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Globalization and the 'Fourth Wave': Contemporary International Terrorism in a Comparative-Historical Perspective

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GLOBALIZATION AND THE 'FOURTH WAVE':
CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IN A COMPARATIVE-
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

BY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Honors in the Major Program in Political Science
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Abstract

Terrorist activity has come to the forefront of political thought in recent years, especially since the attacks on the World Trade Center and Washington D.C on September 11, 2001. President George W. Bush declared a “war on terror” and governments all around the world have taken steps to enhance national security in efforts to prevent terrorist activity. The steps taken are not unwarranted, and in some cases have been successful. The nature of terrorism modernizes just as the world around it does, and as the global community has benefited from globalization and modernization, so have terrorist organizations. This study analyzes the history of modern terrorism through the comparison of four separate waves: the Anarchist Wave, the Nationalist-Separatist Wave, the Revolutionary Wave, and the Religious Wave. This paper compares each wave’s roots, desired outcomes and goals, strategies and modus operandi, destructive impact, and outcomes. The study identifies a move away from hierarchal organization, modernization in communications and weapon choice, and a significant rise in the lethality of terrorist activity in recent years. Furthermore, there is a connection between globalization and modernization and the increase in terrorist activity and lethality. Economic interconnection has provided opportunities through which terrorists can act by providing them with a shield of anonymity, while cultural interconnection has created situations through which anger and frustration can fester to provide motives and justifications for terrorist activity. Meanwhile, modernization has created new technologies that provide more effective means through which terrorists can act on their motives. Although the Religious Wave has been nicknamed the "jihadist wave" to reflect the prevalence of Islamic groups, this study analyzes social, economic, and historic impacts that have led to this wave rather than assume that Islam is inherently violent.

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To my family and friends who stood by me and supported me throughout this process.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to the one who has never given up on me:

God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit.

Whose unconditional love has given me the strength to face any challenge without fear.

And to my parents, Rafael and Maria Martinez,

whose hard work and sacrifices have allowed me to reach
all of the accomplishments I've made and will continue to make.

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Introduction

Terrorism has become a popular subject of research as scholars attempt to understand its causes, strategies, and impact. The interest in the study of terrorism spiked in the years following the attacks in America on 9/11. Perhaps the reason for this spike was the realization that distance was no longer a barrier to terrorist activities. Today, the bulk of terrorist violence occurs in the Middle East, where Iraq and Afghanistan rank as the top two countries with terrorist-related deaths (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2014). Although much of the global terrorist violence is centered in this region, attacks such as those that occurred on 9/11, the London bombings, or the numerous attacks in Paris highlight the fact that terrorism rooted in the Middle East has spread across the globe.

Terrorism has existed as a political tool for centuries, modern terrorism has taken new characteristics which make it more violent and lethal than before. Many terrorist groups have become deadlier than their predecessors for various reasons. Increased populations, better coordination, and facilitation through technology have all contributed to the increased potency of terrorist attacks. Technological advancements which have provided us with comfort and convenience are now being applied to terrorist activities to make them more effective. Sophisticated weaponry and the access to weapons of mass destruction have added to the degree of destruction and deadliness of terrorist attacks. Advances in communication technology has affected the structural organization of terrorist groups by facilitating long distance organization and supporting a network structure. The structural changes that have occurred within these groups have allowed them to become more dangerous not because of sheer power, but because of

their extended reach. Turning from a hierarchical structure to one of networks, modern terrorist groups are able to plant ideological seeds that cultivate heretical followers in distant areas, and modern technology allows for communication and the coordination of attacks to flow as smoothly, despite geographic distance.

Terrorism has experienced a set of developments since the 1800s, when the first modern group was recorded. As presented above, terrorism today is defined by a few distinct traits: most of global terrorism operates or is rooted in the Middle East, it takes advantage of religious indoctrination and recent technological advances. But what does this mean in historical context? Is terrorism today more deadly, more widespread than in the past? The modus operandi has changed, due to technological advances, but have ideological motivators changed as well? Are terrorist groups more successful, more resilient and harder to contain or defeat than in the past? The questions above address the developments of international terrorism and its characteristics, but in my analysis, I seek to answer why? What was the driving force behind the transformation in the organization and operation of terrorist violence?

In this paper I analyze the developments of terrorism in relation to globalization and modernization. The relationship between globalization and terrorism becomes apparent when the historical context and development of each stage is analyzed. In each stage of development, terrorist groups responded to a social or political stimulus that caused frustration and, ultimately, anger. Many times, the socio-political environment of the time was affected by changes brought on by globalization.

In this paper I will analyze the evolution of terrorism with the purpose of answering the questions above. The method of analysis includes a case study of four different terrorist

typologies, as well as the comparison of the typologies in their motivations, methods and outcomes as they adapted to the socio-political environment of a globalizing world. In my analysis I will compare four types of political terrorism, Anarchist, Nationalist, and Revolutionary, and Religious, in a historical context with a focus on the 20th and 21st centuries. In this study I argue that the rise of Islamism and the rise in "jihadist" terrorist activities are more related to the effects of an increasingly interconnected world, brought together by globalization, than to and inherent violence in their faith.

Defining Terrorism and its Historical Development

John Jenkins and colleagues define terrorism as: “the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective,” (Jenkins, 2014) while the FBI defines terrorism as: “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives,” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2010) Patrice Gueniffey offers yet another definition of terrorism as “the use of coercion and violence to political ends in a legal vacuum” (Chaliand, 2007).

It is difficult to come up with a consistent definition of terrorism because what is considered terrorism is relative to the area, region, culture, and external factors surrounding it. Furthermore, there are different typologies of terrorist groups that vary in their motivations, ideologies, and desired goals. Therefore, what one group considers to be terrorism, may not be agreed with by another. For example, the US condemns attacks by Al Qaeda on the Iraqi government while providing support and training for the Free Syrian Army (Cloud and Abdulrahim, 2013). What is usually agreed on is that terrorism is a means through which groups hope to achieve social or political goals by creating an atmosphere of fear within a population. By creating this atmosphere groups hope to cause enough unrest within the government's constituency that their terms will eventually be accepted. Although the exact definition of terrorism remains debated among scholars, politicians, and organizations, there is a consensus that the nature of terrorism has transformed over time creating distinct time periods known as “waves” with each wave being distinct from the other in their motivations as well as tactics (Pedahzur and Perliger, 2013). David Rapoport has identified the four waves of terrorist

evolution beginning in the late 19th century and continuing today as the Anarchist Wave, the Nationalist-Separatist Wave, the Revolutionary Wave, and the Religious Wave (2001). These previous waves reflected anarchist, anti-colonial, and left-wing revolutionary characteristics, and the current wave is distinguished by its religious traits. Each of these four waves exemplify a certain type of terrorism that emerged as a response to the social stimuli that surrounded it at that given time. Historically, each typology of terrorism was built up from unrest and, upon the effect of a catalyzing event, stepped onto the global stage in an explosive way.

Terrorism has a history that mirrors the development of societies, adapting to the emergence of new governments, doctrines, technology, and economies of the surrounding world. The earliest known terrorists, “the Assassins”, active from 1090-1275, sought to create a transformation in the social structure through the purification of Islam (Rapoport, 1984). A later group of ancient terrorists, the Zealots, desired to create a rebellion in their territory against the occupation of the Roman government. The term “terrorism” as we have come to understand it originated in the late 1700s during the French Revolution when the French state employed terrorist tactics against revolutionaries as a way to subdue those who fought against them. Later groups such as the Narodnaya Volya, who were the first modern terrorist group to emerge, fought for a different type of liberation. What I call here ‘second wave’ terrorists fought against the colonial powers who oppressed them with no just cause, and ‘third wave’ groups were similarly opposed to those same powers who they saw as controlling their sovereignty through proxy.

The commonality that is present throughout the evolution of terrorist groups is the belief that their fight is justified because the purpose of the struggle is to gain the right to some form of

self-determination. In each case, power is unevenly distributed between two powers: those who wielded it and those who desired it. Early on, during the first wave, Narodnaya Volya terrorists fought a government that forced upon them a new, capitalist economic system. The capitalist system created an unjust set of classes wherein the peasantry continued to suffer. Terrorists fought to 'liberate' the poorer classes from this system.

Today's terrorist ideology, fueling the 'fourth wave' has built up through a history of foreign repression and control that has created an environment of resentment and instability in the Middle Eastern region. What sets the fourth wave apart from other waves is its widespread global impact. Exacerbated by the clash of social values and beliefs formed through different economic and cultural civilizations and justified through the use of the Islamic faith, today's terrorism reflects the danger brought on by foreign intervention and globalization.

One of the most distinguishing characteristics of the new wave (fourth wave) of terrorism is its ubiquity. The first wave was present in Eastern and Central Europe, the second wave was focused in areas where imperial control remained prevalent, and the third wave was active in Latin America and Western Europe, where imperial powers maintained control through proxy governments (Pedahzur and Perliger, 2013). Today, the bulk of terrorist violence is rooted and occurs in the Middle East, where Iraq and Afghanistan rank as the top two countries with terrorist-related deaths (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, 2014). However, due to developments such as wireless technology and internet networks, modern terrorist cells are characterized by unprecedented flexibility and mobility. Global modernization has provided groups with an increasing ability to spread their reach of influence across the globe and aid in the recruitment of foreign fighters. Through the use of

technology groups are no longer limited to nearby targets, but are able to exert their influence in distant locations due to the improvements in communication and coordination provided to them. The coordination of attacks abroad beginning in the third wave of terror exemplify the increased capability of terrorist groups.

Technological advancements are also applied to terrorist attacks to increase the destructive outcome of their acts. The emergence of new tactics throughout the waves of terror exemplify the advancement of terrorist attacks as they integrate new weapon technology into their activities. The development of sophisticated weaponry and the access to weapons of mass destruction, have given today's groups the ability to add to the degree of destruction and deadliness of their attacks.

Modern developments have also been the fuel that drove a structural change within modern groups who have turned from a hierarchical structure to one of integrated networks. The ability to plant ideological seeds that cultivate heretical followers in distant areas and to coordinate distant attacks have removed the previous dependency of relying on a direct chain of command. Using common technology such as the Internet and social networks, today's terrorist groups are able to reach out to others in faraway places and indoctrinate them into their own extremist ideals, providing them with contacts who can later be used to carry out destructive attacks.

Four Waves: The Historical Development of Modern Terrorism

The First Wave - The Anarchist Wave

The history of modern terrorism¹ began with the “first wave” in the late 19th century in Eastern and Central Europe (Rapoport, 2001). During this time, Europe as well as the United States experienced long periods of development and transformation (Chaliand, 2007). Modernizing periods followed the first Industrial Revolution as its discoveries were exploited to fuel production and led to the second Industrial Revolution (Chaliand, 2007). Great levels of production, boosted by modern tools and machinery created during the second Industrial Revolution, and developments in communication and travel technologies created a global trade market that fueled the development of capitalism into modern society (Chaliand, 2007).

The rapid advancement of technology and commerce caused a sudden transformation of society that helped to fuel an environment conducive to revolutionary thought (Chaliand, 2007). As mortality rates dropped and population numbers skyrocketed, people moved to the center of industrial growth in hopes of improving their economic condition, but found disappointment instead (Chaliand, 2007). Ongoing social transformations included the development of two distinct social classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat classes (Chaliand, 2007). These classes were distinguished by not only the nature of their work, but also by the prosperity they enjoyed. The bourgeoisie were the group that held the upper hand in the capitalist society, the in-group. They were virtually the only group benefitting from the move to capitalism as they directed the work done in the industries rather than provide the manual labor. It was the proletariat group who were the laborers in the industries that emerged during this period, and therefore the driving

force behind the incoming prosperity. Although the work done to advance the region was executed by the proletariat, their condition did not improve as that of the bourgeoisie did. The frustrated condition of the proletariat created the resentment that fed an environment suitable for a revolution.

Angered by the unjust effects that a centralized, bureaucratic government had on society revolutionaries sought a new form of government (Chaliand, 2007). The answer was found in the Anarchist doctrine that developed in the unstable environment of the time. At its root, the anarchic doctrine promotes the rejection of any and all forms of authority in favor of a society built on cooperation (Chaliand, 2007). The main goal of this movement was to end the period of social injustice felt by all those whose condition was made worse by capitalism and the bureaucratic system. The movement gained widespread support throughout Europe in countries such as Russia, Italy, France, and Great Britain. While early forms of the movement were non-violent and aimed at reform, by the late 1870s reformists began to consider other means to achieve their goals. Anarchist theorists and proponents such as Pyotr Kropotkin and Elisee Reclus began advocating the idea of “propaganda by deed” as a new tactic for awakening the popular conscious into a revolutionary spirit (Chaliand, 2007). This marked the beginning of terrorist action in what, up until that moment, had been a revolutionary movement.

This period was characterized by the targeting of state symbols, especially those leaders who were seen to be a driving force of the authority. For the Narodnaya Volya, this target were the Russian tzars, especially Tzar Alexander II, in Spain Anarchists targeted the kings and royal families, and in the United States President William McKinley was assassinated because he was "an enemy of the good working people"(Chaliand, 2007).

Oppressive states and systems were the driving force behind Anarchist terrorism. Anarchist terrorists believed their fight was justified because they were working for the good of the people who deserved to have individual freedom (Chaliand, 2007). The man that assassinated U.S. President William McKinley, Leon Czolgosz, claimed he had committed the assassination to liberate Americans (Chaliand, 2007). Much like the Assassins from the 2nd Century, this wave of terrorism characterized terrorists as martyrs and heroes (Rapoport, 2001). A member of the Narodnaya Volya, for example, entered with the understanding that they were destined for death, and that their life was a necessary sacrifice that had to be made in exchange for the freedom of their people (Chaliand, 2007).

The Industrial Revolution that paved the way for the shift in the economic and social orders of the day not only set the stage for the ensuing revolt, but also provided new means through which these new terrorist groups could perform. The invention of dynamite was a notable development for the anarchist terrorists of the first wave as it became their weapon of choice in their fight (Rapoport, 2001). The development of a railway system in Russia also provided the necessary means through which they could operate and travel (Crenshaw, 1981).

The development seen in communications through the rise in newspapers, provided an opportunity for first wave groups to spread their propaganda. Their doctrine of “propaganda by deed” would not have been as effective had it not been for this development in the media (Chaliand, 2007). Assassination attempts and executions were a popular choice among first wave groups, but would also be their undoing (Rapoport, 2001). The successful assassination of the Austrian archduke Ferdinand marked the end of this wave as media and popular attention shifted to the battles and horrors of World War I (Chaliand, 2007).

The Narodnaya Volya

The Narodnaya Volya emerged in Russia at a time when the support for the Anarchist doctrine was high among Europeans. In fact, the Anarchist movement arrived in Russia later than it had in other European Nations such as Italy and Spain (Chaliand, 2007). The Narodnaya Volya in Russia was established in 1879, and is regarded as the first terrorist movement in modern times. The origins of this movement lie in the despotic rule of the old Tsars, especially the rule of Tsar Nicholas I (Chaliand, 2007). Due to a violent and oppressive history, Tsar Nicholas I's rule inspires many to turn against Russian authority leading to the beginning of socialist ideology. When Nicholas I's successor, Tsar Alexander II, rose to power, he put forth social and economic reforms in an attempt to quell the antagonistic sentiments rising within Russia. (Chaliand, 2007) These reforms, however, failed to satisfy the desires of the population, and instead created a new argument used to propagate the end of the Tsars. Capitalist reforms failed to improve the quality of life of the Russian peasants, and instead created a new divide between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (Chaliand, 2007). Those who desired a revolution continued to see the Tsar and the Russian government as a despotic regime, and members of the Narodnaya Volya continued to regard the Russian state as a "monster," a tool used for the continuing transfer of power to the bourgeoisie (Chaliand, 2007).

Rising from the overall environment of anarchist ideology, the Narodnaya Volya's main goal was to create a revolution against the existing Russian state. Thus, the main focus of the group was to spur anti-government sentiments among the Russians as well as inspire them to take part in a revolution. In the eyes of Narodnaya Volya terrorists, revolutionaries were At the

center of Narodnaya Volya's ideology was the idea of "propaganda by deed" (Iviansky, 1977). This idea shaped their way of thinking and influenced a variety of aspects regarding the group's desires and strategies.

The aim of Narodnaya Volya's violent acts were not meant to cause damage directly to the Russian state, but to undermine its abilities and inspire their fellow Russians around them to create a revolution against the government. The people involved in the Narodnaya Volya believed that by exposing the weaknesses of the state they would be able to encourage the masses to rise up against it. Therefore, the most efficient strategy for the Narodnaya Volya would be to attack prominent targets (Iviansky, 1997). This reasoning led the group to believing that an assassination of Tsar Alexander II would highlight the Russian state's weakness and show other Russians that they were not impotent against the government. The assassination of Tsar Alexander II, however, backfired on the group when Tsar Alexander III implemented reforms that weakened and repressed the group (Chaliand, 2007).

The Second Wave - The Nationalist-Separatist Wave

The second wave of terrorism occurred between the 1920s to the 1960s. This wave was characterized by the development of Nationalist-Separatist movements. The age of the European Empires during the 1700s saw the rapid expansion of countries through the acquisition of territories throughout the world, although it was usually not welcome. In most cases, indigenous groups fought hard against the imposition of a foreign government over their land and people, however, the success of these groups was nearly impossible when up against wealthy and advanced imperial armies. The result was years of domination and the buildup of resentment

toward the oppressive forces that controlled them. The end this period came only after the end of two World Wars, which were fought on the grounds of national self-determination (Rapoport, 2001). Nationalist terrorists were inspired by the same idea: that they too deserved the right to determine their own path and their own government based on their culture and history. The economic and military strain placed on the major European powers as a result of the World Wars left them weak and vulnerable to attacks from nationalist-separatist groups.

The first wave of terror was characterized by the desire to create a rebellion against the state. The purpose of Anarchist terrorist attacks, then, was to undermine the capabilities of the state in an effort to inspire a revolutionary spirit in the masses. Unlike the Anarchist terrorists before them, the goal of Nationalist terrorists was not to undermine the state, nor did they desire create a new state out of its ashes (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2007). Instead, the goal of Nationalist terrorists was to gain independence from the state, who they did not consider to be their legitimate rulers. The result of this goal was for terrorist groups to engage in a strategy of attrition against the foreign powers (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2007). The aim of this strategy is to attack the opposing group, causing political, economic, and psychological damage, with the hope of breaking their will to continue in the fight (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2007). Therefore, the ultimate winner of this type of war is the force that outlasts the other.

An interesting characteristic of terrorism that emerged during this wave was the increased role of diaspora groups in the liberation movement (Rapoport, 2001). Groups during this wave received part of their fighters and funds from nationals living in distant places. This wave of terrorism developed a cellular structure within the cities where they operated. Similar to today's groups but on a much smaller scale, this structure allowed them to perform guerrilla style hit-

and-run tactics (Rapoport, 2001). It was their hope that through these small-scale attacks they would be able to wear out the morale of the government's constituents and force them to surrender their territory. Therefore, a popular tactic employed by these groups was to target and attack symbols of the government's power. As such, police and military forces were often the principal targets due to their representation as the most direct tool used by the governments to subdue the masses

The Irish Republican Army

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) emerged during the second wave of terrorism. The basis for this movement was on the idea of the right of the Irish to govern themselves and be free of British control. As a British colony, the IRA fought for the freedom of the entire island of Ireland. By 1920, the Irish did receive independence from Great Britain through the Government of Ireland Act, but the Act split the territory into two distinct regions (White, 1997). The territory was split into a predominantly Irish Catholic region, which was to be the independent state, and a predominantly English Protestant region, which was to be governed by Great Britain until a vote reunified the region (White, 1997). The split meant that a free Ireland was only available to those living within the liberated region.

The liberation of only one half of Ireland wasn't viewed as a sufficient measure by the IRA. Rather, it was seen as the continued control of the foreign power in their sovereign territory. What followed was a period of time known as "the Troubles" in Northern Ireland. This time was seen as a sectarian conflict in Ireland, and the Irish Republican Party was known as an anti-Protestant terrorist group. However, the motivations for the actions of the IRA go deeper than

religious and ethnic differences. The Protestant population of Northern Ireland was largely made up of a British population. The IRA and others viewed this population as occupiers of what should be Irish land. The IRA did not exclusively seek to throw out Protestants from their land, but to rid themselves of British control and reunify Ireland.

The IRA's strategy was to engage in violent attacks aimed at the British as well as loyalist groups. They believed a few attacks on British soldiers would be enough to force the British out of Ireland. What actually occurred, however, was an increase in British troops sent to Northern Ireland in 1972. Known as "Operation Motorman," the dispatch of British troops resulted in increased arrests and stability (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2007). The result was that both sides continued to engage in a war of attrition in which a clear winner would not emerge for decades.

The IRA killed over 1600 people in the period between 1969-2001, most of the victims were British security forces occupying Northern Ireland, but many innocent civilians fell victim to the violence as well (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2007). The IRA's justification for the high number of fatalities rested on their perceived right to reunify Ireland and the belief that the British were foreign invaders occupying their land.

The Euskadi Ta Askatasuna

The Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) was a Basque separatist organization based in Spain. The goal of the ETA was the preservation of Basque culture and the expulsion of what was seen as foreign control by the Spanish state, especially under the oppressive control of Dictator Francisco Franco (Alexander, Swetnam, and Levine, 2001). The desire of the ETA was to incite a popular uprising among the Basque people and force the Spanish government to yield to the

Basque the territory that was rightfully theirs. Following the acquisition of their territory, the ETA hoped to establish a Marxist state in the independent Basque country.

The tactics employed by the ETA were designed to not only advance their cause publicly, but also to fund their operations. Targets were specifically chosen by the ETA to serve a symbolic purpose. Usual targets for statements and extortions included Spanish law enforcement and members of armed forces, professors, well known businesspeople, journalists, and anyone who openly denounced them for their actions. While the ETA made “statements” through public bombings, assassinations, sloganeering, and riots other methods such as bank robberies and kidnappings were used to procure funding for their cause as well. Since its creation in 1959, over 800 people have been killed by the ETA and thousands more injured (Alexander, Swetnam, and Levine, 2001).

The Spanish state eventually took steps to include the Basque people in the government and increased the accuracy of representation within its democracy. This as well as a crackdown of terrorists and an established, coordinated effort with the French government to arrest ETA members, the power of the ETA greatly diminished. In 2011, the ETA officially declared a ceasefire and handed over their weapons a few years later. The reduction of popular support among the Basque people as well as an increase in opposition contributed to the decline of the ETA. Without the support of the Basque people there would have been no way for the ETA to accomplish their goal of a revolution against the Spanish government.

The cases of the IRA and the ETA highlight the prominent features of second wave terrorists. The recurring theme during this wave is the defense of a nation against foreign oppression. The IRA fought against the British who invaded Ireland as a part of their imperial

expansion and occupied their land. Native Irish Catholics often suffered political and social discrimination at the hands of British Protestants, this led to protests that escalated into a Civil Rights movement, and ultimately the establishment of the IRA who set out to liberate Ireland (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2007). The ETA was also formed out of oppression that originated during the Franco dictatorship where their culture and language were repressed (Alexander, Swetnam, and Levine, 2001). Thus, both groups engaged in a war of attrition against their enemies and asserted that they would only be satisfied with independence.

The Third Wave - The Revolutionary Wave

The success of guerrilla groups in the Vietnam War against United States sparked the beginning of the third wave of terrorism during the 1970s (Rapoport, 2001). Left-wing Revolutionary groups perceived the victory of the Vietcong as a sliver of hope that a popular revolution could prove to be successful even in the face of powerful Western² opponents. Revolutionary terrorism, unlike many other forms of terrorism, is a part of a much larger picture. Where other forms of terrorism involve a push *away* from the central government, revolutionary terrorism seeks to transform the government as well as the society it rules (Hutchinson, 1972). Some groups such as the IRA and the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) emerged during the second wave and remained active through the third wave. These groups, therefore, exhibited a nationalist-separatist characteristics that eventually overshadowed any revolutionary components of their ideologies (Rapoport, 2001).

This wave is characterized by anti-“Establishment” sentiments where the West, and more specifically the US, was often the face of “the Establishment” (Smith, 2008). This wave was

characterized also with the development of an international perspective in terms of their goals. Terrorists active during this time sought to end the spread of capitalism, which they perceived to be the tool of the West used to maintain control over the world (Chaliand, 2007). Thus, third wave groups saw themselves as “vanguards” of the third world (Rapoport, 2001). Prior to this wave, terrorism was mostly considered a domestic issue with attacks occurring against the ruling government by groups operating within the same state or colony. The first instances of terrorist attacks being executed in foreign lands emerged during this wave. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), for example, was considerably more active in the international field than within their own territory (Rapoport, 2001). Although the PLO’s greatest enemy was Israel they considered Israel to be a major part of the West, and therefore attacked not only Israeli, but American and European targets as well. In fact, Europe saw more PLO attacks than the West Bank did and in cases where the PLO did execute attacks within their territory it was often aimed toward symbols of Western presence, such as American installations. (Rapoport, 2001)

International terrorism first emerged during this wave of terrorism because separate nationalist groups banded together to take on “the Establishment” (Rapoport, 2001). Communism, and the Soviet Union to an extent, were thought by many to be the answer to escaping from the West’s capitalist takeover. The Vietcong and the PLO are two groups who readily accepted Soviet aid when taking on the West. Wanting to change the face of their government, the Red Brigades established themselves in Italy when they realized the Italian Communist Party was unwilling to create a revolution in the state (Smith, 2008).

The aim of revolutionary terrorist attacks was to destroy those symbols that were an example of the state’s power as well as symbols that were perceived to be a symbol of Western

influence. Hostage taking and airline hijacking were common tactics used by third wave terrorists (Rapoport, 2001). Oftentimes target choices were based upon the perception of a person's role in aiding Western influence enter the state, such as the choice to kidnap and murder Aldo Moro, the former Italian Prime Minister. The move was based on the perception that he was a leader in an agreement made between the Italian Communist Party and the Christian Democrats (Chaliand, 2007). The agreement between the two parties to share power was thought to be a betrayal to the Communist movement and Moro's part in the agreement made him responsible for the rule of the Christian Democrats (Smith, 2008). High-profile attacks like those of the PLO and the Red Brigades were replicated throughout Western Europe and Latin America and exemplify the desire of these groups to draw attention and support to their cause.

The Red Brigades

The Italian Red Brigades rose out of the increasing antiwar sentiments that gripped the world in the 1960s as a result of continued American efforts in the Vietnam War (Smith, 2008). In the late 1960s, a group of radical communist students established the Metropolitan Political Collective, an early form of what was to become the Red Brigades (Smith, 2008). This organization, founded by Renato Curio, Margherita Cagol, and Alberto Franceschini, was meant "coordinate and radicalize the anti-capitalist discontent of the students and workers" (Smith 2008). The point of this group was to gather and radicalize followers into supporting the extreme left and gain support for a Communist revolution. The Red Brigades believed that their movement was the result of years of oppression on the lives of those living in the state of Italy at that time.

The Red Brigades were an extremely organized group. Their structure was a hierarchy of cells and factions spread among six columns across Italy in locations such as: Milan, Genoa, Turin, Rome, Naples, and the Veneto Region (Smith, 2008). Each column represented a cell of members of the Red Brigades who were to remain active in their surrounding city and region. Some columns, such as Rome, had specific set of tasks and duties that had to be executed. Rome's duty was to attack political leaders that represented the unjust system that dominated Italy's political field, especially those who were known affiliates of the Christian Democratic Party (Smith, 2008). At the top of the Red Brigade's hierarchy was the Strategic Directorate, charged with guiding the group and responsible for its organization (Smith, 2008).

Members of the Red Brigade often included those who were unhappy with the societal and economic systems and displayed excitement and support for the revolutionary cause, such groups of people included unemployed workers and students among others. (Smith, 2008) Each prospective member of the group had to be ready to surrender past ties in exchange for the life they would live as a member of the Red Brigades. The most important aspect any new recruit must exhibit in order to join the ranks of the Red Brigades was: "The implacable desire to fight injustice to create a new society" (Smith, 2008).

The target choice made by the Red Brigades was based on the perception of its ties to "the Establishment," in most cases meaning the capitalist system facilitated by the West. These target choices included politicians, bankers, and industrialists among obvious Western foreigners (Smith, 2008). A favorite tactic among the Red Brigades was kidnapping and assassinations. The Red Brigades used kidnapping for its two-fold benefit provided to the group: high-profile media attention, especially in cases where major politicians such as Aldo Moro were taken, as well as a

significant pay out. Besides bank robberies, kidnappings were used by the Red Brigades to raise the funds necessary to continue their violent campaign (Smith, 2008).

Over time, the choice in tactics by the Red Brigades grew increasingly violent. Between 1969, when the groups was established, and 1972, the main choice of spreading awareness for their cause was through propaganda and limited attacks on private companies. Following that, kidnappings were used as a way to increase the media coverage of their campaign in cities such as Milan, Turin, and Genoa until 1974 (Smith, 2008). Between 1974 and 1978, the violence and anger of the Red Brigades was more accurately centered on the Italian state, and the group carried out attacks on a nearly daily basis (Smith, 2008). As time passed without the achievement of a Communist revolution, the tactical choices made by the Red Brigades became increasingly violent. This increased violence on the part of the Red Brigades highlight their growing frustration.

Following the kidnapping and murder of the former Prime Minister Aldo Moro, the Red Brigades followed a path of steady decline. Rather than draw support for their cause, the violent nature of the kidnapping alienated the Italian public and reduced support in the region. Besides the decline in popular support, the high-profile kidnapping resulted in a major police initiative to search, find, and prosecute members of the Red Brigades (Smith, 2008). The police initiative found success and was able to identify and arrest numerous members of the Red Brigades, including many who were connected to the murders of several Italian officials (Smith, 2008).

The Fourth Wave - The Religious Wave

Violence perpetrated on behalf of religion is an old phenomenon in the world. There have been many examples of states justifying politically-motivated wars through their faith or waging wars in defense of their faith. Acts of terror have also been used as a reliable tool to reach political objectives for countless years. Currently, the world is experiencing a new wave in which religion and terrorism are merging together to form a new and unique wave which is called the “religious wave.” The unification of religion and terrorist ideology was crucial in justifying and the goals and tactict of new groups (Rapoport, 2001). The fourth wave has also been nicknamed the “jihad era,” reflecting the propensity of terrorist groups to identify with the Muslim faith (Pedahzur and Perliger, 2013). In Islam, "jihad" has been interpreted in various ways, but ultimately refers to a struggle between what is right and wrong (What is jihadism?, 2014). There are two separate parts to jihadism: greater and lesser jihad (Chaliand, 2007). Greater jihad is defined as the struggle within oneself, while lesser jihad is is the duty of all Muslims to defend their faith when it is under attack (Chaliand, 2007). It is under the banner of lesser jihad that fourth wave terrorists justify their actions.

Besides the ideological differences between waves, the fourth wave of terrorism is unique from previous waves because of its change in methods of operation as well. Scholars have identified a shift within the organizational structure of fourth wave terrorist groups where there is no longer a clear line of command, but rather a *network structure* made of independently operating cells (Pedahzur and Perliger, 2013). There is an development of ideology and group organization present within the religious groups of the fourth wave. The development of group organization occurred in three stages where four different configurations of Islamic groups are identified to have emerged: paramilitary groups, Al-Qaeda, sleeper cells, and homegrown

networks (Pedahzur and Perliger, 2013.) The development of jihadist groups from paramilitary structure to network structure can be traced back to the question of *kaffir* that dominated the Islamic movement in the 1960's. According to Charles Adams, *kufr* stands for everything that is offensive, and therefore opposed, to Allah (Brooke, 202). Therefore, to declare someone a *kaffir* meant not only the justification of their death, but also the sanctification of it (Brooke, 202). Sayyid Qutb, a well-recognized thinker within the Muslim Brotherhood, promoted a controversial belief that a Muslim can be declared a *kaffir* (someone opposed to Islam). The subsequent debate on Qutb's ideology led to the ejection of the violent members of the Muslim Brotherhood and the first paramilitary groups to emerge. The continuation of the *kaffir* debate, and subsequent debates, fueled the transformation of terrorist groups as new thinkers and leaders emerged and their ideologies spread throughout the Middle East. It is important to note that with each development the hierarchical structure of the groups became less and less centralized.

As for the characteristics of the attacks of fourth wave terrorist groups, researchers have claimed that modern terrorist use more sophisticated tactics than their predecessors. Furthermore, the targets of these terrorists have moved to areas with a high civilian population, thus making the attacks much more deadly (Pedahzur and Perliger, 2013).

Al-Qaeda

Al-Qaeda is the most recognized Islamist terrorist group of modern times. This group is responsible for thousands of deaths in the Middle East and other places throughout the globe, not to mention the immense attack on the World Trade Center in New York, and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. on September 11, 2001. Founded by 'Abdallah 'Azzam and Osama bin Laden

in 1988, as an anti-Soviet campaign in Afghanistan, al-Qaeda quickly sought to become an influential force in global jihad (Chaliand, 2007). Azzam and bin Laden's principal goal upon the creation of al-Qaeda was purely the liberation of Muslim lands from foreign rule, such as was the case of Afghanistan at the time. (Brooke, 2008) Bin Laden's focus, however, was turned toward the disposition of Muslim rulers who were under control of the West when Ayman al Zawahiri, leader of another jihadist group named al-Jihad, began to influence his thinking (Brooke, 2008). From this point on, bin Laden's, and therefore al-Qaeda's, ideology changed from playing a defensive role to becoming an offensive player on the global jihadist stage.

At the time of al-Qaeda's rise, two strategies dominated Islamist thought: the "near enemy" strategy and the "far enemy" strategy. The "near enemy" strategy was driven by the belief that to take back the Middle East, it is more important to take out the rivals that are nearest to them, such as unreliable regimes and Israel. These enemies were seen as being a part of Western intervention in the region (Brooke, 2008). The "far enemy" strategy believed that fighting the Western powers that controlled the unreliable regimes would eventually cause a domino effect that would lead to the end of those governments (Brooke, 2008). The motives behind the first attacks of al-Qaeda are based off of a "near enemy" strategy where Osama bin Laden argued that Muslim governments are simply tools used by the West. Bin Laden's main target became the United States of America who he resented for its "cultural hegemony, global political influence, and overwhelming conventional military power" (Byman, 2003). America's presence in Saudi Arabia became bin Laden's first attack with the release of his 1996 *fatwa*, "A Declaration of Jihad against the Americans Occupying the Land of Two Holy Sanctuaries (Expel the Infidels from the Arabian Peninsula)" (Brooke, 2008). In this *fatwa* bin Laden called for attacks against

US targets in the Middle East, and criticized the Saudi government for allowing the Americans to occupy such an important area (Brooke, 2008). Bin Laden hoped to create a rebellion within Saudi Arabia, citing a change in regime being the most important objective, this strategy however failed. The Saudi government survived the attack by bin Laden and struck back by removing his citizenship and freezing his assets. This marked the end of al-Qaeda's "near enemy" strategy.

The 1996 *fatwa* also marked the beginning of a continuing anti-American sentiment that would eventually dominate al-Qaeda's motives and drive their targets to become entirely based on a "far enemy" strategy. By 1998, bin Laden's strategic choice became clear with the release of the *fatwa*: "World Islamic Front against the Jews and Crusaders." This change in strategy also marked an important evolutionary milestone for terrorist groups since it was at this time when al-Qaeda became a network rather than just a group (Chaliand, 2007). It provided training, funding, and weapons to jihadist groups throughout the world in places such as the Philippines, Chechnya, Indonesia, Georgia, and Algeria (Byman, 2003). The hierarchical structure previously present in terrorist groups limited the capabilities of them due to the need to follow a chain of command. In a network structure, however, al-Qaeda is able to influence many groups, gain loyalties, and provide the training needed to execute great attacks, while allowing these groups to have a certain degree of autonomy. Despite the inability to exert direct control over the groups, al-Qaeda is able to rally them into cooperating cohesively toward a common goal: defending Islam and the *umma* from foreign threats (Byman, 2003). In this way, al-Qaeda became a truly worldwide terrorist organization whose power and influence is still felt today

Figure 1: Terrorist Group Through the Waves

| | Motives | Desired Outcome | Organizational Structure | Tactics/Methods |
|---|--|---|--|---|
| First Wave (Anarchist) | | | | |
| Narodnaya Volya | 1. Resentment toward the bourgeoisie class and the view that the Russian state was a monstrous tool used to transfer more power away from the proletariat and toward the bourgeoisie. | 1. The goal of the Narodnaya Volya was to speed up the process of history and incite a rebellion among the people. | 1. Hierarchical organization. Headed by the "Executive Committee" who organized the attacks. | 1. Attack symbols of state power in an effort to <i>publicly</i> undermine the state. |
| Second Wave (Nationalist-Separatist) | | | | |
| Irish Republican Army (IRA) | 1. Resentment of British presence in Ireland & subsequent split of Ireland. | 1. Reunite Ireland and end British intervention 2. The IRA's long-term goal was to revolve British rule from all of Ireland, specifically Northern Ireland. As well as to establish a legitimate socialist government that would rule over all of the Republic of Ireland, including the northern counties. | 1. Hierarchical organization; with smaller cellular structures under orders of group authority. Similar to that of the ETA; headed by the Army council. | 1. War of attrition belief that the more targets they killed, the more likely it would become that the British would leave Ireland 2. bombings, shooting attacks, beatings, high-profile assassinations, kidnappings, extortion and armed robberies. |
| Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) | 1. Preservation of Basque culture and expulsion of foreign control. 2. Sought independence from Spanish government following years of persecution under Francoist dictatorship. | 1. ETA has made five demands that must be fulfilled to end their violent campaign: a) amnesty for all Basque political prisoners b) legalization of all political parties c) removal of all police agencies from the Basque Country, especially the Spanish Guardia Civil. d) Improvement for the lives of the working class. e) recognition of Euskadi sovereignty and independence of the Basque state through a popular uprising. | 1. Ruled by an Executive committee which oversees all structures and plans. ETA divided into: Military Apparatus, Political Apparatus, and Logistic Apparatus. Each apparatus is further broken down into sub apparatuses, the importance of each differs. | 1. Bank robberies, kidnappings, sloganeering through public graffiti, collection of "revolutionary tax" from targeted Basque businesses, bombings, and assassinations. 3 kinds of attacks: explosive devices, grenade launching, and machine-gunning/shooting. the selection of attack depended upon the target and the minimization of risk to terrorist members 3. ETA received funding through extortion and <i>revolutionary tax</i> . |
| Third Wave (Revolutionary) | | | | |
| Red Brigades | 1. Anti-capitalist sentiments and desire for a socialist revolution. 2. Motivated by perceived "betrayal" on the part of the Italian Communist Party who had forged a compromise with the Christian Democrats. | 1. The creation of a socialist state in Italy which would halt capitalism's domination of the world. | 1. Extremely organized; divided into six columns, each based in a specific city, with cells spread throughout rural areas which were seen as the seeds of new columns. | 1. Bank robberies, kidnappings, bombings, and murder. |
| Fourth Wave (Religious) | | | | |
| Muslim Brotherhood | 1. Egypt, under the rule of a corrupt regime and leader, didn't uphold true Islamic principals. 2. Later, targeting through mass arrests and executions of Muslim Brothers. 3. Other Muslim countries under foreign control, either directly or indirectly. | 1. Immediate goal: overthrow of Nasser. 2. Longterm goal: the establishment of an Islamic state where the laws of <i>sharia</i> are applied. | 1. Hierarchical organization; clear line of command and defined leaders. | 1. Political involvement rejection of any violent acts on behalf of their movement. 2. Propaganda and preaching. |
| Al Qaeda | 1. US military presence in the Middle East, US support of Israel, US support of corrupt Muslim regimes, subordination of the Muslim World, disregard of Muslim lives. 2. Motivated also by perceived necessity of waging jihad against those who opposed the Muslim people. | 2. Complete removal of Western presence in the Middle East, removal of Israel as a state, establishment of <i>true</i> Islamic state | 1. Network structure-no clear line of authority, but more organized than homegrown cells. 2. Consists of a small core group as well as a network of cells spread throughout, linking with various Islamist groups. | 1. Focus on attacking the "far enemy" 2. By attacking the US and causing it to fall, all pro-western regimes in the Muslim world will fall 3. Suicide-bombing a popular choice among these terrorist |

| | Targets/Victims | Destructiveness | Justifications | Actual Outcome | Years Active/ |
|---|--|--|---|--|---------------|
| First Wave (Anarchist) | | | | | |
| Narodnaya Volya | 1. Tsar Alexander II was the main target of this movement. Other targets were chosen based on the symbolism of their deaths. | 1. Minimal innocent victims. The Narodnaya Volya followed a motto of “not one drop of superfluous blood.” | 1. The Narodnaya Volya saw their movement as a rise against the despotic actions of the Russian Tsars. | 1. Following the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, mass arrests weakened the group’s executive committee. 2. Alexander III’s, successor to Alexander II, responded with acts of repression that helped to contain the revolutionary movement. | 1873-1913 |
| Second Wave (Nationalist-Separatist) | | | | | |
| Irish Republican Army (IRA) | 1. Majority British or loyalist organizations, but sectarian killings occurred as well. 2. Members of the security forces in Northern Ireland, government and private-sector individuals, and innocent civilians. | 1. Killed approximately 1,640 people between 1969-2001. | 1. The British had no right to rule over Northern Ireland and their presence should not be present anywhere in the Republic | 1. Declared ceasefire in 1994 Belfast agreement signed in 1998. | 1916-2001 |
| Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) | 1. ETA Activists, Spanish Police, innocent bystanders. Two usual targets: people known for either their profession or their ideology and property belonging to private or public companies, | Approximately 600 people have died in ETA-related incidents between 1968 and 1987 Since it was formed in 1959, over 800 people have been killed and thousands more have been injured. | 1. Only an “independent Basque country” with Marxist principals has the authority to rule over the Basque people. | Declared ceasefire in October 2011 following the reduction of popular support for the movement as well as increased security and coordinated attacks on the group by the Spanish and French states. | 1959-2011 |
| Third Wave (Revolutionary) | | | | | |
| Red Brigades | 1. Bankers and industrialists were often targeted as well as political leaders of the Christian Democratic Party, police forces, | 1. Killed and injured over 1200 people during its campaign. | 1. Believed that their struggle was justified because it was on the side on the new political, economic, and social forced emerging during that time. | 1. Defeated by Italian state upon the decrease in popular support and police crackdown on members of the Red Brigades as a result of the kidnap and murder of Aldo Moro. | 1969—1988 |
| Fourth Wave (Religious) | | | | | |
| Muslim Brotherhood | 1. Muslim <i>umma</i> , or community, belief that society as a whole had to change and government should follow. | 1. Although some individuals committed acts of terrorism, the Muslim Brotherhood quickly dissociates itself from such attacks and calls for non-violence. | 1. It is their duty to lead the people, and the state as a whole, to follow the <i>true</i> Islamic way through reform and education | 1. Although it remains a powerful political force Egypt, today the Muslim Brotherhood is outlawed. | 1928-Present |
| Al Qaeda | 1. Symbols of American power such as embassies, military bases, soldiers, American civilians, etc. 2. Also will attack those allied with the US and interfering in the Middle East, as evidenced by the Underground bombings in London. | 1. Thousands of deaths with over 2600 at the New York site of the 9/11 attacks alone. | 1. Seeking independence from Western influence through the creation of an Islamic state. | 1. Remains active today. 2. Many offspring groups continue to work in various countries with its support and funding. | 1988-Present |

Comparative Analysis of the Four Waves

Motives and Desired Outcome

Using Table 1, I outline the change over time of motives and desired outcomes of groups within each wave of terror. The motives that drove each terror group varied slightly, but grew from the same principal: out-group resentment toward the in-groups. The variations within each group were due to the subject toward whom their sentiments were aimed. The first group, the Narodnaya Volya, were resentful of the bourgeoisie, and because of this they also resented the Russian government who they saw as tools used to keep Russian peasants poor. The motivations behind the Narodnaya Volya are similar to those of the IRA as well. The IRA fought against their own ‘bourgeoisie’, the British government who entered Ireland with much more money and resources to establish their presence in the region. Irish Protestants suffered much oppression and discrimination while the British were in power. The result was an unequal balance of wealth within Ireland with the Irish often being the ones to suffer from poverty (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2007).

While oppression itself can cause the population to question the right of a state government to execute violent actions, the British government in Ireland was already seen as having no right to rule over the Irish people. Although it may not be as obvious as the waves before it, 4th wave terrorist groups are also characterized by resentment. Being nicknamed the “jihad era” due to the prevalence of Islamic terrorism during this wave, it is easy for some to assume that the nature of Islamic terrorism has only to do with the implication that Islam and Western culture cannot coexist. However, resentment is a more accurate motivator for 4th wave groups. The Middle East has an unfortunate history of unwanted intervention. Beginning during British colonization, and culminating in the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire following its defeat in World War I, Arab

Muslims have been given the short end of the stick time and time again. The distribution of Ottoman lands among European empires was the peak of humiliation for the Arabs who had once prided themselves as being a cultural center. It was soon after this that the roots of Arab Nationalism began with cries of “Arabia for Arabs,” and calls to establish a state of their own (Khalidi, 1991).

While the Muslim Brotherhood is classified under the fourth wave, it is important to consider their origins in the second wave. The Muslim Brotherhood was established in 1928, in the middle of the Nationalist Wave, and its origins display highly nationalist features. Since al-Qaeda and other jihadist offshoots originated from the Muslim Brotherhood movement, their motives also display a type of nationalist feature in that they choose to unify not under the name of a country, but under the name of Islam. The desire to unify the Muslim *umma*, or *community*, leads to the goal of establishing a Muslim caliphate once again. Under the caliphate, fourth wave groups such as al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and ISIS, seek to enforce *sharia*. *Islamic*, law on their citizens. The desire to reestablish a caliphate means as much to them spiritually as it does politically. Not only will the recreation of an Islamic state make up for the humility felt by the region, but in the eyes of Islamists it will also return Allah’s favor to their land.

Organizational Structure

The structures of the groups in each wave of terror are extremely alike, with the exception of al-Qaeda. Each terrorist group that was established prior to the fourth wave is organized as a hierarchy. Although they may have groups that are spread out, such as the columns used by the Red Brigades, most terrorist groups have a central command group that organizes the groups

below it. The Narodnaya Volya were led by the “executive committee” who decided to strike the government in an attempt to cause disruption (Chaliand, 2007). This committee organized and directed many attacks, most prominently, the assassination of Tsar Alexander II and the prior attempts on his life.

The Red Brigades displayed, perhaps, the most organized structure of all the groups. The top of their organization was the Strategic Directorate, the “brain center,” who decided strategies, directed the organization, and maintained the group’s organization (Smith, 2008). The next step in the Red Brigade’s structure were the columns, centers of direction located in various cities, each column was tasked with specific assignments and roles as well as to direct the brigades and cells that were below them. (Smith, 2008)

On the other side of this is al-Qaeda, the most loosely organized group on the table. The organization of al-Qaeda is minimal where a clear line of command is not present in from the group’s center to its individual agents. Instead of containing a center, such as the Strategic Directorate for the Red Brigades, role of al-Qaeda is to act as a supportive center in itself for various autonomous groups. Through training and funding for groups with similar motivations, al-Qaeda is able to sow ideological seeds and send them off to develop in a distant places, like the Philippines, Algeria, Indonesia, among other locations (Byman, 2003). Al-Qaeda is not a group with many members under its banner, but a group with many affiliate groups following its ideology and working toward its goal. This networked structure, then, gives al-Qaeda a dangerous edge over groups before it. With multiple groups working under the same ideology, but slightly different objectives, al-Qaeda is able to cater to the specific needs of various populations, thus increasing the number of people to whom they can appeal.

Targets and Tactics

A popular target for terrorist groups is to focus on symbolism. Representations of the enemy are powerful targets because of what they mean to the enemy as well as the targeted community. First wave terror groups attacked state symbols in an attempt to highlight their weakness and encourage rebellion, second wave attacked foreign government symbols to cause political, social, and psychological damage, and third wave terror groups attacked symbols of the “Establishment,” often considered the West or America, who they saw as engines forcing capitalism on the world.

Fourth wave terror groups also attack symbols of the West, but they do not do it because of the economic system, rather because of resentment of foreign intervention. In this way, fourth wave terrorist groups’ target choice is most similar to second wave groups rather than the wave preceding it. The IRA engaged in a war of attrition with the British, attacking the most obvious symbol of British presence in Ireland: the British security forces, and the ETA similarly targeted Spanish police and demanded the removal of the Spanish Guardia Armada from Basque Country.

The objective of fourth wave groups is, ultimately, the creation of an Islamic state. Since 1978, many debates have risen regarding the effectiveness of engaging in a war against the “near enemy,” un-Islamic rulers of Muslim countries, or the “far enemy,” Israel and the West (Brooke, 2008). In the view of Osama bin Laden, the founder of al-Qaeda, attacking the “far enemy” is a better strategic choice due to their control over the puppet governments in the Middle East (Brooke, 2008). Bin Laden believed that attacks on America would yield more direct results because he viewed the renegade governments as instruments of American power in the Middle

East. In rationalizing the choice to fight the “far enemy”, bin Laden said this: “If we cut off the head of America, the kingdoms in the Arab world will cease to exist” (Byman, 2003). Therefore, attacking the hand that controls the puppet governments would cause a domino effect in the Middle East, where control by the West would be weakened.

Tactically, the most popular choice among terrorist groups has been the use of explosives. The creation of dynamite in the eighteenth century allowed each group on the table to cause large-scale destruction with a single attack. Following bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, and shootings were also popular physical tactics chosen by terrorists.

The Narodnaya Volya’s principal of causing “propaganda by deed” led to a tactical choice in setting off bombs in heavily populated areas, such as town centers, ensuring there would be a sufficient number of witnesses to spread the news of the event. The large amount of witnesses present, however, also meant that there would be no escape for the perpetrator from the legal consequences of murder (Rapoport, 2001). Assassinations were, therefore, carried out by terrorists who knew they were going to die, and willingly went forth. A Narodnaya Volya terrorist believed that death as a result of accepting responsibility for an assassination was the most admirable way to die (Rapoport, 2001). This admiration of dying a martyr’s death is most aligned to the belief of Islamic jihadists. Jihadists believe that dying in an effort to preserve Islam and defend the *umma* meant earning a place in heaven for themselves. This belief explains the willingness of Islamic terrorists to engage in suicide-bombing, a prevalent tactic chosen by fourth wave groups. Not only do fourth wave groups align with the Narodnaya Volya on their views of martyrdom, but also in their quest to gain attention. Suicide bombers are able to go into

populated areas unnoticed and cause a large amount of destruction with the death of only one terrorist, much more effective than a single assassination.

Although the Muslim Brotherhood also sought to establish an Islamic state, their tactics and targets differed greatly from any other terrorist group on the table. Created with the intent of stirring political change, the Muslim Brotherhood was not interested in shows of power to undermine the enemy, but rather to change the minds and the will of the Muslim community, the *umma* in Egypt. Because of the choice to target the *umma* the tactical choice made by the Brotherhood was to spread Muslim awareness through pamphlets and public preaching (Abed-Kotob, n.d). The slow pace with which their movement gained any achievements, as well as the force with which the government countered them, led to frustration among their followers, which eventually would lead to fractionalization within the group. Those with the belief that their movement would have more success if violent tactics were employed went on to create violent jihadist groups that would ultimately develop into al-Qaeda (Brooke, 2008).

Note that turning to violence is typically not the first resort of a terrorist group. Anarchist terrorists began their movement with revolutionary goals in mind, and Islamist ideology began with a political movement determined to remain non-violent. Violence toward civilians erupts when frustrations can't be quelled and participants feel impotent to the power of their enemy. The ultimate tactic of all terrorists is the creation of fear. By attacking innocent targets, terrorists succeed in causing civilians to doubt their government's ability to protect them. The type of weapon or method of attack may vary from group to group, or even from one attack to another, but the ultimate goal is to create an atmosphere of instability by instilling fear within the general population.

Destructiveness, Justification, and Actual Outcome

There is a general trend among terrorist groups where the level of destruction caused has increased over time. The Narodnaya Volya, a first wave group, sought to limit the damage done to those who were not a part of the government. Because of this goal, the Narodnaya Volya was the least destructive group, claiming only the lives of targeted prominent government figures.

The second wave terrorists, the IRA and the ETA, displayed an increased willingness to attack those who were agents of the government as well as an increased willingness to attack civilians. Due to the diminished resistance to limit the amount of victims, both of these groups display more destruction than their predecessor. The IRA claimed almost 2,000 lives during their campaign, while the ETA claimed over 800 lives. The reason that nationalist terrorists display greater amounts of destruction is because of their strategic choice on engaging in a war of attrition against the occupying government. A war of attrition is fought by inflicting pain on the enemy and destroying their will to continue in the fight, and ultimately push them to let go on the territory they occupy (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2007). For both the IRA and the ETA almost half of their targets were civilians while the other half varied between military forces by the IRA and police forces by the ETA (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2007).

The Red Brigades of the third wave were also considerably destructive, causing over 1200 deaths. Although this number falls short of the IRA's total, it is important to note the length of each group's campaign. The IRA was active from 1916 to 2001, over eighty years, while the Red Brigades' campaign only lasted between 1968 and 1988, only twenty years. Within the life span

of the Red Brigades, their lack of inhibition toward killing innocent bystanders as well while on their quest to battle the government led to them to become the deadliest group until that time.

The destruction of the Red Brigades was overshadowed when al-Qaeda stepped onto the global scene. In just one day and with finely coordinated attacks, al-Qaeda surpassed the Red Brigades record, killing nearly 3000 people during their attack on September 11th (Byman, 2003). The nature of al-Qaeda's structure where it is made up of connections between various autonomous groups leads to questions regarding its size, and making its destructive capabilities even greater. Inspiration, training and funding provided by al-Qaeda has fueled the destruction caused by jihadists groups throughout the world. Information from the Armed Conflict Database show that between 2001 and 2013, over 17,000 people have died as a result of international terrorism spurred by al-Qaeda (n.d.). This figure dwarfs the number of victims created by past terrorist groups by a wide margin.

Through this table, we can infer that although the motives and desired outcome generally remain similar. Each group desires to better their condition as well as that of their community. The motivation to engage in terrorist violence not only arises from their desired outcome, but also from frustrations encountered when they perceive themselves to be held back from the opportunity to grow.

Tactics and target choice, as well as level of destruction and actual outcome, however, have changed over time. These four characteristics are more closely related to each other than to the previous two. In fact, the choice in tactics has an effect on the development of target choices, and both affect the level of destruction. For example, the Red Brigades' choice in using controlled tactics, such as hostage taking, influenced their decision to select Aldo Moro as a

target (Rapoport, 2001). Morro's death and the Red Brigades' choice to continue similar attacks, ultimately led to the decline in support for the group (Smith, 2008). As the terrorist groups developed, there was a rise in the level of destruction that can be attributed to changes in tactics.

While this is a present trend among groups, the question that remains is: why? The answer is globalization and its connection to the development of terrorism. Globalization has had an effect on the development of terrorism through three distinct aspects: economic interconnection, cultural interconnection, and technological modernization. Each aspect of globalization has had an effect of a development of terrorism, and in some cases, facilitates it as well.

The Implications of Globalization on International Terrorism: The Fourth Wave of Terrorism

It is easy to trace violent clashes and disputed throughout the world's history to money. The establishment of civilizations led to the development of new technology within societies. With this, a new market began to emerge as civilians desired the emerging products and exotic commodities. As civilizations grew, the access to resources and foreign commodities became increasingly important and civilizations frequently clashed in efforts to gain the resources to fuel their societies. The search for foreign goods such as porcelain and silk from China or tea and spices from India marked the beginning of international trade, and with trade came international travel. This was the beginning of globalization, an idea that has characterizes the modern world in which we live today. When speaking of globalization, its benefits are often brought up and discussed, but globalization is not a one-way street where the world receives unlimited benefits. Instead, globalization is more like an exchange where societies and governments must choose how many negative effects are worth the benefits yielded by globalization.

What is Globalization?

Hamblet defines globalization as the “intercontinental integration of regional economies, cultures, and political and financial systems, driven by the transnational exchange and circulation of labor, ideas, technologies, products, services, languages, and popular culture” (2014). In other words, globalization's the phenomenon through which societies and civilizations from across the world come together for the purpose of trade and interaction. Through this process people accross the world participate in an exchange of ideas, ideologies, technology, and culture.

Globalization has helped the world in many ways by increasing productivity through competition and spreading knowledge.

Although we have benefited from globalization in many ways, there are inherent dangers associated with it as well. The greatest risk posed by globalization is the increased potential for conflict among various groups. The development of a society, in terms of cultural and social norms and values, are distinct due to each having a unique experience in their development. Clashes that arose from political or social disagreements were traditionally dealt with through war. Today, however, we are increasingly seeing conflicts dealt with through the use of terrorist groups. It is my argument that, although motives and desired outcome have remained similar, the change that is present in tactics and target choice in terrorism is due to perceptions shaped by globalization, while the increased destructiveness displayed by these groups is due to both modernization as well as an increase in the world's population

Economic Globalization

One major effect of globalization is the increased economic interdependence between states (Demir and Varlık, 2015). The world economy has become a more important political topic than ever before as nations invest their money and therefore their interests in distant countries. The importance placed on trade and investment has led states to make their borders more porous in an effort to facilitate this interaction (Howell, 2003). The increased permeability of a nation-state's border allows for the travel of valuable people, such as businessmen, investors, and tourists, who bring into the country opportunities for economic growth. China, for example, realized the importance of foreign investment when it created Special Economic Zones,

areas with incentives for investment, in cities like Shenzhen (RoyChoudhury, 2010). Since their implementation, foreign investment has grown from \$2 billion in 1985 to \$121 billion in 2013, and as a result they have become one of the world's greatest economies (Morrison, 2013).

However, with increased traffic there also comes the possibility of unwanted travelers: drug dealers, traffickers, and terrorists (Weber, Barma, Kroenig, and Ratner, 2007). The detection of criminals crossing through state borders is therefore more difficult due to the overall increase in travel and migration (Stohl, 2003). The danger from economic globalization does not simply originate from migration and travel, but also through trade itself. Containers of goods that are shipped from one country to another offer the opportunity to transport illicit goods as well. Drugs, weapons, and other illegal products are often transported along with normal goods used for trade (Weber et. al., 2007). The inability to maintain sufficient security measures that can keep up with increased trade provides the opportunities for the development of underground networks. These networks are used by criminals, including terrorists, to trade and transport illicit goods through an underground market.

The economic interdependence caused by globalization contains negative consequences as well as positive effects. The lives of many throughout the world have improved vastly as their nation's economy improves, but how do the economies of the modern world affect the actions of terrorists? Certainly there is increased opportunity with the ease of travel today, but can the individual economies of each state have an influence on a society's values and beliefs, an effect that can motivate them to act out violently?

The move toward capitalism is a great example of how economies effect the social culture around them. Increasing disparities between the "haves" and the "have-nots" pushed terrorists to

act against their governments in both the first and the third waves of terror. Today, there exist two types of economies in the world. These economies may represent a mirror image of societies during the first wave of terror, but on a global scale. The developed countries of today generally have market economies dominating their state, while less developed countries still operate in a clientelist economy (Mousseau, 2002).

Clientelist economies are based on trust and social links (Mousseau, 2002). This is due to the nature of a working relationship within this type of economy where the obligations of each party are not explicitly. Since there are no explicit obligations to either party, the maintenance of this working relationship relies heavily on trust since each party must rely on the other to fulfill their duty. The failure to complete the obligations expected results in the inability to trust and can therefore lead to the end of the working relationship (Mousseau, 2002). Often times these economic relationships cross over and also become a social relationship as well. Because of this crossover, clientelist economies have become largely based on social relationships and ties. Patrons will favor those who they deem trust worthy, such as family or those with a favorable family background. Those who are deemed to be trustworthy become a part of the in-group, the "haves," while those who have yet to prove themselves are a part of the out-group, the "have nots". This often times has nothing to do with the abilities of a person, but rather the perception of their identity, beliefs, and values (Mousseau, 2002). This creates a hierarchy within the society where certain groups of people are perceived to be entitled to more than those below them (Crenshaw, 1981).

Unlike clientelist economies, working relationships in market economies are contractual. The contract agreed upon by both parties explicitly state what is expected from each party, their

obligations, and the results of failing to meet the prescribed expectations (Mousseau, 2002). There is no need to foster trust when the development of a contract requires that both parties negotiate mutually beneficial terms on which each party must operate. The act of reciprocity becomes irrelevant in this type of relationship since there are no other obligations outside of the written contract that must be fulfilled. The result of contractual relationships is the ability to cooperate with any person in the society, even between strangers (Mousseau, 2002). Socially, this instills a set of liberal values within the market that celebrates individualism, tolerance, and equity (Mousseau, 2002).

What effects do these distinct economies have on the people who are raised within them? Each of these economies function in a very specific manner. Clientalist economies rely on trust to ensure that the obligations needed to keep the economy moving are carried out, therefore, patrons within these economies are reluctant to form relationships with clients if they are unsure of their capability to fulfill the obligations. This type of economy fuels a set of values that are inherently unequal as individuals must settle to be treated in the way they are perceived by those around them, although the grounds for this perception may be unfounded. In contrast, market economies rely on their trust in the law to ensure all obligations are met rather than placing their trust in another person (Mousseau, 2002). This creates the ability to separate social and business relationships and create working relationships with strangers (Mousseau, 2002).

While the fourth wave of terror is called the "religious wave" (Rapoport, 2001) the true motivations are hidden behind a justification using the Islamic faith. If it were the case that Islam creates an inherent motivation for terrorism, then millions of Muslims around the world would support such acts rather than condemn them as not a part of the faith. The key to Islamic terrorist

motivations lie in the background of the society in which they live. Socialization is incredibly important is identifying the values, beliefs, and norms associated with global actors, perhaps even more so when it comes to do with terrorists. The socialization process that a young Muslim experiences in an advanced nation, such as the United States or the United Kingdom, where beliefs in equality and non-violence are valued differs vastly from the socialization a young Iraqi or Palestinian encounters while growing up in a developing country where out-groups are continually marginalized. The in-group/out-group phenomenon is reflected not only in fourth wave groups, but in every modern terrorist wave. First expressed as the marginalization of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, then the nationalists from the foreign occupiers, and finally from the third world from the dominating Western world.

Not only does the in-group/out-group phenomenon affect individuals within societies, but there is also a global reflection of it that affects nation groups as a whole. In the world there are developed states and developing states representing the in-group and the out-group, respectively. Is it simply coincidence that most of the world's highest powers were once empires, or that those powers held on to their control over other nations for decades? The advanced, developed states that exist today have been able to develop so tremendously, at least in part, by exploiting the resources of other states. First through the imperialist system, and later through the use of proxy governments.

The greatest impact that economic globalization has had on the development of terrorist ideology is by creating social environments in which there are two distinct groups. The development of capitalism during the first wave of terrorism in the 1800s created two social classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These social classes represented two distinct groups,

the in-group and the out-group wherein the opportunity for advancement was only available to the in-group. This same situation is present in the clientalist economies of today's world, which are often the less developed countries. The result of this in-group/out-group phenomenon is that groups of people fall into a situation where their prospects of developing a better condition seem nonexistent. The danger with this situation is that it feeds an angry environment, fueled by frustration, and where, historically, terrorist actors have emerged.

Cultural Globalization

It is abundantly clear that terrorist groups differ in their ideologies, but what remains a mystery is the effect of these ideologies on the choices these groups make in regard to strategies and targets. Not only could the identification of where these ideologies originate create a possibility to halt the streams of attacks before they begin, but it could also help to answer why some groups are more destructive than others. Culture plays a major part in molding the minds of humans, and the influence of religions and ethnic traditions surely play a huge part in the ideologies of these terrorist groups. Could culture have a part to play in why terrorist groups today have become more deadly than those of the past?

Some scholars have claimed that poverty and the lack of adequate education in developing nations is the cause of terrorism. Surely if terrorists were to have access to the same type of education that children in developed nations have, then their way of thinking would become liberalized. This theory, however, remains to be sufficiently proven. If poverty and the lack of education cause terrorism, then why were fifteen of the nineteen hijackers who executed the September 11th attack on the World Trade Center from one of the richest countries in the world,

Saudi Arabia (Mousseau, 2002)? In fact, many terrorists and supporters of terrorism, including Osama bin Laden the leader of al-Qaeda, were from Saudi Arabia (Brooke, 2008). So, if these people had education and opportunities to pursue a different path, what motivated them to sacrifice their lives to organizing and executing acts of terror?

Culturally, terrorism has a great deal to do with the society from which actors emerge. Saudi Arabia, for example, is one of the largest, if not the largest, exporters of Islamic extremism in the world. Much of the reason why its population is such a large proponent of extremism has to do with its ties to the Wahhabi sect of Islam. The creation of Saudi Arabia is largely due to the partnership between its founder, Abudaziz Ibn Saud, and the founder of Wahabbism, Abdul Wahhab (Gardner, 2009). Abdul al-Wahhab was an Islamist reformer who advocated a return to the fundamentals of Islam, promoting a literal, rigorous, and exclusivist interpretation of Sunni Islam. (Gardner, 2009) Wahabbism was used to legitimize the rule of the Saudi house over the people of the region, and in return Wahhabism was integrated as an establishment of the new state.

Today, the majority of terrorist action emerges from Islamic radicalism. Does this mean that Islam is an inherently violent religion? Although Abdul al-Wahhab preached a strict, fundamentalist study of the holy books by all Muslims, his goal was not a violent one. Wahhabi simply wished to bring the *umma*, or community, together and away from the foreign influences that dominated the region at the time. How is it, then, that Wahabbism has been identified as the world's main source of international terrorism (Armstrong, 2014)? After al-Wahhab's death Saud's son and successor, Abd al-Aziz Ibn Muhammad, used Wahhabism and *takfir*, the practice of declaring another Muslim to be an unbeliever, to justify his violent conquests and subjugation

of resisting populations (Armstrong, 2014). The conquests made by Abd al-Aziz's army, the Ikhwan, eventually became what is today the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It was during this time that Wahhabism became an instrument in justifying violence for political purposes.

Political socialization is a process that occurs throughout the lifetime of individuals, with many scholars suggesting that the most formative years in one's life occur by the age of twenty-four. Mousseau states that children can be socialized into believing that terrorism is an acceptable method for dealing with political, economic, or social issues by experiencing violence or information during their formative years (2002). Saudi Arabia is a great example of the effects of this socialization process on the minds of children and adolescents. The Wahhabi cleric of Saudi Arabia were given the right to control various aspects of Saudi society, including education. Therefore, Wahabbi teachings have been institutionalized as a part of society since the establishment of Saudi Arabia. School textbooks in Saudi Arabia are created under the control of these clerics and are filled with Wahhabi religious teachings. Young Saudis are taught intolerance toward Muslims of other sects as well as members of different religions. Citing it as a part of their religious duty, these textbooks teach children to hate infidels, including Christians and Jews, as well as to fight all Shi'ite (Gardner, 2009). This socialization process introduces to children the belief that their actions are not only justified, but required in order to be a true follower of the faith. Although Islam as religious faith should not be considered inherently violent, there are certainly people that use it as a rallying call to unify a group in pursuance of violent objectives.

Globalization aggravated this situation by creating more opportunities for cultural clashes. Foreign interest in the Middle East due to its vast oil reserves has led to continuing intervention

in the region and friction between vastly different cultures. the Islamic belief in "jihad" not only justifies violent clashes with foreign threats, but claims it is a duty for every Muslim (What is jihadism?, 2014).

Global Modernization

Advancements in the technology of a society is oftentimes tied to the perception of that society in terms of its development. The Industrial Revolution paved the way for modern society and the rapid developments in the late 20th century marked the beginning of a new era.

Advancements in technology have been used throughout history as tools to gain advantages over adversaries, and today are being used by terrorist groups to make attacks more efficient.

In conventional warfare, the development of more sophisticated weaponry has often times been the decisive factor in the success or defeat of an adversary. Chemical weapons during World War I were used by both sides in an attempt gain the upper hand, aerial fights dominated the battles of World War II, and nuclear weaponry was used to end the Second World War as well a deterrent during the Cold War that followed. The commonality between these weapons is that, although the technology was invented with the intended use as a *military* weapon, terrorists have been able to gain access to these weapons, or, in the case of nuclear technology, are desperately trying to.

Globalization, increased by rapid developments in technology, provide the world with a more comfortable and enjoyable way of life, but it also provides the tools necessary for terrorist attacks on a scale never seen before. Although many of us only see the nonviolent benefits of the increased interconnection that resulted from modern technology, there is also an inherent danger

associated with it. On September 11, 2001, the world saw the consequences of technology when it is used for malicious purposes. In the days following the attack Osama bin Laden, the leader of al-Qaeda, stepped forward as the mastermind behind the attack that left thousands dead, all while living in the safety of his compound in the Middle East. The IRA killed approximately 1,640 over a span of 32 years, but al-Qaeda was able to kill over 2,600 people at the site of the New York attack alone (Pritchard, 2015). The coordination for an attack of this magnitude would have been impossible for al-Qaeda without the technology that was made available, and readily used, by the terrorist organization.

In terms of communication, the world has never seen such a high level of interconnection before. The creation of the internet and cellular phones ushered in an era where one could speak to millions of people around the globe with the push of a button. Social networks and internet websites also provide users with a relatively high level of anonymity. These developments have been taken advantage of by today's terrorist groups to give them an advantage in their ability to spread their ideology. Today, members of violent groups like the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria have become known for their ability to indoctrinate and gather followers from the West while remaining in their physical territory in the Middle East.

Besides the ability to spread their propaganda on internet sites, terrorist organizations have another method of spreading propaganda to millions throughout the globe in a single act: the media. This idea goes back to Elisee Reclus' suggestion of using "propaganda by deed," as a tactic to gain followers and attract attention to your cause (Chaliand, 2007). On the morning of September 11th millions of people around the globe were able to watch the attack play out live with the push of a button. With the ability to make headlines and ensure that their voice is heard

when they want it to be heard terrorist groups have an incentive to orchestrate bigger, deadlier, and more complex plots. Besides the physical targets of terrorist groups, there also exists a target of audience, a set of people these groups want to hear their message. In many ways, the audience is the lifeline of these groups since their victory is based on achieving sufficient intimidation to coerce a government. The Anarchist movement of the first wave of terror largely ended because public attention was diverted away from their cause by the onslaught of dismal images that resulted from the First World War.

Conclusion: The New Wave of Terrorism - How Did We Arrive Here?

Each wave of terrorism began with a catalyzing incident. The emergence of a capitalist market economy, the move toward de-colonization, and the success of the Vietcong against the US military were the catalyzing forces that began the first three waves of terror, respectively (Rapoport, 2001). In each of these instances there exists the same basic antagonism, although it is represented under different conditions each time: suppression and the subsequent search for liberation from the oppressing power.

Beginning with the first wave of terror, the increased prosperity and emergence of a new economy fueled hopes within the masses that an opportunity for a better life had arrived. Once the shift in the society had settled, however, it became apparent that there were clear beneficiaries to the movement and clear losers. The proletariat group, dissatisfied with the condition of their lives in this new society, produced a series of thinkers who took on the oppressive power of the time: the bourgeoisie. Thinkers like Karl Marx, who wrote of the insufficiencies and inequalities that are associated with a capitalist society and Pierre Proudhon, the developer of the concept of Anarchism, as well as others emerged. (Chaliand, 2007) In the beginning, the doctrines of these thinkers sought reformatory measures, not necessarily violence. However, when one is in a high position, as the bourgeoisie found themselves, it is often times difficult to let go. Therefore as time passed and more people fell victim to the proletariat way of life under capitalism, the rhetoric that emerged from future doctrines became more urgent and violent. Pyotr Kropotkin was the first to suggest the use of violent acts to further the cause in a more effective manner (Chaliand, 2007).

The pattern of the first wave of terror is repeated in a very similar way during each subsequent wave of terror. Separatist groups active in the second wave were fueled hope when the major imperial powers that controlled their land fought a war of drastic proportions all in the name self-determination (Rapoport, 2001). Upon the end of the two World Wars, most of the great imperial powers had become liberal democracies, with doctrines that no longer supported the idea of colonies (Chaliand, 2007). The second wave mirrored the situation of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat during the first wave, in regard to the misbalance of power. The imperial powers, representing the bourgeois, were reluctant to yield their power to the colonies, the proletariat. Therefore, when it became clear that the imperial nations were unwilling to let go of their colonies, terrorist groups emerged in a bid to fight for their right to national self-determination as a part of a war for national liberation (Chaliand, 2007). The third wave of terrorism was catalyzed by the defeat of the United States in the Vietnam War (Rapoport, 2001). Although the catalyzing force of the third wave of terrorism was the victory of the Vietcong, the seeds of this wave were planted during the anti-colonial struggle that saw the creation of multiple states that were once colonies. The hope that the imperial powers had finally let go of their colonies through wars for independence quickly faded as citizens realized the governments in place were nothing more than puppets for the West. Therefore, when the Vietcong emerged victorious from an outright war with the largest symbol of Western control, the United States, dissatisfied groups became hopeful once more that they could turn against the reigning powers of the West (Rapoport, 2001). This occurred in two ways: groups located in the colonies continued to fight with a nationalist- separatist rhetoric, while groups located in the West saw themselves as fighters for the Third World and terrorized symbols of “the Establishment” (Smith, 2008)

Although the specific ideology varied from group to group due to a different political environment, the basic motivation for engaging in acts of terror remained. In each of these cases there existed an in-group/out-group complex within the conflict: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the nationalists and the loyalists, the Establishment and the fighters. In each case, the out-group turned to terrorism as a result of a seemingly unchanging government and the desire to finally be a part of the in-group. As time went on, terrorism developed from a domestic issue into an international one. International terrorism, in fact, began in the third wave of terrorism when the conflict was with an entire region, the West, and its values rather than a single government. Globalization played a huge role in the spread of international terrorism through the encouragement of international trade.

The first Empires of the world rose and declined in this region with the last empire to dominate being the Ottoman Empire, an Islamic caliphate. The Middle East was known, at one point, for its advanced culture. Although their region once led the world in various disciplines, their culture was extremely inward, and viewed outsiders as inferior to themselves. (Lewis, 2002) The refusal to travel to Western lands resulted in ignorance on the side of those in the Middle East, and while the West was learning from philosophers and academics from both regions, those in the Middle East limited themselves and began to fall behind as the West continued to modernize, resulting in the weakening of the Ottoman empire (Roshwald, 2002). This was all to the benefit of Great Britain who had set their eyes on the Middle East because of its direct access to India, the crown jewel of the British Empire (Busch, 1971).

By the late 19th century, when modern terrorism first emerged in Europe and America, the Ottoman Empire was fighting, and losing, wars and territories. The discovery of oil and its

importance to the Industrial Revolution in Europe created more problems for the region as it cemented Britain's interest in gaining control over the Middle East (Busch, 1971). The debt caused by the continued wars and the construction of the Suez Canal in Egypt allowed the British Empire to step in and assert their influence in the region, all under the pretext of providing aid. What resulted was the deception of the Arabs by the British who sought to secure the region for their own economic benefits (Busch, 1971). The wars continued until the end of World War I, when the Ottoman Empire ceased to exist entirely. Upon the dissolution of the empire, Great Britain and France stepped into the chaotic region and divided the land between the two with the creation of the Sykes-Picot Agreement (Bew, 2014). This occurred just before the beginning of the second wave of terrorism. Therefore, while other imperial colonies began to fight for their independence, the Middle East was given what appeared to be sovereignty.

The development of states in the Middle East, though it appeared to be a grant of sovereignty, was a false creation by the British and French. The states that emerged from the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire weren't accurately based off of the ethnicities and relations between the groups living in the region. Instead, these states were creations of the West where antagonistic groups were fused together to form various states. Groups such as the Shia and Sunnis were thrown together to form one state and become, politically, one people. The issue with this is that many groups in the Middle East do not interact well with one another, and the Sunni-Shia divide is one of the more prominent conflicts of the Middle East that has existed for centuries (Aghaie, 2005). By creating inter-group conflict the British and the French created sufficient instability to excuse their influence over the region (Bew, 2014).

Slowly, people living in the Middle East realized the oppression they had been forced to live in since the beginning of Imperial intervention. Nationalist groups emerged in the response to continued foreign control the most prominent of the groups being the Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood emerged during the second wave of terrorism, but is instrumental to today's wave of terrorism because of its connection to many of today's groups. This organization was the predecessor to violent radical Islamist groups, including al-Qaeda. Hasan al-Banna established the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928, while it was still a colony under the power of Great Britain, with the goal of creating political change, resembling a political movement more than a terrorist group (Chaliand, 2007). Nationalist groups that emerged at the same time as the Muslim Brotherhood were able to use nationalism as a unifying force, but those living in the Middle East were not able to use the same force. The Middle East is composed of different nations, each with its own heritage, therefore they chose to unite under a common banner: Islam. These groups believed that the Middle East had experienced much suffering because it, as a society, as turned away from Islam and thus turned away from God's favor (Brooke, 2008). They believed that the Koran provided the perfect form of governing through *sharia* law, and to gain Allah's favor their society had to turn back to *sharia*. Some Islamic groups had already emerged at this time, though their ideology began to change as the more advocates stepped out in support of an Islamic movement to take back control of their land. The goal of the Muslim Brotherhood was to establish an Islamic State in Egypt through the "reformation of the hearts" of those within the state (Abed-Kotob, n.d.)

The fourth wave of terrorism emerged following the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979 (Rapoport, 2001). This successful revolution against a proxy government put in

place by the United States was the catalyst in Islamic terrorism (Rapoport, 2001). For the first time since the Ottoman Empire fell to Western influence that Muslims were able to govern themselves. Many saw hope, just as groups before them had done, that through the unification of their people the powers that governed them for so long could be over thrown.

During this time Islamist thinkers came out to rally the masses. By the beginning of the fourth wave, in the late 1970s, various offshoots of the Muslim Brotherhood had developed in response to angry rhetoric justifying the use of violence with religion (Brooke, 2008). For many years, Islamist thinkers argued the best approach through which they could end foreign intervention and create an Islamic State. Among these offshoots there is al-Qaeda, the largest terrorist organization of the fourth wave, and the deadliest group..

With the emergence of the ‘fourth wave of terrorism’ the nature of terrorism has morphed into a newer, deadlier form of violence. No longer do terrorists seek to spread their ideology through “propaganda by deed,” such as the Narodnaya Volya sought to achieve, and no longer do they implement terrorism as a strategy of warfare as the ETA and the IRA did. The deadliness of terrorism has reached new and unprecedented heights during the fourth wave. Groups like al-Qaeda seek to *hurt* their enemy, terrorism is no longer a strategy of warfare to achieve goals, and it has become the act of warfare and violence itself. The development of the *kaffir* ideology that caused the initial fractionalization within the Muslim Brotherhood created not only a justification for the murder, but a *duty* to do it. The requirement to be a part of the in-group, now, also includes the execution of infidels.

Globalization and modernization have helped create more opportunities through which the lethality of terrorist acts is maximized, while maintaining the relative safety of the perpetrators.

Traditional warfare is fought face to face with opposing armies battling each other on the same stage and with the same risks. Irregular warfare, such as terrorism, is chosen by those who know their capabilities are significantly less than that of their enemy because it is not fought face to face. The IRA used guerrilla style tactics to fight the English and the Red Brigades chose controlled tactics, such as hostage taking, as their preferred method. By using these tactics terrorist groups have been able to decrease the chances that they will be caught or that their plan will fail. The increased interconnection brought on by globalization has created an opportunity where illicit activities can occur in relative safety from detection. As banks continue to modernize and base their operations on digital transactions they create an opportunity for anonymity that terrorism thrives in. Increased trade provides the same opportunity for anonymity because of the sheer volume of shipment containers that pass through ports throughout the globe. The growth of trade and monetary transactions paired with a lack of growth in the employment of inspection agents increases the likelihood that terrorists will be successful in choosing either of these two methods to carry out their goals.

Modernization through technology has provided the means through which terrorists today can act. Not only do terrorists have the opportunity to receive funding from international supporters, but their capabilities have also been greatly improved through the development of technology within the last century. The improvement of two specific types of technology have increased the capabilities of terrorist organizations. Weapon and communications technologies have given terrorists the capabilities through which they can increase the effectiveness of their campaigns. The development of newer and deadlier weapons has been an important factor for war, especially when better weapons increased the odds of an army's success. The network

structure present in today's terrorist groups increase their capabilities by extending their reach to distant places throughout the globe, as well as increasing the number of people aligned to their cause. A network structure would not be possible without the development of communication technologies such as the internet, social networks and cellular phones. Coordination such as that exhibited by al-Qaeda during the September 11th attack, would not have been possible without these advances.

The comparative analysis in this paper reveals that terrorism today- the fourth wave- exhibits vast differences to its predecessors in its structure, ideology, tactics, and level of destruction. Its evolution into this deadly force is due to its rapid modernization and morphed ideology. The capabilities granted to fourth wave terrorist networks by globalization and technological development have allowed it to become more lethal and ubiquitous. Globalization and modernization have given the world many wonderful gifts, but it is not without a price. All advancements made for the enhancement of societies also have the chance that they will be abused by those with malicious intents.

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Endnotes

¹ Modern terrorism refers to groups established since the application of terrorist acts as a strategy for conflict. This does not deny that terrorism existed before the establishment of the Narodnaya Volya, but that terrorism as a strategy was uniquely developed during the Anarchist wave. Although prior groups, such as the Sons of Liberty in the American Revolutionary War, committed violent acts against noncombatants they did not associate such acts with their movement. The actors that commitment violent acts maintained their identities a secret. The Russian terror doctrine, however, instituted acts of extranormal violence against noncombatants as an integral part of their strategy. (Rapoport, 2001)

² “Western opponents” and “the West” refer to European states, including Russia, as well as the United States.