

Terrorism:
A Journey of Self Recognition and
Overcoming Taboo



A History 499 Paper By:
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I.

The attack on the World Trade Center in New York City on September 11, 2001 hereafter referred to as "9/11", devastated a city, incited a punitive war against suspected rogue nations, and left citizens around the globe in a state of panic not felt since the fall of Soviet Communism. During the Cold War every citizen in the United States and much of the world, was fearful that they could become victims, the looming threat of nuclear proliferation only served to strengthen this global sentiment.

The repercussions of 9/11 transformed the United States and much of the modern world's views on "terrorism". Islamic fundamentalists, most notably Al-Qaeda led by Osama bin Laden have become public enemy number one. Following 9/11 the United States declared war on Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) in a vain attempt to eradicate Al-Qaeda and capture Osama bin Laden. The 9/11 attacks have also brought a resurrection of the terms "terrorism" and "terrorist". When attempting to understand what "terrorism" is I used the following criteria: first what caused the designation of the term "terrorist". Was this designation based on cultural bias? Do I believe based on the actions of the group that the groups designation as terrorists is justified and if not why are they labeled terrorist? Finally, what is terrorism to me?

To figure out what terrorism is to me, I answered several personal questions which I used to formulate my definition of terrorism. First I asked my self what is a terrorist, while the first image that came to mind was a turban wearing Arab. I came to a quick realization that this faceless Arab who I was so quick to label as a terrorist was simply a byproduct of the culture in which I have been surrounded by since 9/11. The next question I asked myself was what was terrorism like before 9/11, I paused and was reminded of a recent episode of South Park that

parodied the recent election and the People for Ethical Treatment of Animals, identified in the episode as PETA. Once again the choosing of this group stemmed from cultural bias, so to fix this dichotomy I asked who would an African American identify as a terrorist organization? The answer came quickly the Ku Klux Klan was the group that I identified. Finally, I asked myself where did the term terrorist come from? Drawing from my World History class I knew that the term had originated during the French Revolution.

II.

The following definitions of terrorism are axiological approaches to defining the word terrorism. These definitions are based on the author's personal opinions, and may suffer from cultural stereotypes. However, that does not make terrorism less real nor does it preclude the following definitions from being correct.

Historian Jessica Stern defines terrorism as an "act or threat of violence against noncombatants with the objective of exacting revenge, intimidating, or otherwise influencing an audience."¹ Historians Graeme C.S. Steven and Rohan Gunaratna further require that terrorism be "systematic and deliberate" and that its primary goal is "political control of the public" through fear.² Historian Alex P. Schmid examines the various definitions of terrorism from authors, such as Walter Laqueur, and compiles them into seven categories of political terrorism which include; tyrannicide, guerrilla warfare, revolution, war, crime, madness, and political violence.³

Laqueur presents the advent of extremist, quasi-religious terrorist organizations as an

¹ Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), xx

² Graeme C.S. Steven and Rohan Gunaratna, *Counterterrorism: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara: BC-CLIO, Inc., 2004), 4.

³ Alex P. Schmid, *Political Terrorism: A Research Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases, and Literature*

innovation of the late twentieth century. Fanatics belonging to these organizations have become, according to Laqueur, the primary terrorist of the modern era. Religious extremist such as Al-Qaeda (9/11), and the American Christian Patriot movement (Alfred P. Murrah Federal Office Building in Oklahoma City) provide the best examples of terroristic devotion to “the Cause.”⁴

Joseba Zulaika and William Douglass’ *Terror and Taboo* reintroduces Søren Kierkegaard’s theory of “teleological suspension of the ethical” from his work *Fear and Trembling*. Teleological suspension of the ethical can be defined as a personal suspension of ethics for a higher purpose whether it be religious or political. Kierkegaard’s theory stems from the biblical tale of Abraham and Isaac. Abraham was commanded by God to travel to the distant land of Moriah where he was to offer his only son Isaac, as a sacrifice unto God. Humbly, Abraham accepted his fate and was on verge of completing the gruesome task, which God had appointed him, when God once again spoke with Abraham praising him for his loyalty and sparing Isaac and by allowing Abraham to sacrifice a ram in his stead. Kierkegaard sees this as the perfect example of the absurd nature of faith in any form, religious, political, or otherwise.⁵

Furthermore, Zulaika and Douglass discuss the paradox of “innocence and guilt” which offers insight into the mind of the terrorist. The key to understanding the paradox is gained by being able to identify the similarities and differences between terrorist victims and ritual sacrifices. The perfect victim of terrorism is innocent, pure, and randomly chosen. The randomness of terrorism victims instills fear in the entire society, as anyone could be the next target. The perfect sacrifice is innocent and pure; unlike the victim of terrorism, the sacrifice is

(Amsterdam: Transaction Books, 1983), 8.

⁴ Walter Laqueur, *The New Terrorism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 80.

⁵ Joseba Zulaika and William A. Douglass, *Terror and Taboo: The Follies, Fables, and Faces of Terrorism* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 145.

not randomly chosen, but is the best a person can offer to God. Terrorism is meant to strike at the innocent, just as ritual sacrifice uses the innocent. Violence that is “meant as punishment” is, by its very nature, “not terroristic.” If terrorist’ victims deserved punishment, or even death, action against them would not be terroristic but rather act of justice.⁶ Thus, the preclusion of punishment from being terroristic, excludes the possibility of counter-terrorism falling under the definition of terrorism. Therefore, when discussion of counter-terrorism arises a completely separate definition is needed to express the fundamental differences between the two. Counter-terrorism through its ritualistic punishment of those it believes to be guilty falls into the area of perceived justice.⁷

This paradoxical relationship between guilt and innocence is not simply black and white, but quite complex in nature. The definition of innocence and guilt falls into the hands of individuals. Followers and supporters of a similar cause to that of a “terrorist” immediately perceive the accused as “innocent” and often view that figure as a hero. Whereas, those in opposition to the terrorists’ cause tend to place the same individual or group at the opposite end of the spectrum pigeonholing the accused as a callous, murderous, monster. According to many Christian Orthodox Abraham was seen as a holy man of God willing to sacrifice his most precious item unto God at the drop of a hat. While they openly condemn “Al Qaeda”, who much like Abraham abandoned their personal ethics for the advancement of a “cause.”⁸

Historians Marc Pilisuk and Angela Wong argue that the term terrorism first gained visibility as a description of purposeful and planned acts by a government, rather than of wanton acts of rage by individuals. The Jacobins’ rule of France in the late eighteenth century introduced

⁶ Zulaika and Douglass, *Terror and Taboo*, 133.

a “reign of terror.” Robespierre noted, “Terror is nothing but justice- prompt, severe, and inflexible. The inflexible guillotine severed the heads of approximately 1,200 hundred people, including Robespierre’s in the years that followed.”⁹

Another horrendous example occurred in the Zula state from 1816 to 1828, when two million people were execute in an effort to enforce complete submission to the rule of one man named Shkar. The idea of terrorism as a justifiable political strategy was used again by the Russian revolutionaries who assassinated Czar Alexander in 1881 and by the Zionist organization Lehi against British rule in Palestine.¹⁰

Based on the previous examples Pilisuk and Wong introduce an alternative definition of terrorism, which states that terrorism is “the calculated use of violence for political goals”, and “terrorism is a form of violence or warfare directed primarily against civilians, rather than the uniformed, military, police forces or economic assets. It is used by both governments and insurgents.”¹¹ By accepting Pilisuk and Wong’s definition of terrorism then targeting of civilians during the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II would qualify as state terrorism. The change in warfare and the advancement of military technology according to Pilisuk and Wong has turned low-intensity combat into a form of state perpetrated terrorism.¹²

Historical psychologist Timothy Warneka’s takes a psychological approach to understanding terrorism. His five causes of terrorism provide valuable insight into the psyche of a terrorist, which is useful for understanding the variables required for terrorism to occur. One of

⁷ Ibid., 148.

⁸ Joanne Rogers, Interview. July 8th 2005.

⁹ Marc Pilisuk and Angela Wong, “State Terrorism: When the Perpetrator is a Government” in *The Psychology of Terrorism*, ed. Chris E. Stout, 4 Vols. (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2002.), II, 106.

¹⁰ Ibid., 107.

¹¹ Ibid., 106-107.

his five cause is the misunderstanding of the difference between feeling anger and acting on it. Warneka defines anger as a feeling that takes place within the mind, body and spirit. He continues by claiming that anger is frequently a feeling that covers up other types of feeling. Violent aggression generally stems from anger but they are not the same thing, as aggression can mean either a hurtful and violent outburst of anger, or active, energetic, enthusiasm. According to Warneka, aggression is a behavior of which an individual has control. He continues by arguing that individuals can be angry without being violent, however, in case of terrorism this aspect of self control is usually overlooked.¹³

The second of Warneka's causes of terrorism is the paradigm of individualism. Paradigms provide us with the language to reveal certain aspects of our experiences, while at the same time concealing other aspects of our experiences. Warneka claims that problems arise when individuals perceive their individual viewpoint of the world as the only way to see the world. These individuals ignore the contextual issues around aggression. They see themselves as the victims of this aggression and label the aggressor a terrorist. These victims do not make any attempt to understand why the terrorist acted out in the first place. The paradigm of individualism precludes discourse through the labialisation of violent individuals as terrorists, making the terrorist figure alien and thus easier to blame.

The third cause of terrorism present by Warneka is shame. Warneka wrote "shame is the experience that what I am, and that me is not acceptable, that this is not my world."¹⁴ General consensus is that the typical reaction to shame a desire to escape or hide- to sink into the floor

¹² Ibid., 107.

¹³ This and the subsequent five paragraphs below are based on Timothy Warneka. "Everyday Terrorism- the Long Shadow of Our Hidden Dragon: Shared Factors of Terrorism and Juvenile Violence." in *ibid.*,IV, 95-105.

¹⁴ Ibid., 98.

and disappear. However, a common way in which people manage shame is to become angry.

Clinical observations have shown that rather than curbing hostile and aggressive impulses, shame tends to initiate a particular type of anger episode, namely, an irrational and generally counterproductive rage reaction.¹⁵

Many revolutionary thinkers maintain that violent revolution is the only way to throw off the internal shackles of inferiority and shame. Therefore, when an individual feels shame he is more likely to become angry and thus aggressive, often resulting in horrific acts of terroristic violence.

Warneka's fourth cause of terrorism is negative societal projections. Looking at aggression as something strange, different, or foreign is an act of making aggression "other" - existing only in other people, in other places, for other reasons. We readily forget the words of Roman poet Terence: *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto* ("I am a person; and nothing human is foreign to me.")¹⁶ Instead, we are all too ready to accept the shaky premise that somehow, in some way, the people who commit aggression are fundamentally different from ourselves. By making terrorist different from ourselves it precludes the need to understand them, cementing their tabooed status within society. Segregating society from the "other" allows the feelings of shame to further manifest within the terrorist often resulting in more acts of terrorism.

Warneka's final cause of terrorism is the oppressive role of power. Terrorists generally are not the ones with authority in a given situation. That authority lies within the hands of the government, aristocracy, or the wealthy. People who repeatedly have the experience of being underpowered in the political system in which they live are more at risk to perform acts of terrorism. In order to accomplish many of their goals terrorists are forced to use violence and

¹⁵ Ibid., 100.

¹⁶ Ibid., 101. 17 This and the subsequent two paragraphs below are based on Ted Goertzel, "Terrorist Beliefs and

threats to gain more power. Warneka argues that terrorism is in the eyes of the beholder and that is why the Boston Tea Party has never been labeled as a terrorist action within the United States. Yet- surely, that's what it must be under the modern definition of terrorism.

In what I view as an expansion on Warneka's five causes of terrorism comes from historian Ted Goertzel. He argues that way people deal with the shame anger and helplessness place a terrorist within one of three categories. The categories he has identified are the political strategist, the radical theorist, and the militant activist. The political strategists' goal is to win power so as to impose his will on society. He has no special interest in terrorism as an end itself, but is quite willing to use it if he thinks it is the best way to achieve his desired agenda. In Democratic societies, political organizers are less likely to resort to terrorism because there are viable opportunities to seek power nonviolently. Well known political strategists include Vladimir Lenin, Carlos Marighela, and Osama bin Laden.¹⁷

The radical theorist is more interested in ideas than in power. He would rather be true to his beliefs than win power by compromising them. Radical theorists often do not partake in violent acts of aggression. However, the worst possible thing to happen to a radical theorist is for his message to be ignored. When their ideals are withheld from the public, rash and sometimes violent actions occur. The perfect example of this is Theodore Kaczynski also known as the Unabomber. Other notable radical theorists include Leon Trotsky and Abimael Guzman.

Militant activist are the prototypical terrorist. They are drawn to violence as an end to itself, either as a means of venting anger or as a source of excitement and adventure. For them, the theories are useful as rationalizations for doing what they want to do anyway. Well known

Terrorist Lives." in *ibid.*, I, 99-100.

militant activist include Joseph Stalin, and Timothy McVeigh.

III.

Terrorism has many faces and is shaped by many factors including but not limited to location, age, financial security, public opinion and education levels. Due to its changing parameters an absolute definition of terrorism cannot be achieved. However, the following definition is my personal definition of terrorism. On a local level terrorism is a violent physical or psychological attack against the innocent, utilized by the underrepresented within society as a means to influence an audience. State sponsored terrorism as it relates to counter-terrorism is an act of vigilante violence utilized as a means to punish the guilty or those who maybe potentially become guilty. State terrorism and individual terrorism are both by products of one another. States use terrorism as a means to suppress individual uprising and to weaken the voice of the minority. To counteract the weakening voice of the minority individual terrorism becomes a reaction to a governmental policy of oppression.

In order to begin to “understand”¹⁸ terrorism, my definition of terrorism will be applied to four distinct subsections of terrorism, those four subsections are: state sponsored terrorism (Jacobin Reign of Terror), psychological terrorism (Ku Klux Klan), eco-terrorism (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) and religious terrorism (Al Qaeda).

Someone once told me “the journey to understanding starts at the beginning”; therefore to completely understand “terrorism” it’s important to know its origins. The term “terrorism” dates back to eighteenth-century France, specifically to 1793-1794 and the Reign of Terror during the most violent phase of the French Revolution (1789-1799). However many of the terms

¹⁷ This and the subsequent two paragraphs below are based on Ted Goertzel, "Terrorist Beliefs and Terrorist Lives."

underlying concepts and the English words currently used to describe terrorists and their acts today are derived from the names of Jewish, Muslim, and Hindu religious groups active centuries before the French Revolution or Reign of Terror. The etymology of "zealot," for example, can be traced back to a millenarian Jewish sect that fought against the Roman occupation of what is now Israel between 66 and 73 A.D. The Zealots waged a ruthless campaign of both individual assassination and wholesale slaughter. Similarly, the word "assassin" is derived from a radical offshoot of the Muslim Shi'a who, between 1090 and 1272 A.D., fought the Christian crusaders attempting to conquer present-day Syria and Iran. The assassin, literally "hashish-eater," would ritualistically imbibe hashish before committing murder, an act regarded as a sacramental or divine duty designed to hasten the new millennium.¹⁹

IV.

To truly begin to understand terrorism one must examine its origins. The Jacobins are the most important group to discuss first off. Numerous factors led to their rise in power.²⁰ The most notable of these was the failure of Louis XVI to deal effectively with the economic phenomena that had swept over France. The failure of aristocracy provided rallying points for the Jacobins to gain support.

In 1792, the Jacobins had begun to gain power in France and a year later initiated what Americans call the Reign of Terror and what the French call *La Terreur*. The Jacobin leader, Maximilien F.M.I. de Robespierre, known to history by his surname, called terror "an emanation

in *ibid.*, I, 99-100.

¹⁸ See page 1 for an outline of the criteria needed

¹⁹ Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), xx. 20 Jeffrey Kaplow, *New Perspectives on the French Revolution: Readings in Historical Sociology*, 1-22.

²⁰ Jeffrey Kaplow, *New Perspectives on the French Revolution: Reading in Historical Sociology*, (New York: Oxford Press, 1934.), 1-22.

of virtue." In 1793, he said, "Terror is nothing but justice, prompt, severe and inflexible." In the months that followed, the severe and inflexible justice of the guillotine severed 12,000 heads, including Robespierre's.²¹

On 13 July, the Jacobin's political influence was strengthened after Charlotte Corday, a Girondin, assassinated Jacobin leader Jean-Paul Marat — the mastermind of the September 1792 massacres. The rash and luxurious — at least in the eyes of the peasants — George Danton, the leader of the August 1792 uprising against the King, was removed from the Committee and on 27 July, Maximilien Robespierre, "the Incorruptible", made his entrance, quickly becoming the most influential member of the Committee as it moved to take radical measures against the Revolution's domestic and foreign enemies.

Facing local revolts and foreign invasions in both the East and West of the country, the most urgent government business was the war. On 17 August, the Convention voted general conscription, the *levée en masse*, which mobilized all citizens to serve as soldiers or suppliers in the war effort. On 5 September, the Convention, pressured by the people of Paris, institutionalized *La Terreur*.²²

The result was a policy through which the state used violent repression (guillotine) to crush resistance to the central government. On 9 September, the Convention established *sans-culotte* paramilitary forces, and the *revolutionary armies*, whose main objective was to force farmers to surrender grain demanded by the government. On 17 September, the Law of Suspects was passed, allowing the *sans-culotte* to charge counter-revolutionaries or anyone they believed sympathetic to their cause with what was vaguely defined as *crimes against liberty*. On 29

²¹ Marc Pilisuk and Angela Wong, "State Terrorism: When the Perpetrator is a Government" in *The Psychology of*

September, extended price-fixing was established for grain and bread at a comparable level to other essential goods and fixed wages.²³

The guillotine became the symbol of *La Terreur*, a symbol from which no one was safe. Notable names like Queen Marie-Antoinette, Philippe Égalité, Madame Roland, the Girondins and many others lost their lives under its blade. The Revolutionary Tribunal summarily condemned thousands of people to death by the guillotine, while mobs beat other victims to death. Revolutionary political opinions or actions were the primary reason for execution, however for many little reason was needed beyond mere suspicion, or self advancement and gratis faction. Most of the victims received an unceremonious trip to the guillotine in an open wooden cart (the tumbrel). Loaded on these carts, the victims would proceed through throngs of jeering men and women.²⁴

The Reign of Terror was able to save the revolutionary government from military defeat. Under it, the Jacobins expanded the size of the army, and Lazare Carnot replaced many aristocratic officers with younger soldiers who had demonstrated their ability and patriotism. The revamped Republican army was able to throw back the Austrians, Prussians, British, and Spanish. At the end of 1793, the army began to prevail and revolts were defeated with ease. *La Terreur* became identified with ruthless, centralized revolutionary government.

The draconian Law of 22 Prairial was the cornerstone of *La Terreur* as it allowed the *sans-culotte* to bring thousands of victims before the Paris Revolutionary Tribunal. An evolution of *La Terreur* made political dissent counter-revolutionary, extremists such as Hébert (attempted

Terrorism, ed. Chris E. Stout, 4 Vols. (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2002.), II, 106.

²² Philip Dawson, *The French Revolution*, 126-129.

²³ *Ibid.*, 149-156.

²⁴ Peter Kropotkin, *The Great French Revolution, 1789-1793* (New York: Vanguard Printings, 1927) 222-228.

to de-christianize all of France) and moderates such as Danton were guillotined in the spring of 1794.²⁵

As a result of Robespierre's insistence on associating Terror with Virtue, his efforts to make the republic a morally united patriotic community became equated with the endless bloodshed. Finally, after 26 June's decisive military victory over the Austrians at the Battle of Fleurus, Robespierre was overthrown by a conspiracy of certain members of the Convention on 9 Thermidor (27 July). After trying a failed attempt to raise Paris, the Robespierrists and most members of the Commune were guillotined on 28 July. This led to the Thermidorian reaction, which was characterized by a much lesser known White Terror. The White Terror was responsible for the execution of hundreds of Jacobins. This continued intermittently for some years afterward in the form of unchecked violence by gangs of Muscadins as well as rigged trials by the authorities.²⁶

Why are the Jacobins labeled as terrorists? The Jacobins invented the term as a mean to discourage revolts and instill fear within Paris and throughout the heart of France.

Do I believe based on the actions of the group that the groups designation as terrorists is justified and if not why are they labeled terrorist? The Jacobins are historically credited with introducing the term "terrorism" to the world, yet under the paradox of "innocence and guilt" the Reign of Terror was not terrorism. Pilisuk and Wong's definition of terrorism contradicts the paradox as it specifically cites the Jacobins Reign of Terror as an example. "Terrorism is a form of violence or warfare directed primarily against civilians", no distinction is made between the innocent or perceived guilty. Under my definition of terrorism, "terrorism is a violent physical or

²⁵ Ibid., 226-231.

psychological attack against the **innocent**", the Jacobin Reign of Terror has introduced a definitional dichotomy. The main issues which must be addressed are: what is innocence, who is innocent, and what criteria should be used for judgment? Furthermore can perceived justice be terrorism?

Dictionary.com defines innocence as: freedom from sin, moral wrong, or guilt through lack of knowledge of evil, and freedom from guile, cunning, or deceit. Utilizing the line of the United States Constitution which reads all individuals are "innocent until proven guilty in a court of law", distinctions must be made for individuals perceived to be guilty as many individuals were guillotined, or stoned to death by a mob without any type of hearing during the Reign of Terror. Therefore within the United States those punished during the Reign of Terror would have been considered innocent and thus the actions taken by the Jacobins must be designated as terrorism.

In the evolution of Western criminal justice, the concept of proportionality is central. Those found guilty of an offense should be punished in proportion to the severity of their crime. Cutting off a hand for robbery as prescribed in the Koran fails our concept of justice. In regards to the Reign of Terror the guillotine would have been a legitimate punishment within the United States.

V.

While the Jacobins utilized terms like "terrorists" and phrases like "Reign of Terror" to instill fear, and preempt counter revolutionary measures within France: modern political groups have attempted to avoid similar distinction. The terms "terrorist" and "terrorism" have taken on a

²⁶ Ibid., 231-240.

negative connotation within most civilized societies around the globe. Cultural stereotypes in regards to terrorism have designated the term as taboo, thus preempting academic discourse. Within the political spectrum of the United States the labeling of a dissenting organization as terrorists is an effective tool used to discredit ones opposition.

Taboo can be defined as: any subject not fit for discussion. Taboos are stigmatized, and for those who break taboo repercussions often follow. During adolescence the use of curse words have commonly been taboo, in response to breaking this taboo children often face punishment ranging from restrictions of privileges to a bar of soap in the mouth as a means to discourage the further use of the tabooed behavior.

The media exploitation of 9/11, Oklahoma City and President George W. Bush's wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have perpetuated stereotypes, and tabooed academic discourse of terrorism as a means of understanding terrorism, on the premise that such discourse is unpatriotic. By successfully pigeonholing terrorism as a tabooed subject within the United States, President George W. Bush has been able to divert the nations political attention towards issues in which he is seen in a more favorable light.

The media often uses character assassination as a means to advance social stigmas placed against individuals designated as terrorists. In 1993, Cult Awareness Network (CAN) "experts" led Americans to believe that children within the Branch Dravidian compound in Waco, Texas were being abused. The allegations of abuse levied against David Koresh and his fellow Branch Dravidians climaxed in a fury of violence on February 28, 1993, as agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) raided the Texas compound, killing six.²⁷

²⁷ Associated Press. "Reno Recalls Clinton-Waco

The Ku Klux Klan has been designated as a terrorist group, and an organization that spreads religious, political and racial intolerance. Yet, this same organization saw membership levels within the United States as high as 30,000,000 during the 1920's. How does an organization go from 30,000,000 members to under 200,00 in a matter of twenty-five years without radical changes to its belief structure or organization?

The media rattled the foundation of the Klan during coverage of a political scandal in 1925. The scandal centered around Republican and Grand Dragon of Indiana David Stephenson, was convicted of the rape and murder of Madge Oberholtzer in a sensational trial (she was bitten so many times that one man who saw her described her condition as having been "chewed by a cannibal"). The public backlash to a high ranking Klansmen conviction of such heinous crimes sent the group into a public hiatus.²⁸

This public scandal forced many Klansmen to distance them selves from the organization and become more clandestine to avoid persecution. The scandal forced the destruction of many membership lists during the 1920's and 1930's however historians D.L. Wilson and John Lester argue that while membership to the gain appeared to publicly be decreasing that the numbers of Klansmen was still in the neighborhood of 20,000,000 plus.²⁹

The Klan would resurface again in during the 1940's declaring their support and admiration for the Nazi Party and Adolph Hitler. This public confirmation of hatred further escalated the decline in the group's prominence. It wasn't until the Klan came out in support of

Chat,"(<http://www.rickcross.com/reference/waco/waco266.html>)²⁸ Craig Wyn Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 165-166.

²⁸ Craig Wyn Wade, *The Fiery Cross*, 128.

²⁹ D.L. Wilson and John C. Lester, *Ku Klux Klan, Its Origins, Growth and Disbandment*, (Washington, D.C.: Scholarly Press, 1979), 159-160.

Hitler that public opinion really began to sour. The word about the horrors of the Nazi Party and Adolph Hitler spread fast in the United States and although they would see a slight resurgence especially in the South during the Civil Rights era of the 1960's the Klan has never recovered.³⁰ The Neo-Nazi moniker proved too much for the main stream United States. While many of the groups actions were terroristic from the organizations conception it wasn't until approximately one-hundred years later that the organization was thus labeled.

As the United States has become more integrated reasons for distancing oneself from the Klan have changed. Until about the 1980's the main point of concern about the Klan was the groups admiration and support of the Nazi's. During the 1980's color barriers began rapidly deteriorating as years of integration had fundamentally changed the majority of Americans views on individuals different from themselves. Bigotry became taboo and Americans began focusing more on the groups racist policies as a means to discredit the group.

VI.

The original Ku Klux Klan was created after the end of the American Civil War on December 24, 1865, by six educated, middle-class Confederate veterans who were bored with postwar Pulaski, Tennessee.³¹ The name was constructed by combining the Greek "kyklos" (circle) with "clan."³² It was at first a humorous social club centering on practical jokes and hazing rituals.³³ From 1866 to 1867, the Klan began breaking up black prayer meetings and invading black homes at night to steal firearms. The groups actions began to escalate from there.

The Klan sought to control the political and social status of the freed slaves. The Klan's

³⁰ Ibid., 165-167.

³¹ Stanley Horn, *Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan, 1866-1871*, (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith Publishing Corporation, 1939), 9.

³² Ibid., 11.

main agenda was to suppress black education, economic advancement, voting rights, and the right to bear arms. Essentially the Klan's agenda was to reject all advances made by the Negroes due to the Civil War and Reconstruction. The Klan's focus was not limited to African Americans; Southern Republicans also became the target of vicious intimidation tactics, and a wave of 1,300 murders of Republican voters in 1868, was primarily a political purge rather than a racial conflict. The violence achieved its purpose. During the November 1868 presidential election, Columbia County, Alabama cast only one vote for Republican candidate Ulysses Grant.³⁴

The first Klan was never well organized after the ill-fated attempt to establish a hierarchical system of government. The violent actions of the group forced them to act as a secret or "invisible" group, which had no membership rosters, no dues, no newspapers, no spokesmen, no chapters, no local officers, and no state or national officials. Its popularity came from its reputation, which was greatly enhanced by its outlandish costumes and its wild and threatening theatricality.³⁵ As historian Elaine Frantz Parsons discovered:

"Lifting the Klan mask revealed a chaotic multitude of anti-black vigilante groups, disgruntled poor white farmers, wartime guerrilla bands, displaced Democratic politicians, illegal whiskey distillers, coercive moral reformers, bored young men, sadists, rapists, white workmen fearful of black competition, employers trying to enforce labor discipline, common thieves, neighbors with decades-old grudges, and even a few freedmen and white Republicans who allied with Democratic whites or had criminal agendas of their own. Indeed, all they had in common, besides being overwhelmingly white, southern, and Democratic, was that they called themselves, or were called, Klansmen."³⁶

³³ Craig Wyn Wade, *The Fiery Cross* 33.

³⁴ *Ku Klux Klan in the Reconstruction Era*, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-694>, Accessed March 6, 2006.

³⁵ Wilson and Lester, *Origin, Growth and Disbandment*, 128.

³⁶ Elaine Frantz Parsons, "Midnight Rangers: Costume and Performance in the Reconstruction-Era Ku Klux Klan." *The Journal of American History* 92.3, 2005, 816.

As has been previously stated, Forrest's national organization had little control over the local Klans, which were highly autonomous. Forrest ordered the Klan to disband in 1869, stating that it was "being perverted from its original honorable and patriotic purposes, becoming injurious instead of subservient to the public peace."³⁷ Due to the lack of control by the Klan's national organizations, this proclamation was more a symptom of the Klan's decline than a cause of it. Stanley Horn writes that "generally speaking, the Klan's end was more in the form of spotty, slow, and gradual disintegration than a formal and decisive disbandment."³⁸ A reporter in Georgia wrote in January 1870 that "A true statement of the case is not that the Ku Klux are an organized band of licensed criminals, but that men who commit crimes call themselves Ku Klux."³⁹

The original Klan despite not being well organized or unified continued to live in public lore. In 1915 the past became reunited as the Second Klan was formed by William Simmons. Two key events took place during that year which allowed for the reformation of the Klan. The first was the release of the film *The Birth of a Nation*, a film which mythologized and glorified the first Klan. The second event was the lynching of Leo Frank a Jewish man accused of the rape and murder of a young white girl named Mary Phagan.⁴⁰

The Second Klan had a new anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, and anti-immigrant slant. This was consistent with the new Klan's greater success at recruiting in the Midwest United States than in the South. As in the Nazi party's propaganda in Germany, recruiters made effective use of the idea that prospective members' problems were caused by Blacks or by Jewish bankers, or by

³⁷ Stanley Horn, *Invisible Empire*, 360.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 362.

³⁹ http://www.pbs.org/wnet/jimcrow/stories_events_enforce.html, Accessed December, 2005.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 138.

other such groups.

In the 1920s and 1930s a faction of the Klan called the Black Legion was very active in the Midwestern U.S. Rather than wearing white robes; the Legion wore black uniforms reminiscent of pirates. The Black Legion was the most violent and zealous faction of the Klan, and were notable for targeting and assassinating communists and socialists.

This Klan attracted members who largely shared a different political affiliation than members of the first Klan. The first Klan was Democratic and Southern, but this Klan, while it still boasted members from the Democratic Party, was to a greater degree Republican (to the point that it was based in Indiana) and was influential throughout the United States, with major political influence on politicians in several states.⁴¹

Aside from traditional violence and lynching' the Second Klan had a new weapon, psychological terror, by placing burning crosses on the lawns of Negroes, Jews and sympathizers the Klan was able to send a clear message. The cross burnings became synonymous with the Klan and brought about wide spread forced compliance in regions in which it was implemented. Under the Second Klan large sections of the Midwest became highly segregated. Coupled with the profound impact of the burning cross, the appearance of a Klansman the traditional white robes and pointed hoods added a second element to the psychological terror instilled in its victims.⁴²

The Ku Klux Klan showed that wholesale slaughter was not the only pre-requisite of terrorism as the group used mostly psychological imagery and implied threats of violence to

⁴¹ Robert P. Ingalls, *Hoods: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1979), 142. ⁴² *Ibid.*, 154-156.

⁴² Craig Wyn Wade, *The Fiery Cross*, 142.

achieve their goals. The occasional lynching only served to strengthen the psychological impact. While violence played a large role in the Klan's history, I use the term occasional lynching to signify that a relatively small percentage of individuals threatened by the Klan met this fate.⁴³

The Klan was the first clandestine "terrorist" group to use psychological terrorism as psychological terrorism before the Klan was solely linked to state sponsored terrorism. The Klan's political clout and history of limited judicial repercussion provided the group security to both openly threaten and carryout violence. This type of anonymity had previously only been available to governments. To define terrorism the following question must be addressed: Is the use of threats, and pervasive imagery against the perceived guilty, terrorism?

Does being born African-American, or does being Jewish make you guilty? According to Klan policy it did, furthermore anyone found or thought to be in allegiance with one of these groups subjugated themselves to similar persecution and violence. When examining the Klan self recognition becomes an imperative part of the group's terrorist designation. Members of the organization would hardly refer to themselves as terrorists, while recipients of the group's violent threats or physicality provide a separate designation. Thus when examining the Klan individuals must look within themselves to determine whether or not they align with the group's philosophy. For we must bear in mind that "One mans terrorist is another mans freedom fighter."

Justifications can be made for the lynching murders, rapists and child molesters however the Klan issued numerous threats and carried out large scale acts of violence against individuals whose only crime was sharing a different belief system. The group has become publicly tabooed since the 1940's and has often been labeled terroristic to discredit the group. Within the United

⁴³ Ibid., 98.

States their remains a strong cultural bias against the Klan. However based on the history of the groups racial prejudices, psychological threats, and numerous murders the bias seems justified and thusly I would designate the Ku Klux Klan as a terrorist group.

VII.

How does a peaceful political action group, with no history or illegality suddenly become a terrorist group? According to large corporate entities such as Kentucky Fried Chicken and McDonald's costing these corporate conglomerates money is means enough for such a designation. People for Ethical Treatment of Animals or PETA have gained the label of being a terrorist organization despite the group not being responsible for the loss of a single human life.

The term eco-terrorism is a neologism which has been used to describe threats and acts of violence (both against people and against property), sabotage, vandalism, property damage and intimidation committed in the name of environmentalism.⁴⁴ Yet, PETA, despite no indisputable evidence to the contrary, is innocent of each prerequisite to eco-terrorism except for intimidation. The group can be accused of intimidation for staging large scale protests and boycotts of large corporations such as McDonald's and Kentucky Fried Chicken, furthermore the group has been known to produce controversial ad campaigns to illicit public response. How then can such a group still possess the moniker of a terrorist organization?

Eco-terrorist have been labeled by the United States government as the single largest threat to America.⁴⁵ PETA has commonly been linked to groups such as the Animal Liberation Front and Earth Liberation Front. These groups have publicly admitted to bombing several

⁴⁴ *Environmentalism*, <http://encyclopedia.com/html/e/environm.asp>, Accessed on May 6, 2006.

⁴⁵ Kelly Hearn, *From Defender of Nature to 'Eco-Terrorist'*, in <http://www.alternet.org/story/23842/>, Accessed June 1, 2006.

factories and piling up millions of dollars in corporate damages however their actions have yet to cause the death of a single human being. If they aren't killing anyone, what makes them more dangerous than groups which have killed hundreds to thousands of Americans? Simple the political system within the United States thrives on money, corporate donations help Senators, Congressmen, and Governors become elected. Therefore to protect their financial backers politician must admonish the actions taken by Animal Liberation Front and Earth Liberation Front as a means to weaken and discredit the groups.

PETA first came to public attention in the United States in 1981, when it became involved in the Silver Spring monkeys case. Alex Pacheco, one of PETA's founders, conducted an undercover investigation of a primate laboratory, documenting numerous cases of abuse and neglect. The investigation resulted in the first-ever conviction of an animal experimenter on charges of animal abuse and the first-ever suspension of federal research funds for cruelty, although all convictions against the researcher were overturned on appeal.⁴⁶

Other highlights of the organization's campaigns include:⁴⁷

- **1983:** successfully stopped a United States Department of Defense "wound lab" which had planned to fire missiles into dogs and goats.
- **1984:** released more than 70 hours of videotape shot in the University of Pennsylvania head-injury laboratory, showing the treatment of primates there. The Secretary of Health and Human Services subsequently cut off all funding to the laboratory and the experiments were stopped. In the same year, a Texas slaughterhouse to which 30,000

⁴⁶ *The Lies They Will Tell*, www.animalliberationfront.com/Philosophy/Animal%20Testing/stop_2.htm, Accessed on May 6, 2006.

⁴⁷ Each subsequent bullet was taken from, <http://www.peta.org/feat/PETAMilestones/main.html>, also available on the same site are numerous other examples of PETA's success stories in preventing animal abuse Accessed on April

horses were taken each year from all over the United States, then allegedly left to starve outside without shelter, was closed after a PETA campaign.

- **1987:** stopped a plan by Cedars-Sinai, California's largest hospital to ship stray dogs from Mexico into California for experiments. In the same year, they launched the Compassion Campaign to fight cosmetics and personal-care product testing on animals. By 1989, PETA had persuaded nearly 500 companies, including Mary Kay and Amway, to go "cruelty-free."
- **1992:** PETA undercover investigators revealed the details of U.S. foie gras production, documenting the force-feeding of geese. Police subsequently conducted the first-ever raid in the United States, and possibly in the world, on a factory farm, and many restaurants removed foie gras from their menus. In the same year, PETA testified at the first-ever U.S. congressional hearing on the use of animals in circuses, rodeos, films, and other types of entertainment.
- **1993:** General Motors gave PETA a statement of assurance that it had ended the use of live pigs and baboons in crash tests after a PETA campaign. In the same year, L'Oréal, the world's largest cosmetics company, signed a worldwide ban on animal testing, following a PETA campaign. PETA also revealed details of scabies experiments using dogs and rabbits at Wright State University. The university was subsequently charged with violating the Animal Welfare Act, and the experiments ended.
- **1994:** Buckshire Corporation, a laboratory animal breeding facility, was charged with violations of the Animal Welfare Act after a 38-page complaint was submitted by PETA.

A furrier is charged with cruelty to animals following the release of PETA videotapes showing a California fur rancher electrocuting a chinchilla by clipping wires to the animal's genitals. It was the first time in U.S. history that a furrier was charged with cruelty.

- **1999:** a North Carolina grand jury handed down the first-ever felony cruelty indictments against pig-farm workers after an undercover PETA investigator videotaped workers beating lame pigs with wrenches, and skinning and dismembering a conscious pig.
- **2001:** launched a successful campaign against Burger King. After months of vocal public pressure, the fast-food giant agreed to implement the welfare standards demanded by PETA. These standards increased the amount of cage space given to laying hens and promised unannounced inspections of slaughterhouses, among other things.

Despite all the positive advancements the group has made for the protection of animals, questions have arisen about whether or not PETA is a terrorist organization. The groups methodology has also come under question, challenging their credibility. PETA has also been accused of financially contributing to eco-terrorist groups such as the Animal Liberation Front and the Earth Liberation Front. In response, PETA claims that they have never financially supported any illegal or violent activities.⁴⁸

Critics also point to a statement from Alex Pacheco, one of PETA's founders that "arson, property destruction, burglary, and theft are acceptable crimes when used for the animal cause"⁴⁹ as a reason that PETA should lose its status as a non-profit organization. Radical feminists,

⁴⁸ Jason Pierce, "PETA Under Attack for Funding Alleged Eco-Terrorists," ED March 8, In *CSNSews.com*, <http://www.cnsnews.com/ViewCulture.asp?Page=\Culture\archive\200203\CUL20020308a.html>, Accessed May 3, 2006.

⁴⁹ Hot Topics, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/science/hottopics/animalexperiments/protests.shtml>, Accessed May 3, 2006.

especially eco-feminists such as Carol Adams oppose PETA's sexual ads often featuring nude or barely clothed women, criticizing the objectification of women's (and animal's) bodies.⁵⁰

Adrian R. Morrison DVM PhD, has accused PETA of using edited and out-of-context video footage to allege cruelty to animals. In particular, he cites an example of videos purporting to show cats being embalmed alive by the Carolina Biological Supply Company being given to the USDA as evidence of animal cruelty. He claims that subsequent testimony demonstrated that the cats had not been alive and that the video was being used in an attempt to convey false information.⁵¹



PETA Lettuce Ladies in Columbus, Ohio

⁵⁰ Taken from a book review on Carol J. Adams, *The Pornography of Meat*, In <http://www.triroc.com/caroladams/recentpom.html>, Accessed May 3, 2006.

⁵¹ Adrian Morrison, *Pogo Revisited: Caring About Animals and Creativity*, <http://www.naiaonline.org/body/articles/archives/labanimalarticle.htm>, Accessed May 3, 2006.

PETA is well known for its aggressive media campaigns, public demonstrations, and attacks on large corporations for their alleged mistreatment of animals. These attacks have often led to PETA being labeled as a radical or terrorist organization. In 2003, PETA received media attention for its boycott of Kentucky Fried Chicken. PETCO and Procter & Gamble are other examples of companies PETA has boycotted because the group believes that the organizations are exploiting animals for profit. According to PETA, PETCO confines animals in filthy enclosures, where they are commonly left to die, and Procter & Gamble tests its products on animals. On April 12, 2005, PETA announced it had ended its boycott against PETCO, in part because of PETCO's decision to end sales of large birds in its stores.⁵²

PETA has a major campaign targeting Kentucky Fried Chicken that has included more than 10,000 demonstrations worldwide and support from the Dalai Lama, Al Sharpton, Paul McCartney, and Dick Gregory, among others. PETA is requesting that KFC require that its suppliers adopt the welfare recommendations of KFC's own animal welfare committee, including using stopping the breaking of birds' limbs and drowning conscious birds in tanks of scalding water.

PETA's 'Lettuce Ladies' are women, some of them Playboy models, who appear publicly in bikinis that have been made to look like lettuce leaves, and distribute information about the vegan diet. There is also a lesser-known male counterpart to the Lettuce Ladies, called the Broccoli Boys.

Coupled with the Lettuce Ladies the ad PETA may be best known for is its long-running campaign, "I'd Rather Go Naked Than Wear Fur", in which activists and celebrities appear

⁵² This and the subsequent three paragraphs were taken from, In The News, <http://www.peta.org/mc/InTheNews/>,

partially nude to express their opposition to fur-wearing. This tactic has resulted in widespread media coverage. There was also the "Here's the rest of your fur coat" campaign. In which the group after showing the fur coat cuts to footage from an animal slaughter house.

The major problem with the labeling of PETA as a terrorist organization stems from the fact that this is no direct links to PETA outside of a few rogue members and some verbal nuances that the group has ever participated in the burning of chemical factories, tree spiking, or any aspect of eco-terrorism. Is aggressive campaigning, the use of sexual imagery, or even falsified accusations enough for the group to be labeled terroristic? Assuming that PETA supports or even participate in eco-terrorism, is destruction of property terrorism?

VIII.

11 September, 2001 as previously mentioned transcended what terrorism is today. Upon closer examination it appears Walter Laqueur's designation that quasi-religious organizations such as Al Qaeda have become the primary terrorist of the modern era is correct. The Jacobin Reign of Terror has long since ended, membership to the Ku Klux Klan is at an all-time low, and with PETA not being a terrorist organization, Al Qaeda and like minded organizations have emerged as the greatest terrorist threat to ever face the United States and much of the world.

The remnants of 9/11 have left a nation divided and at war. Since the largest terrorist attack on American soil took place the United States has greatly restricted privacy under the Patriot Acts and has gone to war in the Middle East. Furthermore within the United States numerous individuals have faced religious persecution and been either as terrorists or supporters of terrorism. Being a Muslim within the United States has become taboo and anyone that has

aligned themselves with Islam has been designated as either a terrorist or a terrorist sympathizer.⁵³ How did this transformation of terrorism occur?

On February 23, 1998, Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri of Egyptian Islamic Jihad issued a fatwa under the banner of the *World Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders* saying that "to kill Americans and their allies, civilians, and military is an individual duty of every Muslim who is able."⁵⁴ Although neither man possessed the Islamic credentials, education or stature to issue a fatwa of any kind, this seems to have been overlooked in the enthusiasm of the moment. This was also the year of the first major attack reliably attributed to Al Qaeda, the embassy bombings in East Africa, which resulted in upward of 300 deaths. In 1999, Egyptian Islamic Jihad officially merged with Al Qaeda, and al-Zawahiri became bin Laden's closest confidant.⁵⁵



☞ Al-Qaeda is most famous for the September 11, 2001 attacks.

The September 11, 2001 attacks were attributed by authorities to Al Qaeda, acting in accord with the 1998 fatwa issued against the United States by bin Laden and others. In response

⁵³ Paul Sperry, *The Pentagon Breaks the Islam Taboo*, <http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/Printable.asp?ID=2053>, Accessed on May 9, 2006.

⁵⁴ Osama bin Laden, *Text of Fatwah Urging Jihad Against Americans*, <http://www.ict.org.il/articles/fatwah.htm>, Accessed January 9, 2006

⁵⁵ John Gray, *Al Qaeda and What It Means to Be Modern*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003), 39-45.

to the attacks, the United States began to build up military forces in preparation for an attack on Afghanistan (whose government harbored bin Laden's organization). Before the United States invaded, the Taliban offered to turn over bin Laden to a neutral country for trial if the United States would provide evidence of bin Laden's complicity in the attacks. President Bush responded by saying "We know he's guilty. Turn him over" and soon thereafter the United States invaded Afghanistan and, together with the Afghan Northern Alliance, deposed the Taliban government.⁵⁶

As a result of this invasion, Taliban training camps were destroyed and much of the alleged existing operating structure of Al Qaeda was disrupted, although strong resistance has remained in Afghanistan, and its main leaders, including bin Laden, have not been caught. Al Qaeda is believed to be linked to numerous other terrorist bombings although they have yet too publicly take credit for most of the following actions, resulting in ambiguity over how many attacks the group has actually conducted. Following the U.S. declaration of the War on Terrorism in 2001, the U.S. government has striven to highlight any connections between other terrorist groups and Al Qaeda. Some prefer to attribute to al-Qaedaism actions that might not be directly planned by Al Qaeda as a military headquarter, but which are inspired by its tenets and strategies.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Kathy Gannon, "U.S. Jets Pound Targets Around Kabul", *Portsmouth Herald*, October 15, 2001, Accessed April 29, 2006.

⁵⁷ Jason Burke, *Al-Qaeda: The True Story of Radical Islam*, (New York: St. Martins Press, 2003), 179-184.



☞ Many terrorist attacks have been attributed to al-Qaeda.

The first militant attack that al-Qaeda allegedly carried out consisted of three bombings at hotels where American troops were staying in Aden, Yemen, on December 29, 1992. A Yemeni and an Austrian tourist died in one bombing.⁵⁸

Al Qaeda is believed to have conducted the bombings in August 1998 of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing more than 200 people and injuring more than 5,000 others. Since 9/11 several more acts of terrorism have been linked to Al Qaeda including car bombings, shoe bombings, attempted plane hijackings, kidnapping, and murder.⁵⁹

Justification for these action stems from the Islamic belief that if you sacrifice your life to kill an infidel that you will immediately go to heaven.⁶⁰ This belief is contrary to typical Christian beliefs that individuals who commit suicide are sent to purgatory or straight to hell.

⁵⁸ *Terrorist Attacks (within the United States or against Americans abroad)*, <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0001454.htm>, Accessed on May 9, 2006.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ William E. Phipps, *Christian Perspectives on Suicide*, <http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=1924>,

Variations between the two designations have to do with the lack of wide acceptance of purgatory throughout much of the Christian religion outside of Catholicism.⁶¹ The willingness to die for a cause may appear to be a noble aspiration; Søren Kierkegaard would cite this as a prime example of the absurdity of faith.

Suicide is a rejection of human nature, and therefore justifications for suicide must be strong to force the body to reject its very nature. Religious manipulation is a strong enough justification for suicide, the belief that suicide it's not the end, but rather the beginning of your life is a key step in overcoming human nature. Therefore the justification of suicide as a means to secure a place in heaven and a peaceful afterlife can be strong enough to overcome ones physical nature of self preservation.⁶²

Suicide bombs have resulted in the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians thus justifying Al Qaeda's designation as a terrorist organization. Al Qaeda and the 9/11 attacks are the epitome of terrorism despite the group being publicly applauded for the actions taken against the United States within large sections of the Middle East. Further cementing the claim that terrorist designation lies within the eyes of individuals.

IX.

Every nation around the world possesses different moral values, and taboos that shape their culture. Through those distinct value systems what constitutes terrorism, and patriotism changes in every region of the world. Based on my upbringing and cultural influences within

Accessed on May 11, 2006.

⁶¹ *Purgatory*, <http://www.opusangelorum.org/Formation/Purgatory.html>, Accessed on May 11, 2006.

⁶² Assaf Moghadam, "Palestinian Suicide Terrorism in the Second Intifada: Motivations and Organizational Aspects", in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Volume 26, Number 2 / March-April 2003, 67-68.

America, Al Qaeda to me is the epitome of a terrorist organization, and thusly I stand by my previous definition of terrorism which reads: Terrorism is a violent physical or psychological attack against the innocent, utilized by the underrepresented within society as a means to influence an audience. State sponsored terrorism as it relates to counter-terrorism is an act of vigilante violence utilized as a means to punish the guilty or those who maybe potentially become guilty. State terrorism and individual terrorism are both by products of one another. States use terrorism as a means to suppress individual uprising and to weaken the voice of the minority. Individual terrorism thus is a reaction to a governmental policy of oppression.

Parts of my definition stem from how others have identified terrorism. Furthermore this definition of terrorism is a representation of myself, and is a byproduct of growing up as a middle class Caucasian within the United States. I am not free from taboo and neither is my definition of terrorism for terrorism is inherently different for all individuals.

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