

THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM:
A LOOK AT WHY TERRORISTS BELIEVE EXTREME MEASURES ARE NECESSARY

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Introduction

“While nothing is easier than to denounce the evildoer, nothing is more difficult than to understand him” - Fyodor Dostoevsky

The study of terrorism is of extreme importance to contemporary society. The recent attacks by terrorist groups around the world, domestic and international, prompts one to think about how the groups come about, how they function, and most importantly, where the willing players are found. Of utmost importance is the idea of suicides as a tool of terrorism, driving home the intense amount of commitment by individuals to certain ideals, be they social, religious or political. This study attempts to analyze the motives of contemporary groups, and to provide insight into what causes the actual terrorist organizations to form, how they recruit willing players, and what action can be taken over the long-run to nullify these sources of unrest.

The focus of this paper involves necessary conditions that are set up by societies, policies, religions and states that provide incentives for individuals and organizations to break away from the economy and join separatist, rogue, and terrorist organizations. The organization, in turn, exists in order to achieve a “group ideal” purported by the leaders of said organization. While all manner of terrorist organizations are studied, the focus primarily lies with the most extreme and committed acts of terrorism-suicide attacks. For any terrorist group to be successful,¹ it must have an abundance of willing members and financing, as well as a certain amount of sympathy for its cause wherever the group chooses to be based.

In order for any research to be done within this area, one must first define the word “terrorism” and how it is used. Today the word itself carries several meanings, all severely negative, much

¹ The idea of success for a terrorist organization would be to draw attention to their aims in order to gather support and popularity.

akin to how the word “Communist” was used in the cold-war era². The American Heritage dictionary defines terrorism to be:

*“The unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence by a person or an organized group against people or property with the intention of intimidating or coercing societies or governments, often for ideological or political reasons.”*³

Politics and media drive the mainstream usage now, but for this piece, we introduce the following modification; the force in question is not directed at military or state owned targets, but rather on the civilian population. Hence the resulting fear and alarm affects the average person, and as a result, the economy as a whole. Therefore, attacks on military targets (such as the one on the U.S.S. Cole on October 12, 2000⁴) are out of scope of this analysis, even though they were carried out by Al-Qaeda, a well-known contemporary terrorist organization. The media would classify this as an act of terrorism, given the group that claimed responsibility. Since civilians were not involved, however, it does not satisfy the definition given above and thus, the incident would not be classified as an incidence of terrorism, but rather as an act of war as far as this study is concerned.

Assumptions

Much akin to economics research, the main assumption taken here is one of rationality. In this case, rationality in terms of the players and organizations that constitute terror networks, due to the fact that they are not simply in the business of murdering innocents. The assumption then is that terrorist organizations take rational decisions to arrive at the conclusion of causing mortal violence in order to achieve their aims. As Crenshaw (1998) states:

² Discussions with Dr Lloyd Dumas 2005

³ "Terrorism." The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition. Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004. Answers.com 20 Nov. 2005. <http://www.answers.com/topic/terrorism>

⁴ "USS Cole bombing." Wikipedia.

“...even the most extreme and unusual forms of political behavior can follow an internal strategic logic... Terrorism can be considered a reasonable way of pursuing extreme interests in the political arena. It is one among the many alternatives that radical organizations can choose.”⁵

This is a particularly hard assumption to make given that the outcomes are really anything but rational behavior. Nonetheless, given the demand and supply factors that contribute to terrorism, it would be prudent to define the outcomes as rational in the context of what the group is trying to achieve. To this end, rationality would be defined as that of the group itself rather than the entire population in that the groups themselves deem the act as rational behavior usually citing the hopelessness of their cause and defining the act as their only alternative in the face of adversity. Furthermore, terrorism here is also viewed as having political or revolutionary motivations. Secondly, this study is focused more on terrorist groups rather than an individual.

The Demand for Terror

"Everybody's worried about stopping terrorism. Well, there's a really easy way:

stop participating in it." - Noam Chomsky

For purposes of simplification, let us assume for the moment for terrorist attacks to be a real good. To this end, terrorism has demand, supply, and has reasons for both to be necessary and to come together in the marketplace. Therefore, it is important to study both the effects and the necessary conditions for both demand and supply. Terrorists, then, respond to a demand for change and provide a service aimed at fulfilling that demand.

Terrorism can be thought of as a service, justifiable in the mind of the terrorist as a public service, a necessary act taken on by certain individuals and organizations to coerce states into

⁵ Crenshaw 24

complying with their demands. Hence, the fact that the act is seen in political terms is no mere coincidence. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) took on various violent acts in order to pursue its goal of complete independence and sovereignty from the British.⁶ Similarly, the Al-Qaeda attacks on American targets (specifically September 11th 2001) are grounded in political motivations (to be explained shortly), contrary to the rhetoric of “attacks on freedom” purported by the media and current political leaders. Looking at a handful of how a few terrorist groups were mobilized might give some insight into the forces of demand for terrorist activity.

1. *Liberation Tigers of the Tamil Eelam (LTTE)* – The “Tamil Tigers” are one of the most dangerous groups in Southeast Asia, using terrorist and guerilla tactics to promote the interests of the ethnic minority of the Tamil people from the Sinhalese minority in Sri Lanka. The point of contention was that of the Tamil minority was demanding independence from Sri Lanka, as a direct result of decades of oppression of the Tamil minority in the region.⁷
2. *Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)* – This Colombian organization has its origins rooted in armed insurgency rather than terrorism, but is labeled a terrorist organization given its various illegal methods of acquiring funding, which include extortion and kidnapping. In the case of the FARC, the insurgency was founded when poor farmers rose up against the landowners over claims upon the land. Their current goal is to overthrow the government and ruling class in Colombia.⁸
3. *Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS)* – The “Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyya” or Islamic Resistance Movement has its roots in the Muslim

⁶ Hudson p. 125-126

⁷ Hudson p. 135-136

⁸ Hudson p. 155-156

Brotherhood (a group originating out of Egypt in the 1920's) and actually took its current form in the early stages of the Intifada (the Arabic word for uprising, used in connection with the Palestinian uprising for independence from Israel in 1987). The central goal of Hamas has to do with liberating Palestine from the state of Israel, in order to set up a separate sovereign nation for the Muslims in the West Bank and Gaza Strip area.⁹

For the three groups described above, (and largely any terrorist group so far) the main common idea would be the struggle against a state, political institution, or ideology, which they view as the main obstacle to be overcome in order to achieve their goals. Therefore, it would follow that in order for a small group of people to come together and get their issues addressed, they would have to have some method of grievances built into the political structure so that they would not have to resort to extreme measures in order to achieve their goals.

The main method of airing grievances is built into almost any political structure via the justice system; however, it is hardly ever policed or sustained in most third world nations. Since most terrorist organizations essentially arise out of various third world countries, it would follow that the frustrations of a small group against a larger group (or, more poignantly, those without power struggling against those with power) would be the main reason for any resistance group to take form. Essentially, the goal is the same: to illicit some sort of change that their group stands for, be it to attain independence from a sovereign state, or even to gain further rights for a minority group. In fact, manager confidence levels surveyed in most third world countries report extremely low levels of confidence in the court system of said country; for instance in 2002, Pakistan reported that 63% of managers had little to no confidence in the courts' ability to

⁹ Hudson p. 180-182

uphold property rights.¹⁰ This is a stark contrast to less than 20% reported by China and Malaysia in 2003. Furthermore, Banuri (2004) writes:

“The simplest legal case in Pakistan takes an average of four and a half years for disposal and many are known to have dragged on for over twenty years. Even after such delays, the parties are not sure of receiving justice”¹¹

This information is very telling for a number of reasons, the first and foremost being the idea of helplessness that gets associated when a certain group is mistreated. While this constitutes a more immediate supply side effect, in that the effected people become more susceptible to talk of revolution and change, it has a demand side effect as well. This failing of court systems and political structures of hearing and addressing grievances is essentially what gives birth to the idea of people rallying together to achieve a common goal. At this point, the exact delineation of a “terrorist” organization is not formed, however paths taken to voice concerns are exactly what differentiate one organization from another, and hence display how the group is to be perceived by the population in general. Usually, the failure of the more peaceful and diplomatic route is what compels the group to turn to violent action. This is especially true for groups fighting a single adversary in order to achieve greater rights and/or independence. One particular case is the one for Hamas, which mobilized military style action after the official organization, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) recognized Israel as an independent state in 1988.¹²

This is only the first necessary condition that needs to take place before a terrorist group comes into existence as a response to demand. Essentially, in order for the demand for violent groups to arise, there must be some common adversary of the group, which may serve as a focal point of

¹⁰ Figure 1.1 p. 32 below

¹¹ Banuri p. 172-173

¹² "Hamas." Wikipedia.

their anger. Secondly, there would need to be some essential characteristic of the members of the separatist group that forms a common bond amongst them so that they are adequately able to separate themselves from the general population.¹³ Interestingly, this also would explain a certain lack of empathy that characterizes most of these organizations, allowing them to carry out feats of violence without much compassion for the victims of the attacks. Bandura (1998) states:

“...when power holders willfully disregard legitimate grievances concerning maltreatment, terrorists can easily persuade themselves that their actions are motivated by self-protection or desperation”¹⁴

The usual linkages between the members of a violent group seem to be of the racial ethnicity or religious flavor, but do not necessarily have to be as large as that. Seemingly, any little point of contention that will play upon the member’s egos in differentiating them from the oppressors, and giving their struggle a certain “us versus them” doctrine will be enough to attain loyalty to the cause pursued by the group. Examples of this exist in virtually every struggle studied as terrorism so far, perhaps the most poignant being those of the Hezbollah group, which was formed as a direct result of Israeli occupation of Lebanon.¹⁵ In this case, Hezbollah actually uses both the Muslim and Lebanese identities of its members to separate them from the Jewish Israelis, causing further rifts between the two, hence making violent acts easier for their members to carry out.

One of the simplest factors as to why the number of terrorist attacks have increased over the latter half of the twentieth century is the undeniable fact that they bring immediate media attention. For better or worse, it simply captures attention and, more importantly, more media

¹³ For more information on this concept please see Stern, “Terror in the Name of God”, Chapter 1, “Alienation”

¹⁴ Bandura p. 185-186

¹⁵ "Hezbollah." The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy, Third Edition. Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002. Answers.com 21 Nov. 2005. <http://www.answers.com/topic/hezbollah>

coverage than any form of non-violent protest. Over the past century, many great visionaries have stood as a beacon to the contrary, prominent figures such as Martin Luther King, Gandhi and Nelson Mandela, the fact remains that nothing has quite managed to illicit as quick and strong a response from the media as an attack on a civilian population such as September 11th. In the realm of achieving strong and prominent media attention terrorism has succeeded at a pace that has not been as well achieved through any non-violent methods.

“All but the most insane, isolated terrorists...to some extent depend on and try to build support among the broader public, at least for their cause if not for their tactics.”¹⁶

Democratic governments exist to implement the will of the people. Foremost among the demands of the people from their leaders is that of the safety of civilians. It may also be further argued that the armed forces of a nation exist for the sole purpose of defending the civilian population and thus, to shield them from harm. Hence, when a particular terrorist attack takes place, it is, by definition, an attack with a singular purpose of causing fear and alarm, finally leading to instability, and thus eliciting change from within. The state may then be seen as a failure in the eyes of the public, not being able to provide safety to its citizens, which is one of the core reasons for the government to exist. This would cause the citizens to sit up and take notice, and point to the attack itself as a failing of the state.

Herein is the exact reason why contemporary terrorist groups are so powerful. By the attack on the U.S., the Al Qaeda achieved not only a destabilizing effect on the American government and the economy, but also suffered no severe impacts to its popularity within operating countries. How the latter happened is simply due to the separatist idea outlined previously, in that they are

¹⁶ Dumas (2003) p.68

able to justify the attacks to their people, citing the various grievances alleged upon the U.S., which they failed to address in time. Bin Laden stated in 2002:

“I am telling you...whether America escalates or de-escalates the conflict, we will reply to it in kind...the youth of Islam are preparing things that will fill your hearts with fear. They will target key sectors of your economy until you stop your injustice and aggression...”¹⁷

Moreover, the retaliatory action taken by the U.S. has further strengthened the case made against the nation, effectively providing more fuel to the fire. Further evidence of the importance of popularity within the common population for any separatist group is displayed by the fact that violent attacks (especially those against their own people) were avoided by the terrorist groups to a large extent until recent history. It may well be argued that what constitutes “their people” is political rhetoric, but the fact remains that the justifications presented to the offensive party is fully considerate of their members. For example, in the quote above, Bin Laden makes the clear distinction between America and Islam as if they are separate, conflicting ideologies.

Furthermore, estrangement from a terrorist group is rarely ever an option, and is usually dealt with the harshest of penalties. Therefore, justification of any aggression is extremely important to terrorist organizations, which is why responsibility of an act of aggression is soon claimed along with several reasons blaming the attacked individuals / nations as the primary cause of the event, with a prime example being various statements by Bin Laden following the attacks on September 11.

Over the course of the last century, terrorism has grown deadlier and deadlier simply because terrorism itself has evolved. It continues to evolve at a faster rate than government policy, which

¹⁷ “Statement by Usama Bin Laden” AJSCT, 6 October 2002 as cited by Scheuer (2004) p. 17

is usually guided by responses to terrorism in general. Since September 11, it is shown that overall suicide bombing incidents have increased with declines in “manageable” terrorist attacks such as kidnappings and hostage taking.¹⁸ The reasons for this may be that terrorists have learned to plan their attacks in ways that are more effective in gaining media attention and government responses. Evidence of this is demonstrated by the suicide bombing taken place in Jerusalem over the past decade. These attacks in civilian population (while denounced severely by all nations) have brought results, specifically in the Israel case where years of diplomacy could not. Conceptually, this would become a platform for future extremist organizations to look to build upon these methods and continue to find effective ways of gaining media attention. As Bueno de Mesquita (2005) notes:

“...observation that government concessions often lead to an increase in the militancy of terrorist organizations... concessions draw moderate terrorists away from the terrorist movement, leaving the organization in control of the extremists.”¹⁹

One more point of interest would be the economic state of affairs the nation is in that is conducive to the number of potential fighters. Most importantly, the question of inequality would come into play, because as noted earlier, the demand for terrorist organizations is highly impacted by oppression and the inadequate platforms of airing grievances. Demand for individuals willing to take up a cause is then highly increased when the individuals in question are being mistreated in some way (with economic oppression as one of the main drivers). The unequal distribution of wealth has always been on the forefront of conflict; hence, the affiliated countries of the terrorist organizations would be expected to have major economic difficulties to

¹⁸ Bueno de Mesquita 169-170

¹⁹ Bueno de Mesquita 170-171

this effect. Furthermore, it would be more likely to assume that the lesser the economic hardship, the less likely individuals are to partake in violent activity.²⁰

The Supply of Terror

"No snowflake in an avalanche ever feels responsible." - Voltaire

In order for any terrorist group to be successful, willing players must exist, people that are ready to fight and die for a cause, and hence are able to carry out deadly attacks directed by the leaders of the organization. This section tackles the issue of how these players come into existence, and makes a case for proximal causation, which allows a certain thought process to be born and nurtured. Given our assumption of rationality outlined above, exactly how is it that people seeking to maximize their utility of life take a step that would seem rather contrary from their goal. A cursory glance at just about any historical text alludes to the fact that such individuals not only exist, but also are heralded as heroes of their times.

The call to heroism is a particularly strong one amongst young men, perpetuated by a number of social, theological, or political factors experienced usually during the formative years.²¹ Terrorist organizations are actively recruiting all the time, preying upon the socially weaker groups within societies that would be more susceptible to terrorist ideology than groups that possess power and influence.

*"Individuals who become terrorists are often unemployed, socially alienated individuals who have dropped out of society."*²²

What this suggests is that essentially there have been certain inequalities within the systems of countries that give rise to a feeling of unrest within certain demographics. These particular

²⁰ Discussions with Dr. Lloyd Dumas 2005

²¹ Discussions with Dr. Lloyd Dumas 2005

²² Hudson p. 36-37

demographics are being actively recruited into separatist groups. Therefore, it is the contention of this article that there is no greater evidence of the failings of an economy than the number of individuals leaving the economy to join such groups. Essentially, the argument boils down to any rational individual that has a solid job, is contributing to the economy, and has his basic needs fulfilled would not take on such a dangerous role. In this section it is necessary explore the possible effects that compound the final deadly mindset of today's average terrorist.

It is perhaps no great coincidence that the most vicious terrorist organizations are the ones based on religion, the most powerful of which being Al-Qaeda. According to the International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) based in Israel, there are 57 major terrorist organizations operating in the world at the current time (that have achieved widespread recognition).²³ Since the ICT is based in Israel, it may be argued that they would have a potential bias against Islamic Terror organizations because of the immediate threat posed to Israel by the Muslim world. Table 1.4 provides another source of data and is a list of major terrorist organizations from the U.S. Department of State which has 27 of the 40 organizations as listed in their "*Country Reports on Terrorism*" in 2004 as Islamic terrorist groups.²⁴ According to the data available, about 53% of the groups studied are Islamic groups (according to the ICT) with at least eight groups operating in Palestine and five in Pakistan alone.²⁵ What is telling about these statistics is the fact that both Pakistan and Palestine are not only hard-line Islamic nations, both the citizens of the respective states have had issues against their political system for a long time. The Palestinians, of course, have had their struggles against the nation of Israel in their quest for autonomy, while Pakistan has long had a history of political instability, with three dictatorships (via martial law) operating

²³ Table 1.3 p. 36 below

²⁴ *Country Reports on Terrorism*, 2004. United States Department of State, April 2005 retrieved from <http://library.nps.navy.mil/home/tgp/tgpndx.htm#current>

²⁵ Table 1.1 p. 33 below

over three decades in their short history.²⁶ This would suggest that there is something in Islamic doctrine that makes young individuals susceptible to joining fringe organizations. Similarly, it would also suggest that political instability also has a severe impact on the number of recruits produced by a particular society over time.

On the theological front, almost all Islamic nations have been criticized at one time or another for their Islamic schools (or Madrassahs). While the schools have been labeled as the primary source of terrorist activity, the main reason for the infusion of fundamentalist principles with the public is the fact that the Madrassahs teach hard-line fire and brimstone Islamic philosophy (which is a cause of concern for the governing states). The problem is further accentuated by the power the religious leaders have in Islamic nations. Since the September 11 attacks, the U.S. has been leaning on several nations to further control their religious institutions and their activities. To this end, the President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf forced all the Madrassahs operating in Pakistan to register with the government and expel any foreign students back to their native countries in 2005.²⁷ This is almost certainly a step in the right direction, but what is important about these developments is the fact that while the Madrassahs agreed to register, they did not agree to disclose any funding they have received or are receiving. This point is important because it shows that the schools are largely open to public scrutiny, but command enough power to be able to negotiate with the state. Further evidence of the importance of religious institutions in Islamic nations is further displayed by the events leading up to the U.S. – Afghan war in 2002, where Pakistan was seen as a key strategic base for the U.S. and was asked to help the American “War on Terror.” The Pakistani leader accepted their request to an extent (regardless of fierce opposition from the religious right) but as a result, the Pakistani elections

²⁶ "Pakistan." The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia

²⁷ Abbas. BBC

held in 2002 saw the religious parties gain unprecedented strength in parliament, suggesting that the Islamic parties commanded much greater influence than recognized or appreciated by the Western nations.²⁸

This discussion of the religious right and their influence is important simply because of the small number of religious schools teaching hardliner Islamic doctrine that preaches Islamic war (or “Jihad”) on all non-Muslims as well as Muslims that do not follow the strict interpretations of the Islamic law. There is a particular movement of Islam originating out of Saudi Arabia known as “Wahhabism”; identified as very dangerous to young minds because of the immense stress and importance it places upon the puritanical lifestyle, and the glorification of death and sacrifice as the ultimate form of worship.²⁹ While the movement itself is hardly to blame, since it is just another interpretation of Islam, the usage of this doctrine is the greatest cause for concern, since most Islamic terrorist organizations use it, and its concept of Jihad as rote justification for their actions. Hence, this particular movement was the cornerstone of both the Taliban and Al-Qaeda and its leader Osama Bin Laden. Some of the main tenants of any religion have been that of disciple, loyalty, and blind faith, and in this, the Wahhabi movement is no different.

Additionally, due to the strict blasphemy laws in the Islamic world it is also difficult to question the statements of the religious leaders. This would then cause a freedom of speech issue that makes it even more difficult to object to a wrong practice by an individual (though blasphemy laws exist in the Christian world as well, they are not as strongly enforced as in Muslim nations).³⁰ Due to this strong theology present within the Muslim culture, discipline, and loyalty are taught at an early age. Yet how exactly does this become a liability for the nation and the

²⁸ Khan. BBC

²⁹ "Wahhabi." Wikipedia.

³⁰ "Blasphemy." Wikipedia.

economy while serving the terrorist organizations purpose? The answer lies in certain mistrust that the Muslim clergy have with the government, which is viewed as corrupt and immoral, as well as the fact that the separation of church and state is not as clear as in the West. Therefore, when the clergy is unhappy with the state, they do not hesitate to voice their concern publicly, which causes the younger generation to develop this mistrust at an early age. Terrorist organizations would then prey upon the resulting individual that has the discipline, loyalty, and unquestioning faith, coupled with a deep inherent mistrust of the state and convince this person to join in their “holy” cause.

In addition to the religious studies contributing to the supply of terrorists, there is also the educational factor that further enhances the supply. It is necessary then to differentiate between religious and mainstream educational resources and their contributions to separatist groups. The difference here needs to be pointed out because of the nature of mainstream education, which is not based in religion, but rather, has a religious component as part of its overall curricula in most Islamic nations. What this suggests is that the radical Islamic schools in Pakistan are not the only sources of such thought, but rather it is entirely possible that the rhetoric exploited by the terrorist organizations is introduced to the average child in school, displaying the immense outreach of the thought process. It is also important to note here that the underlying religion does not pose the biggest threat, but the interpretations of the theological message presented to the children by the religious instructors. To this end, curbing the Islamic curriculum would not be an adequate remedy, since it would cause even greater backlash from the extremist groups. What would be more relevant to nullify this particular factor of supply would be greater care in instructor selection and standardized procedures to obtaining teaching degrees for religious

teachers. This would ensure that the proper care is taken in delivering the religious message such that young minds may be intrigued, but not brainwashed by the Islamic ideologies.

Another aspect of terrorism may well be linked to the political instability that plagues the third world. Pakistan is a prime example given the tumultuous nature of politics, as well as the repeated failings of democracy within the nation. Over the past two decades, political terrorism has been rampant throughout Pakistan, with the leader of the MQM (Muttahida Quami Movement); Altaf Hussein (living in exile in the U.K.) orchestrated several terrorist attacks in Karachi, the main base of the political party.

“Each time Altaf Hussein called a strike, people in the city would die... There was also the uncanny fact that whenever someone from the MQM was killed, a reprisal killing would follow in a matter of days... The MQM has never been just an electoral party: it is also a militant organization”³¹

Already faced with huge numbers of terrorist incidents which led to nearly constant bloodshed in the city during the early 1990's, an entire generation of children grew up with the horrors of terrorist attacks right in their backyard, often affecting the poorer areas of Karachi. It goes to follow that the bloodshed would then cause the children, on average, to become desensitized to the occurrence of violence as a response to the horrifying effects.

“Civilized conduct requires, in addition to humane personal codes, social systems that uphold compassionate behavior and renounce cruelty”³²

It is not completely inconceivable, then, to suggest that these very same desensitized youths would take to the streets themselves as they grow older, and would have a greater chance to become a part of the violence they were exposed to during their formative years. Additionally,

³¹ Jones p. 121-132

³² Bandura p. 190-191

by partaking in violence and due to the government (and its policies) changing over time with various regimes, the groups are under the belief that such activities do, in fact, influence the state in the long run. They can draw the conclusion that the nations would eventually find it easier to give in to demands as long as there is some level of public support aligned with the groups.

One further point of note is the impact of a strong leader at the helm of any extremist organization. There are examples abound of the popularity of a single person causing additional members to join in their cause simply by coercing a small number of people via their own charisma. There is no greater example of this than Osama Bin Laden (the talismanic leader of Al-Qaeda) who is widely believed to be the most dangerous man alive on Earth today. While he is severely hated in the West and can single-handedly be attributed with starting two wars (the War on Terror, and the War in Iraq), it is repeatedly displayed how popular the man is in Islamic countries. No greater evidence exists than the fact that the ruling party in Afghanistan (the Taliban) in 2001, could have averted a war by handing him over to U.S. authorities, but refused to take such action. Bin Laden's case (while admittedly extreme) is one of legendary proportions. The son of a rich Saudi businessman, he shunned his own comfortable lifestyle to fight the Soviet Union during the occupation of Afghanistan in 1979. He traveled to Pakistan to train "freedom fighters" to fight the soviet insurrection and is also reported to have taken an active part in the war on the front lines. He founded the Al-Qaeda terror network in the late 80's as a self-proclaimed leader of the Jihad against the U.S. and Israel. The main point of contention for this hard-line Islamist is the rejection of western influence on Islamic nations, which is seen to be at odds with the Islamic culture and lifestyle. Leading by example and having virtually millions at his disposal in financing, he has been able to keep his organization alive over the course of

nearly two decades and has orchestrated multiple attacks on U.S. interests worldwide.³³ Much of his allure is due to his personal charisma as well as his history, with reports of people describing him as a humble and fearless individual. Part of the reason he is able to illicit such loyalty from his supporters is his larger-than-life image. Thus, by him (and other leaders such as him) able to command such loyalty makes his demand for terrorists alone a significant factor of the supply of terrorism overall.

Policy Implications

“The oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class are to represent and repress them.” - Karl Marx

The overall policies taken as a response to terrorist attacks worldwide have been short term in nature. Airport security has been increased, as well as immigration procedures for “Black-listed” nations in attempts to curb future threats by extremist organizations. Within the United States, the immediate policy response was the passing of the USA PATRIOT act³⁴ in 2001, which was closely related to the FISA³⁵ of 1978 and a further extension of the USA Act³⁶ passed in October 2001. The Patriot act broadening the powers of the FISA by introducing new rules on record searches for combating terrorism, by allowing third party searches on financial, travel, mosque records among others. It also allows searches on home and property without express consent or notice. Furthermore, warrants are no longer required to tap and trace phone calls and internet traffic, in addition to making any association with suspected terrorists a deportable offense. It also has provisions for detaining individuals without evidence of any danger or threat posed by

³³ "Osama bin Laden." The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy, Third Edition. Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002. Answers.com 21 Nov. 2005. <http://www.answers.com/topic/osama-bin-laden>

³⁴ Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism

³⁵ Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act

³⁶ Uniting and Strengthening America

said individual.³⁷ It would seem, then, the U.S. government under the Patriot Act, no longer protects the privacy and personal property of its citizens. This act introduced several liberties that can be taken by the state as a response to terrorism; however, the danger of abuse does not seem too far-fetched. Hence, with the actual definition of the word “Terrorism” open for debate, the sections outlined above can be invoked in a variety of cases that may or may not be terrorist threats as known today. The major fear, however, is the existence of a police state, which can be exploited by those in power to a major degree. The historical parallel that is drawn is that of the Reichstag Fire Decree, which (while a lot more extreme) led to the empowerment of Nazi Germany.³⁸

Greater policing efforts by the nations under threat are really just short-term solutions however. Much of this legislation is attacked because it grants too much power to the government and encroaches upon the civil rights and liberties of the people. To this end, the ACLU is the biggest opponent to the Patriot act since its inception, and calls for the revoking of many of its sections, most of which are deemed unconstitutional in their opinion. In order to identify actual policies that would have a long-term impact on curbing terrorism the need to look at the various originating factors of contemporary terrorist activities arises, and hence, introduction to policies which will curtail violence at the source, rather than granting concessions or increasing policing as a response. Furthermore, it has also been shown that conceding to terrorist demands has simply increased levels of activity, and posed a greater danger to civilians than before.³⁹ Greater policing is also effective, but again introduces inefficiencies and frictions into the economy. An example of this can be seen by the greater amounts of time spent in travel time directly after

³⁷ "Patriot Act." Wikipedia.

³⁸ I do not mean to suggest that there is a parallel between the RFD and the Patriot Act. What I state here is simply the effect such legislation has upon the people it is meant to protect, and thus will not be able to last very long.

³⁹ Bueno de Mesquita p. 145-176

September 11th as compared to before and thus can be perceived to have a slowing effect on productivity overall. Furthermore, there is also now considerable slowdown on immigration based on the heightened security levels, which makes it harder for international scholars to gain access to the resources of the developed countries, which would pose quite a large opportunity cost to Western nations.

It is the contention of this paper that dealing with the issues outlined in table 1.2 below are what would cause terrorism to decline over the long term. Thus, there are certain policies that would need to be brought into effect by both the Western nations (consumers) and the third world (producers). The United States, being in a position of economic power, has the ability to enact and influence other nations to adopt such policies, in order to curb the levels of danger, but it is necessary to point out that no one nation can independently curb terrorism in the world. It necessarily needs to be a concentrated effort by all nations and states of actively pursue the outcome of a world free of terror. The only governing body that may be able to carry an impact in this would be the United Nations; however, they cannot without the willingness of all nations to participate. The primary reason why the U.N. is suited for this role is that they should represent the only governing body in the world that would be free of political bias. Thus, the incentives would be in place for this third party organization to view and drive the global economy rather than to focus on the growth of a particular nation state.

The first point of contention would be that of equality and justice corresponding to airing of grievances. The need for people to feel it necessary to separate themselves from the governing system of the nation in question must be addressed first and foremost. The arising issues would need to be dealt with such that future separatist groups would not find it necessary to resort to

violent means in order to have their voices heard. The 1992 Los Angeles riots (triggered by the acquittal of police video taped of beating Rodney King) provide a keen example of the violence that can occur when the justice system is perceived to be unjust.⁴⁰ Another example is the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, where the Palestinian's are the ones who feel they have been wronged. To this end, the question of racial and religious equality is a very important one and thusly policies need to be enacted to correct these failings within the legal/economic system. Adequate legislation can be enacted, and has been, but the enforcement of such legislation is where the policies often fall short. Therefore, if one is to take away one of the main points of contention between groups fighting for supremacy (or even equality), there would tend to be less violence within the groups. The economy plays an extremely important role in that the usual inequality that is purported by the groups often is in monetary terms. As noted earlier, certain "heroes" throughout history were able to reduce discrimination through non-violence, such as Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela. Were it not for such people, the actual conflicts would have been worse than they actually were.

The United States actually represents a good model for equality with integration of different races and cultures that is, arguably, better than anywhere in the world, but most minorities would still argue that it is far from perfect, and will continually need to evolve in order to achieve complete "melting pot" status. What is important to note here though is that while it may be far from perfect, there have been significant victories for minorities over time within this nation that are not evidenced in the third world. Additionally, racial and religious differences cannot simply be corrected by a policy taken by the state because it would essentially be meaningless if the people themselves do not believe in, or actively work towards enacting these laws. Hence, total

⁴⁰ "1992 Los Angeles riots." Wikipedia

equality cannot be achieved without the evolution of policies over time in order to make the people of the nation realize the potential of such laws, from a moral, progressive, and economic standpoint. This would also curtail the alienating of certain groups within the society and hence bring them into the fold, providing less of a reason for violent attacks since it would cut at the heart of the “us versus them” philosophy of terrorist groups, and would then cause their support to fade.⁴¹

It is a failing of both the political and justice systems, then, that the grievances posed by minority groups are not adequately addressed or corrected within both the developed and the developing countries. This primary cause for the demand for terrorism is the most important issue, in that people must feel protected and find no reason to separate themselves from the system and the economy in order to join extremist fundamentalist groups. Global terrorism in the vein of Al-Qaeda is no exception to the rule either, given that were the rational individuals involved able to bring their issues to their respective governments, there would be a lessening of an impact on civilians, in that their grievances could be accounted for and dealt with. To this end, Osama Bin Laden’s contention that the West has too much influence over the Islamic world began with the establishment of military bases by the United States in, or near, Islamic nations. In a true democratic society then, Bin Laden would be able to air his grievances to the governing body, and either hold someone accountable, or take his case to the courts. Furthermore, given the range of influence he is shown to have on Muslim people in general, it is not inconceivable that he

⁴¹ For more information on this concept please see Stern, “Terror in the Name of God”, Chapter 1, “Alienation”

could run for office himself in a bid to change the policy of Saudi Arabia towards U.S. military bases, without going to the extreme lengths that constitute his terrorist activities.⁴²

For developed nations, a simple *laissez faire* attitude would not help abate such terrorist threats. Meeting the demands of the terrorist groups do not seem to help matters much either, since they provide impetus for further groups to take up arms. War is not the answer either, since given the example of Afghanistan; it has created more animosity rather than peace, and would seem to increase the supply in Muslim nations, providing fodder for the extremist groups to enlist more fighters in their cause. Michael Scheuer, a senior U.S. intelligence officer writes in his excellent book “Imperial Hubris”:

*“America has declared that waging jihad against Islam’s attackers a criminal act... America has demanded that Muslim regimes limit, control, and track the donations Muslims make to charitable organizations that serve their poor, refugee, or embattled brethren... America has demanded Muslim educational authorities alter their curricula to teach a brand of Islam more keeping with modernity and, not coincidentally, U.S. interests... The U.S. military has also sent troops to help governments kill mujahideen... America supports apostate Islamic governments... America...often imposes economic or military sanctions on Muslims”*⁴³

Scheuer admits that the above points may not be an accurate depiction of the U.S. foreign policy, but that is how they are interpreted by the militant groups, and hence provide a basis for potential terrorist groups to exist and carry out their holy war. The wars against Afghanistan and Iraq have

⁴² This discussion is not a heralding of democracy nor do I want to suggest that the system be put into effect all over the world, but rather speaks to the implementation of a legal system that autocracies such as Saudi Arabia seem to be lacking which would possibly curtail the demand for extremist factions.

⁴³ Scheuer (2004) p. 11-14

not helped matters much either. Thus, it is necessary to point out that these foreign policies need to change in order to curb terrorist activity. Due to these, the justifications for a jihad are clear in the minds of the extremist groups. Furthermore, as Telhami points out “*People are not going to trust the message if they do not trust the messenger*”⁴⁴ stating that the U.S. (or any western nation for that matter) cannot afford to be seen as the oppressor, and hence must be careful to state their policy towards such nations in unbiased ways. The U.S. itself is in a unique position to dictate economic conditions in parts of the world that rely heavily upon it for trade, and can therefore, exercise a certain degree of influence because of it. However, by out rightly tailoring its policy towards some countries with bias causes further oppression and animosity to grow and foster, finally impacting the supply of both terrorist individuals and organizations. Ultimately, the states of terrorist producing nations should be held responsible for the actions of its citizens, preferably by a third party non-biased organization (such as the United Nations), in order to curtail further terrorist activity. The U.N. has had better success being perceived as a non-biased organization than any country, and is equally vocal in condemning attacks against Muslim states as it is against non-Muslim states. This has led to a greater trust being felt for the U.N. and is not currently viewed as an oppressor. Of course, domestic violence would continue as it has in the past, but that would be curtailed by the nations themselves over the long run. This would also provide incentives for the nations themselves to control and contain violent factions within their appropriate jurisdictions. The largest impacts here would be on cross border terrorism, but in order to achieve even that level of defense, there would need to be no clear target for the terrorists to claim as their opposition. The result here would then become the nations working together to improve the safety of its citizens.

⁴⁴ Shibley Telhami, “Understanding the challenge,” *The Middle East Journal*, vol. 56, no. 1 (Winter 2002), p. 9. as cited by Scheuer (2004) p. 15

Curbing the supply of terrorists is a rather more immediate concern, and one that may not have any short term solutions other than outright policing. Over the years, the call to heroism has been used repeatedly as a high moral way of life, especially in the Islamic nations. Fighting for a cause has long been romanticized by almost all societies, to the extent that the only way to adequately curb such calls is to accurately identify the difference between the good and the bad groups in societies. Sadly, however, what constitutes good and bad is a simple matter of perspective, which the nations and separatist groups do not share. It is then simply a matter of weighing the costs and benefits of joining or withdrawing from the mainstream economy in the minds of potential activist, therefore conditions must be created to diminish the allure of joining rogue groups by focusing on the mainstream economy. Lloyd Dumas gives three economic principles that would create an “international peacekeeping economy”:

1. *“Establish Balanced Economic Relationships”*
2. *“Emphasize Development”*
3. *“Minimize Ecological Stress”*⁴⁵

The principles given above relate to curbing war between states with conflicting goals. However they may well be applied to curbing international terrorism as well. Of the three principles, the first is one that is of utmost importance to curbing terror attacks quickly. As is the contention earlier, the economic powers of the world cannot be seen as having a biased view when it comes to trade. Hence, trade and the global economy (by association) need to be independent of the political climate surrounding nations. The answer would lie in the third party independent organization to lay sanctions on nations that do not effectively work towards curbing the terrorist threat. Since terrorist organizations (in general) are viewed as independent from states, and are

⁴⁵ Dumas (2004) p. 3-9

relatively safe from retaliation because they do not present a clear target, then the organization in charge of sanctions should similarly be unrelated to any particular state. This would take away a certain focus of hate from terrorist organizations, causing them to have the same problems experienced by the nations trying to curb terrorism. To speak to the second point above, the need for development cannot be understated. As the world moves closer to a global economy, it is similarly necessary to introduce the idea of the global distribution of wealth and knowledge, to bring struggling nations on a more even platform with the developed nations. On average, underdeveloped nations are producing a much larger number of terrorist organizations and terrorists, which would again prompt the conclusion that destabilized economies are at the heart of this problem. Both the distribution of wealth and power are uneven, and as long as this continues, there will always be global conflict in one form or another. Finally, the redistribution of the world's ecological resources are at the source of the conflict, and hence must be adequately dealt with to curb violence against people. Control of such resources have always prompted nations to war, and allow the concept of superpower nations to arise as well.

These issues are important, but are ideal conditions that should represent our eventual goal as a world economy. In the interim, however, nations producing the supply of terrorists need to take certain action to nullify the causal effects of extremism. To this end, each nation actively would need to work towards equality and economic progress within its own jurisdictions. Specifically policies need to be implemented and policed to correct imperfections within their legal systems, and to allow equality to exist within each nation to ensure basic human rights. Furthermore, in Islamic nations, greater regulation of the educational system needs to exist to be able to regulate the education of the youth in order to keep extremist views in check, particularly in mainstream educational facilities. Steps are seemingly being taken to regulate the more extremist theological

education facilities by Islamic nations (particularly in Pakistan), and while time will tell whether these steps are adequate, but states must actively get involved in hate-mongering via intelligence agencies in order to cut terrorism at its roots.

The stability of political institutions is another important factor that needs to be addressed in developing nations. A disproportionate amount of the third world faces political violence as a nearly daily occurrence. What ever the system of governance may be in these nations, they must actively work towards curtailing political strife and violence between warring factions. Not only do actions of militant political minorities form a domestic level of terror, they also have profound impacts on the youth of the country. The argument lends further evidence of the idea that if democracy is to be practiced in developed nations, the levels of policing need to be enhanced to deal with political uprisings in a manner that protects civilian livelihood. Escalating conditions need to be dealt with to allow less growth and evolution in terrorist development. As stated above, policing can really only have short-term effects before the particular society would return to its state of rest or normalcy. Future supplies of terrorists and / or rogue organizations can be tackled with in this manner, thus the impetuous for terror attacks can be cut down in this fashion. If violence increases at an increasing rate (over the years), therefore it can be safe to assume it will decrease at a decrease rate as well given appropriate measures are taken now.⁴⁶ The economies of developing nations are at stake as well given the growing levels of trade taking place globally. Foreign direct investment levels are extremely important to the growth of the third world as well, political instability is a direct threat to not only the safety of civilians, but also the overall economic growth of the nation.

Conclusion

⁴⁶ The idea of the escalation of terrorist attacks can be seen both from historical data as well as from arguments given earlier in the paper that lend credibility to the evolutionary nature of violent attacks.

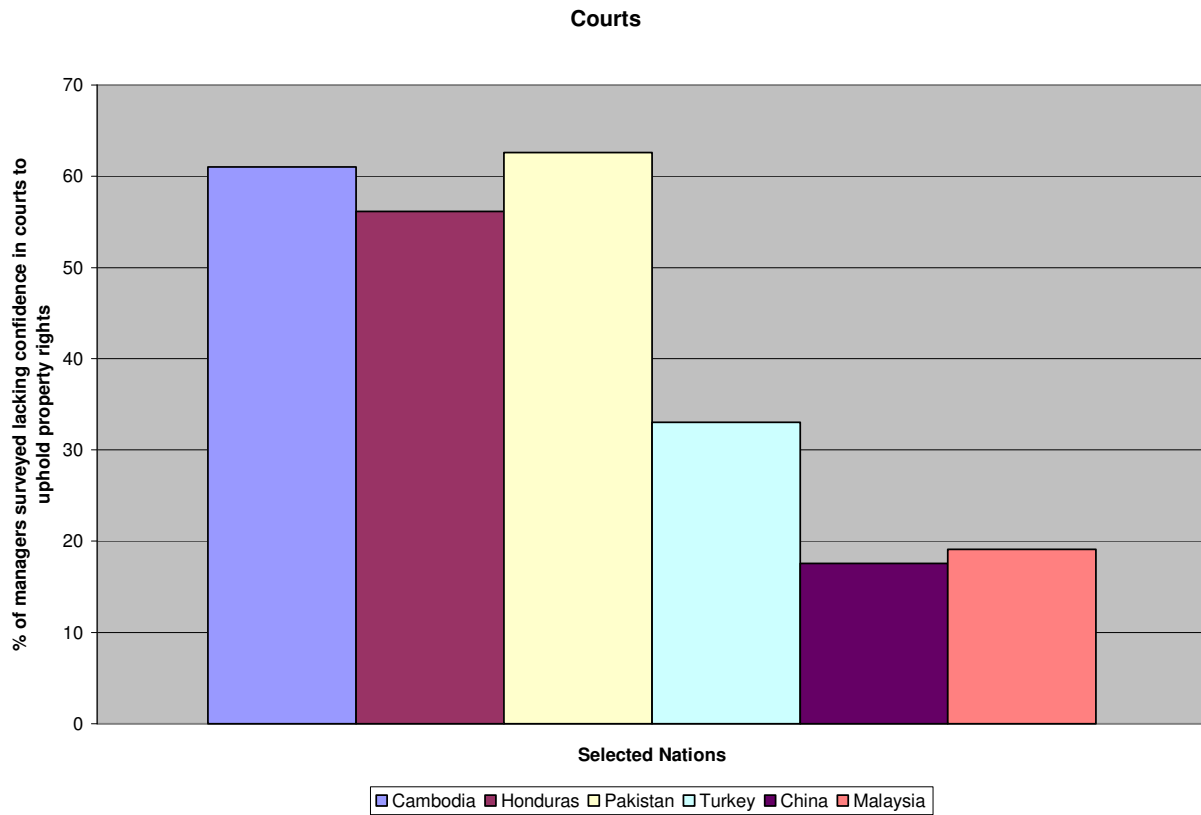
Terrorism is a global phenomenon that affects the entire population on Earth. The escalating nature of the threats to populations and economies seems to be gaining further impetus as further advances are made in weapons technology. Conceivably all manner of dangerous weapons can be made available to terrorist organizations just as easily as they are available to security and defense forces. Due to the escalating nature of the threats at hand, each subsequent attack has the potential to get ever deadlier than the one before. Therefore, the entire world would need to unify in order to combat this global phenomenon.

Advances in telecommunications, transport, satellite imagery, and weapons technology all help to show that the terrorists have the potential to threaten everyone on the globe. Keeping this in mind, as we move to a more global economy, it is in the best interests of everyone to combat the growing threats of terrorism at the grassroots level. Every nation in the world has a role to play, and every citizen has a right to be protected. Political, judicial, and economic forces can be used to combat the threats to the world, but only if the entire world is willing and able to carry out these measures and play their part in the struggle against terrorism.

While greater amounts of policing are effective over the short-run, action needs to be taken now in order to address and nullify the root causes of terrorism. In order for any manner of lasting peace to be achieved, the justice systems of the world need to be strengthened (especially in developing nations), the political unrest needs to be adequately addressed, and economic growth needs to take place to level wealth and resource distribution across the globe. Every nation needs to be brought into the fold of the global economy, and hence the playing field needs to be evened out across borders. Countries producing terrorist groups and players need to be held accountable for their citizens and the education of the future leaders of the world needs to include less hate

and more compassion. Terrorism threatens the safety of us all, and only by working together, as citizens of the Earth, can we be effective in building a better future for the coming generations.

Figure 1.1: Court Effectiveness in Selected Nations



Source: *World Development Indicators Online*, World Bank, Washington, DC: 2000

Table 1.1: Listing of International Terrorist Organizations By Country and Major Religion (ICT)

Organization	Country	Religion
Abu Sayyaf Group	Philippines	Muslim
Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya	Egypt	Muslim
Al-Qa'ida	Afghanistan	Muslim
Al-Takfir W'al Hijra	unknown	Muslim
Ansar Al-Islam	Iraq	Muslim
Armata Corsa	France	Christian
Armed Islamic Group	Algeria	Muslim
Aum Shinrikyo	Japan	Buddhist
Basque Homeland and Freedom	Spain	Christian
Chukaku-Ha	Japan	Buddhist
Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine	Palestinian	Muslim
Fatah - Revolutionary Council	Lebanon	Muslim
Fatah Tanzim	Palestinian	Muslim
Force 17	Palestinian	Muslim
Great East Islamic Raiders Front (IBDA-C)	Turkey	Muslim
Hamas	Palestinian	Muslim
Harakat ul-Mujahedin	Pakistan	Muslim
Hizballah	Lebanon	Muslim
Hizb-ul Mujehideen	Pakistan	Muslim
Irish Republican Army	Northern Ireland	Christian
Jamaat ul-Fuqra	Pakistan	Muslim
Japanese Red Army	Japan	Buddhist
Jihad Group	Egypt	Muslim
Kach and Kahane Chai	Israel	Jewish
Kurdistan Worker's Party	Turkey	Muslim
Lashkar-e-Toiba	Pakistan	Muslim
Lautaro Youth Movement	Chile	Christian
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam	Sri Lanka	Buddhist
Loyalist Volunteer Force	Northern Ireland	Christian
Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front	Chile	Christian
Martyrs of al-Aqsa	Palestinian	Muslim
Morazanist Patriotic Front	Honduras	Christian
Moro Islamic Liberation Front	Philippines	Muslim
Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK)	Iran	Muslim
National Liberation Army Colombia	Colombia	Christian
National Liberation Front of Corsica	France	Christian
Nestor Paz Zamora Commission (CNPZ)	Bolivia	Christian
New People's Army	Philippines	Christian
Palestine Liberation Front	Iraq	Muslim
Palestinian Islamic Jihad	Palestinian	Muslim
Party of Democratic Kampuchea	Cambodia	Christian
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine	Palestinian	Muslim
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command	Palestinian	Muslim
Popular Struggle Front	Syria	Muslim

Qa'idat Al-Jihad Fi Bilad Al-Rafidain	Iraq	Muslim
Qibla and People Against Gangsterism and Drugs	South Africa	Christian
Real IRA	Northern Ireland	Christian
Red Army Faction	Germany	Christian
Red Brigades	Italy	Christian
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia	Colombia	Christian
Revolutionary Organization 17 November	Greece	Christian
Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front	Turkey	Muslim
Revolutionary People's Struggle	Greece	Christian
Sendero Luminoso	Peru	Christian
Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan	Pakistan	Muslim
Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement	Peru	Christian
United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia	Colombia	Christian

Source: *International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism*, ICT, Israel: 2005

Table 1.2: Root Causes of Terrorism

Terrorist Group	
Causations	
Demand Factors	Supply Factors
Imperfections in Grievance Airing	Psychological Appeal of Calls to Heroism
Failings within the justice system	Theological Ideology
Racial or Religious Intolerance	Political Instability
Lack of Economic Activity	Educational Factors
	Access to Financing and Sanctuary
	Leader / Visionary

Table 1.3: Terrorist Organizations By Religious Affiliation

Religion	Total	Percentage
Buddhist	4	7%
Christian	22	39%
Jewish	1	2%
Muslim	30	53%
Grand Total	57	

Source: *International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism*, ICT, Israel: 2005

**Table 1.4: Listing of International Terrorist Organizations By Country and Major Religion
(U.S. Dept. of State)**

Terrorist Organizations	Country	Religious Affiliation
17-Nov	Greece	-
Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)	Iraq	Islam
Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)	Philippines	Islam
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade	Palestine	Islam
Al-Jihad (AJ)	Egypt	Islam
Al-Qaida	Afghanistan	Islam
Ansar Al-Islam (AI)	Iraq	Islam
Armed Islamic Group	Algeria	Islam
Asbat al-Ansar	Lebanon	Islam
Aum Shinrikyo (Aum)	Japan	-
Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)	Spain	-
Communist Party of Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA)	Philippines	-
Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA)	Ireland	-
Gama'a al-Islamiyya	Egypt	Islam
HAMAS	Palestine	Islam
Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM)	Pakistan	Islam
Hizballah	Lebanon	Islam
Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)	Uzbekistan	Islam
Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM)	Pakistan	Islam
Jemaah Islamiya Organization (JI)	Indonesia	Islam
Kahane Chai (Kach)	Israel	Judaism
Kongra-Gel (KGK)	Turkey	Islam
Lashkar i Jhangvi (LJ)	Pakistan	Islam
Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LT)	Pakistan	Islam
Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG)	Libya	Islam
National Liberation Army (ELN)	Cuba	-
Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)	Palestine	Islam
Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)	Palestine	Islam
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)	Palestine	Islam
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)	Palestine	Islam
Real IRA (RIRA)	Ireland	-
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	Colombia	-
Revolutionary Nuclei	Greece	-
Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C)	Turkey	Islam
Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC)	Algeria	Islam
Shining Path (SL)	Peru	-
Tanzim Qa'idat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn (QJBR)	Iraq	Islam
The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	Sri Lanka	-
The Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK)	Iran	Islam
United Self-Defense Forces/Group of Colombia (AUC)	Colombia	-

Source: *Country Reports on Terrorism, 2004. United States Department of State, April 2005.*

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