of Portugal; Prime Minister Stolypin of Russian; and, finally and most significantly, on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife Sophia.<sup>[47]</sup> This last assassination is regarded as one of the catalysts leading to the outbreak of the First World War. As a result of that four-year bloodfest, state institutions fell. However, the anarchists did not get their wish, because new governments immediately replaced the old ones. Similarly, for the Marxist ideologues, while they did get their change of autocratic monarchical government, in many instances, its replacement was either a more autocratic and tyrannical fascist government or a communist dictatorship.

Until the 1880s, the favourite weapon of the terrorist to commit their assassinations was the knife or the sword. In exceptional circumstances, guns or crude bombs were employed. However, with the invention of the "thunder of dynamite"<sup>[48]</sup>, bombs became more reliable, more powerful, and much safer for the terrorist to make and use. Consequently, the first revolution in terrorist tactics and weaponry took place. Bombs became the new weapon of choice for most terrorists, followed by guns, as a distant second. The preference for the 'up-close and personal' and discriminating sword and knife quickly diminished. Consequently, while some of the tactics evolved, for the next hundred years, the strategic use of bombs and guns predominated during terrorist attacks.

During the interwar years between the First and Second World Wars, the main focus of

terrorist studies must be on the terrorism as practiced by the repressive regimes of the Nazi and Soviet states and their purges. Elsewhere in the world, nationalist movements started to organize in the European colonial territories, while in the Arabic world, religious Islamic fundamentalism started to emerge. Having yet to develop a strong support base amongst the general population, these uprisings were generally quelled by policing action. Therefore, it was not until after the conclusion of the Second World War that these independence-seeking revolutionaries, using both guerrilla and terrorist tactics, managed to overthrow their European colonial masters. However, also during this post-war era, the rudimentary foundations of the Cold War bipolar tensions started to emerge. As a result, many of these nationalist groups who led the independence uprisings took on a socialist flavour and these internal conflicts became proxy skirmishes between the Western democracies and Warsaw Pact communist states. Even in the Middle East, the East-West Cold War dominated the tensions. Consequently, any terrorist activities that occurred were inspired by and seen as being part of the larger geopolitical picture.

On July 22, 1968, terrorism enjoyed a contemporary rebirth.<sup>[49]</sup> With the hijacking of an El Al commercial airplane enroute from Rome to Tel Aviv, three Palestinian terrorists achieved the second revolutionary event in the evolution of terrorist tactics.<sup>[50]</sup> Although airplane hijackings had been committed on a fairly regular basis since 1959,<sup>[51]</sup> this attack marked the first time that the perpetrators had traveled from one country to another to carry out a terrorist act. In addition, it also marked the first occurrence in which innocent civilians from other countries who had no relationship to the terrorist's cause were specifically targeted simply to enhance the attention and publicity that the terrorist action would receive. Unlike the basic, internalized, nationalistic, post-war, anti-colonial terrorist campaigns, from this point terrorism evolved into an international phenomenon. Terrorist now frequently acted with the intent "to shock and, by shocking, to stimulate worldwide fear and alarm".<sup>[52]</sup> Consequently, from this highly successful new tactic and,

through the combination of dramatic political statement, 'symbolic' targeting and crisis-induced de facto recognition, the terrorists discovered that they had the power to create major media events - especially when innocent civilians were involved.<sup>[53]</sup>

Therefore, from this point onward, it was accepted that terrorist groups would exploit such situations to seek out "the oxygen of publicity",<sup>[54]</sup> because, " most terrorists seek the headlines, but do not want to lose support and sympathy for their cause ... most perceive themselves as soldiers, not murderers ... the majority of terrorists are bad, not mad".<sup>[55]</sup> In fact, it could be further argued that, while terrorists might not be flexible in their basic ideology because of their fanatical beliefs, they are flexible in their *modus operandi*. They do respond and react to what 'the establishment' does, how it reacts, what its leaders say, and how they seem to think.<sup>[56]</sup>

In the 1960s and 1970s, left-wing nationalist terrorism became the dominant feature around the world. Featuring terrorist groups such as: the Irish IRA; the Canadian FLO movement; the numerous Latin American guerrilla groups; the German Red Army Faction, later known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang; the Japanese United Red Army; and, the Italian Red Brigades, to mention but a few. All of these left-leaning groups had, as their principle doctrine, "the primacy of action".<sup>[57]</sup> However, this is not surprising since, in many cases, the various gang members trained together at Soviet-supported terrorist training camps, especially in Libya, South Yemen and Syrian.<sup>[58]</sup> Another feature of these terrorist groups was the fact that, in some cases, they started to show the initial signs of becoming transnational organizations. For example, the Japanese United Red Army terrorists and the German Red Army Faction worked with the Palestinian terrorists on several occasions to commit terrorist acts in third locations.<sup>[59]</sup> In addition, individual international terrorist professionals such as Carlos<sup>[60]</sup> and Abu Nidal<sup>[61]</sup> arrived on the scene, creating their own mercenary styled terrorist organizations.

Meanwhile, in the United States, extreme fringes of the civil rights and anti-war movements started to emerge. For example, the culturally nationalistic Black Panther movement<sup>[62]</sup> and the anti-establishment Underground Weathermen,<sup>[63]</sup> initiated minor urban guerrilla-styled terrorist activities in major centres throughout the United States. At the same time, small fringe groups, which were more criminal than terrorist in their ideological orientation, such as the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), with its kidnapping and subsequent coercion of the hapless Patricia Hurst,<sup>[64]</sup> made the media headlines because, by this time, "the violence associated with the civil rights movement and protest over the Vietnam War had burnt itself out."<sup>[65]</sup>

The argument has been made that this left-wing inspired terrorist activity was primarily a response to injustice. This interpretation implied that, "terrorists were fanatical believers in justice driven to despair by intolerable conditions".<sup>[66]</sup> Consequently, the argument continued that, if there was more political, economic and social justice, then terrorism would simply vanish: a natural conclusion since there would no longer be any more injustices for the terrorists to address or avenge.<sup>[67]</sup> Consequently, because of this view, there was a degree of understanding and sympathy in some quarters for the objectives of these leftist terrorists, who were putting their life on the line trying to: overcome blatant injustices; right a grievous wrong; and, improve the human condition of underprivileged and oppressed individuals. After all, these leftist groups were deemed to be, "self-appointed saviors of freedom and justice ... rebels against tyranny".<sup>[68]</sup>

In contrast to the 1960s and 1970s, the terrorist situation, especially in the United States and Europe, completely changed its orientation during the 1980s and 1990s. While some elements of leftist groups still existed in isolated pockets around the world, the predominance of the left wing terrorism receded, "a trend that coincided with the collapse of the Soviet bloc, though it was not caused by the collapse".<sup>[69]</sup> Instead, right wing

underground patriot and neofascist organizations took to the foreground of terrorist activities. These groups targeted victims who were either foreigners, national minorities, or arbitrarily chosen. Their terrorist tactics had changed from those of earlier groups, which showed scruples and conscience, to a far more brutal and indiscriminate terrorist mindset. As a result, the earlier arguments which had lent a degree of moralistic quality to terrorist actions could no longer be applied to these new right wing factions. They were merely murderers pursuing their own narrow self-indulgent objectives.[\[70\]](#)

This swing from a left wing to a right wing terrorist orientation was particularly prevalent in the United States. During the last two decades the left wing militant groups such as the Black Panthers and the Weathermen gave way to a plethora of right wing militia and patriot groups. Over 179 such groups have been identified through their internet web-sites alone.[\[71\]](#) In the case of the most extreme of these groups, their members actions are fueled by a paranoia and hatred based on a perceived conspiracy by the American government and its agencies to further erode their rights and freedoms. Besides being religious extremists and racial bigots, they do not have a particular revolutionary agenda, but they do perceive "conspiracies everywhere, with signs bearing secret meanings hidden on the highways as well as in the supermarkets. All these strange symbols have a clandestine and sinister meaning".[\[72\]](#) Timothy McVeigh's 1995 Oklahoma City bombing of the Alfred Murrah Federal Building was probably the most extreme example of this terrorism of the extreme right.[\[73\]](#) He obviously believed that America was, in fact, being taken over by foreigners and degenerates and that it was "the Holy duty of all patriots to cleanse the country in a river of blood - in short, the worldview of a virulent form of fascism".[\[74\]](#) This concept also possesses, in whole or in part, a religious imperative, because it represents an incomprehensible "mixture of seditious, millenarian, paranoiac and anti-government beliefs ... where violence is regarded by its practitioners as a divine duty or sacramental act".[\[75\]](#)

Elsewhere in the world, religious extremism has also taken hold, particularly in the Arab World of the Middle East, between Muslims and Zionists. This particular regional conflict has been at the center of many worldwide tensions for the past fifty years. This new radical form of religious terrorist practitioner is best exemplified by the Muslim extremists. As opposed to the general worldwide trend towards multiculturalism and religious coexistence, some elements of the Muslim world have: rejected Western values and lifestyles; revolted against modernity; and, in extreme cases, called for a *jihad* or Holy War against all infidels or non-believers.[\[76\]](#) This radical Muslim reaction has been fostered by the unprecedented population explosion and its resulting growing poverty and unemployment, especially amongst the young educated Muslim youth. In addition, there is also a growing frustration with the lack of progress towards the adoption of democratic principles in most Muslim countries.[\[77\]](#) Also, specifically for the Arab Muslims, they view the creation and maintenance of the Jewish state of Israel in their midst as being a direct assault on Arab pride and confiscation of Palestinian territory. Finally, the dramatic and hegemonic elevation in power and status of the Western nations, lead by the United States, is seen as being further evidence of the decline and

humiliation of the once great Muslim world.[78] Therefore, the fanatical Muslim leaders have been able to convince their followers that this perceived misery has been caused by an outside enemy. Consequently, they have instilled a hatred in the general populace and, especially amongst their radical following, for countries that have made progress. This has inspired such fanaticism that recruiting for terrorist suicide bombing missions, or paradise-seeking martyrdom[79] as some have described it, is relatively easy and the indiscriminate slaughter of the innocent victims of these bombing is accepted as being, not only necessary, but just.[80]

In the eyes of most of these Arab radicals, the current situation has been caused by two distinct twentieth century forces that have directly altered the political situation in the Middle East and also the strategic importance of that region to the global community. The first of these forces was the discovery of oil in the region during the 1920s and 1930s. As the invention and perfection of the internal combustion engine revolutionized the lifestyle of the Western world, the requirement for and value of this natural resource exploded. This discovery has proven to be both a blessing and a curse to the Arab World, depending on your perspective and position within the tribal hierarchies in the region. Undoubtedly, as Western oil barons scrambled to secure this new 'black gold', their companies exploited the populations of the region. The second force was the enforced geographical boundaries, drawn up by the former European colonial powers following the First World War and significantly readjusted after the Second World War.[81] Unfortunately, in many instances, these new arbitrary boundaries did not respect either the traditional tribal territorial boundaries or the geographical realities on the ground.

In addition, since 1948, the obvious and continuing problem of the creation of Israel within the Palestinian homeland has been a truly unifying factor within the region. The clear objective has been removal of this Zionist thorn from Arab lands.

Fanatical Muslims consider the killing of the enemies of God a religious commandment, and believe that the secularists at home as well as the State of Israel will be annihilated because it is Allah's will.[82]

As a result, all Arabs have been united to their opposition to the State of Israel and to the Western Powers, especially the United States, who feel both a sense of guilt and remorse for the treatment of the Jews during the Second World War.[83] Consequently, the Western powers, under the auspices of the United Nations, have championed the Israeli right to a homeland at the expense of the Palestinians.[84] However, equally important, has been the growth of Wahhabism in the Arab World. The ire of the Wahhabis was initially directed, not against Western and colonial sources, but against those practitioners of Islam whom they believed were degrading and betraying the religion from within. The Wahhabis sect became true Islamic zealots who sought to eradicate anything or anyone who failed to meet their strict standards of purity and Islamic authenticity.[85]

Although initially a product of eighteenth century Arabian Islam, Wahhabism has recently flourished because of its association with the current ruling parties in most Arab countries. These particular regimes were installed by the Western powers when the various countries were created, because these particular Arab leaders had either provided the European powers with legitimacy during their colonial rule of the region or had supported the Allied armies during the two World Wars. Under the old Arab system, social inequities and power were limited. However, with the new state structure, the oil wealth, and the pervasiveness of modern communications, the inequality gap has been widened and the discrepancies have become much more obvious. Therefore, "lacking any other outlet, new and growing discontents find expression in religious extremist movements" [\[86\]](#), such as the Islamic Fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood and terrorist groups like Al Qaeda.

Unlike the Palestinian movements, which tend to concentrate their efforts in the Middle East against Israel and for the reclamation and recreation of an independent Palestinian state, these new organizations have developed a worldwide reach. Their followers believe the remedy for all of the ills of modernization rests with a return to true Islam. This reversion includes the abolition of all laws and social borrowings from the West and the restoration of the Islamic Holy Law, the Shari'a, as the only effective laws of the land. [\[87\]](#) While they also want to remove the Western intruders from their homelands, and are willing to transport their message through violent means into the heart of the Western nations, especially the hegemonic United States, "their most dangerous enemies, as they see it, are the false and renegade Muslims who rule the countries of the Islamic world and who have imported and imposed infidel ways on Muslim peoples". [\[88\]](#)

In addition to the traditional terrorist groups of the left, the right, the nationalists, and the religious, [\[89\]](#) the 1980s and 1990s also spawned terrorist groups with exotic motivations, such as narco-terrorists, eco-terrorists, anti-abortionists, and animal liberationists; [\[90\]](#) as well as some terrorism inspired by common criminal activities. Their weapon of choice is usually protest and obstruction, but occasionally the extremists in their ranks resort to bombing and, in the very rare case, assassination or attempted assassination using a gun or poison. While these groups are a danger and their actions have resulted in several deaths, to date, they have been more of a nuisance to be handled by law enforcement agencies rather than being considered as a serious terrorist threat that might destabilize a country. Still, their actions do evoke some degree of terror amongst politicians or persons who gain their livelihood from the businesses or professions against which these groups are protesting.

With the demise of the Soviet Union and the end of Cold War in the early 1990s, the complexion of international terrorism took on a whole new tone. With the former East-West tensions gone, this changing geopolitical dimension represented the third revolutionary concept in the evolution of twentieth century terrorism. "There was no Soviet Union, no Warsaw Pact, no Cold War, and no consensus on what came next." [\[91\]](#) However, it was now clear that the Soviets were no longer available to provide financial support or munitions to

terrorist organizations or to their sponsoring states.<sup>[92]</sup> The proxy conflicts, which often included the utilization of tactical elements of terrorist activities, had also lost part of their over-riding ideological base: the Marxist-Leninist communist ideology. Instead, terrorist groups now had to rely solely on their own internal reasons for their motivation to continue to exist. However, instead of retreating into their own nationalistic or religious shells, some of these terrorist groups adapted and evolved into truly global transnational organizations. They are no longer restricted to local or regional interests and action, but have established the world as their stage. Consequently, their former subnational nature as a state-sponsored side-show to the Cold War, has been supplanted by their newly invented transnational character.<sup>[93]</sup> These loosely affiliated, networked, terrorist groups became known in Western intelligence circles as 'Freelancers'.<sup>[94]</sup>

As a result, counter terrorist resources are not confronting a specific state, as was the case in the past and their old norms of understanding and operations no longer apply. In addition, today's terrorist groups are very well-financed.<sup>[95]</sup> Such transnational groups no longer rely on handouts from sponsoring states, but, instead, have developed excellent and smarter methods of gaining and handling their financial resources. Their old methods of robbery and ransom have been replaced by: high-tech criminal manipulations; businesses such as drug growing, processing and distribution operations; and, finally, laundering their funds through legitimate businesses.<sup>[96]</sup> The modern terrorist is also very well-trained and well-educated. They have taken the best ideas from their own past experiences and also from military and criminal training methods, and incorporated them into their own training programs. The former independence and isolation of many terrorist groups has given way to complicated, multilayered, transnational organizational structures which, in many ways resembles the corporate hierarchy of a multinational corporation. Finally and most importantly, today's terrorism groups have access to the knowledge about the creation and use of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), such as chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weaponry. While the use of this type of weaponry is still abhorrent to many terrorists, some terrorist elements have accepted both the possibility and the acceptability of their use.<sup>[97]</sup>

This potential use of the new WMD terrorism has been labeled as 'Superterrorism'. It has been defined as "the committing of violent acts using advanced technological tools to cause massive damage to populations and/or to the public and private support networks".<sup>[98]</sup> Of the variety of WMD weapon choices, which could also now include cyberterrorism (information warfare), <sup>[99]</sup> the employment of chemoterrorism or bioterrorism appears to be the most probable choice for religious or extreme right wing terrorist groups. This is because members of such organizations tend to be less morally constrained and often believe that their mission is divinely ordained. They view their struggle as being an all-out fight between good and evil, believers and non-believers, justice and injustice, and order and chaos. "In secular terrorism, the rewards of victory are finite, in religious terrorism, they are infinite: national determination compared to paradise."<sup>[100]</sup> In a pinch, if they could acquire them, these religious fanatics might even be inclined to 'go nuclear'. On the other hand, the chance of left

wing and nationalist groups deciding to use WMDs is quite low. After all, these terrorists usually see themselves as being anti-nuclear, environmentalists and nationalists. Therefore, they realize that such massive destruction would not only go against their cherished beliefs and value systems, but it would also be counterproductive to winning over 'the people' to their cause.[\[101\]](#)

Indeed, it is now clear that the level of violence acceptable to a terrorist has escalated. They no longer want to just have a seat at the negotiating table or to just gain converts or to have people watching as they commit their terrorist actions to make their political point. Instead, some terrorists now want a lot of people watching, a lot of people dead, and they want to blow up the negotiating table. The judicious and discriminating application of terrorist violence to propagandize their views and desires has been replaced by a desire to simply commit violence. While transnational organizations have been evolving and active since the end of the Cold War, the June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1995, Sarin nerve gas attack by the radical Japanese cult, the Aum Shinrikyo was the first instance of the breaching of the psychological barrier against the use of non-conventional terrorist weapons such as WMDs.[\[102\]](#) This event represented the last of the four revolutionary incidents which deeply influenced the evolution of terrorism in the twentieth century. Fortunately, to date, no other group has chosen to emulate their action. However, now that the psychological barrier has been broken, the probability that WMDs will be used again some day in the near future is very high.

Modern terrorism can be divided into three levels of activities: the amateurish individual or small group activities utilizing small bombs and simple automatic weapons; the larger groups with professional skills and supported by medium grade conventional weapons; and finally, the highly skilled group with potential access to WMDs.[\[103\]](#) Also, today, three major concerns exist: terrorist groups and their political wings (i.e. The IRA and Sinn Fein) are now able to combine legitimate politics with the threat of terrorist coercion and intimidation; the international community is failing to face up to its responsibility to cooperate to combat terrorism; and, the threatened use of WMDs could result in large scale losses.[\[104\]](#) Consequently, counterterrorist measures must be invented to adequately respond to this ever-evolving terrorist threat.

In this essay, it has been shown that four revolutionary events acted as significant milestones in the evolution of terrorism during the twentieth century. The first development, the discovery of dynamite, actually occurred during the later half of the previous century. However, its use in bombs was only being perfected at the turn of the twentieth century and resulted in the increased use of the more destructive and less discriminatory bombs as the weapon of choice for terrorists. Then, much later in the century, the discovery of the effectiveness of the use of hijackings, primarily of aircraft but occasionally of ships, not just as a method of transportation, but as a terrorist instrument, caused a shift towards the use of innocent third parties as part of the terrorist tool kit. Then, the end of the Cold War opened up the world stage to purely terrorist ideologies, as the proxy conflict between capitalist and

communist ideologies dissipated. Finally, the breaching of the psychological barrier to the use of WMDs in the Tokyo subway Sarin nerve gas attack, created a new apocalyptic potential to terrorist acts. In addition, throughout this century-long evolutionary process, terrorist attacks changed from being discriminating, selective actions into indiscriminate mass murders. Similarly, violence went from being a tool that terrorists used to achieve their objectives to becoming an end in itself.

Consequently, as has been shown throughout this essay, the contention that the events of September 11, 2001, represented a cataclysmic and revolutionary upgrading of terrorism is not accurate. Instead, these events must be considered as being merely another tactic in the continuing evolution of terrorism. On September 11<sup>th</sup>, using the old reliable terrorist tool, the bomb, but this time in the form of an almost fully fuelled passenger airliner, the nineteen terrorists simply developed a new tactic for the use of that bomb. Thus, they committed a suicidal act of terror bombing by employing airliners as a manned missile to destroy a selected set of high-profile targets. Indeed, though this was an ingenious new tactic, it was not a new form of terrorism.[\[105\]](#)

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[\[1\]](#) Caleb Carr, The Lessons of Terror – A History of Warfare Against Civilians: Why It Has Always Failed and Why It Will Fail Again, (New York: Random House, 2002), p. 5.

[\[2\]](#) Serge Bertrand, "Fighting Islamic Terrorism: An Indirect Strategic Approach," Canadian Military Journal, Vol. 3, No. 4, (Kingston: Royal Military College of Canada/Silk Road Publishing, Winter 2002 -2003), p. 15.

[\[3\]](#) Michael Mandelbaum, "Diplomacy in Wartime: New Priorities and Alignments", in James F. Huges, Jr. and Gideon Rose, Editors, How Did This Happens?: Terrorism and the New War, (New York: Public Affairs - The Council on Foreign Relations, 2001), p. 255. This phrase was coined by the President during his speech.

[\[4\]](#) In a definition, approved by the Armed Forces Council of the Canadian Forces on April 18, 2000, the Asymmetric Warfare Threat is described as being: "attempts to circumvent or undermine an opponent's strengths while exploiting his weaknesses, using methods that differ significantly from the opponent's usual mode of operations". Such asymmetric threats are grouped into three broad categories: information operations (IO); weapons of mass destruction (WMD); and, non-conventional operations. From an article by Patrick Henrichon, "Protecting the Canadian Forces Against Asymmetric Threats," Canadian Military Journal, Vol. 3, No. 4, (Kingston: Royal Military College of Canada/Silk Road Publishing, Winter 2002 -2003), p. 10.

[\[5\]](#) Dany Deschenes, "11 September 2001: A Radical New Departure in International Terrorism?," Canadian Military Journal, Vol. 3, No. 4, (Kingston: Royal Military

College of Canada/Silk Road Publishing, Winter 2002 -2003), p. 21.

[6] Carr, Lessons of Terror, pp. 17-51. In the first two chapters of his book Caleb Carr describe, in great detail, the problems that the Romans experienced throughout their empire with guerrilla and terrorist activities.

[7] The Hashshashin cult was a deadly Islamic Fundamentalist offshoot of the Isma'ilis sect, which was itself a breakaway group from the medieval Shi'ite Muslims. This shadowy cult used the drug, Hashish, as a means of reaching a state of religious ecstasy that strengthened them to perform their sacred work, which was "the murder of both Christians and Muslims they considered enemies of their faith and their sect". Ibid., pp. 52-53. Also see: David C. Rapoport, "Sacred Terror: A Contemporary Example of Islam," in Walter Reich, Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind, (New York: Press Syndicate of Cambridge, 1990), p. 121.

[8] Walter Laqueur, The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 11.

[9] Albert Parry, Terrorism: From Robespierre to Arafat, (New York: The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1976), p. 39.

[10] Ibid., p.69. Although they had a shared aversion to terrorist activities, both Marx and Engels recognized its utility.

[11] John Shy and Thomas W. Collier, "Revolutionary War" in Peter Paret, Editor, Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 825.

[12] Ibid., p. 141.

[13] Ibid., p. 81.

[14] Parry, From Robespierre to Arafat, p. 91. Yasser Arafat initially coined this phrase during a speech at the UN on November 13, 1974, and it has been repeated by many people on many occasions since that first utterance.

[15] Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998), p. 36.

[16] Donald J. Harle, Terrorism: The Newest Face of Warfare, (New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, Ltd., 1989), p. 104.

[17] Louise Richardson, "Terrorists as Transnational Actors", in Max Taylor and John Horgan, Editors, The Future of Terrorism, (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 2001), p. 209.

[18] Carr, The Lessons of Terrorism, p. 6.

[19] Cindy C. Combs, Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century, (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1997), p. 17.

[20] Ibid., p. 15.

[21] Harle, Terrorism: The Newest Face of Warfare, pp. 122-160. In this section of his book, Harle, individually examines each of these terrorism categories in detail.

[22] Ibid., pp. 121-196 and pp. 235-237.

[23] Ibid., p. 118.

[24] Ibid., 113.

[25] Martha Crenshaw, "The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice," in Walter Reich, Editor, Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind, (New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1990), p. 24.

[26] Parry, Terrorism: From Robespierre to Arafat, pp. 26-30.

[27] Khachig Tololyan, "Cultural Narrative and the Motivation of Terrorism," in David C. Rapoport, Editor, Inside Terrorist Organizations, (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 2001), p. 219.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Vamik Volkan, Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), p. 48.

[30] Ibid., p. 81.

[31] Ibid., pp. 34-35.

[32] Tololyan, Cultural Narrative and the Motivation of Terrorism, p. 231.

[33] Martha Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches", in David C. Rapoport, Editor, Inside Terrorist Organizations, (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 2001), p. 13. This article also appeared in Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol. 10, No. 4, (December 1987), pp. 13-31.

[34] Ibid., p. 14.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., p. 13.

[37] Ibid., p. 24.

[38] Ibid., p. 22.

[39] Even in the twentieth century, terror from above, such as the Hitler's Holocaust, Stalin's purges, Pol Pot's Killing Fields, the Rwandan massacres, and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, has clearly claimed many more lives than the terror exerted from below. Volkan, Bloodlines, p. 156.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Parry, Terrorism: From Robespierre to Arafat, pp. 114-116.

[42] Volkan, Bloodlines, p. 157. Also see, Walter Reich, "Understanding Terrorist Behavior: The Limits and Opportunities of Psychological Inquiry", in Walter Reich, Editor, Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind, (New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1990), p. 266.

[43] Walter Laqueur, "Left, Right, And Beyond," in James F. Hoge, Jr. and Gideon Rose, Editors, How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War, (New York: Public Affairs - Council on Foreign Relations, 2001), p. 74.

[44] Zeev Ivianski, "The Terrorist Revolution: Roots of Modern Terrorism," in David C. Rapoport, Editor, Inside Terrorist Organizations, (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 2001), p. 140.

[45] Ibid., p. 144.

[46] Walter Laqueur, A History of Terrorism, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Press, 2001), p. 14. This 'high tide' of terrorism began following the deliberations of the International Anarchist Congress, which occurred in London in July 1881. Insofar as illusions still existed amongst the participants that legal methods such as oral and written propaganda could arouse the spirit of the masses to pursue their cause, the anarchists added a new wrinkle of 'propoganda by deed' to help reinforce their message that political change was urgently needed. Ibid., p. 51.

[47] Parry, Terrorism: From Robespierre to Arafat, pp. 90-91.

[48] Laqueur, A History of Terrorism, p. 51.

[49] David Veness, "Low Intensity and High Impact Conflict," in Max Taylor and John

Horgan, Editors, The Future of Terrorism, London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 2001), p. 8.

[50] Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, p. 67.

[51] Prior to this incident, the hijacking of an aircraft was simply a means of transportation used by the hijacker, who were restricted in their freedom of movement, to get from Point A to Point B. Therefore, up to this time, airline hijacking was not a directly 'political' terrorist action. Ibid., p. 67.

[52] Ibid., p. 68.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Coral Bell, "The First War of the 21st Century: Asymmetric Hostilities and the Norms of Conduct" Australian National University - Strategic and Defence Studies Centre: Working Paper N. 364. (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, 2001), p. 4. This particular phrase was coined by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

[55] David Claridge, "Exploring the Myths of Superterrorism" in Max Taylor and John Horgan, Editors, The Future of Terrorism, (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 2001), p. 143.

[56] Martha Crenshaw, "Questions to be Answered, Research to be Done, Knowledge to be Applied," in Walter Reich, Editor, Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind, (New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1990), p. 258.

[57] Laqueur, A History of Terrorism, p. 207.

[58] Laqueur, The New Terrorism, p. 178.

[59] For example, two German terrorists participated with the five PFLP Palestinians terrorist at Entebbe, Uganda during the famous Air France Airbus hijacking and subsequent Israeli commando rescue. See Combs, Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century, p.175.

[60] Ibid., pp. 268-269.

[61] Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, p. 175 and p. 187.

[62] Laqueur, A History of Terrorism, pp. 209-210.

[63] Ibid., p. 208.

[64] Adrian Guelke, The Age of Terrorism and the International Politics System, (New

York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), p. 101.

[65] [Ibid.](#)

[66] Laqueur, [The New Terrorism](#), p. 9.

[67] [Ibid.](#)

[68] [Ibid.](#), p. 10.

[69] [Ibid.](#), p.106.

[70] [Ibid.](#)

[71] [Ibid.](#), p.111.

[72] [Ibid.](#), p.110. Such groups include: the Arizona Patriots,; the quasi-Nazi Aryan Nation, and its offshoot the Order; the Covenant; the Sword and the Arm of God; the Militia of Montana (MOM);and, the Christian Patriots Defense League (CPDL), to name but a few. Most of these groups claim that the two books by William L. Pierce, who holds a PhD in Physics and writes under the pseudonym, Andrew Macdonald, the *Turner Diaries* (Hillsboro, WV, 1978) and *Hunter* (Hillsboro, WV, 1989), are their ideological bibles.

[73] Christopher C. Harmon, [Terrorism Today](#), (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), p. 243. McVeigh chose April 19, 1995, to perform this act of terrorism, because it was the second anniversary of the Waco, Texas, fire and it was also the day scheduled for the execution of Richard Snell, a convicted killer whose political views were favoured by many right wing extremists. Snell had promised a revenge attack for his execution and he got it.

[74] Laqueur, [Left, Right, And Beyond](#), p. 72.

[75] Hoffman, [Inside Terrorism](#), p. 88.

[76] Laqueur, [Left Right and Beyond](#), p. 77.

[77] Bernard Lewis, "Exclusive Book Excerpt on The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror", (New York: Modern Library - Randon House Balantine Publishing Group, 2003), which appeared in the [National Post, Section B](#), Saturday 15 March 15, 2003. Dr. Lewis is the Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies Emeritus at Princeton University. This new book was only released in Canada and the United States on 25 March 2003. p. B7.

[78] Bell, [The First War of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century](#), p. 3.

[79] Reich, Understanding Terrorist Behavior, p.. 270.

[80] Ariel Merari, "The Readiness to Kill and Die: Suicidal Terrorism in the Middle East", in Walter Reich, Editor, Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind, (New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1990), pp. 192-207. In this essay, Merari examines the circumstances and motivations which lead an individual to be willing to commit suicidal terrorist acts.

[81] Lewis, National Post, B7.

[82] Walter Laqueur, "Postmodern Terrorism," in Foreign Affairs, Vol. 75, No. 5, September - October 1996, p. 32.

[83] Paul Berman, "The Philosopher of Islamic Terror", in The New York Times Magazine, (New York: The New York Times Press, March 23, 2003, p. 29.

[84] Hofman, Inside Terrorism, pp. 53-56.

[85] Lewis, National Post, p. B1.

[86] Ibid., p. B7.

[87] Berman, The Philosopher of Islamic Terror, p. 56.

[88] Lewis, National Post, p. B7.

[89] Religious inspired terrorism has a universal theoretical basis. "The patterns of religious violence of the Sikhs could be that of Irish Catholics, or Shi'ite Muslims in Palestine, or a fundamentalist Christian bomber of abortion clinics in the United States." See: Mark Juergensmeyer, "The Logic of Religious Violence," in David C. Rapoport, Editor, Inside Terrorist Organizations, (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 2001), p. 185.

[90] In his chapter on exotic terrorism, Laqueur provides detailed discussion on each of these forms of terrorism. See: Laqueur, The New Terrorism, pp. 184-209.

[91] J. Bowyer Bell, Dragonwars: Armed Struggle and the Conventions of Modern War, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999), p. 369.

[92] Harvey W. Kushner, "The New Terrorism," in Harvey W. Kushner, The Future of Terrorism: Violence in the New Millennium, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1998), p. 6.

[93] Combs, Terrorism in the 21st Century, pp. 99-100.

[94] Raymond Tanter, Rogue Regimes: Terrorism and Proliferation, (New York: St

Martin's Griffin, 1999), p. 255.

[95] Combs, Terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, pp. 102-104.

[96] Glenn E. Schweitzer, Superterrorism: Assassins, Mobsters, and Weapons of Mass Destruction, (New York: Plenum Press, 1998). In this book, Schwietzer devotes Chapter 6 (pp. 165-194) to drugs and terrorism and Chapter 7 (pp. 195-222) to the laundering of terrorist assets.

[97] Russell Howard, "Preface", in Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment, (Guilford, Connecticut: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2003), pp. xv-xvi.

[98] Schweitzer, Superterroism, p. 290.

[99] Chapter 11 (pp. 195-207) of Kushner's book, The Future of Terrorism, discusses this modern terrorist option. Laqueur even suggests that, "if the new terrorism directs its energies toward information warfare, its destructive power will be exponentially greater than any it wielded in the past – greater even than it would be with biological and chemical weapons". After all, "why assassinate a politician or kill people when an attack on electronic switching will produce far more dramatic and lasting results". See Laqueur, Postmodern Terrorism, p. 35.

[100] Gavin Cameron, Nuclear Terrorism: A Threat Assessment for the 21st Century, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), p. 159.

[101] Ibid., pp. 117-118.

[102] Ibid., p. 1. Also see Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, p. 88.

[103] Harmon, Terrorism Today, p. 139.

[104] Ibid., p.44.

[105] In his article, 11 September 2001, p. 25, Deschenes reaches a similar conclusion.