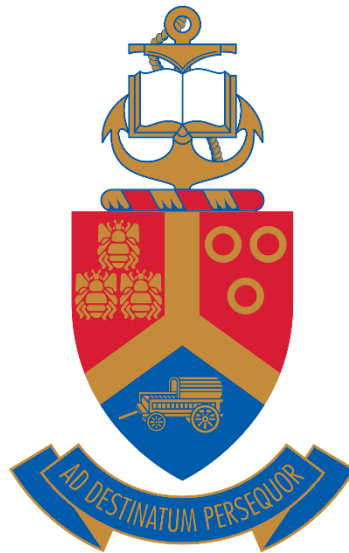


**THE GLOBALISING NATURE OF TERRORISM AND THE
MANIFESTATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF NEW TERRORISM**

by

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ABSTRACT

This research will focus on the evolution of *new* terrorist manifestations from more traditional manifestations and the implications for South Africa's security. More contemporary manifestations of terrorism, coined as *new* terrorism has taken on a transnational profile, posing a global threat and requires a contemporary interpretation in order to explain. The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 (hereafter known as 9/11) did not offer new developments or perpetrators, but the scale and scope of the attacks was a distressing development (Meyer 2018:1). The recent terrorist attacks that have been occurring in Mozambique where alleged al-Shabaab militants decapitated 23 people portray a shift in the manifestation of terrorism towards Southern Africa, potentially threatening South Africa's security (Daily Maverick 2018). Considering the abovementioned, this research will review the changing face of terrorism in its meaning and manifestation by exploring the characteristics of old and new terrorism, global and continental manifestations since the 9/11 attacks and the implications for South Africa's national security. It suggests that despite the links to international terrorism, the threat is not prevalent in South Africa, however counterterrorism measures should be successful to address the threat if it arises and that the government should communicate effectively in the event that a terror-related incident occurs.

Key Terms: Terrorism, globalization, characteristics, South Africa, security, 9/11, transnational

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ETHICS STATEMENT

I hereby declare that I, Shanice Matthee (student number 18084312), whose name appears on the first page of this dissertation, has obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval.

I, Shanice Matthee, also hereby declare that I have observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's Code of Ethics for researchers and the Policy guidelines for responsible research and that the dissertation titled *The Globalizing Nature of Terrorism: Manifestations And Implication For Security In South Africa*, has not been submitted by me at this or any other university; that it is my own work in conception and design, and that all material contained herein has been acknowledged.

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ABBREVIATIONS

9/11	11 September 2001
AFRISOM	African Union Stabilization Mission
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
AQAP	Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
AU	African Union
CAR	Central African Republic
CBRN	Chemical, Biological, Radiological or Nuclear Weapons
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
COE	Council of Europe
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia- People's Army (<i>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia- Ejército del Pueblo</i>)
FLM	Macina Liberation Front
HSM	Holy Spirit Movement
HSMF	Holy Spirit Mobile Forces
HSRA	Hindustan Socialists Republication Association
ICT	Information and Communications Technologies

ISCA	Islamic State Central Africa Province
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMN	Islamic Movement of Nigeria
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRGC	Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps
IS	Islamic State
ISGS	Islamic State in the Greater Sahara
ISIS/ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria / Islamic State and the Levant (Also DAESH- <i>ad-Dawlah al-Islāmiyahfī 'l-'Irāqwa-sh-Shām</i>)
ISWAP	Islamic State West African Province
JCAG	Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide
JNIM	Jamaat Nusrat al-Islam wal-Muslimin
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MENA	Middle Eastern and North African region
MUJAO	The Movement for Monotheism (or Oneness) and Jihad in West Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	Organisation of American States
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party (<i>Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê</i> in Kurdish)
PLF	Palestinian Liberation Front
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization / Authority
RAF	Red Army Faction

REC	Regional Economic Community
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SIT	Single Issue Terrorism
TTP	Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
UAV	Unmanned Armed Vehicle
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USA	United States of America (also abbreviated to US - United States)
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTC	World Trade Centre
UNSOM	UN Assistance Mission in Somalia

CHAPTER 1: THE GLOBALISING NATURE OF TERRORISM: MANIFESTATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SECURITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

1.1. INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH AND RESEARCH PROBLEM

In 2004, the Protection of Constitutional Democracy against Terrorist and Related Activities Act (33 of 2004) was passed to “provide for measures to prevent and combat terrorist and related activities” within South Africa (RSA 2004). Since the adoption of the new human-centric democratic dispensation in 1994, terrorism has not been perceived as a significant threat to South Africa's security, possibly due to other prolonged social issues including extreme poverty, unemployment and a lack of service delivery taking precedence. South Africa's policy focus is centred on socio-economic issues and the alleviation thereof given our divided history, hence the 1996 Constitution does not contain the concept of terrorism. With the focus on social issues, no apparent attempt by South Africa has been made to address this new form of terrorism.

Terrorism poses an ever-present threat to national security considering the ease of planning and conducting attacks across borders in the era of globalization. It is further exacerbated by the challenge of developing a clear definition of the concept, as well as by the difficulty of detecting and uncovering terrorist activities within the country, complicating the preparation for such an attack in the instance that it occurs. Furthermore, globalization is leading to a change in the nature and manifestation of terrorist acts, further magnifying the need to address it.

Various factors have contributed to the changing face of terrorism. Unlike traditional methods employed to conduct terrorist activities, new manifestations of terrorist activities, hereafter known as *new* terrorism, use more sophisticated and unconventional methods to carry out terrorist attacks, making it difficult for national governments to prepare for them (Lutz & Lutz 2015:36). Globalisation has advanced the conduct of terrorist activities within and across borders in a more refined and unconventional manner (Gates & Podder 2015:108). Lia (2005:187) asserts that “the occurrence of terrorism is rooted in structural societal factors and that those factors are ever changing, making transnational terrorism more likely to occur”. Thus, it can be stated that every society has the potential for the occurrence of terrorist attacks.

In simple terms, globalisation can be described as “the widening, deepening, and speeding up of international connectedness” in the form of “increasing economic integration” (Lutz & Lutz 2015:27; Tena 2017: 123). Stibli (2010:1) describes the globalisation process as “having its own laws and logic and has its own technologies”, as seen in the four phases of globalisation, describing different eras of development in production, consumption, transport and modern technology. Modern communication systems and encryption technologies provided opportunities

for terrorist organisations to observe each other, and due to this smaller, more interconnected world, it offers the opportunity for terrorists to exploit it, using it for recruitment, broadcasting propaganda videos, and learning new ways of conducting attacks, especially across borders (Ganor 2009:12). Wilkinson (2003:110) explained extensively how *new* terrorism is a reaction to globalization, as the effects thereof is far-reaching, challenging most traditional definitions of terrorism. Globalisation has changed the nature of time and frequency as well as the actual manifestation of terrorist attacks, changing the targets of attacks and the way they are conducted. This complicates assigning a meaning and conceptualization to terrorism, planning for such an attack, thus posing a threat South Africa's national security.

1.2. RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this research is to construct and understanding of the transition in terrorism from older manifestations to newer ones, and to explore the facilitating conditions thereof. This will be achieved through extensive desktop research on the topic of terrorism focusing on older manifestations and comparing them to newer manifestations. Furthermore, the research will assess the exemplifying factors of old and new terrorism and provide real-life examples of each. In identifying the research theme and problem of *new* terrorism, this research will be based on the following research questions:

1.2.1. An exploration into the evolution of terrorism from traditional towards newer manifestations;

1.2.2. How has globalization affected the understanding and manifestation of terrorism?

1.3. LITERATURE OVERVIEW

The phenomenon of terrorism has taken on a transnational focus since the 9/11 attacks. Currently, the world finds itself in an increasing state of globalization, where terrorists and terrorist activities were no longer confined to domestic spaces, technology has increased the speed of communication and information is transmitted rapidly across the world. This research will not aim to redefine or refocus the conceptualizations of terrorism; instead, it will provide a review of the evolution of terrorism and its definitions. The difficulty in defining this concept is not entirely insuperable; however careful attention should be paid for subsequent use of the term to be meaningful. The importance of conceptualizing this pervasive term lies in its impact on how governments conduct their foreign policy, the role and structure of security forces and the responses by national governments.

1.3.1 *Traditional Conceptualizations and Manifestations*

Definitions of terrorism focused largely on the conduct of violence in order to achieve a political goal. It was used as a political instrument used by those who were motivated by an anti-capitalist ideology and national liberation struggles which was perceived as a type of ideological terrorism (Wilkinson 2003: 48). Traditional terrorism has a focus on the domestic realm where “non-state actors use violence to intimidate an audience beyond the direct victims of that violence” (Blakeley 2012:63). For example, it is linked to the methods of totalitarian regimes, which used terrorism to force compliance from their citizens, as in the regimes of Stalin and Hitler. Abrahams (2008:78) and Reich (1990: 48) have formulated definitions of terrorism based on acts aimed to bring about political change, where terrorists are described as “rational actors who attack civilians for political ends”, and terrorist acts are perceived as “the substance application of violence or threatened violence intended to sow panic in a society, to weaken or even overthrow the incumbents, and to bring about political change”. Combs (2018:5) describes terrorism as a political term, where it is “derived from state terror which focuses on how individuals and non-state actors are not the only culprits, but also how states are involved in the commissioning of terrorist acts”, whereas Hirschmann (2000: 299) alludes to the aim of terrorism to instil fear, as it is “a strategy of violence designed to promote desired outcomes by instilling fear in the public at large”.

Hirschmann (2000:229) focuses on the traditional aspect of terrorism and explains how these groups’ operational areas were seen as their refuge, conducting activities from a limited, domestically confined area. Terrorists were ideologically motivated; thus, state sponsorships were freely pledged. The limited area of operation and use of weapons available to terrorists often creating homemade bombs and guns. In addition, terrorists mainly functioned based on the minimum force necessary, believing that haphazard violence would isolate supporters and undermine their claims to legitimacy among the broader public (Simon & Benjamin 2000: 63).

Origin of the Concept of Terrorism

The more modern application of the concepts of ‘terrorism’ and ‘terrorist’ re-emerged in the supplement of the *Dictionnaire of the Académie Française*, described as *système*, during the Reign of Terror (*Le Gouvernement de la Terreur*) between 1793-1794, as a symptom of the French Revolution (Laqueur 2002:6). Manusitz (2013:9) describes this as the more ‘avant-garde’ version of terrorism. It was characteristic of the Revolutionary government to direct violence and harsh measures against citizens suspected of being enemies of the Revolution (Laqueur 2001:6; Männik 2009:152; UNODC 2018:1). During the emergence of terrorism, it was separated from other forms of violence in that “the desired effect of the use of terror, namely installation of fear in the desired audience to cause behaviour change or change in policy” was a key factor in terrorist

attacks (Garrison 2003:40). These examples depict that the purpose of terror was to cause behavioural changes using terror and fear, and in these examples, terrorism was used to cause change within the larger Jewish society, as the victims of this terror (the Jewish collaborators) were a means to an end. The very first definition of terrorism was provided in French, explaining the 'government of terror', and the English concept of terrorism is attributed to an account describing the bloodshed witnessed in France during the French Revolution where it was "in a present state of terror by terrorists" (Manusitz 2013:1). As time progressed, no single definition can possibly cover all the varieties that have appeared throughout history.

Since its inception, the concept of terrorism has been perceived as pejorative. Contained within the concept of terrorism, is the notion of terror, stemming from the Latin word of *terrere*, meaning, "to frighten or tremble" (Manusitz 2013:1). Etymologically, the added suffix to create the term terrorism, refers to the practice of terror, implying that terrorism induces the state of being in terror. In ancient Rome, the concept of "*terror cimbricus*" originated to describe the panic ensued and state of emergency as the warriors of the Cimbri tribe approached Rome in 105 BC (Showkat & Kalis 2013:19).

Männik (2009:152) explains the longstanding idea of the use of violence for coercion, where "the use of violence with the aim of creating fear in a wider audience in order to prevent various parties from doing something, or, on the contrary, to coerce them into a certain behaviour, is as old as mankind". To clarify the various definitions of terrorism which are based on the aim of instilling fear, ultimately changing behaviour and using it to achieve their own political objectives, Abrahams suggests that terrorists are "rational actors who attack civilians for political ends" (2008:78), and Hirschmann states that terrorism is a strategy of violence designed to promote desired outcomes by instilling fear in the public at large" (2000: 299). In terms of the perpetrators, Combs (2018:5) and Garbarino, Governale, Henry and Nesi (2015:4) explains "how individuals and non-state actors are not the only culprits, but also how states are involved in the commissioning of terrorist acts" and that it includes "all actions (whether by nations, states, insurgents, or rebels) that use violence or the threat of violence against non-combatants to create fear and use that fear to manipulate people in the service of political goals". Hirschman agrees with the above as terrorism is described as the "substate application of violence or threatened violence intended to sow panic in a society, to weaken or even overthrow the incumbents, and to bring about political change" (2000:299). Terrorism as a tool to achieve political change is reflected by Reich (1990: 48), Richardson (2006:2) and Akcinaroglu & Tokdemir (2016:3-4), where, respectively, the scholars explain that terrorism is described as "the substance application of violence or threatened violence intended to sow panic in a society, to weaken or even overthrow the incumbents, and to bring about political change"; that terrorist acts are "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups

or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence and audience”, and that the “premeditated use (or threat) of violence by subnational groups in pursuit of political, economic, social and/or religious goals with the aim of intimidating or influencing an audience beyond its immediate victims”. With regards to terrorism aiming to change behaviour towards the state, Article 1(2) on the Terrorism Convention defines acts of terrorism as "criminal acts directed against the state", which are "intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons, or a group of persons or the general public" (UNDOC 2018:8), and is agreed upon by Garrison (2003:40) where "acts of terrorism are methods of changing behaviour through the use of fear and intimidation".

Based on these above-mentioned definitions, Garrison (2003:41) provides the key components of terrorism as a tool: "terrorism is 1) an intentional, 2) rational, 3) rational, act of violence 4) to achieve a political goal 5) by causing fear 6) in the target audience or society 7) in order to change behaviour in that audience or society".

1.3.2. Definitions of New Terrorism

The elements of *new* terrorism tend to form a variety of compounds and could be identified by attributes identified as terrorist acts (Combs 2018:7). Nacos (2016:26) asserts that the terrorist attacks of 9/11 have transformed the perceptions of people from something unimaginable, to the catastrophic incident occurring, coined as *new* terrorism as “super terrorism” and “postmodern terrorism”. Combs (2018:7) describe terrorism in terms of its use of violence, where terrorist acts are syntheses of war and theatre, a dramatization of the most prescribed kind of violence—that which is deliberately perpetrated on civilian non-combatant victims—played before an audience in the hope of creating a mood of fear, for political purposes” and that *new* terrorist acts involve “an act of violence, an audience in which a mood of fear is created, targeted civilian non-combatant victims, and political motives or goals”. New terrorism is described by Cachalia & Schoeman (2017:3) as being encapsulated in three elements, namely "1) the use or threat of violence; 2) directed at civilian or government targets; and 3) for the purpose of intimidation or coercion for political, religious or ideological ends". The manifestations of new terrorism is reflected by Tucker’s definition (2001:1) where it “is reputedly distinguished from the old by a new structure, a new kind of personnel, and a new attitude towards violence, where the new structure is a network, facilitated by information technology; the new personnel are amateurs, who often come together in ad hoc or transitional groupings; and the new attitude is an increased willingness to cause mass casualties, perhaps by using chemical biological, nuclear or radiological weapons”.

Tucker (2001:1) provides a definition of new terrorism which could be used as a starting point for this research, as it encapsulates some the focal points of this chapter: "the new structure is a network, facilitated by information technology; the new personnel are amateurs, who often come together in ad hoc or transitory groupings; and the new attitude is an increased willingness to cause mass casualties, perhaps by using chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear (CBRN) weapons". Furthermore, "the intent behind the perpetration of an act and the methods employed are key to determining whether an act is terrorist or criminal in nature" (Cachalia & Schoeman 2017:3). As will be seen in the following section, the study of terrorism is a constant state of flux and overlap, where, in some cases, traditional terrorism is now combined with new, modern tactics and strategies to achieve their broad objectives. The traditional structure can no longer provide a comprehensive explanation for terrorist manifestations in the 21st century. The below section will comprehensively outline the distinguishing characteristics of *new* terrorism.

1.3.3. *The Manifestation of new Terrorism*

The events of 9/11 brought about two major changes in the manifestation of terrorism; firstly, it marked the shift from traditional (*old*) terrorism (manifesting as a method to spread mass fear by state entities and conducting attacks limited mainly to domestic borders) towards *new* manifestations of terrorism marked by non-state actors, in this case it was Al-Qaeda, conducting large-scale attacks internationally with unconventional weapons; secondly, it marked the shift of terrorism from mainly occurring within domestic borders to terrorists transcending them and using more catastrophic types of force. The widespread broadcasting of 9/11 also proved to the rest of the world that distance is no longer a deterrent for terrorist attacks. Lutz & Lutz (2015), Tena (2017) and Combs (2018) provide a comprehensive overview of the impact of globalisation on terrorism. Spencer (2006) and Kurtulus (2010) provide an exploration into the developing concept of terrorism and how it transformed into *new* terrorism. Dean, Bell & Newman (2012:109) elaborate on the changing aims of terrorists and that "fanaticism rather than political interest is more often the motivation leading terrorists to being more unrestrained than ever before in their methods". This alludes to the use of more unconventional methods in order to reach their goals and to gain notoriety. Instead of solely focusing on the use of military force and weapons, *new* terrorism has manifested in unconventional ways, including the activities of Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda network of international terrorism (Spencer 2006:24); the use of chemical weapons by the Japanese religious cult Aum Shinrikyo on a Tokyo subway in 1995 (Combs 2018:382); and the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in the United States by American Right-wing militants (Wu 2015:282). These attacks were the seminal events indicating the advent of *new* terrorism which can produce mass casualties using unconventional methods. Characteristics of *new* terrorism include the use of unconventional weapons (Klingman & Cohen 2004:36); terrorists

being motivated by religious motivation and anti-modernity (Lutz & Lutz 2015:29); large scale and haphazard attacks in order to achieve their goal of violence (Simon & Benjamin 2000:64); no fixed organisational structure and lone-wolf attacks (Gunaratna 2010:1044); and “leaderless” attacks.

The following table lists the distinguishing characteristics of traditional terrorism along with those of *new terrorism* following the above discussion as compiled by the author based on the research conducted. It classifies the characteristics of old and new terrorism based on the literature reviewed. These characteristics will be explained in more detail throughout Chapter 2.

Table 1: Distinguishing Characteristics of Old and New Terrorism

OLD TERRORISM		NEW TERRORISM	
Targeted Assassinations and Selected terrorism	Attacks aimed at certain targets and entities seen as an enemy to achieve political objectives.	<i>Indiscriminate Attacks and Victimization</i>	Increasing frequency of attacks and haphazard victim choice.
Low Collateral Damage	Psychological, ethical and political considerations prevented fatalities excluding the target.	<i>Increased Brutalization and Fatalities</i>	Lethality of attacks leading to more fatalities in order to gain publicity.
The State and Terrorism	Committing attacks to achieve political goals on the state’s behalf.	<i>State Sponsorships and Modern Terrorist Funding</i>	Terrorists fund their own attacks mainly through illegal sources.
Tactics, Strategy and Non-Sophisticated Weapons use	Methods resembling military tactics and were suicidal in nature using weapons easily accessible.	<i>Indiscriminate and Unconventional Choice of Weapon Use</i>	Use of old terrorist tactics but modified to create more fatalities and the use of readily available tools to achieve maximum effect.
Organizational Structure	Hierarchical organizational structure with a rigid bureaucratic standing.	<i>Organizational Structure</i>	Loose and decentralized structure with networks
Seminal Forms of Communication	No existence of mass and rapid communication	<i>Terror Networks and Cell Operations</i>	Members dispersed transnationally connected by support for the same objective
Primitive and Limited Transport	Transport relatively limited with the use of trains and animals and pre-existing waterways.	<i>Improved Technology, Communication and Broadcasting</i>	Technological advances leading to the development of the internet and tools for simple, real-time and rapid communication.
Domestic Scope and Nature	Limited presence of terrorist groups and networks within domestic borders	<i>Ease of Travel and Transnational Nature</i>	Development of air travel and execution of attacks across borders
Male Domination	Those belonging to and committing acts of terrorism were mainly male	<i>Religious Motivation</i>	Use of extreme interpretations of religious texts of justification of terrorist acts.

	<i>Single – Issue Terrorists</i>	Use of terror tactics to bring attention to a specific issue to be addressed immediately.
	<i>Lone Wolf Terrorism</i>	Terrorist attacks committed by a single person in support of a terrorist group, but without assistance from that group.
	<i>The Increased Interest in the use of Women</i>	Increased use of women in terrorist attacks as an attempt to appear unsuspecting.

(Compiled by author based on research conducted)

1.3.4. *Terrorist Activities on the African Continent*

African states provide a fertile ground for the manifestation of terrorist attacks, especially within the Northern African region. Elu and Price (2014:724) attributed this prevalence to poor economic conditions consistent with the theory of deprivation and poverty; low educational attainment and historical events. With the impact of globalisation, the countries in which attacks are manifesting are increasing along with the frequency thereof. North African terrorist attacks include a truck bomb in Mogadishu, Somalia, killing 512 people (Independent Online 2017); a bomb at the French embassy in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, killing 12 people and bombs placed in a mosque in Mubi, Nigeria, killing at least 24 people (The Guardian 2017). Terrorist attacks are increasing in West Africa where 19 people were killed in Ivory Coast and in Mali where 12 people were killed in a 2017 attack (The Guardian 2017); as well as East Africa where a tanker truck containing explosives detonated at the US Embassy in Kenya, and a short while later on that same day, another explosion occurred in Tanzania at the US Embassy in Dar es Salaam in 1998, killing 242 people (Washington Post 2018). The latest of these attacks have taken place in the Cabo Delgado province of Mozambique, with speculation that terror group Al Shabaab is responsible (Daily Maverick 2018). Regarding the dynamics of terrorism in Africa, Solomon (2017) provides an insight into various incidents and terrorist organisations operating on the continent. Terrorist attacks are now occurring within the Southern African region, posing a threat to South Africa's national security.

1.3.5. *Implications for South Africa's Security*

Currently, South Africa's conceptualization of terrorism is contained within the Protection of Constitutional Democracy against Terrorist and Related Activities Act (33 of 2004), defining terrorist activities as acts that aim to “achieve political and other aims in a violent or otherwise unconstitutional manner, and thereby undermine democratic rights and values and the

Constitution” (RSA 2004:1). The manifestation of terrorism undermines the security of the individual directly, as well as increasing threats coming from other states. When these groups undermine the capacity of the state and the ability to provide domestic security, terrorists may force the state to make security measures more prominent and have been enhanced by terrorists having the ability to acquire unconventional weapons and technology. As democracies are prone to being targets for terrorists since they cannot respond in comparable fashion to attacks, the national security of South Africa's young democracy and other countries alike are left vulnerable (Combs 2008:6).

1.4. RESEARCH APPROACH

This study of *new* terrorism will assess the conceptual problem of new terrorism, and will thus employ a qualitative approach through a constructivist paradigm to “explore and understand the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” and in this case the phenomenon of terrorism and how it has been understood over time will be studied (Cresswell 2014:4). In this sense, learning is an active and constructive process based on observations to assess the phenomenon being studied. As will be seen later, the research aims to construct and demonstrate the author’s understanding of how terrorism had evolved from *old* terrorism to the *new*. Attride-Stirling (2001:385) emphasized how a qualitative approach is useful in acquiring a “deeper understanding of social phenomena and their dynamics”. Based on the “descriptive, qualitative and analytical nature” of the study, this research aims to base the study on a conceptual review and interpretation of relevant literature based on primary and secondary sources regarding terrorism and how the nature and manifestation has changed over time (Schuurman 2017:4). The research questions are open-ended in order to explore the understanding of how terrorism has changed over time, as well as the manifestation thereof. Furthermore, this research will employ a type of inductive approach or interpretive inquiry, where it will be built up from the general theme of terrorism to understand the complexities of defining the concept of terrorism (Mackenzie & Knipe 2006:3).

1.5. METHODOLOGY

This research will employ a literature-based study and to an extent a descriptive-inductive approach design in order to “explore issues, develop ideas, and identify research gaps” (Jesson, Matheson & Lacey 2011:73). In terms of content, the research will start off with a conceptual review of terrorism in order to provide context and the changing nature thereof will be undertaken to better understand various patterns and themes related to *new* terrorism. This will be conducted

by categorizing the differences between *old* and *new* terrorism, and my illustrating these points through real-life examples. A thematic analysis will be used to generate a pattern of meaning and to build around the general theme of terrorism. This will include a review and interpretation of relevant literature based on secondary sources relating to the field of *new* terrorism, such as South Africa's policy priorities, books, academic journals containing literature on legislation and news articles. Themes to be studied in order to answer the research questions will address how the nature of terrorism has changed from traditional to newer manifestations; the impact of globalisation on the changing nature and manifestation of terrorism and the implications for South Africa's security. To gather information, this research will employ a literature based/ desktop study from "the population of information" including current academic knowledge and theoretical contributions by using mainly secondary sources to answer the research questions of this study (Schuurman 2017:6).

1.6. STRUCTURE OF RESEARCH

This study will comprise of five chapters, that starts off with this introductory chapter outlining the research problem, aims and objectives of this research and a literature overview on terrorism to provide the context of the study and key elements to the research which are the distinguishing characteristics of old and new terrorism. The chapter concludes with the research approach and methodology employed to conduct the research.

The second chapter the research will provide a historical overview of terrorism to prove the context, followed by a conceptual overview of terrorism and how its meanings and manifestations have evolved over time from traditional terrorism to newer manifestations of terrorism. This is outlined by comparing the distinguishing characteristics of *old* and *new* terrorism. This chapter also explains the evolution from old to new terrorism,

The 3rd Chapter will apply the theoretical information from Chapter 2 to the global context by describing real-life examples of new terrorist manifestations in terms of its distinguishing characteristics. These examples focus on global manifestations of terrorism and is followed by response Chapter 4 follows a similar structure, however the focus is shifted towards the African continent and regional manifestations. This is then followed by responses from regional bodies.

Finally, the fifth chapter will outline a summary of chapters. This is followed a discussion on whether or not South Africa is at risk of a terrorist attack and concludes with policy recommendations and areas for further study.

CHAPTER 2: THE EVOLUTION FROM OLD TO NEW TERRORISM

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on a historical overview of terrorism, as well as some of the distinguishing characteristics of 'old' and *new* terrorism, contributing to the complex nature of defining the concept and the obstacles of finding a clear consensus on how terrorism is perceived in terms of its nature and phenomenon. For the purposes of this research, it will assess terrorist attacks before 11 September 2001 (hereafter known as 9/11), and those after, and explain why the events of 9/11, if so, is perceived as the beginning of *new* terrorism.

Various governments and legal systems use different definitions due to difference uses of violence in the context of conflicts over national liberation and self-determination. Furthermore, the added complication of terrorism evolving into new and more complex forms, the formulation of a universal and comprehensive convention has become an impediment and deterrent in the fight against international terrorism. In attempting to develop a universal definition to be accepted by all nations, the United Nations (UN) adopted a Declaration in 1996 on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, describing terrorist acts as:

"criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them" (Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism 1996:2).

This was followed by the UN treaty called the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (2002), proposing the outlaw all forms of international terrorism and to publicly deny their actions, as well as their sponsors and supporters. However, a deadlock has been reached over the proposed definition of terrorism, which states:

"1. Any person commits an offence within the meaning of this Convention if that person, by any means, unlawfully and intentionally, causes:

(a) Death or serious bodily injury to any person; or

(b) Serious damage to public or private property, including a place of public use, a State or government facility, a public transportation system, an infrastructure facility or the environment; or

(c) Damage to property, places, facilities, or systems referred to in paragraph 1 (b) of this article, resulting or likely to result in major economic loss, when the purpose of the conduct, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act" (Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism 2002:6).

The UN Security Council Resolution 1566 on Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts (2004:2) recalls terrorist acts as:

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

The UN shifted their focus in terrorism towards a more academic nature, when the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, which was developed in 2006, aimed to enforce and understand the four pillars in order to combat terrorism. These four pillars include "1) Addressing the Conditions conducive to the spread of Terrorism; 2) Preventing and Combating terrorism; 3) Building States' capacity and strengthening the role of the UN; and 4) Ensuring Human rights and the rule of law" (UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy 2006). These pillars differed from previous definitions, as they not only described manifestations of terrorism, but also assessed causes and measures for prevention.

In addition to the UN definitions, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) established their Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism of 1999, defining a terrorist act as:

“(a) any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to, any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:

(i) intimidate, put in fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles; or

(ii) disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or

(iii) create general insurrection in a State.

(b) any promotion, sponsoring, contribution to, command, aid, incitement, encouragement, attempt, threat, conspiracy, organizing, or procurement of any person, with the intent to commit any act referred to in paragraph (a) (i) to (iii).”

Considering these abovementioned definitions and explanations, it is clear that there is not a universally agreed upon definition for terrorism. At best, a definition could exist that is most universally accepted. With regards to the above definitions, terrorism can broadly be understood as "a method of coercion that uses or threatens the use of violence in order to spread fear, thereby acquiring political or ideological goals" (Garrison 2003:39). This is a constant characteristic of terrorist activities, despite it manifesting in a multitude of ways. As a departure point for this chapter, Laqueur (2002:3) states that "terrorism has a history that is at least 2000 years old, and although targets, victims, perpetrators, causes and justifications for the use of terror have changed, the methods of terrorism have remained the same throughout history". Terrorism, however defined, has always challenged the stability of countries, and the impact of terrorism in the modern era is not limited to specific regions where terrorists operate. Terrorist groups understand the power and exploit new technologies to their advantage and gain attention and infamy they seek.

The interpretation and definition of terrorism is difficult for other reasons as well. The methods of terrorists, the aims and objectives of attacks and the character of people that are and were involved changed drastically over time, due to various external phenomena. It is also no longer merely seen as a technique to reach an objective; those practicing have certain basic beliefs in common and are closer to each other.

The 9/11 terrorist attacks were one of the most devastating and fatal attacks committed by al Qaeda, killing thousands of people. Al Qaeda killed more people on that day than the Irish Republican Army (IRA) have killed in 35 years (Manusitz 2013:10). The arbitrary targeting of civilians and killing of such a large number of people simultaneously prompted scholars to dub 9/11 as the seminal point of new terrorism. This transformation is marked by a variety of distinguishing features, often leading to the portrayal of *old* and *new* terrorism as two very distinct phenomena.

This chapter will focus on a historical overview of terrorism, and the assessment of various characteristics, similarities and differences between *old* and *new* terrorism, which include the nature of the attacks, funding, types of weapons used, the organization structure of terrorist organizations, the nature of communication and travel, the role of religion and gender roles.

2.2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF TERRORISM

Historically, terrorism is described as an ancient tactic, existing before the word itself was invented. Manusitz (2013:7) substantiates this by referring to specific artefacts located in Iraq with writings on them referring to the leaders of that area exercise of terrorism and tyrannicide (the killing of tyrants). Garrison (2003:40) states that terrorism used as a weapon of politics and warfare can be tracked back to ancient times and may be as old as government-armed struggle. Law (2015:1) explains that even though the history of terrorism is approximately 2000 years old, its study and defining features are relatively young.

A recurring trend of terrorist attacks is that when conducted, the attack spreads fear since violence is directed unexpectedly against innocent victims, which in turn puts pressure on third parties (such as governments) to change their policies or position (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2018:1). There is such an extensive history of terrorism, which had frequently been ignored, suppressed or overshadowed. Thus, when renewed attention was given to terrorism, it was accompanied by the tendency to regard it as a new phenomenon, albeit without precedent. During the 20th century, the psychological and sociological study of terrorism was often disregarded as the notion of political correctness prevailed. Throughout history, the common thread between all events is encapsulated in this definition, provided by Garrison (2003:40): "terrorism is the use of

violence to create fear in the larger audience in order to create change in that larger audience". The motivation for outlining the historical overview and defining characteristics of old and new terrorism lies in the base argument that terrorism is best understood within a broader, historical and political context, which this chapter will aim to outline.

2.2.1. *Ancient Terrorism*

Taylor and Gautron (2015:28) describe the movements of the Sicarri of Judea and Assassins of Persia and Syria in the middle of the 1st century BC as the precursor to modern terrorism, and therefore provides an emphasis on the presence of important characteristics, which are characteristic of *new* terrorism. However, an analysis of ancient violence reveals the difficulties of this violence occurring in societies with no modern ideas and conceptions of the state, the notion of political change, or even delineations between public and private acts. As an example, this subsection will focus on the Sicarri and Assassins in the mid-first century and will explain how the conditions at that time, as well as now, and acts committed are classified as terrorism.

Pre-modern terrorism can be traced back to approximately 2000 years ago "when the terrorist movement Sicarri- affiliated with the Zealots- carried out terrorist campaigns to force insurrection against the Romans in Judea" during the Roman Empire (Garrison 2003: 44; Männik 2009:153). In the Roman province of Judaea, the aspect of foreign rule, combined with the domination of the largely Hellenized Jewish religious and social elite had compelled radical groups within the local community to oppose both in an expression of self-determination (Taylor & Gautron 2015:28). Here, the Sicarri originated out of political and social changes which unfolded as they became increasingly frustrated with societal and political changes out of their control. The Sicarri was fighting against Roman occupiers in Palestine and Jerusalem, Jewish moderates and traitors through refusing to acknowledge the Roman Emperor's power and opposing to the law that Jews are supposed to pay taxes to Rome. These changes encouraged the Sicarri to pursue their goal of liberating the Jewish people from Roman authority. This is seen as a form of terrorism "from below", as the Sicarri consisted of men of lower orders and emerged from various motivations, including religious protest movements, political revolts and social uprisings (Laqueur 2001:7). Through persuasion, it was believed that political and religious change could come only through violent acts, hence adopting terrorism and their main tactic.

Taylor & Gautron (2015:29) ascertained two main characteristics that distinguish the Sicarri from all other opposition groups in Judaea: "their extreme doctrine of 'No lord but God' and their utter commitment to carry out acts of violence against members of the Jewish community that dared reject this belief". These terrorist campaigns, or attacks, made use of various methods, including the use of assassins who were employed to stab Jewish collaborators or Roman legionnaires with daggers, the kidnapping of members of staff of the Temple Guard, or poisoning large groups of

people (Garrison 2003:44). For the Sicarri, they targeted their violence towards prominent Jewish leaders in the community and in order to instil fear, they relied on anonymity, stabbing people in big crowds and broad daylight in order to disappear into the panicked crowd and instilling psychological fear into the community. Essentially, the big crowd would scatter, and it would be difficult to find the perpetrator. In addition, members of the Sicarri resorted to kidnapping prominent figures for political extortion to secure the freedom of those under Roman control (Taylor & Gautron 2015:30). Targeted kidnappings and stabbings of highly symbolic political meaning discouraged pro-Roman grassroots cooperation among the wider population. Overall, the Sicarri was in essentially a symptom of the prevailing unstable situation at the time, and it was also a contributor to its further breakdown in the immediate years before the first-century revolt. Since their inception, the Sicarri intended to incite panic and fear through assassinations and kidnappings as an instrument to destabilize Jewish- Roman relations and to provoke dominant popular resistance to foreign governance.

The Assassins were a religious sect who struck terror against the empire of Saladin and resisted the armies of the Ottoman Empire during the 11th century (Manusitz 2013:8). They were tightly organized within a small community with precise objectives, often resorting to following specific methods in order to achieve strategic effectiveness as well as a significant psychological impact (Taylor & Gautron 2015:33). The Assassins were killed in creating and using disguises, stealth, conducting surprise attacks, and suicide missions were customary. One of the chief terrorist attacks of the Assassins was their assassination of the Persian grand vizier of the Turkish Seljuq sultans, Nizam al-Mulk.

2.2.2. Terrorism, Anarchy and the Reign of Terror (18th-19th century)

During the Reign of Terror, which lasted from 1793 to 1794 and took place during the French Revolution, the concept of “terror” was used in France when the Revolutionary Government orchestrated violence and harsh measures against citizens suspected of being enemies of the Revolution. Maximillian Robespierre defined terror as “a means as an end: the triumph of republican democracy over its many enemies” (Rapport 2019: 63). This is significant as Robespierre's reign was considered as the first terror organized nationwide by revolutionaries seizing power and becoming a punitive government proclaiming murder as the law of the land (Garrison 2003:41; UNODC 2018:1). Concepts such as terrorist, terrorism and the Terror was used by the revolutionaries in a hostile, retrospective manner. Essentially, the idea was initiated that terrorism has utility as a tool to achieve governmental ends, introducing the concept of government-sponsored terrorism- the use of terror to maintain power and suppress political rivals (Garrison 2003:41).

Early in the 19th century, cases of what we now describe as terrorist activities can be traced back to radicalism and the emergence of anarchists, those who believe in abolishing all forms of government, also known as "collectivist anarchist" and "anarcho-communist" groups (Garrison 2003: 45; UNODC 2018:5). In addition to being labelled anarchists, they were also described as nihilists, dynamiters, Blanquists, assassins, revolutionaries, and fanatics (Thorup 2010:103). The concept of anarchy acquired a positive connotation and widely used for counter-social activity, however those opposing anarchy pointed out the concept's historical connotations of unruliness and disorder. This is characterized as Rapaport's first wave of terrorism, the Anarchist Wave, where terrorist acts stemmed from deep dissatisfaction with the slow reforms of societies and a realization that the attempts of revolutionaries to ignite uprisings were inefficient (Männik 2009:155-156). *Narodnaya Volya* (1878-1881), the most notorious anarchist group, hailed from Russia and sought to assassinate czars, which they believed would bring down all European governments, and succeeded to assassinate Czar Alexander II in 1881. During this period, a primitive form of targeted assassinations, coined individual terrorism- the selective use of terror against an individual or group based on their government titles and positions of nobility- was introduced (Garrison 2003:45). Individual assassinations were still underlined by moral judgment, as the terrorist acts were controlled to limit collateral injury to innocent bystanders and the intent and powerful objectives of the attacks makes them distinct from typical criminal and violent acts. Terror acts directed at non-combatant targets, such as civilians or iconic symbols, with the objective to achieve the greatest attainable publicity for their group or cause. Furthermore, the impact of terrorist attacks and its damage reaches more than solely the immediate target victims; it is also directed at the larger spectrum of society.

The tactical means and methods revolved around targeted assassinations and perceived as the principal violent method of spreading terror. Targeted assassinations are differentiated from ordinary criminal acts as targets are people typically acting in an official state capacity signified in a deep, personal commitment to a cause that would inspire others, and epitomized in the revolutionary code of honour by sparing innocent citizens (UNODC 2018:5). Between 1890 and 1908, terrorists were responsible for the assassinations of kings and queens of Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, France and Portugal. Due to the high number of assassinations during this period, it is also known as "the Golden Age of Assassinations" (Männik 2009:156). The most notable killing is that of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914 (Garrison 2003:45). When targeting only those seen as state oppressors, the casualty rate remained low. However, from the middle of the 19th century, heavy industrialized weaponry facilitated a lack of targeting, as victims became more indiscriminate and fatal. This form of selective terrorism was also seen during the Irish Rebellion (1919-1921) in the Irish Republican Army (IRA)'s fight for independence in the

early 20th century, as representatives of the British government operating in Ireland were targeted.

These early anarchists, however, became increasingly disillusioned after failing to provoke widespread social revolution among the peasantry groups through traditional means, such as the distribution of pamphlets and leaflets, urging uprisings to act against government and to put them under pressure. This is perceived as a type of asymmetrical warfare- the use of violence by a weak/ small group with a smaller force against a stronger power (for example a military force, government or even society) (Manusitz 2013:5). The notion of 'Propaganda by deed' thus became central to the idea of anarchism as they turned to violence in the hope of forcing political reform and undermining the state (Garrison 2003: 45). It was believed that most citizens were not aware of what is happening around them, thus acts of terrorism have a communicative effect, aimed at informing them that they can revolt and resist oppression from the ruling class. Furthermore, technological developments occurring during the middle- and late nineteenth century played a pivotal role in their increase in the occurrence of terrorism, contributing to the development in weapons, communication and travel. The telegraph, daily mass newspapers, and railroads flourished in this period; and subsequently throughout the 20th century, technology continued to shrink time and space (Rapoport 2002: 3).

2.2.3. *"Modern Terrorism" of the 20th Century*

Terrorism in the sense of an emotional reaction was primarily the undertone for the concept, whereas terrorism from the 1960 has become increasingly dominant of the concepts (Thorup 2010:102). The 19th century was dominated by local level revolutionary politics, the use of political offences as grounds upon which states might refuse requests by other states for the extradition of persons suspected of having perpetrated violent offences for various political, ideological or religious motives (UNODC 2018:6). This further highlighted the difficulties associated with distinguishing acts of terrorism from criminal acts generally, continuing to the present day.

During the Soviet Revolution, the theories of Robespierre from the French Revolution was studied by the likes of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Engels, who contributed to the refined ideas of government-sponsored terrorism as a method for maintaining control over a society, and as a tool to reconstruct and build a new society (Garrison 2003:45). Lenin and Stalin, specifically, use terror systematically against the entire society, as fear provided a motivational factor for public compliance with government, and terror proved useful for controlling a society.

The 20th century linked modern terrorism to the ideal of self-determination, which arose within the competing ideologies of the communist and socialist theory (UNODC 2018:6). During the second wave of terrorism (anti-colonial wave), the principle of self-determination used to break up

defeated empires provided a foundation for aspirations of a new kind of terrorist organizations, for example the IRA (Männik 2009:156). This contrasted with the 1934 League of Nations covenant, which does not make provision for or reference to the principle of self-determination. The focus was on making the acts of terrorism highly illegal and punishable, thus projecting it to the international agenda. By the 1930's, several bilateral agreements referred to the suppression of terrorism, and many extradition treaties contained clauses excluding terrorist acts against heads of states from the exempted list of political offences (UNDOC 2018:6). Furthermore, during this wave, it was clear that freedom fighters were fighting against forms of terrorism, received extensive support from various diasporas and resorted to less assassinations.

The Irish rebellion of 1919 contained some of the foundational aspects of *new* terrorism, albeit in a somewhat primitive form. The IRA made use of three tactical methods, contributing to the development of new terrorism: selective terrorism, sustained terror over time, and cell operations (Garrison 2003:46). Cell and network operations (which is a key characteristic of *new* terrorism) decentralize the planning and implementation of terrorist acts and prevents the discovery and destruction of the terrorist organization. The IRA's organizational structure (being centralized and interconnected) offers "leadership the ability to control their organization, while realizing the gains that could stem from direct coordination at the operational level" (Shapiro 2005:15). For the IRA, their ultimate objective with this type of organizational structure was for individuals to evolve as influential individuals such as political and ideological leadership, and even recruiting others to be included in existing social networks.

The Indian struggle for independence (1929), led by the Hindustan Socialists Republican Association (HSRA), from British rule was one of the examples of justifying terrorism to an end, as it presented the world with a detailed and sophisticated explanation and justification for the use of terror called Philosophy of the Bomb (Garrison 2003:46). It asserted that "terrorism is inevitable in the struggle from oppression to freedom, thus the use of terror is a justifiable means to a justifiable end", highlighting the recurring presence of terrorist acts during times of revolution.

The Vietnam War started 1955 can be perceived as the stimulator for the "new left" wave of terrorism, proving that modern states were vulnerable to relatively unsophisticated weapons and tactics (Männik 2009:157). Terrorist organizations such as the Red Army Faction (RAF) in West Germany, Italian Red Brigades and the French *Armée Directe* emerged from the dissatisfaction of young people with the existing systems. These movements were predominantly supported by students, and subsequently split and evolved into different directions.

The internationalization and transnationalisation of terrorism were prominent during the 1966 Tri-continental Conference, held in Cuba and sponsored by the Soviet Union (Garrison 2003:47). Terrorist and liberation groups from Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East

began to cooperate across national boundaries, mainly to create financial, political, operational and logistical plans, which transcended geographic regions. Furthermore, the dominating Palestine cause prompted European and Middle Eastern terrorist groups to cooperate. Some examples include the Red Army Faction and Black September (Palestine); French *Armée Rouge* and the Red Army Faction along with the Red Army Brigade; Japanese Red Army and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Garrison 2003:47). During this, these transnational terrorists were bound by common political, social or personal objectives transcending physical borders. Within the context of the prevailing Cold War, the increasing polarization between the East and the West, a new dynamic within transnational terrorism developed, namely state-sponsored terrorism- government exported terrorism to other parts of the world for their own political interests. These would include providing training and training camps, economic and political support to other countries. Also, during this third wave, prominent targets became very popular again as hijackings, kidnappings, hostage taking, and assassinations of high-ranking officials occurred as a type of punishment for various reasons (Männik 2009:157).

Discussions during the Post- World War II -era centred around issues of terrorism by those seen as liberation fighters to achieve liberation and ending colonialism, claiming to be using direct action to pursue their right to the self-determination of peoples, which was provided for in the United Nations Charter (Garrison 2003:47; UNODC 2018:8). However, many terrorist activities post- 1945 have not been associated with the abovementioned debate, as some of the identified causes of terrorism have ranged from human discontent, including the economic, political, social, physiological, and ideological, with short or long-term goals, both subjective and objective, becoming the object of violence. Terrorist acts changed from selectively targeting government officials to targeting civilians. The international scope shifted to a focus on the Middle East, especially considering the 1967 war in Israel defeating Jordan, Egypt and Syria, and took control of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Gaza strip and the Sinai Peninsula. During this “new left” wave of terrorism, it witnessed more international cooperation in counterterrorism efforts, as well as increased cooperation between terrorist organizations. This cooperation in the context of globalization and the information age¹ permits terrorist organizations to operate across physical borders, assemble in bigger groups in an online realm and to share resources and knowledge.

During the 1970's, terrorism and terrorist attacks began to make headlines with a notable increase in international terrorist attacks with religious motivations. This was marked with the start of the Iranian Revolution in 1979 and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, marking the beginning of a

¹The era/ historic period in the 21st century which is characterised by the rapid shift towards an economy based on information technology.

new Islamic century. It gave prominence to suicide terrorism and witnessed an attempt to cause mass casualties using unconventional and chemical weapons (Männik 2009:157). Terrorism and terrorist attacks motivated by religion are not exclusively driven or motivated by Islam. An example of this is the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), also known as the Lord's Resistance Movement, is a heterodox Christian group operating in various countries such as Northern Uganda primarily, South Sudan, Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo. It is often portrayed as a millenarian Christian cult and has clearly been informed by the leaders' understanding of Christianity, particularly being combined with the traditional ethnic cosmology of their Acholi tribe, mainly populated in northern Uganda, and representing their interests (Le Sage 2011:2). The LRA is a reaction to southern Ugandan political domination and a manifestation of emissary struggles between regional powers in the Horn of Africa. Furthermore, its origin is an example of unaccountable warlordism². More importantly, the LRA is a successor of the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM) whose military wing was named Holy Spirit Mobile Forces (HSMF) (Cline 2003:117). The group conducted a series of operations against government forces in their objective to overthrow Yoweri Museveni's government and to proclaim the word of the Holy Spirit. Shortly after the HSM was defeated in 1987, Joseph Kony led the LRA and stated that he has "received divine orders to replace the Ugandan constitution with the ten commandments" (Cline 2003:199).

The shift towards causing mass and indiscriminate casualties was witnessed during the sarin gas attack by the Aum Shinrikyo sect in Tokyo in 1995. The Shia organization Hezbollah was supported by Iran, and they carried out a massive suicide terrorist attack on the positions of the United States marines and French Paratroopers in Lebanon (Männik 2009:157). Following the end of Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the Gulf War, the enemies of Islamic terrorists changed, as US symbols were now mainly targeted, especially after there were large US troops in Saudi Arabia (Männik 2009:158). Al-Qaeda became an increasingly decentralized organization, mainly defending Islam. Their methods of operation were illustrated through the single most devastating act of terror committed on 11 September 2001.

From the perspective of the year 2000, the terrorist groups that have survived and endured over time were groups identifying as nationalist and religious fanatical in character, however their identification did not explain their motives making it more difficult to detect a linear pattern of terrorist attacks.

²The exercise of military, economic and [political control over a territory within a sovereign state due to their ability to mobilize loyal armed forces.

2.2.4. 9/11: The Emergence of New Terrorism

On 11 September 2001, the United States of America (USA) experienced the worst terrorist attack, committed by 19 Al Qaeda members. The targeting of the World Trade Center (WTC) and the US Pentagon- both symbolic images of the West- caused thousands of fatalities and injuring thousands more. Due to the devastating effect and scale of these terrorist attacks, this led then President Bush to declare the global war on terror. It brought forth the idea that a *new* terrorism emerged, leading to scholars implying that there is a sharp distinction between the traditional or *old* terrorism and *new* terrorism, such as Laqueur (1999) suggesting “there has been a radical transformation, if not revolution, in the character of terrorism”. In addition, other scholars also state the concept of *new* terrorism is misleading, and that this distinction between *old* and *new* terrorism is largely artificial (Field 2009:200). Thorup (2010:2) criticizes two concepts, the notion of ‘immediatist seduction’ and ‘obligatory amnesia’, where the former refers to the tendency to declare any major event novel without precedent, claiming it as a new era. The latter explains how every major outburst of terror is described as a new situation, requiring a much newer, tougher approach. These concepts seemingly describe the events of 9/11 as scholars such as Jäckle & Baumann (2018) and Combs (2018) suggests that the events of 9/11 “is often to have inaugurated a new, unprecedented, unfathomable era” (Thorup 2010:58). A possible critique of this approach is that it favours this trend over organizational explanations, which could be problematic given the prevalence of traits of the old and new terrorism in older periods as well as newer ones.

Other scholars argue that the paradigm shift from the *old* terrorism to the *new* occurred during the 1990’s, marked by the 1993 WTC bombing in New York, and the 1995 attack by Aum Shinrikyo, a deadly Japanese cult. On 26 February 1993, an improvised explosive device (IED) fitted in a truck exploded in the WTC basement parking section, producing a crater, killing six people, and injuring more than a thousand (Williams 1988:16). The IED contained a homemade fertilizer basis of urea nitrate. Some of the perpetrators spent time at an al Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan, before initializing their plan for the bombings citing Islamic Fundamentalism, US Foreign Policy and the US support for Israel as the reasons. The Aum Shinrikyo cult conducted two large-scale attacks using a chemical substance, sarin nerve gas. Their first attack occurred in Matsumoto, killing seven people and injuring 500, and their second (and more well-known) attack took place in at a Tokyo subway station using the same chemical, killing 12 people and injuring 5500 further. These abovementioned examples illustrate a strict compliance with religious fanaticism, moving away from the *old* secular focus towards the *new* terrorism.

As this chapter will show, the history of terrorism reveals an underlying and recurring stream of continuity in its fundamental characteristics and also how it has evolved to include newer elements

over time regarding weapons used, the organizational structures of terrorist groups, and tactics and strategies, amongst other factors. Traditionally, *old* terrorism related to the “systemic use of violence and criminal acts by non-state actors to instil fear with the aim of achieving political objectives” (Falode 2018:155). Furthermore, this chapter will aim to illustrate the revolutionary transformation terrorism, and even though the manifestations of terrorism have changed, the fundamentals remain the same. The threats posed by ‘old’ terrorism are similar to the ones posed by *new* terrorism, however the threats of the latter are now far reaching, and the different types and motivations for manifestations make all countries and individuals susceptible to attack. Furthermore, the role of the media contributing to the globalizing nature of terrorism will also be assessed. The rest of the chapter will explore the distinguishing features of ‘old’ and *new* terrorism and will illustrate the revolutionary change in the manifestation of terrorist attacks.

2.3. DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF TRADITIONAL (OLD) TERRORISM

2.3.1. *Targeted Assassinations and Selected Terrorism*

Targeted terrorism refers to attacks conducted aimed at certain targets, such as representatives of a government, or the entity seen as the enemy. Traditional terrorists only attack selected targets (Manusitz 2013:11). Garrison (2003:46) describes them as “acts of terror against representatives of a target class, to achieve political objectives”. The fatalities stemming from these attacks were minimal, as they did not include civilians or others not seen as targets. Weapons and methods of conducting terrorist attacks consisted of mainly traditional means, and typically adopted a utilitarian approach. Earlier forms of terrorism were characterized by political motivations, such as nationalism and extreme left-wing ideologies. The choice of targets of the old terrorists reflected their ideas and were highly symbolic as attacks were conducted for political and religious objectives (Duyvenstein 2004:445). Cases of targeted terrorism primarily took place during Rapaport’s first wave of terrorism, when anarchists aimed to achieve disproportional responses by governments, they followed up by targeting high-ranking officials and even heads of state (Männik 2009:156).

Another way of describing targeted attacks is focused victimization. This describes the instance where attacks were used as an instrument for action motivated by politics, targeting specific members of governments or political actors for the purposes of attaining a specific political aim (UNODC 2018:11). The strategic purpose of functional terrorist violence was part of a wide political strategy. Hirschmann (2000:301) writes that in the past the operations of terrorist groups were “directed against a relatively narrow set of targets and selective attacks were typical”. They were aware of the consequences violent attacks would have on who were innocent, thus targeting those who are highly influential.

2.3.2. *Low Collateral Damage*

When assessing traditional weapon use, the use of selected terrorism and the domestic nature of traditional terrorism, the result of it, is low collateral damage. The level and scope of violence used by traditional terrorists was constrained by psychological, ethical and political considerations, and these factors prevented terrorists from committing large numbers of killings (Field 2009:199). It was clear that that too many indiscriminate casualties could undermine the legitimacy of their cause and drive away sympathetic supporters. Furthermore, terrorist attacks were not conducted with violence as the end goal. Thus, traditional terrorists used violence along with other methods in a pragmatic manner forming part of a holistic strategy. The impact of violence was carefully considered to align their attacks for particular strategic ends, and to prevent indiscriminate attacks.

2.3.3. *The State and Terrorism*

Definitions of terrorism largely focused on the conduct of violence in order to achieve a political goal. In the past, "traditional terrorists were motivated by secular concerns stemming from political ideology, national-separatist aspirations and ethnic conflict" (Field 2009:197). Both Combs (2018:5) and Richardson (2006:91) agree that the ideology of a state has always been ambiguous with terrorism, as the concept as a political term originated from "state terror", and "that ideologies are key to the rise of political terrorism". This suggests that states are involved in the network between individuals and groups involved in conducting terrorist attacks. Traditional terrorists had stipulated clear goals that were adjustable and could form the basis of political negotiations, capable of adapting these objectives as per responses to changing political circumstances and this allowed them to negotiate ceasefires, truces and peaceful settlements. Terrorist acts were used as political instruments by those motivated by an anti-capitalist ideology, as well as those who are motivated by national liberation struggles, perceived as a type of ideological terrorism (Wilkinson 2003:48). Hirschmann (2000:299) describes ideological terrorism as "a desire for (revolutionary) changes in political or social structures". It was common for states to sponsor terrorist activities, as Combs (2018:6) state that nations such as Syria, Iraq and Iran who are repeatedly accused of their involvement in state-sponsored terrorism and labelling states as assisting in terrorists' attacks.

Importantly, there is a fundamental difference between violence committed by the state and violence committed by non-state actors. Essentially states have a monopoly on violence, but it is incorrect to assume that any violence committed by the state is permissible. Conventionally, acts of terrorism were linked to the methods of totalitarian regimes as it was used to force compliance on the regimes such as Stalin and Hitler intending to give off a terrorizing effect, resulting in much

higher casualties than non-state actors. Usually it is non-state actors who use violence to intimidate an audience beyond the direct victim of that violence.

Männik (2009:152-153) provides an example of states using violence in order to coerce the citizens to submit to a certain stance, where

“the Roman Empire used violence ranging from crucifixion of individuals to full- scale genocide to force individuals and nations into submission; the French Revolution sent more than 20 000 people to the guillotine over a period of a few months, and some drastic state terrorism include Nazi Germany, Stalinsist Soviet Union, Communist China of the Mao Period, Pol Pot’s Cambodia and several other dictatorships and totalitarian regimes”.

Bapat (2012:3) argues that states sponsor militants to gain bargaining power over their rivals in order to accomplish their foreign policy objectives, as some states may lack the resources to project military and economic power internationally, they must find alternative means to pursue change in the international system.

2.3.4. Tactics, Strategy and Non-sophisticated Weapons Use

The tactical means and methods of traditional terrorist attacks have seemingly followed those used by states in their armed conflicts (UNDOC 2018:3). They resembled military codes as they valued the distinction between soldiers and officials, and innocent civilians, seen in the conduct of targeted attacks. Attacks were also suicidal in nature as the primitive weapons available to them required that they have direct contact with their targets, consequently killing them. Some of these primitive weapons include knives, bows and arrows, swords and spears (Dyson 2012: 9). As will be seen later, the use of indiscriminate weaponry in previous centuries and the contemporary world is a recurring feature.

The development of technologies during the nineteenth century contributed to the seminal development of weapons, restricted to a primitive form of modern weapons. The readily available dynamite allowed terrorist groups to carry out their deadly actions more widely than propaganda by the deed, an action meant to be inspirational and exemplary to others to serve as a catalyst to facilitate a revolution (UNODC 2018:5). Social disruption is one of the primary objectives of propaganda by deed, as it demonstrates the inability of both the government and the strength of movement (Martin 2014:11). Traditional terrorists had little to no use for nuclear, chemical and

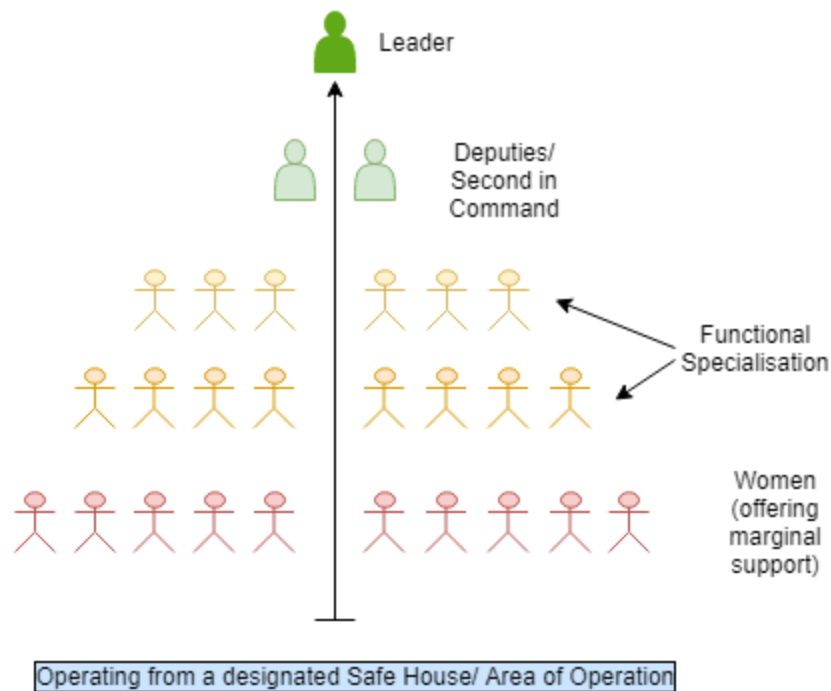
biological weapons. They operated within strategic, political and ethical boundaries and limited their use of firearms and explosives, to avoid alienating their political support base.

The use of violence committed by terrorists also ranges across a wide spectrum. Terrorists could be individuals with military training and experience, or individuals seen as operatives conducting suicide missions (also known as throw away operatives). This use of violence illustrates the slow evolution of terrorist tactics and strategies, including traditional assassination, bombings, arson, hostage taking, hijacking, kidnapping, sabotage, the perpetration of hoaxes and suicide bombings (Männik 2009:156; UNODC 2018:9).

2.3.5. Organizational Structure

A terrorist organization, which can be described as an illicit clandestine organization that generally consists of planners, trainers, and actual bombers/ killers, can have various structures such as an identifiable hierarchy of command, a horizontal structure where leaders are non-identifiable or have no major role or a cell structure where the terrorists can be 'lone wolves' (Manusitz 2013:4-5). *Old* terrorist groups were organized in a hierarchy, along a vertical structure of command and control, where decisions were taken by senior members of the group and implemented by junior members (Field 2009:198). With this vertical scope of organization, they were largely limited to operating within domestic confines. This kind of hierarchical structure makes it easier for the disruption and demobilization of terrorist organizations as targeting the leader of that specific organization would lead to the destabilization of its core organizations. This tactic was coined as the 'kingpin strategy' by scholars Kilberg and Rowland (2011:2). Although a hierarchical structure provides more resilience and opportunity for internal promotion, removal of leadership to a centralized organization could be fatal to its existence. This structure would typically lead to the establishment of hierarchies; however, they are prone to penetration and hampering initiative. Hierarchical organizations can support functional specialization with low levels of interconnectedness, providing that the hierarchy is able to allocate resources effectively without generating exorbitant costs from those interconnections.

TRADITIONAL ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF TERRORIST GROUPS



Adapted from Jenkins (2016:123)

Despite the general trend of vertically organized terrorist groups, it was not entirely exclusive to all *old* terrorist groups. An example includes the 19th century anarchist movement which was active most notably in imperial Russia and France, as anarchist organizations were responsible for several high-profile attacks among others against heads of state. Here, the organization was network- instead of hierarchically based.

An important characteristic of a terrorist organization is the presence of a charismatic, ideological leader who can transform the frustrations of members into a political agenda for violent struggle. Stohl (2016:91) explain how ideologies are vital to the rise of political terrorism as radical notions and beliefs "affect how people interpret their situation, respond to efforts to mobilize them, and choose among alternative strategies of political action". Militant and exclusionary ideologies have framed how people perceive things that are allowed, permissible and required.

2.3.6. *Seminal forms of communication*

The development of mass communication systems and technologies during the 19th and 20th century enabled the rapid communication of news, learning, ideas, and events across distances, serving as the foundation for a technological expansion that emerged in the rest of the 19th and 20th centuries (Manusitz 2013:43). Various inventions opened an era of mass communication and

of migration that was crucial to inspire groups elsewhere (Dyson 2012:13). Transnational, networked terrorist organizations did not exist, as they had no or limited means of communication. The execution of attacks would then mainly take place within domestic borders, with members of terrorist groups being in proximity with each other. The timing and expansion of the anarchist wave was explained through the transformation in communication and transport patterns, where the invention of the telegraph, daily mass newspapers, railroads and the steam-powered rotary press enabled newspapers receiving messages almost instantly after transmission, giving many of people access to information, relatively fast. Later in this chapter, it will be assessed how terrorists have benefited from the rapid development of communication technologies.

2.3.7. Primitive and limited transport

The development of commercial railways and trans-Atlantic passage streamers had aided groups to travel long distances, and to carry their political sympathies further (UNODC 2018:5). Truly fast transportation did not exist before the 20th century, as it was limited to walking or riding animals (Dyson 2012:11). Water transportation was also mainly limited to manmade canals and waterways, natural currents, wind and human power- that is restrictive but not always reliable. The planning and execution of terrorist attacks were strictly limited to a domestic scope. If an attack were conducted across borders, extensive and thorough planning needs to be done, and they would need to cope with the difficulties of transporting their weapons. If a terrorist were successful in conducting the attack, they would need to plan for a quick and effective escape in order to evade prosecution or punishment.

2.3.8. Domestic scope and nature

Before the development of the internet, existing networks allowed organizations to maintain a limited presence due to a lack of extensive technology and transport, not allowing terrorists to transcend geographical features across borders. Traditionally, terrorists had objectives that were restricted to local, geographical areas (Field 2009:198). It was linked to a predominantly nationalist or separatist agenda, usually concerning the political situation within a specific region or country. Dyson (2012:6) states that terrorists have previously had some success in generating extreme fear within limited parameters, but they have been unable to cause mass hysteria and widespread fear. Being constrained by domestic borders also created the problem of effectively communicating their philosophy widely and claiming responsibility for attacks conducted was difficult without the proper communication structures. During the 20th century, communication consisted largely of handwritten letters and personal verbal exchanges, but the availability and accuracy of written communication in the form of books, periodicals and newspapers was limited

(Dyson 2012:7). Traditional terrorist groups conducted attacks within domestic borders as the transformation of traveling and communication was in its developing phases.

2.3.9. *Male Domination*

Noonan (2018:19) suggests that masculinity creates the physical space that radicalize men and exclude women in that “political resistance, both in its spontaneous and organized forms, is often founded on a reconstruction of masculinity and a restructuring of gender relations”. Terrorist groups and organizations consisted mainly of men planning and carrying out the attacks, where women offered marginal background support since they were perceived as a vulnerable demographic (Jacques & Taylor 2013:36). Scholars and media take the inherent maleness of terrorism as a given, depicting terrorism as an exclusive male phenomenon, also implying that the notion of colonialism emasculates men and their identities, and terrorist acts asserts agency and reaffirms their masculinity. Historically, attacks conducted by females do not constitute a negligible percentage, but males have conducted most of them. For example, the Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan demonstrates the impact of societal masculine structures, as British colonialism feminized Pakistani men and characterizing them as weak people (Noonan 2018:22). Effectively, socially trivialized or humiliated men experience phases of discontent and frustration, and that encourages them to undertake actions that are portrayed as significant tools for regaining self-worth and masculine efficacy, resorting to, in this example, militant Islamism, terrorism and suicide bombings. Furthermore, the social and religious conditions allow for fostering of masculine identity in the society. In the case of Pakistan and the Taliban, the institution of Madrassas influenced the Taliban through the hyper-masculine environment they foster. Most Madrassas were established to accommodate approximately three million male refugees coming from neighbouring Afghanistan. The Madrassas provided the Afghan refugees and Pakistani children with mainly religious schooling, as there was no adequate public-school system. Supporting Gulf States, such as Saudi Arabia, was mainly for scouting political support for Wahhabis³. In addition to these Madrassas providing young people with education, it became an occupation as well as residence, as they received a stipend and lived there as well. Essentially, they provided an isolating, hyper-masculine environment to foster radicalization. To illustrate, a charismatic Muslim cleric, Mohammed Yusuf, formed Boko Haram in the town of Maiduguri in Nigeria in 2002, by setting up a religious complex, including a mosque and a Madrasa (Ray 2016:7). Children mainly coming from a poor background residing in and around Nigeria, were enrolled at the school. Boko Haram shares the similar criticism with other radical Islamic movements that the government is unable to handle socio-economic problems, especially in the northern areas of Nigeria.

³An ultra-conservative Islamic doctrine and religious movement within Islam’s Sunni branch.

The conflict in Northern Ireland during the late 20th century, the families of terrorists were impacted for longer than the terrorists themselves (Noonan 2018:24). Ironically, a key principle of masculinity is to secure strong family units, which are the basis of society; however, the act of terrorism disrupts society further. The IRA saw women as being the most important part of the struggle and not being allowed to have both roles of warrior and mother within the community. The prevailing narrative of women is “incapable and helpless in a man’s world and should therefore remain in their traditional roles of mothering and caring”, emphasizing the polarity between the two genders (Agara 2015:117). Masculinity is thus reaffirmed by assigning and defining roles and responsibilities for men and women.

2.4. EVOLUTION FROM THE OLD TOWARDS NEW TERRORISM

Typically, the label *new* can appropriately be applied when it concerns phenomena that have been seen before but an unknown perspective or interpretation is developed (Duyvenstein 2004:439). Scholars have written about traditional and *new* terrorism in a way that portray them to be completely distinct from each other and provide various characteristics in this fundamental shift. However, Spencer (2006), Field (2009) and Kurtulus (2010) describe the phenomenon of terrorism rather evolving into *new* terrorism, rather than it undergoing a revolution. Some analysts argue that the evolution of terrorism represents continuity rather than change, for example, that mass-casualty bombings have long been characteristic of terrorist methods, and that radical extremism has always dominated terrorist motivations (Morgan 2004:31). Rapid technological developments and innovations which were unfathomable the previous century, took place and made it possible for a small group of individuals to cause catastrophic damage and claim responsibility for attacks. It also enabled them to plan attacks from further distances and to announce their reasons almost instantly. The character and nature of terrorism is changing, any restraints which would have existed during the conduct of terrorist attacks are disappearing over time and the threat to human life is infinitely greater than in the past. This point was most visibly illustrated through the events of 9/11. Even though this research argues that there is no mutual exclusivity between *old* and *new* terrorism, the perspective that contemporary terrorism represents a significant departure from the past is relevant (Morgan 2004:31). There are various factors leading to the development of this new type of terrorism. The below section will explore the various factors distinguishing traditional terrorism from *new* terrorism.

2.5. THE CONCEPT OF NEW TERRORISM

The concept of terrorism is often contested as a single, universal definition for it cannot be agreed upon, containing all the elements of *new terrorism*. Currently, the concept of terrorism has not yet acquired its present currency or does not refer to a distinct armed mode of conflict. The discrepancy in universal understanding ensues as "terrorists as a generalized construct derived from concepts of morality, law, and the rules of war" which is the seemingly dominant narrative, however "actual terrorists are shaped by culture, ideology and politics- factors and notions that motivate diverse actions" (Jenkins 2006:117). Scholars and academics see terrorism as fluid and constantly evolving, making it one of the most dynamic and devastating threats to national security globally. Furthermore, this problematizes pre-empting the activities of terrorist groups conducting attacks, as well as governments to develop and apply effective counterterrorism measures. Attention should be paid to the countering of the phenomenon of terrorism as the impact that attacks had before 9/11 is significantly lower than after.

South Africa faces an increasing possibility of the occurrence of terrorist attacks, even more so when considering all the elements of *new terrorism*. Additionally, the events of 9/11 redefined the plausibility and capabilities of terrorists. Hirschmann (2000:299) explains "one of the most important aims of terrorism is to create public attention or even sympathy for their overall demands"; thus, terrorist attacks are not the end in itself, rather it can be perceived as a communication strategy. Globalization expanded terrorists' scope and modes of communication leading to a shift towards a transnational nature. Sporadic and inconsistent characteristics do not allow for prediction and exploration and does not imply inexorable progress. In addition to terrorism being multi-varied, it is also multidisciplinary. Thus, the meaning and conceptualization of terrorism could get lost among a variety of definitions, or among too-specific definitions.

2.6. DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW TERRORISM

2.6.1. *Indiscriminate Attacks and Victimization*

Traditionally, terrorist attacks were rooted in political struggles with a greater, domestic cause to change the social or political status quo dominating at present time (Jäckle & Baumann 2018). Many scholars agree on this major feature of *new terrorism*. Spencer (2006:9) explains how "new terrorism is different in character, aiming not at clearly defined political demands but at the destruction of society and the elimination of large sections of the population". Contemporary terrorism is now characterized by an increasing frequency and magnitude of indiscriminate violence, and it demonstrates a willingness to tolerate greater levels of collateral damage in efforts to generate mass levels of casualties (Morgan 2004: 35; UNODC 2018:11).

Victims are not necessarily chosen on specific individual characteristics but are essentially victims by chance. The unpredictability and haphazard feature of *new* terrorism in terms of its victim selection gives terrorism its inherent power, especially enhanced by the media's display and replay of victimization. One example of this type of terrorism include 'vehicular terrorism', or more commonly known as a vehicle ramming, which has been on the increase in recent years. This evolution in the focus of terrorism reflects a shift from individual terror to a dimension of mass murder and psychological warfare. *New* terrorists, however, according to Kurtulus (2010:477) now "depend on the absolute willingness of the perpetrator to act with violence against the innocent" as the violence becomes a means to an end- morally justified divinely instigated expedient toward the attainment of their ultimate ends.

In addition to the increased brutalization of *new* terrorist attacks, the move beyond boundaries of ethical limits has been noted in recent attacks. Jäckle and Baumann (2017:877) equate this to the transcendence across domestic borders. Traditional terrorist attacks were only carried out against targeted, legitimate targets, which were typically representatives of a hostile state/ the enemy of terrorist groups.

2.6.2. *Increased Brutalization⁴ and fatalities*

Many scholars argue the 9/11 attacks marked the promotion of domestic and international terrorist attacks to a *new* and higher level of brutality. (Jäckle & Baumann 2017:875). In the past, terrorists had trouble trying to make an impact and accomplish their ultimate objectives as they lacked the tools necessary to foster fundamental changes (Dyson 2012:6). By being more brutal, terrorists gain more attention (especially through the media), and even more so considering globalization, achieving their aim of creating mass hysteria, most clearly seen through the 9/11 attacks. *New* terrorists pursue symbolic violence as a method as of 'total war' in isolation from other strategic considerations also viewing violence as the ultimate end in itself and can ultimately be considered more apocalyptic, as opposed to traditional terrorists, considering the possible implications of their violence (Morgan 2004: 30). *New* terrorists employ violent tactics that are more lethal and indiscriminate to gain publicity and create pressure on politicians to accept their demands, also because they believe that their actions have received divine sanction.

⁴Jäckle and Baumann (2017:879) identified 9 indicators of brutalisation, including (1) more terrorist attacks; (2) more fatalities due to terrorist attacks; (3) more fatalities per terrorist attack; (4) more suicide attacks; (5): more terrorist attacks against soft targets; (6) more fatalities due to terrorist attacks against soft targets; (7) average number of fatalities due to terrorist attacks against soft targets; (8) more suicide attacks against soft targets; and (9) more (increased number) beheadings.

Terrorist attacks are a ruthless means of gaining publicity, a bargaining tool in negotiations and as a way of gaining political leverage with governments (Field 2009:199). The use of violence is perceived as being transformative. They are much less rational in their approach to violence. Effectively, these violent acts are perceived by the audience as fatal- which is crucial to classifying an act as a terrorist attack and to gain international attention and instilling widespread fear, a notion shared by Hirschman (2000:2) and Jenkins (2006:118). Combs (2018:7) summarizes this idea by stating that *new* terrorism is the extent to which violence is committed. Furthermore, the capacity and the willingness to commit a violent act must be present for it to be classified as a terrorist act. Jenkins (2006:118) tracked the increased brutalization through the incidents causing fatalities increased from the 1970's- which amounted to the tens- to thousands of fatalities on 9/11.

Morgan (2004:31) provides three reasons for the increase in brutalization: first, the saturation of the media with images of terrorist atrocity has raised the bar on the level of destruction that will attract headline attention; second, terrorists have realized that civilian soft targets involve lower risk to themselves; and finally, there has been a shift from the politically-minded terrorist to the vengeful and fundamental fanatic. The events of 9/11 achieved all these aspects to a certain extent- Al-Qaeda, who claimed responsibility for the attack, achieved international attention with the attacks on the Twin Towers, they claimed civilian targets which was also a form of suicide terrorism as they died during the attack, and attacked the symbolic target as part of their anti-Western ideology.

2.6.3. *State Sponsorships and Modern Terrorist Funding*

Spencer (2006:11) states that one of the defining characteristics of *new* terrorism is an inherent lack of state supporters. Some scholars believe that the lack of financial support from the state is one of the reasons for the extreme and indiscriminate violence as there is no organization or sponsor to protect. Combs (2018:4) explain their motivations as cases, "where attacks are used as "an instrument of state policy directed against autocratic as well as democratic regimes, although political democracies have been the most frequent targets". The increasingly transnational nature of terrorism increases the likelihood that terrorist networks and groups are being associated with international organized crime (Hirschmann 2000:301; Jenkins 2006:120). Furthermore, these terrorist organizations are thus self-funded, mainly through other illegal sources such as drug trafficking, video piracy and credit card fraud, but also by means of legal business investments, donations, charities and various diaspora (Spencer 2006:11).

The lack of financial support also does not affect terrorist organizations as much as they rely more on the network of supporters and information from the internet rather than training or logistical support from sponsors (Spencer 2006:11). When terrorists cannot rely on direct state sponsorship, they may become less accountable and harder to track. States must conceal their involvement by exercising less control and thus maintain less-comprehensive intelligence of radical terrorist organizations, which is further exacerbated by the method of funding, which often has no measures for accountability (Morgan 2004:37).

2.6.4. *Indiscriminate and Unconventional Choice of Weapon Use*

New terrorists predominantly use the same weaponry as the *old* terrorists and continue to select symbolic targets such as powerful individuals and important structures, such as 9/11 where the WTC was hit with multiple planes. The increased lethality and destructiveness of terrorism can also be explained not only by a gradual increase in the effectiveness of the means in the modern period, “but more importantly by the inherent necessity in terrorist actions to strike harder to reach the same effect” (Duyvenstein 2004:449). Unlike traditional weapon use, the scope of technological developments enabled terrorists to conduct attacks from a greater distance from their targets, sparing their lives to witness progress of the organizations' agenda and achieving their objective of instilling great fear.

The threat of mass destruction by terrorists is a fundamental part of the concept of *new* terrorism, serving as motivation to use highly destructive weapons and terrorists' willingness to use violence to persuade and coerce others to follow their agenda (Dyson 2012: 9). These indiscriminate weapons include the use of high-level bombing capacities, ‘dirty bombs’, weapons of mass destruction and nuclear weapons (UNODC 2018:4). Unconventional tactics used by *new* terrorists include a combination of newer forms of terrorism such as nuclear terrorism, high-tech terrorism (including cyber-attacks), ecological terrorism, and terrorist attacks aiming at destroying cultural heritage (UNODC 2018:9). Garrison (2003:41) describes these instances as falling under the category of weapons of mass disruption, causing social, political and/or economic disruption to society. They are less constrained by strategic and political considerations, unlike traditional terrorists. Radical religious belief systems dominate, isolating *new* terrorists from a wider social movement and they become less concerned with public opinion. There is greater potential to use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons in order to achieve their extreme objectives.

Jenkins (2006:118) explain how traditional terrorists were limited not only by the access to weapons, but also ethical self-constraint, however Spencer (2006:11) warns that with the evolution towards *new* terrorism, that “many of the constraints (both self-imposed and technical), which previously inhibited terrorists use of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) are eroding”.

Even though *new* terrorism still makes use of so-called traditional weapons, new forms of innovation and technologies have enriched it. However, there is no clear distinction between the new types of terrorists the use of new weapons and tactics. Both groups of terrorists, traditional and new, make use of tools and weapons depending on the effects they want to achieve as part of their overall communication strategy. Eventually, the scope of weapons and availability thereof increased, leading to both traditional and new terrorists using a mix of traditional and new means in combination with each other.

Unconventional methods are mainly employed in order to reach their goals and to gain notoriety. Instead of solely focusing on the use of conventional, military force and weapons, *new* terrorism has manifested in unconventional ways. Some examples include the activities of Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda network of international terrorism (Spencer 2006:24); the use of poison gas at a Tokyo subway system, killing a total of twelve people and making thousands of people ill by the Japanese religious cult Aum Shinrikyo on a Tokyo subway in 1995 (Combs 2018:382; Nacos 2016:28); and the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in the United States by American Right-wing militants (Wu 2015:282).

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the possibility of proliferation of nuclear weapons to non-state users is the primary factor that has significantly increased the danger of nuclear terrorism (Morgan 2004:39). However, non-nuclear weapons of mass destruction and information technology also have created opportunities for terrorists that are in many ways more threatening than radiological terrorism because these alternatives are more probable.

Additionally, the central control has been lost over all kinds of weaponry, not only nuclear material but also chemical and biological components. This raises the question of the use of WMD constitute a trend, as the sarin gas attack in Tokyo and the anthrax letters sent in the aftermath of 11 September 2001 in the United States-both of which were strongly indicated to have mainly national sources- no other examples of the use of these weapons have been recorded (Duyvenstein 2004:448). This does not mean that they should not be expected in the future.

The willingness to use extreme weapons could stem from the shift in willingness by terrorists to compromise and negotiate. Field (2009:197) state that "*new* terrorists now have amorphous objectives that are absolutist and irreconcilable". They cannot be satisfied by the limited sense of political change or the partial accommodation of their demands. But what is the possibility of the use of non-conventional weapons? The threat itself may not be imminent, however still exists. Garrison (2003:41) suggests a method for reviewing terrorism involving the categorization of terrorism weapons into three methods of attack, namely "weapons of mass destruction, weapons of mass casualty and weapons of mass disruption". Furthermore, the author includes additional examples such as the destruction of bridges, dams, water treatment pans, computer systems and

any other structure. In addition, the willingness of organizations to employ other forms of weapons in addition to WMD, such as biological⁵, chemical⁶ or nuclear weapons of mass destruction create mass hysteria and fear (Morgan 2004: 40; Dyson 2012:9; Jäckle & Baumann 2017:876). These weapons employed can now be sophisticatedly concealed in unassuming devices and easily detonated remotely. Although the threat of nuclear terrorism exists, Zwane (2018:73) suggests “the various financial, technical, logistical and military complications make it extremely unlikely for any terrorist organization to successfully manufacture and launch a full-blown nuclear weapon to yield the after effects of nuclear panic and terror”. Most likely, these terrorist groups would make use of a dirty bomb, created by the trafficking of equipment such as radioactive uranium. The Aum Shinrikyo attack in 1995 turned out to be the only cases of concrete chemical terrorism, and fortunately did not have any imitators.

2.6.5. Organizational structure of New Terrorism

Comas, Shrivastava & Martin (2015:49) argues that organization theory is an appropriate tool for analysing terrorism forms and activities. The authors also highlight three main forms in which terrorist groups may be assembled: organizations (an illicit, clandestine organization that generally consists of planners, trainers, and actual bombers/ killers), which are goal directed, and rationally managed; networks of connected actors capable of self-organizing; or social movements wherein a diffuse sense of grievances aligns organizations and individuals. It is important to note that these forms are also not exclusive; they adapt, restructure and change to remain viable within specific areas of operation. For the sake of conceptual clarity, Shapiro (2005:12) suggests a four-level scale describing how hierarchical an organization is, where hierarchical organizations are centralized and non-hierarchical are decentralized. A centralized organization has the centre directly control operations and resources, but a centralization organization is in fact centralized when the centre controls resources, delegates operations, monitors or withholds resources and delegates resource procurements. On the other end, when an organization is de facto decentralized, the centre controls resources and delegates operations but does not have the ability to monitor operations. An organization is decentralized when the centre provides only ideological guidance and cells come up with their own funding or coordinate among themselves regarding operations and resources. The below section will focus on the shift from the traditional hierarchical structure, to a more decentralized organization.

New terrorist leadership is derived from a “set of principles that can set boundaries and provide guidelines for decisions and actions so that members do not have to resort to a hierarchy” (Morgan

⁵ Manifests in a variety of forms including viruses, bacteria, and rickettsia

⁶ These include choking agents that damage lung tissue, blood agents that cause vital organs to shut down, blister agents (also known as vesicants) that damage the skin, and—most lethal—nerve agents

2004:38-39). One characteristic distinguishing old terrorism from the *new* terrorism is its networked structure, as "the information revolution, lowers the cost of communication and allows organizations to push functions outside a controlling, hierarchical structure" (Tucker 2001:1). In this case, terrorist organizations are essentially flattening out the hierarchy of authority and control to be nimble and loosely bound, and approach a new networked, decentralized form of autonomous, dispersed entities who are linked by advanced communications. Furthermore, Fields (2009:198) explains the organization of *new* terrorist groups: "they are arranged in a horizontal structure of organization and coordination where individual members of the organization have fairly equal levels of authority, forming much looser networks", corroborated by Duyvenstein (204:443).

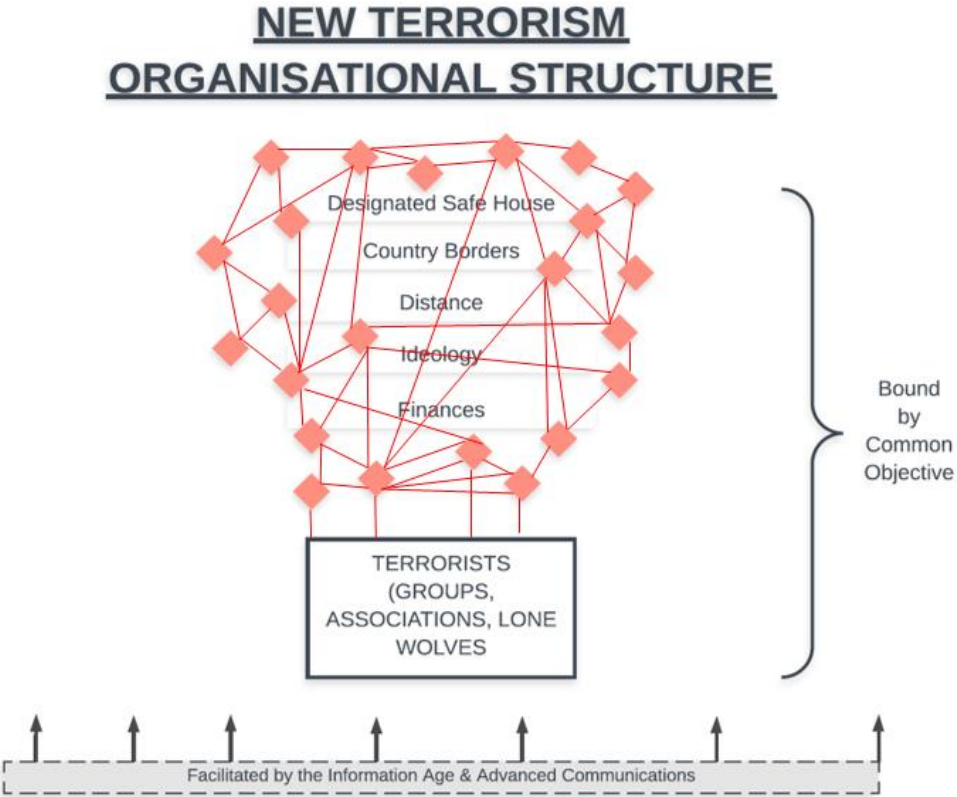


Figure 2: Organizational of New terrorist groups. Adapted from Zanini & Edwards (2001)

Traditionally, terrorist groups were often comprised of groups consisting of smaller numbers, and their operations were directed against a relatively narrow set of targets (Jäckle & Baumann 2017:875). Structurally, they were organized hierarchically. Attacks were selective and targeted, and the subsequent threat they caused was limited in consequences and in its effects (Hirschmann 2000:301). These groups operated out of established safe houses/ sanctuaries, and their areas of operation are deemed predictable, as the main guiding principle of these organizations is survival. In order to achieve this, these organizations "depended on maintaining a secret membership and operational security, preventing infiltration, punishing betrayal and

limiting damage" (Jenkins 2006: 123). *New terrorism*, however, operates based on horizontal, decentralized networks (Jäckle & Baumann 2017:876). They are now operating on an international level, as opposed to being domestically confined, and transnational migrant and digital communities are the basis of worldwide terrorist networks. Jenkins (2006:123) explains this through Al-Qaeda that positions themselves based on an international business model which is characteristic of *new* terrorist organizations. Furthermore, the author describes the nature of new organizational structures as "hierarchical, but not pyramidal, loosely run, decentralized but linked, able to assemble and allocate resources and coordinate operations, but hard to depict organizationally or penetrate". As decentralized organizations are designed to operate without central leadership, Kilberg and Rowland (2011:3) explain how this leadership has less control over strategic and operational details, making the 'kingpin strategy' technically ineffective, and making detection and eradication of the threat increasingly difficult.

Furthermore, there are individuals carrying out terrorist attacks, and it might be for a greater cause, but does not seem to be affiliated with any specific group. These are called lone wolf terrorist attacks and are carried out by "someone who commits violent acts in support of some group, movement, or ideology, but who does so alone, outside of any command structure and without material assistance from any group." (Combs 2018:15). This concept will be discussed under a later section.

2.6.6. *Terror Networks and Cell Operations*

The importance of having an improved understanding of terrorist organizations lies in an assessment of their tasks, which may include intelligence cells (these conduct surveillance, select targets and gather information), logistical cells (these secure financial sources, passports, creation of false identification and safe houses), and tactical/operational cells (suppliers of manpower for operations, those carrying out the operations). *Old* and *new* terrorists have similar aims, but adapt to their changing context, leading to different modus operandi. Dispersed members are connected through supporting a common objective and facilitate the provision of international support in the form of networks of individuals or loosely bound groups or affiliations (Comas, Shrivastava & Martin 2015:49). The terrorists carrying out the *new* terrorist acts operate transnationally, displaying their global reach (Field 2009:198). The rise of networked arrangements in terrorist organizations is part of a wider move away from formally organized, state-sponsored groups to privately financed, loose networks of individuals and subgroups that may have strategic guidance but that, nonetheless, enjoy tactical independence. Larger terrorist organizations are operating through means of functional specialization, "with individuals devoted to recruiting, training, intelligence, reconnaissance, planning, logistics, finance propaganda and

social services" (Jenkins 2006: 123). Shapiro (2005:13) explains how the IRA were highly specialized as their training focused on specific tasks such as armed robbery, bombings, logistical operations or intelligence, like in the Islamic State. Notably, Al Qaeda who, during the 1990's, brought in individuals to provide specific skills, but were not regular members of the cells who conducted the attacks. This abovementioned classification hinges on the identification of those in control of the resources and operations, which is the foundation for network operations.

Networked organizations share three basic sets of features. First, communication and coordination are not formally specified by horizontal and vertical reporting relationships, but rather emerge and change according to the task. Similarly, relationships are often informal and marked by varying degrees of intensity, depending on the needs of the organization. Second, internal networks are usually complemented by linkages to individuals outside the organization, often spanning national boundaries. Like internal connections, external relationships are formed and wind down according to the life cycle of joint projects. Third, both internal and external ties are enabled not by bureaucratic feat, but rather by shared norms and values, as well as by reciprocal trust. Internally, the bulk of the work is conducted by self-managing teams, while external linkages compose "a constellation involving a complex network of contributing firms or groups (Zanini & Edwards 2001: 30-31).

These *new* terrorists are not bound by national ties or sentiments but are loosely organized in the form of networks and with their own channels of finance. Suitably, within the transnational nature of terrorism, they are bound by "ideologies that help members of far flung groups coordinate actions" (Stohl 2016:92). This contrasts with traditional terrorism, which is characterized by a purely national and territorial focus and a hierarchical organization. An example includes the territorial aspects of the Al Qaeda organization and Osama bin Laden's wider group of supporters, as the main aim of bin Laden and his fighters is the establishment of a Caliphate that stretches at least from North Africa to Southeast Asia. Subsequently, this territorial aim overlaps with the present settlement of the community of believers called the Umma (Duyvenstein 2004:445). Furthermore, they are concerned with the occupation by the United States of the holiest places of Islam. American troops have since the end of the Second Gulf War been stationed in Saudi Arabia, the land of Mecca and Medina. The fighters have a grudge against the regimes that have allowed a poor government to develop, among others the Saudi Arabian rulers and the Egyptian regime.

The use of loosely bound networks shares some benefits for terrorist groups. New technologies have greatly reduced transmission time, enabling dispersed organizational actors to communicate and coordinate their tasks. This phenomenon is not new—in the early 20th century, the introduction of the telephone made it possible for large corporations to decentralize their

operations through local branches. Second, new technologies have significantly reduced the cost of communication, allowing information-intensive organizational designs such as networks to become viable, and third, new technologies have substantially increased the scope and complexity of the information that can be shared through the integration of computing with communications (Comas, Shrivastava & Martin 2015:49). Such innovations as tele- and computer conferencing, groupware, Internet chat, and websites allow participants to have “horizontal” and rich exchanges without requiring them to be in close proximity (Zanini & Edwards 2001:35-36). Furthermore, these networked technologies enable terrorists to maintain secrecy. To the benefit of terrorist groups, cell operations provide a means to share information and resources, however to government officials and counterterrorism measures can greatly succeed if members who are captured share vast information about their networks and connections.

These abovementioned factors have contributed to the development and maintenance of terror networks and cell operations, in addition to the forms of a social movement and formal organization. They have a degree of shared capacity and specialization within these networks, as they often deploy critical resources, including people, finances and information (Comas, Shrivastava & Martin 2015:49). To successfully carry out a terrorist attack or campaign requires a host of activities including fundraising, procuring weapons, collecting intelligence, recruiting members, engaging in publicity and media relations, training, weapons, building bombs and maintaining and enforcing security (Shapiro 2005:13). These activities work most effectively in combination with each other, such coordination requires a great deal of information sharing. By using the common strategy of networked technologies, the flows of resources are often bidirectional as typically, information, coordination and propaganda flows up from the terrorist group as resources flow in. The loose-bound structure adapts according to the requirements of their tasks.

It can thus be argued in the light of the presence of earlier network structures, the transnational nature, and territorial and national concerns of both the old and the *new* terrorists whether there is not more continuity than change. Overall, terrorism has transformed from a sub- national tool for political change towards the use of methods invariably and inescapably transcends national boundaries.

2.6.7. Improved Technology, Communication and Broadcasting

Technological advances of the 20th century laid the foundation for effective and fast communication today, essentially breaking down physical borders. These technological advances are enabling smaller groups of individuals to conduct extreme and lethal attacks, and to communicate with their members, sympathizers and- in an attempt to achieve their ultimate

objective- get the attention of the worldwide audience. Furthermore, this technology provides both assistance to the terrorists and an opportunity for targeting as industrialized societies place greater reliance on information infrastructures (Morgan 2004:40). Terrorists will likely avoid dismantling the internet because they need the technology for their own communication and propaganda activities. Accordingly, terrorists may be more interested in “systemic disruption” rather than the destruction of information networks. Devices are now so compact that it is easily transported and contains all the functionalities necessary to stay in constant communication on various platforms. Terrorists can now spread their messages and philosophies widely and with relatively little trouble and spread content to induce widespread fear. As an example, Dyson (2012:7) explains how people around the world witnessed the aftermath of the violent attacks on New York's World Trade Center in 1993, and the Murrah Federal Building in 1995 in Oklahoma City, well before emergency services arrived at the scene. Kellner (2006: 41) explain how these media spectacles were intended to "terrorize the United States, to attack symbolic targets with material effects, and to undermine the US and the global economy". Terrorists thrive on publicity, which was seen during the 9/11 attacks when the first of two planes hit the WTC complex, and a third hitting the Pentagon. This prompted the global audience to tune in and witness the second plane hit the towers, and the terrorists achieving maximum exposure as normal television broadcasting was disrupted. These media spectacles have been orchestrated in a manner to gain worldwide attention, dramatize issues and eventually, to achieve their own political objectives.

The information age is affecting not only the types of targets and weapons terrorists choose, but the ways in which such groups operate and structure their organizations. Several of the most dangerous terrorist organizations are using information technology such as computers, software, telecommunication devices, and the Internet to better organize and coordinate dispersed activities. They are “disaggregating” from hierarchical bureaucracies and moving to flatter, more decentralized, and often changing webs of groups united by a common goal.

The psychological effect of terrorism is amplified through the *new* terrorism, even more so with the use of extensive and widespread media. Garrison (2003:41) explains that "terrorist violence is a means to an end because the violence is less important than the result of the violence". The result the author refers to, is instilling fear into the audiences, psychologically affecting them. An important goal of terrorists is for mass audience to pay attention to the message being conveyed, and to undergo a sense of terror, panic and fear as a result of the attack (UNODC 2018:12). Viewers should feel an amplified terror through a process of identification with the victim.

Cyberterrorism is an emerging type of *new* terrorism simultaneously developing and growing along with the information age. Hirschmann (2000:308) distinguished between two classes of disruptive activities: Ordinary Hacking- operations against target internet sites with the intention

to cause disruption; and Cyberterrorism- the convergence of cyberspace and terrorism, covering politically motivated hacking operations intended to cause grave harm or severe economic damage. The latter refers to the premeditated, politically motivated attack against information, computer systems and programs as well as data, resulting in violence against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or covert agents. Cyberterrorists use the internet to conduct their activities as it can be done remotely and anonymously, and it would not require a suicide mission, resulting in extensive media coverage.

2.6.8. Ease of Travel and Transnational Nature

The ability to travel freely, quickly and easily is of great importance to terrorists. Globalization is not a direct cause of terrorism, but it is indeed a prominent facilitator of it. The scope of targets is much wider and to strike them is much more attainable in the age of globalization, as terrorists can reach their targets more easily, their targets are exposed in more places, and news and ideas that inflame people to resort to terrorism spread more widely and rapidly than in the past” (Morgan 2004:38). Among the factors that contribute to this are the easing of border controls and the development of globe-circling infrastructures, which support recruitment, fund-raising, movement of materiel, and other logistical functions. Technological developments have contributed towards advances relating to the ease of water travel, and the development of high-speed vehicles. Furthermore, the development of air transport is seen as one of the greatest technological advancement, linking people from different countries in less than a day.

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 redefined the traditional conception and perception of terrorism and it was the standard of severity (Nacos 2016:26). It was a formative event where the attack was planned domestically and carried out internationally. Increasing globalization offers increased opportunities for groups to attack across greater distances against any external actors they perceive as enemies (Lutz & Lutz 2015:28). Furthermore, technological developments useful in our daily lives became helpful to terrorists in a variety of ways. One of which is the use and development of the personal computer, enabling global, rapid and inexpensive communication (Dyson 2012:8). Access to the internet has increased along with the development of personal computing systems and devices. Terrorists can now easily gain extensive knowledge that is available from the open source, deep web and the dark web. Modern terrorist organizations that make use of functional specialization, dedicate those with interests or skills to create and craft bombs to acquiring sources to construct them (Dyson 2012:8). Another way in which terrorists exploit the use of technology(ies), is through cyber terrorism, which is crucial since most of the world's finance, social and governmental systems are housed within smart ICT systems. This enables terrorists to generate great fear by promulgating messages of propaganda or false

messages, feeding through systems. Furthermore, the computer itself can be used as a weapon, as they have become integral to the management and control of systems so that certain activities can occur at a specific time (Dyson 2012:8). With the ability to control it, there is the chance that the program or system could be misdirected or mismanaged that function.

Lutz & Lutz (2015:27), Tena (2017:123) and Combs (2018:53) provide a comprehensive overview of the impact of globalization on terrorism. With the aid of the information age, these vast networks are kept connected through constant communication through regularly distributed manuals to exert influence and instruct those who would like to join terrorist organizations. This can be seen in the concept of 'Leaderless Resistance', "in which self-proclaimed combatants are linked by common beliefs and goals and wage a common terrorist war but operate autonomously" (Jenkins 2006:123). Additionally, Dyson (2012: 34) explains that through employing leaderless resistance, a small group of terrorists undertakes violent action entirely on its own, without the direction or knowledge of anyone else in the movement. The attack on the Murrah Federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995 would fall within this category after Timothy McVeigh conducted the bombing against the United States government to avenge the siege in 1993 of the Branch Davidians compound in Waco, Texas, leaving 75 people dead. McVeigh was struck by the contrast between the violence he was instructed to inflict on targeted of war and the humanity of the Iraqi people he encountered, thus creating a link between the violence he inflicted and the violence he believed his government inflicted on members of the Branch Davidians (Paracini 2001: 392).

Field (2009:198) asserts that *new* terrorists now have expansive global aims with the aim of changing the entire international system". Essentially, these goals include a complete global revolution and the emergence of a new religious order, satisfying their aspirations. This aspect is important especially since *new* terrorism is more a threat to individual states and represents a challenge to the international system (Field 2009:198). This further facilitates the fact that the threat of terrorism has now shifted from being solely a domestic threat to being an international threat to the global community.

Using the Internet for communication can increase speed of mobilization and allow more dialogue between members, which enhances the organization's flexibility, since tactics can be adjusted more frequently. Individuals with a common agenda and goals can form subgroups, meet at a target location, conduct terrorist operations, and then readily terminate their relationships and disperse (Zanini & Edwards 2001:36).

2.6.9. *Religious motivation*

Spencer (2006:9) notes that traditionally, terrorism was primarily secular in its orientation and inspiration, whereas *new* terrorism linked to religious fanaticism is on the increase. For the sake of clarity, a distinction should be made between religiously motivated terrorism and Islamic fanaticism. Islamic fanaticism as a subcategory of religious terrorism, but is distinguished by its murderous and irrational nature, no possibility of negotiation, compromise or appeasement; instead eradication, deterrence and forceful attacks reasonable responses. As opposed to 'traditional' terrorists, *new* terrorists are "said to be motivated by religious prophecy or divine inspiration" (Fields 2009:197). Many terrorists use extreme interpretations of religious texts to inspire, justify and legitimize terrorist acts. Essentially, these *new* terrorists are motivated by what they perceive to be religious imperatives or sacred duties, rather than a rational, secular political program. Combs (2015:23) explained how modern terrorism and its manifestations have been a reaction to globalization, as it is a contributor of conflict by introducing symbols of modernity. This has often been the targets for attacks. Richardson (2006:4) further explains Wilkinson's thesis by stating "the spread of western culture and the need to adapt to take advantage of the benefits of globalization, and it provokes political and cultural resistance and an emphasis on differences". This type of religious terrorism, defined as "a desire to impose religion- based norms of conduct, but also apocalyptic fanaticism", manifested in the 1995 Aum Shinrikyo attack (Hirschmann 2000:299). Dean, Bell & Newman (2012:109) elaborates on the changing aims of terrorists and that "fanaticism rather than political interest is more often the motivation leading terrorists to being more unrestrained than ever before in their methods". During the latter half of the 21st century, terrorists became radicalized through exposure of a foreign extremist ideology, often through means of the internet. Religious fanaticism indicates the willingness of participants to give up their lives in order to enter a desirable afterlife (Dyson 2012:12-13). This prompts the occurrence of suicide attacks, mainly being motivated by religion and politics, as well as with the promise of ending up in paradise after the ultimate sacrifice. Extremists consist of those believing that an Islamic world can come about through converting the infidel, as well as those who support the use of force to remove the infidel from the world (Garrison 2003:48). Essentially, the goal is to remove Western cultural, social, political and religious influences from the Middle East and reintroduce Islamic Law throughout the Arab world.

2.6.10. *The Single-Issue Terrorists*

Countries must be aware of their increased vulnerabilities, as the environmental conditions for terrorists have changed. Living in the information age, people receive and retrieve information rapidly; developments in information technology enables terrorists to obtain weapon related

knowledge, leading to the creation sophisticated weaponry; social islands have been created for those feeling marginalized; the sensitivity for ethical and environmental matters have grown; and terrorism can now more than ever be effectively combined with organized crime. All these elements have contributed to the development of a new type of terrorist: The Single-Issue Terrorist (SIT).

Hirschmann (2000:299) defines SIT as “extremist militancy of groups or individuals protesting a perceived grievance or wrong usually attributed to governmental action or inaction”. The willingness of some single-issue groups to use violence in the pursuit of their cause constitutes not only a departure from previous on-violent forms of protest but also, more importantly, a distinct phenomenon within terrorism that is unique and deserves attention (Monaghan 2010:255). The single- issue or special interest terrorist is willing to employ extreme violence to bring attention to a single, specific issue and they want it addressed immediately (Dyson 2012:12). Both Hirschmann (2000:302) and Doosje et al (2016:80) explain how Single Issue Terrorists, also known as Single Issue Groups, is classified as a new type of terrorism, as they consist of “groups focusing on one particular topic rather than an extensive ideology”, both using the examples of the environment, abortion, and animal rights. Due to the unexpected and sporadic nature of single- issue terrorists, they pose one of the biggest threats to national governments, as it would be difficult to plan and prevent it. These single issues include topics regarding the environment, abortion, and animal rights. Examples of incidents relating to these topics include letter bombs sent to a think-tank supporting the fur industry and genetics laboratory in Canada in 1995, a publication in the USA titled ‘A Declaration of War’ advocating for violence to stop environmental abuses in 1994, and multiple sniper incidents in Canada in 1994, 1995 and 1997 against abortion (Hirschmann 2000:302; Dyson 2012:28).

2.6.11. Lone Wolf Terrorism

As stated previously, lone wolf terrorists, also known as lone wolf actors, carry out violent terrorist acts in support of a group, movement or ideology, but conduct those attacks without any assistance from said group, but acts out of strong ideological or religious conviction, carefully plans their actions, and may successfully hide their intentions from others. An additional definition provided by Hamm & Spaaij (2017:5) state that “lone wolf terrorism refers to terrorist actions carried out by lone individuals, as opposed to those carried out on the part of terrorist organizations or state bodies”. Furthermore, lone wolf is solitary by nature and prefers to act entirely alone, although violent media images, incendiary books, manifestos, and fatwas may spur their radicalization to action. It is not a new phenomenon, but it could be a re-emerging and posing an increasing threat domestically as well as globally. A simultaneous and equally evolving threat

to national security is the difficulty to predict or to gather intelligence on. Spaaij (2012:102) offers an important stipulation that even though the phenomenon of lone wolf terrorism is on the increase, the attackers are not becoming increasingly violent or effective, as the scale of the increase has been tempered. Nevertheless, the threat remains to be a concern.

The act of defining lone wolf terrorism shares a similar challenge as defining the concept of terrorism; there is no universal and consistent definition. As a departure point, Pantucci, Ellis & Chaplais (2015:3) explain four main elements to describe lone wolf terrorists as someone who “(a) operate individually, (b) do not belong to an organized group or network; and (c) whose modus operandi are conceived and directed by the individual without any direct outside command or hierarchy”. Other consistent elements include a lack of direction from a wider terrorist group, an absence of clear command and control (Spaaij 2012:14). This separates lone wolf terrorists from networked terrorist groups and organisations. It is important to differentiate between ‘solo terrorists’- those who attack alone for operational reasons under the direction and instructions of a terrorist group. Furthermore, an additional challenge is compiling a profile for lone wolf terrorists, making prediction more difficult along with prevention and maintaining a threat to any society.

Pantucci, Ellis & Chaplais (2015:11) attribute the role of the internet to the acceleration in the emergence of the phenomenon. On the other hand, it could also be a tool to detect them. Essentially, lone wolf terrorists make use of the internet, as it is an effective tool to disseminate ideological material and content, which could also be spread to people around the world within seconds. This also could be how these lone wolf actors became vulnerable to radicalization, offering a means of training to the lone wolf terrorists. The rapid emergence of Daesh where members and supporters have used social media sites, especially Twitter, have effectively been used to spread their ideology as the internet facilitates communication. Hamm & Spaaij (2017:2) explain how it is more plausible that ISIS would be the inspiration for the lone wolf, as they are very sophisticated in their capabilities through their videos, social media and their magazines.

The tactics of lone wolf actors consistently include the use of bombings, knives, guns and other simple forms of weaponry, and in terms of the attacks, they occur sporadically, haphazardly and rapidly, with proper and thorough planning (Pantucci, Ellis & Chaplais 2015:14).

2.6.12. The Increased Interest in Recruiting Women

The increased interest in female terrorists is widespread since they are breaking gendered assumptions of terrorist identities. Furthermore, their presence is largely overemphasized and sensationalized due to their rarity. The concept of terrorism, especially against a soft target, is shocking enough to most liberal audiences. However, the use of women and children in terrorist

attacks exacerbates the already potent psychological effect of suicide terrorism (Von Knop 2007:398). Attacks carried out by women are mainly successful due to their unsuspecting nature. Such was the case in 2005 when a Belgium- born woman who converted to Islam named Muriel Degauque entered an Iraqi police patrol and detonated a bomb, killing five people (Jacques & Taylor 2013:35). This complicates counterterrorism measures as the gender as well socio-economic profile of a terrorist shifted. Degauque was European, educated and well-mannered, coming from a supportive family and community. Berko (2012:109) explain, “when women set out to perform an act of terror, they shed their usual modest garb and can often be seen wearing cut-off tank tops, tight pants and heavy makeup to look more ‘Western’”. The typical profile of a female suicide bomber, according to Berko (2012:110), is within a traditional society of whom some act within that society has resulted in her sexual oppression, making her incapable of expressing herself. The alternative is that of a European woman who has converted to Islam pursuant to marriage with a Muslim immigrant or descendant. In this sense, the exercising of a terrorist attack affords her a form of self-expression and furthers the bigger cause of gaining widespread attention. It also encourages men to take further action as the inclusion of women underlines the power of grievances within the society that uses them. In Latin America, women play a prominent role in numerous terrorist organizations, often spurring revolutionary change (Rae 2012:65).

In some cases of modern terrorism, “women have sometimes been the leaders and intellectual drivers, as with the United States based group Weather Underground, The Red Brigades of Italy and Germany’s Baader-Meinhof group” (Matusitz 2013: 22). Women acted as more conventional terrorists; in the IRA and the Red Army Faction (RAF) of Germany women became famous for conducting bombing operations on British targets (Spencer 2016:76). Presently, women are holding a variety of roles within terrorist organizations, which may require less physical ability than regular criminal acts, and tactically, women are more valuable as they can approach targets without experiencing the same degree of scrutiny.

Conceptually, women who have conducted terrorist attacks undermine the idea of what a terrorist is (Von Knop 2007:398). Despite women having a small role in the survival of terrorist organizations, it is generally not acknowledged and realized until they take part in the actual attack. The role of women is often perceived by the world audience as being responsible for providing support and operational facilitator, and not at the actual forefront of conducting attacks. In addition to personal reasons for conducting terrorist attacks, they are also more motivated to engage in political violence.

Despite female terrorists emerging and coming to the fore in modern times, in Islamist extremist organizations, the responsibilities of women traditionally were to provide moral and logistics support (Spencer 2016:77). Women are the principal actors in the vertical transmission of family

values and morals, and their participation in this value chain consists of being a wife, mother, recruiter, teacher, translator, organizer and fund-raiser. In addition, they are required to pass on family traditions and systematically restructure and recycle cultural traits to future generations. In modern times, women's' responsibilities have become more diverse, taking part in the execution of suicide missions. In 2003, Hanadi Jaradat entered the Maxim Restaurant located in the Israeli city of Haifa, and detonated explosives she was hiding under her shirt, killing 21 people and injured more than 50 others (Alakoc 2018:1). As with Degauque, Jaradat was an apprentice lawyer, and at the time of the attack, wearing a shirt, jeans, appearing wholly unsuspecting. She was dispatched by the Islamic Jihad Movement and following the bombing, she was praised for her loyalty to her homeland. These attacks reinforce the fact that female suicide terrorism is no longer a new or unthinkable phenomenon.

2.7. CONCLUSION

Technological advances contributing to improved transportation, communications and weapons have enabled the development of more sophisticated profile of a terrorist who can instil widespread fear and causing tragedies against their victims and fleeing before apprehension. Now, more than ever, it is possible for a small group of individuals to create a disaster, especially with the use of modern weapons. Modern communication systems facilitate acquiring knowledge on weapons and weapons construction. Modern transportation systems and networks enable them to escape easily and transport their weapons. *New* terrorism allows the traditional terrorist to thrive in achieving their objectives. Furthermore, these advances allowed to a new, unknown type of terrorist to develop in addition to the qualities identified in this chapter, the single-issue terrorist. These above discussed characteristics outline the similarities and differences between *old* and *new* terrorism, illustrating the evolution from the former to the latter. The following chapter will illustrate these *new* terrorism characteristics in light of global manifestations.

CHAPTER 3: GLOBAL MANIFESTATIONS OF NEW TERRORISM

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Terrorist incidents have been occurring globally, posing severe security threats as it has resulted in death, destruction and instability (Ramdeen 2017). There is no doubt that terrorism is now, more than ever, a major feature in the international political system in the 21st century. A common perception looms that most terrorists share the pursuit to create states promoting Sharia law, devoid of any Western ideologies and influences and that terrorist attacks coincide with the countries that are predominantly Muslim. However, it has not been a constant motivating factor.

Since the end of the Cold War, the nature of global security threats has changed substantially. Incidents of terrorism has been on the increase, driven in some cases by substantial but highly unequal economic growth, unfinished democratization processes that are often linked with weak state capacity and poor governance; and various demographic factors, including strong population growth, rapid urbanization, and an increasing division of economically and socially deprived youth (Von Soest & De Juan 2018). Furthermore, the highly genocidal and destructive nature is characteristic of the *new* form of terrorism, evolving with modernity and influences of globalisation. It has brought the involvement of the latest technologies, exploited by global terrorists, facilitating an increase in cooperation and interaction between actors.

Control Risks⁷ (2018:1) explain that even though manifestations of terrorist attacks mainly occur in the Middle Eastern and North African region (MENA), it has decreased, with manifestations in the Asia Pacific, Africa and European Union (EU) regions being on an upward trend. Chapter 2 outlined a brief history of terrorism as it should be studied in the context thereof, demonstrating the deeply implanted nature of modern terrorism in modern culture during the last two centuries, and suggests how and why its face changes.

3.2. THE EMERGENCE OF NEW TERRORISM

The Global Terrorism Index⁸ (2018) provides a broad, global outlook on the trends and manifestations of terrorism by listing the ten countries most affected by terrorism according to

⁷ Control Risks is a global specialist risk consultancy organization.

⁸The Global Terrorism Index (GTI) is an annual report published by the Institute for Economics and Peace providing an overview and trends of terrorism since 2000. It is based on data from the Global Terrorism Database. As there is no single, universally accepted definition of terrorism, the GTI defines terrorism as “the threatened

fatalities. Of the 10 listed countries, six of those are located in the MENA region, one in West Africa, one in East Africa, and the remaining two in Asia. Despite the significant decrease in deaths from 2016 and 2017, Iraq remains the country most affected by terrorism since 2014. Three African countries (Egypt, Nigeria and Somalia) have made the list. In Nigeria, Boko Haram and the Fulani extremists dominate terrorist activity in the country. In addition to an increase in using both armed assaults and bombings during terrorist activities, Boko Haram became notorious for using female and child suicide bombers (Global Terrorism Index 2018: 21). The Borno state region is where Boko Haram had settled and most terrorist activities and deaths resulting from them occurred within this region. The transnational nature of terrorism is evident here as the group is also active in neighbouring Chad, Cameroon, and Niger. The Philippines, the only Southeast Asian country on the list, recorded an increase in terrorist attacks. The communist New People's Army (NPA) was responsible for most terrorist attacks in the Philippines and was mainly directed at government officials and military targets. Abu Sayyaf is the ISIL branch operating in the Philippines and Malaysia. The following chapter will illustrate the application of the concepts and analytical framework outlined in Chapter 2 by exploring trends in global manifestations of terrorist attacks by region, the perception of 9/11 as the beginning of new terrorism, and various attacks that exhibit the characteristics of *new* terrorism.

3.2.1. *Indiscriminate Attacks and Victimization*

Contemporary terrorism is now characterized by an increasing frequency and magnitude of indiscriminate violence, demonstrating preparedness to tolerate greater levels of collateral damage in efforts to generate mass levels of casualties. Spencer (2006:9) explains the character of *new* terrorists as "aiming not at clearly defined political demands but rather at the destruction of society and the elimination of large sections of the population". Various terrorist attacks illustrate this changing nature of terrorist attacks, especially indiscriminate victimization where victims are not necessarily chosen based on specific characteristics, but are victims by chance, as outlined in Chapter 2.

The trend of 'vehicular terrorism' has emerged, arguably due to its easily and readily accessibility. This was seen when 86 people were killed during a vehicle-ramming attack by Tunisian-born Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel, an alleged IS follower. Lahouaiej-Bouhlel displayed premeditation when hired a lorry and deliberately drove into a group of people gathering on Nice's *Promenade des Anglais* in France, watching a firework display in celebration of the highly symbolic Bastille day (BBC News 2016). In the New York, United States, a truck took a sharp turn on a crowded

or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation".

bike path and driving into them, killing eight people on 31 October 2017. The driver, an ISIS-inspired Uzbek-born American resident Sayfullo Saipov, then exited the vehicle, wielding two pistols, which were a paintball gun and a pellet gun, seen as an invitation to be shot, illustrating that it could have been intended to be a suicide attack (Mueller, Rashbaum and Baker 2017).

In another incident of indiscriminate victimization was demonstrated when 92 people were killed at a government building and a nearby summer camp on the island of Utøya in Oslo, Norway, by Anders Behring Breivik, who was dressed up in a police uniform gain access to carry out his attacks (Beaumont 2011). At the government buildings, two bombs were detonated before Breivik moved on to the summer camp, which was organized by the governing Labour Party. Officials found undetonated bombs on the premises, indicating his willingness to cause widespread damage. This attack shows his targeting of the Labour Party, however indiscriminately targeted those attending the summer camp (Mala & Goodman 2001).

3.2.2. *Increased Brutalization*

As stated in Chapter 2, increased brutalization contributes to terrorists' main goal of gaining widespread attention and publicity. In most cases, the violent terrorist act in itself is the end goal and instilling widespread fear. Contemporary attacks characteristic of a more brutal nature demonstrates the increase in lethality and brutality of *new* terrorism, as well as the influence of networks and these attacks are not limited to a single region or country.

The 9/11 attacks are an example of terrorists increasingly becoming more brutal in terms of their execution. It was one of the most devastating terrorist attacks in the world, which combines multiple elements of new terrorism as well. In addition to the brutal nature, where 2753 fatalities were recorded, including the 19 hijackers (Kriger 2019). It was the first attack of its kind which contained a combination of the following elements: four commercial aircraft were hijacked; they were suicide attacks; the attacks were planned outside of US borders; it was highly televised and broadcasted and had significant religious motivation and anti-West sentiment.

Another instance of increased brutalization was witnessed when the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), claimed responsibility for an attack carried out in the Kizilay district after an explosion caused several vehicles to burn, killing 32 people and injuring more than 100. Also, in September 2018, brothers Khaled and Mahmoud Khayat were accused of planting explosives in the luggage of another brother, Amer, as part of their plan to blow up a plane in Sydney, now known as the Sydney Aviation Plot (Knaus 2017).

3.2.3. *Modern Funding*

Modern terrorists and terrorist organizations are no longer solely sponsored by states. With the expansion of information systems and secure communications, it has become easier for terrorist groups to extend their influence and gain support and to maintain their financial links. Kaplan (2006) explains the ways in which terrorist organizations acquire money for their operations, including charities⁹ (money from charities and wealthy individuals who openly support terrorists or who want to promote the Islamic faith); acts of organized crime and illegal activities (with specific reference to the counterfeit goods and illicit drug trade); and front companies (where terrorist groups operate legitimate companies to generate profits and to conduct sophisticated money laundering practices). For example, US-based affiliates of Hezbollah who were responsible for the 1993 World Trade Center Bombings, funded their operations by illegally distributing cigarettes, started store coupon scams, and sold counterfeit T-shirts (Naím 2007:138). In another case, a 43-year old man receiving a disability grant was arrested in Melbourne, Australia, after he was caught financially supporting a US citizen fighting for IS. Domestic and foreign criminal groups in South East Asia are actively engaged in the trafficking and smuggling of people and are notorious for travel-document forgery for profits. The region is particularly vulnerable to weapons smuggling and terrorist movement mainly due to its fragmented topography. Many are engaging in terrorist activity to secure financing due to widespread poverty and associated socio-economic issues. In South America, terrorist attacks are mainly carried out by drug cartels and insurgent groups and are usually devoid of religious intent. The links between organized crime groups and terrorist groups have indeed strengthened, and reports have stated that terrorist sympathizers have provided financial support to terrorist groups. In May 2018, a young man was arrested in New South Wales, Australia, for seeking to assist IS in the Middle East with laser-guided missile targeting. The man was related to a family member who had provided funds to IS and who had relocated overseas from Sydney to assist IS with the Eastern European illegal weapons market (FATF 2018:14).

3.2.4. *Unconventional Weapon Use*

Terrorists have been using a combination of *old* tactics and *new*, creative ways. The scope of technological advances has enabled terrorists to conduct attacks using a wide variety of tools, configured or improved upon to achieve the maximum effect. An example of terrorists combining

⁹One of the pillars of the Islam religion, *zakat*, refers to the compulsory giving of one's wealth to charity in order to help the poor and spread the message of Islam. It has, however, been exploited to finance terrorism.

old and *new* techniques is the Boston Bombings, where the brothers made use of simple household items, including pressure cookers, to make an Improvised Explosive Device (IED). In another example, two bombings which took place in the main terminal of Zaventem airport and one bombing simultaneously at Maelbeek metro station on 22 March 2016, killing 32 people, during which ISIL members used nail bombs¹⁰. Upon investigation, it was discovered that the perpetrators belonged to a terrorist cell, which had also been involved in the 2015 Paris attacks. In another instance, 27-year-old Akayed Ullah, who pledged allegiance to ISIS, attempted to execute a terrorist attack when he detonated a self-made pipe bomb containing black powder, nails, wiring, a battery and screws, at the Port Authority Bus Terminal in New York City on 11 December 2017, but it only detonated partially (Mueller & Rashbaum 2017). ISIS, like many other terrorist groups based in the Middle East, has experimented with unmanned aerial systems and has used improvised chemical weapons. Furthermore, the Aum Shinrikyo attack in 1995 is seemingly the only case of chemical terrorism, and fortunately did not have any imitators, however it could serve as a case study for future attacks.

3.2.5. *Organizational Structure*

New terrorist organisations are no longer defined by strict, rigid structured which adhere to a single set of rules. They adapt to their surroundings and environments and end up in a more decentralised structure. IS attracted notoriety and supporters through its actions in the Middle East. This has provided both inspiration and practical support to planning, funding, plotting and resourcing terrorist attacks, as seen with IS in the Middle East directing the November 2015 Paris attacks. The connections made through the Middle East conflict is vast and is apparent in the financial and technical support provided by IS to aligned groups in the Philippines (Carroll 2018:14). This has led to the establishment and development of a horizontally aligned network structure where there is no hierarchy or centre, as opposed to the old, vertical structure. As heightened counterterrorism pressure mounted worldwide, terrorist groups became more dispersed and clandestine and as ISIS lost control over territory, it moved away from a centralized command and control structure to a more decentralized and diffuse model. This led to the development of networks and cell structures, which is discussed below.

¹⁰A nail bomb is a type of IED used to increase effectiveness by spreading shrapnel and nail fragments upon detonation.

3.2.6. *Networks and Cell Operations*

Networks and cell operations have aided terrorist groups to establish global caliphates to extend their reach and exert power to reach their ultimate objective. In 2016, terrorists began calling for more terrorist attacks outside of the Middle East, as well as to proclaim new territories and groups globally. Outside of the Middle East, terrorists started with North America due to its proximity; followed by the new IS Khorasan Province was announced for Afghanistan (but has essentially failed due to the Taliban emerging once again); and then IS announced their East Asia *Wilayat*¹¹, with their first attack struck in the city of Marawi in the Philippines. ISIS expanded its influence from its place of origin in Iraq to establishing headquarters in Syria, as well as other regions. ISIS exerted targeted violence against the material culture of a group of people to instil fear to achieve the group's objectives (Falode 2018:155). Al-Qaeda expanded their membership and operations since 2017, and its global network includes spans across the countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Syria, and the Indian Subcontinent.

Al-Qaeda is a good example of a terrorist group establishing a franchise system globally to extend their influence and to further their objectives of establishing an Islamic state ruled following sharia law. These franchises extend over the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia, with branches called Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), Al-Qaeda Central (AQC), Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), and Al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent. In establishing these branches, it highlights the importance of networks and emphasizes the role of secure communication and cyberspace. They seek to counter any perceived threats to Islam, as stated in Osama bin Laden's 1996 declaration of holy war against the west, and the US (Zanini & Edwards 2018:35).

3.2.7. *Improved Communication and Broadcasting*

The technical and communications linkages that have supported the economic and social developments of the global environment have also played an important part in supporting the global expansion of an international brand of terrorism. IS has been known to put its main effort into information (mainly propaganda) and is peddling a simple, effective and ever-changing narrative to continue to justify its changing fortunes and actions as being all part of its objectives. Essentially, it reduces transmission time drastically and their messages can be distributed widely. Improved communications have also facilitated the maintenance of networks and forms an integral part of organizations' operations and activities. The information age is affecting how terrorist groups operate and structure their organizations, as well as the types of targets and

¹¹Arabic term referring to province, governorate or state.

weapons they choose. Rapid and secure communications enable organizations to perform a variety of functions¹².

An Al-Qaeda handbook- a PDF file providing instructions on how to manufacture poisons and chemical agents as well as how to wage war- is freely available on the internet. Furthermore, ISIS has been using the internet to fight an online war by distributing videos (specifically beheading videos to instil fear), social media messages for recruitment and have even developed an app, all aiming to radicalize and create a new generation of cyber jihadists (Abrahms 2018:81).

In another instance, the brutality of acts committed by ISIS is legitimized by their 579-page text called *Fiqh al-Dima* (The Jurisprudence of Blood). This text aims to justify acts such as the mutilation of corpses, the trade in human organs, beheading, the killing of children along with “scorched earth operations”, global terrorist attacks, the use of weapons of mass destruction, perpetrating genocide, the murder of non-combatants, the taking of sex slaves and hostages (Townsend 2018). The leader of ISIS, Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi has appeared online and appealed to youths to join their organization, and the videos typically glamourize fighters to encourage potential recruits (Awan 2017:138).

Cyberspace (or cybernetics¹³) has been used to facilitate and execute terrorist attacks mainly to achieve two objectives: to create a climate of fear and psychological insecurity, as well as to reach the impressionable youth of the region (Falode 2018:157). Terrorist groups are known for spreading their ideology as well as to recruitment potential new members. ISIS is one of the terrorist groups who have extensively used cyberspace to spread their videos of beheadings, especially the video depicting four Americans being killed that circulated in 2014 (Falode 2018:157). In addition, instruction manuals have assisted lone wolf attackers, teaching them how to make IED’s from easily accessible items such as pressure cookers, nails, and even fertilizer. The internet is easily available and accessible through a variety of platforms. The freedom of expression guaranteed in most constitutions combined with the internet has created opportunities for terrorists to exploit the cyber-infrastructure for attacks and spreading terrorists’ ideologies. Since 9/11 in the US, 50% of charged terrorists were radicalized online and maintained a social media profile online with jihadist material or used encryption for making plans. This is evident that the terroristic threat is not existential, and in many cases, it is homegrown (Bergen, Ford, Sims & Sterman 2018).

¹² Recruit potential members from all over the world; Work out logistics and resource acquisition; Sharing of complex and extensive scope of information; Planning of attacks and developing strategies; Provide training and instruction manuals; Conduct operational and tactical planning and targeting; Plan escape routes from attacks; and Assessing operational security.

¹³The targeting of the Information technology systems of states

3.2.8. Globalizing Nature and Ease of Travel

Linking to network and cell operations, the factors of globalization and communications that enabled the rapid rise and successes to date of IS and other groups are also enabling it to engage beyond the region into Southeast Asia and elsewhere. Those from post-Soviet countries can travel more easily than those having Iraqi, Yemeni and Syrian passports. In another example, Awan (2017:138) states that at least 750 Britain citizens have travelled to Syria to fight in the war. Once again, the importance of networks and communications is emphasized as terrorist groups can recruit people from those countries whose passports are stronger and establish networks or franchises there. Awan (2017:139) goes on to explain how Al Qaeda membership had reached over 5000 members and came from more than 60 countries. This group spearheaded the use of airplane-borne suicide bombing with the 9/11 attacks, as it was the first time that a foreign-based terror group conducted an attack on US soil. This seemingly started the pattern of transnational attacks, highlighting the premise that terrorist attacks are no longer confined to domestic and physical boundaries.

Furthermore, terrorist organizations could exploit countries' domestic affairs officials, especially in countries with high corruption incidents, to acquire fraudulent passports and identity documentation. Furthermore, terrorists can use the internet and gain extensive knowledge on the production of fake documentation. Ahmed Ressam¹⁴, an Algerian Al-Qaeda member, used a counterfeit French passport to enter Canada and apply for political asylum. From Canada, Ressam then provided fake Canadian passports to other Algerians and used another fake Canadian passport in his failed attempt to enter the United States and bomb the Los Angeles International Airport (Awan 2017:140).

3.2.9. Religious motivation

One of the characteristics defining modern terrorism is religiously motivated attacks, which are carried out based on objectives or motivations predominantly influenced by religion. It is important to note that this phenomenon is confined to one single faith. However, the causes of religiously motivated violence have taken on new significance in this modern age, particularly with its connection to recent acts of terrorism and social violence, including the rise of al-Qaeda and ISIS, the persecution of Muslims by Buddhist monks in Myanmar, the emergence of Hindu nationalism in India, and the Christian Identity movement in the United States. Furthermore, the increase in secularization essentially encourages followers to get back to the fundamental principles of

¹⁴Ressam also testified that he was trained in counterfeit passports and other security techniques at one of Osama bin Laden's training camps in Afghanistan, and that he was recruited by an Al-Qaeda representative to supply the group with fake Canadian passports. Once again, this emphasises the existence of a sophisticated terrorist network who is able to send representatives, like Ressam, all over the world.

religion, often relying on the different resources of religions, including religious leaders, networks of congregants, and other material resources. The major reason why Islamic terrorism has gained global prominence is the lethality, political impact and cultural imagery influencing public perceptions, despite victim numbers being far lower than in areas most affected, such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Syria, and Iraq (Control Risks 2018:12). Generally, actors such as left- and right-wing groups, anarchists, and ethnic-nationalists carry out more attacks, but the impact of their methods are far less lethal. Anarchists target mainly, but not limited to, law enforcement and government.

To illustrate the above, a 28-year old Australian citizen Brenton Tarrant live-streamed footage of him on social media shooting and killing 50 people at the Al Noor and Linwood mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand on 15 March 2019. Tarrant is a self-proclaimed white supremacist and supporter of anti-immigrant sentiment who distributed an 83-page manifesto on Twitter and emailed a copy to a generic email address to the office of the NZ prime minister, wherein he explained his intentions and claimed that Muslims are invaders who intend to replace the white majority in the West. The attack committed by Breivik, a resident who have expressed far-right sentiment and Christian fundamentalist tendencies, demonstrate his religious motivation and anti-Islam sentiment. In Paris, France, the Charlie Hebdo¹⁵ staff were shot at and kept hostage on 07 January 2015, resulting in several fatalities. Brothers Saïd and Chérif Kouachi, who pledged allegiance to Al-Qaeda and ISIS, led an armed assault the Charlie Hebdo offices on 7 January, killing 17 people in total (BBC 2015). The attack was in retaliation for the magazine's blasphemous depiction of the Prophet Mohammed and for ridiculing the Islamic religion.

3.2.10. Single Issue Terrorists

One positive aspect of globalization is the provision of information at an instant, however an unintended consequence is that people have created social islands for those who are marginalized and whose sensitivity has grown for ethical and environmental issues. These people have developed an extreme militancy protesting a perceived grievance or wrongly attributed to government action (or inaction). Certain single-issue terrorists have increasingly been willing to use violence to achieve their goals, highlighting the understatement of the phenomenon (Monaghan 2010:257). Hirschmann (2000:302) explains that under this concept, three main issues have gained salience: animal rights, environmentalism, and abortion. Even though most of these activists stay within the rule of law, a small minority group can be classified as extremists.

¹⁵Charlie Hedbo is a French satirical newspaper based in Paris frequently publishing controversial cartoons and content.

They are often international in scope with communication taking place between them over the internet, mainly on message boards, blogs, and websites sharing similar interests. Some broad characteristics apply as no archetypal single-issue terrorist exist. Politically, they tend to be aligned to the left. For example, the founder of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) in the United Kingdom is a self-declared anarchist, and the pro-life side of the abortion¹⁶ debate is largely drawn from the right. In the fight against animal rights, a variation of the mail-bomb technique occurred in Britain when razor blades allegedly dipped in rat poison and AIDS-infected blood was mailed to a variety of locations, including Prince Charles in 1998. With regards to environmental protection, the Eco- Terror magazine based in Britain published plans to build firebombs and grenades and urged to use them against the police Hirschmann (2000:303).

3.2.11. Lone-Wolf Terrorists

Lone wolf terrorists, who carry out violent terrorist acts in support of a group, movement or ideology, but conducts them without any assistance from the group. In many cases, they are motivated through the actions of existing terrorist groups and their methods of attack, but operate individually, does not belong to an organized network, and attacks are done without any direct instruction from the group from where inspiration has been drawn from.

Christian-right wing terrorism has emerged and some of these attacks have been characterized by lone wolf terrorism. Anders Breivik who carried out the Norwegian terrorist attack has been described as far-right, and on the day of the attack, he electronically distributed a collection of texts called '2083: A European Declaration of Independence'. It described his militant ideology, his opposition to Islam, his support for the deportation of all Muslims and blamed feminism for cultural suicide. In another instance, during his attack on two mosques Brenton Tarrant in Christchurch, released a manifesto detailing his racial and religious preferences, and his extremist plan to carry out the attack. Generally, right-wing terrorists focused on refugee accommodation facilities as well as religious institutions, with the notable example of the Charlottesville Church shooting in the US on 17 June 2015, where Dylann Roof, a 21-year-old white supremacist, shot and killed nine churchgoers during a prayer meeting to start a race war (Ortiz & Bruton 2015). The most significant Christian right-wing attack occurred in 1995 when Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols bombed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma, US, killing 168 people. Mevlüt Mert Altıntaş assassinated the Russian ambassador to Turkey Andrei Karlovin a seemingly lone wolf attack on 19 December 2016 in Ankara following several days of protests in Turkey due to discontentment over Russia's involvement in the Syrian Civil War and the battle

¹⁶The abortion issue, however, is complicated by a religious dimension foreign to the animal rights and environmental questions and draws adherents on both sides from across the political spectrum.

over Aleppo (Walker, Shaheen, Chulov & Wintour 2016). Altıntaş did not pledge allegiance to any terrorist organization, however, supporters of ISIL and Al-Qaeda praised the attack.

3.2.12. *Increased Interest in the Use of Women*

Traditionally, the role of women in terrorism has been almost non-existent and their recent involvement in terrorist attacks are breaking gendered assumptions of terrorist identities. The Tamil Tigers from Sri Lanka employed suicide bombers more than all Islamic terrorist groups combined and often using women (Rapoport 2019:28). In the 1990s, all-female battalions earned a reputation for their fierce discipline and ruthless combat (Bigio & Vogelstein 2019:3).

In Bin Laden's Training Manual called *Military Studies in the Jihad Against the Tyrants*, it is dedicated to the protection of Muslim women but ignores what experience can tell us about female terrorists (Rapoport 2019:6). Women represented nearly 40 percent of the FARC, serving in all operational roles, including combat unit leaders, allowing the group to vastly expand its military capacity. More recently, a large number of women have joined and supported terrorist groups wither making *hijra*¹⁷ or providing support from their home countries. Women have played multiple roles within terrorist organizations, ranging from facilitators and recruiters to suicide bombers and frontline fighters. Some examples of women establishing and leading terrorist organizations as well as militant groups include Ulrike Meinhof (the female leader of the German Baader-Meinhof group); Fusako Shigenobu (founded and led the Japanese Red Army); and Leila Khaled (the first female hijacker for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine).

3.3. INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES TO TERRORISM

The UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy which was adopted in 2006, was reviewed in June 2018, with a focus on achieving the objectives of “strengthening international cooperation through the sharing of information, expertise and resources; combating the evolving threat from foreign terrorist fighters; strengthening global action to prevent violent extremism, including by engaging youth and preventing misuse of new technologies and the internet by terrorists; and strengthening the role and capacity of the UN to support member states” (Megally 2018). The latest review addressed the issue of returning foreign terrorist fighters, the threats posed by those returnees and it also emphasized the need of developing rehabilitation and reintegration strategies, considering gender and age dimensions, for returning and relocating foreign terrorist fighters and their families” (United Nations 2018:10). The importance of this lies in the alarmingly negative

¹⁷Migrating to another country.

responses from predominantly Western countries relating to the return of citizens who have travelled to Iraq or Syria calling to support or join ISIS.

The Organization of American States (OAS)¹⁸ established an Inter-American Committee against Terrorism (CICTE) consisting of national authorities of member states. Since its establishment, regular CICTE meetings were held since 2001, as 9/11 brought a renewed focus to inter American efforts to counterterrorism. Since then, the OAS has adopted various resolutions, including:

- “Strengthening Cooperation to Prevent, Combat, and Eliminate Terrorism” (RC.23/RES.1/01) (21 September 2001);
- Support for the Work of the Inter-American Committee against Terrorism (AG/RES. 2137); Denying MANPADS to Terrorists: Control and Security of Man-Portable Air Defence Systems (MANPADS) (AG/RES. 2145); and Extradition of and Denial of Safe Haven to Terrorists: Mechanisms for Cooperation in the Fight Against Terrorism (AG/RES. 2146) (5-7 June 2005); and
- Protecting Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms while Countering Terrorism (AG/RES.2799) (08 March 2013).

The Council of Europe (COE)¹⁹ established a Terrorism Strategy for 2018-2022, based on their legal framework and standards and sets out a series of actions and tools to assist Member States. The strategy was established after European countries have been the targets of several deadly attacks and attempts to commit such attacks. Member states face a multidimensional threat, which includes “from returning foreign terrorist fighters from theatres of conflict to homegrown terrorists inspired or directed to harm societies and is a rapidly evolving threat from plots outside and within the borders of the member States as well as online” (Council of Europe 2018:2). The strategy focuses on and is subdivided into the aspects of prevention (of provocation, propaganda, radicalization, recruitment and training on the internet), prosecution (gathering of evidence and electronic evidence in terrorist-related cases) and protection (relating to victims of terrorism, identifying emerging terrorist threats and social reintegration) (Council of Europe 2018).

The Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) established a working group in 2016 on Counter-terrorism in an attempt to address and coordinate regional counterterrorism initiatives, however no formal declaration addressing terrorism has been drawn up. The PIF has been least active in the fight against terrorism and had been criticized largely, despite facing various security challenges conducive to terrorism, including porous borders and their governments’ ability to control and monitor them; the high prevalence of transnational crime; and states’ vulnerability to well-funded

¹⁸Countries from North and South America as well as Canada are members of the OAS.

¹⁹Both Turkey and Russia form part of the COE

criminal and terrorist organizations. The PIF's mandate extends from regional trade and economic issues, law enforcement to security. A lack of formal mechanisms for dealing with the above issues has only added to the Forum's general inability to formulate proper responses (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat 2016).

3.4. CONCLUSION

Chapter 3 provided a broad, global outlook on the manifestations of *new* terrorism. The Global Terrorism Index of 2018 provided the 10 most-affected countries by terrorism, followed by a brief overview of the current global trends in the manifestation of terrorism by continent. This section is followed by the emergence of *new* terrorism, where the characteristics of *new* terrorism are outlined, and recent terrorist incidents are categorized accordingly. Lastly, the responses to terrorism of various regional bodies are outlined. From these incidents, terrorist organizations utilize a variety of techniques corresponding with the framework of *new* terrorism, which also corresponds with the effects of globalization. The next chapter will have a similar structure than Chapter 3; however, it will have a focus on Africa.

CHAPTER 4: MANIFESTATIONS OF NEW TERRORISM ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Terrorism, especially in the form of transnational networks is posing a global threat which is distinctive from typical criminal activities. Terrorist organizations have evolved into more resilient, adaptable and determined, and had adjusted to evade heightened counterterrorism pressure worldwide. Since the attacks of 9/11, the fight against international terrorism and extremists globally has become a defining feature in the security paradigm of the 21st century. Now, Africa has become an inevitable and critical part of this security equation. In addition to the new security dynamic African countries are faced with, they are also overburdened while coping with persisting and prevailing political and socio-economic challenges. Africa also poses the unique threat of seemingly amalgamating domestic and international terrorism and extremism. Even though these international terrorist groups are mainly prevalent in North, East, West and the Horn of Africa, it has created threats to the larger global political, social and economic security. More recently- and more concerning- is the emergence of recent terrorist attacks occurring in the northern parts of Mozambique. This creates the impression that terrorism is moving towards the southern African region, posing a possible threat to South Africa.

4.2. EMERGENCE OF NEW TERRORISM IN AFRICA

The leading terrorist organizations on the African continent are Al-Shabaab, who is well established in Somalia; Boko Haram originating from Nigeria; AQIM and The Movement for Monotheism and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), mainly in Mali and Ansar Al-Sharia, manifesting themselves mainly in Libya and Tunisia (Falode 2018: 158). Similarly, to the Middle Eastern region, terrorist manifestations in Africa range from the traditional, systemic use of violence to achieve political objectives, to targeting cultural or material aspects of a state towards the targeting of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) systems, towards the attacks that are genocidal and fratricidal in nature with the aim of establishing an Islamic republic governed by Sharia law. Boko Haram's tactics and methods include, to a certain extent, all the above-mentioned aspects. Boko Haram's main objective is to "create an Islamic State based on Islamic (Sharia) law and get rid of Western influences", according to their rhetoric as propagated through sermons and video messages (Ray 2016:5). While global terrorist organisations such as the ISIS and Al Qaeda have made their presence clear in the region, other local groups have also gained prominence. The deadliest of these are Boko Haram, AQIM and Al Shabaab and as a result, an arc of instability is spreading across Africa, from Nigeria in West Africa, Mali in Sahel, Libya in

North Africa, to Somalia in East Africa. Terrorist attacks on the African continent has become the most significant challenge to peace, development and security, and they have increased- not only in terms of the frequency, but also the amount of countries affected due to increase proliferation of terrorist groups. The below will assess the extent to which characteristics of *new* terrorism are reflected in terrorist manifestations on the African context.

4.2.1. *Indiscriminate Attacks and Victimization*

Many characteristics of new terrorism violate human rights indiscriminately, and it is demonstrated by the attacks conducted by al-Shabaab and Boko Haram, with attacks that are indiscriminate and aim to produce the maximum possible impact in terms of casualties and destruction. Both Boko Haram and al-Shabaab conduct terrorist attacks by use of disproportionate and indiscriminate attacks, usually not directed on their rivals but most often on the innocent civilian population. An example of this would be Boko Haram's infamous attacks on schools and their eventual capture of the Chibok schoolgirls (News24 2014). More recently, eight Nigerian soldiers were killed during an insurgent ambush in Nigeria's Borno state on Friday, 30 August 2019. The Islamic State West Africa Province claimed responsibility for the attack.

It is clear within these attacks that the presence of Westerners is an important factor in targeting hotels, but it fails to account for the growth in the frequency and lethality of incidents that occurred (Onuoha 2016:2). The increase in terrorist attacks targeting hotels explains the context of the emerging symbiotic nature of global terrorism. Hotels are ideal high capacity venues and are often attacked to achieve maximum impact, posing an additional security concern to Western governments, African states, and travellers.

On 20 November 2015, three gunmen belonging to Al-Mourabitoun stormed the Raddison Blu hotel in Bamako, Mali, killing at least 21 people and two militants (Tapily 2015). Following the attacks, Al-Mourabitoun claimed that they teamed up with AQIM to attack in retaliation for government aggression in northern Mali. In another incident from the same terrorist organization, three militants attacked the Splendid Hotel located in Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso, where at least 29 people were killed and more than 33 injured. AQIM once again claimed the attack to punish the cross-worshippers for their crimes against our people in Central Africa, Mali, and other majority Muslim countries.

4.2.2. *Increased Brutalization*

Falode (2018:159) explains that before 2010, Boko Haram used guerrilla tactics against Nigerian security forces who were sent to check its activities in the conflict area. Following that period, by

2015 the group engaged with the Nigerian army in conventional warfare, where they have succeeded in establishing the microcosm of a functional Islamic caliphate. In terms of logistical support and ideology, Boko Haram is linked with global jihadi groups, but in terms of actual operation, their focus is specifically on northern Nigeria and adjacent areas. In 2011, the group became increasingly violent and lethal, made apparent through a series of incidents including a suicide bombing of the United Nations building in Abuja, the bombing of the national police headquarters and burning a hotel. During these and subsequent attacks, Boko Haram also resorted to indiscriminately targeting both Christian and Muslim civilians during attacks on churches and mosques, as well as targeting public spaces. Generally, al-Qaeda affiliated groups (such as al-Shabaab) make use of more conventional tactics, including guerrilla-style raids, kidnappings, hostage-taking and suicide bombings. ISIS-affiliated groups (such as Boko Haram), tend to use more brutal methods in conducting their attacks, including stoning, indiscriminate mass-casualty attacks and systematic oppression of women and girls, including enslavement, rape, and forcing them to be suicide bombers (Ray 2016:3). An effective strategy used by Boko Haram is that of large-scale abductions for recruits, wives for the fighters and ransom money that is then in turn used for obtaining tools and equipment for the group. On 14 April 2014, Boko Haram gunmen kidnapped 276 girls aged between 12 and 17 from the Government Girls Secondary School located in Chibok, Nigeria- a primarily Christian village with a Muslim minority. Leader Shekau claimed responsibility in a video they released, wherein he vowed to sell the girls as slave brides. A second video released shows approximately 100 of the girls who had allegedly converted to Islam (News24 2018).

Even though Boko Haram is also fratricidal in nature as it involves the targeting and killing of groups of people based on their beliefs, it did not prevent them from targeting Muslims and their religious institutions of worship (Falode 2018:159). On 15 September 2015, Boko Haram militants detonated an IED at a mosque in Ajilari.

In addition to the increased brutalization and lethality of attacks, Boko Haram made use of suicide attacks at a time when no other African radical Muslim group use them, other than al-Shabaab in Somalia and to a much lesser extent AQIM. Through the level of sophistication and coordination, it was evident that they had received training assistance from international networks, especially from Somalia's al-Shabaab. In 2015, Boko Haram switched allegiance to the IS, and since then they have carried out more brutal attacks in crowded places. Furthermore, they have also launched attacks in the neighbouring countries of Chad, Cameroon and Niger by exploiting the wider network of terrorist groups (FATF 2016:7).

4.2.3. *Modern Terrorist Funding*

As stated in Chapter 2, one of the defining characteristics of *new* terrorism is the lack of state supporters in terms of funding. Terrorist groups have benefited from various funding sources, varying from northern officials to internet frauds (Ray 2016:12). They are also different in their nature and purpose, but still require resources for self-maintenance, facilitation and funding of attacks. The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) 2016 report into terrorist financing in West- and Central Africa, it was found that Boko Haram is mostly funded locally, whereas Al-Qaeda affiliates may be benefiting from foreign donations (FATF 2016:1).

A typical financing method for groups operating in Africa is to extort local populations within their area of influence by requesting taxes and fees in exchange for security and protection, by extorting people conducting normal businesses or professional activities so they can continue operating, and profit through illicit activities, such as human and drug trafficking (FATF 2016:10). Other methods include robberies and looting, kidnapping, receiving donations, local businesses and the abuse of non-profit organizations. In Mali, members of the MUJAO have engaged in the collection of funds from the population in the form of Zakat²⁰ (FATF 2016:10).

Before his death, Yusuf revealed that he collected donations from disciples within the group and ran farms to generate a revenue stream. After his death, however, the group's financial sources became more complicated. It has been reported that the group receives money from global terrorist organizations, amongst other sources. Around the year 2002, Boko Haram had been receiving support from officials and businessmen located in the northern regions. They have also benefited from various criminal activities, including bank robberies, extortion and racketeering, and organized crime activities including drug and human trafficking by being involved in the illicit trafficking of drugs and natural resources. Linking to the increased networking capacities of terrorist groups, Boko Haram had also reportedly been funded by al-Qaeda and AQIM (Ray 2016:12). All these factors have been exacerbated by persistent conditions including corruption and poor borders, facilitating illicit money flows and organized crime.

4.2.4. *Indiscriminate and Unconventional Use of Weapons*

Terrorist groups in Africa have often stolen old weapons to use in their attacks, in some cases from troops and militaries to combat insurgents. Furthermore, terrorist groups in Africa frequently make use of IED's and bombings used with readily available materials. Chad has become a throughway for illicit weapons and ammunition traded amongst terrorists, insurgents, and sometimes corrupt security forces. IS claimed responsibility for an attack that occurred on 28 May

²⁰ The religious obligated provision of funds for charitable religious purposes

2019 in the Macomia district in Mozambique, during which 16 people died when homemade explosives were thrown onto a truck and then opened fire (Opperman 2019).

4.2.5. *Organizational Structure*

As the terrorist landscape evolved, terrorist organizations have shifted towards a more diffuse, decentralized model, experimenting with unmanned aerial systems and rudimentary chemical weapons. The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) frequently encourages members and sympathizers to use whatever weapons or tools, which were at hand. Over time, ISIS has loosened its grip on the Middle Eastern region; however, the global threat is exacerbated by its spread and growth, especially on the African continent (Awan 2017: 143).

Boko Haram is one of the biggest terrorist organizations on the African continent and is a suitable example of how the organizational structure of terrorist groups has evolved. During the Mohammed Yusuf period, the organization's top leadership consisted of Amiru'l Amm and his two aides called Anibu Amiri'l-Amm. It was organized in a hierarchical order comprising of a top to bottom structure. After Mohammed Yusuf was killed in 2009, Abubakar Shekau was in power and adopted Yusuf's organizational structure. However, the command chain remained weak, and this led to the group's cells (or units) operate almost independently. These cells intertwine in action and take orders from a commander, followed by sending one representative to the *Shura*²¹ council, who is also headed by Shekau. The topic of how the terrorist organization utilizes madrasahs in recruitment will be discussed in the next section. Boko Haram's focus on Muslim targets led to discussions within the group and a dissident group, called Ansaru, who claimed that the real enemies of Islam were essentially Westerners (and foreigners). Ansaru has its core in the North West, while the epicenter for the Boko Haram insurgency is in the northeast. Ansaru's tactics differ slightly from Boko Haram's, where Ansaru has vowed not to harm innocent Muslim civilians (except in a case of self-defence); in principle, they condemn the killing of innocent security operatives and they claim to be the defender of all Muslims across West Africa (Cannon & Iyekepolo 2018:372.).

Terrorist groups who frequently change their formation and/or expanding by either merging with or breaking away from existing groups characterize the West African region. The merging of some of the most prolific jihadist groups in the region, AQIM, al-Mourabitoun, Ansar Dine and Katiba Macina, the Jamaat Nusrat al-Islam wal-Muslimin (JNIM) group was formed; they affiliated with Al-Qaeda and has alliances with armed political groups in Mali. The Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS) was formed as a faction from al-Mourabitoun (including members of Niger's Fulani

²¹ Boko Haram's highest decision-making mechanism

community and is affiliated with ISIS). Boko Haram, based in Nigeria, has extended its operations into Northern Cameroon, Chad and Niger (Sigsworth 2019:8). Currently, the group is split into two main supporters: those who support their long-time leader Abubakar Shekau, and those of ISIS-aligned Abu Musab al-Barnawi. A splinter group based in Nigeria as well, named Ansaru, formed from Boko Haram and is aligned with AQIM.

4.2.6. *Networks and Cell Operations*

The origins, manifestations, maintenance and support of most extremist groups in Africa, is not isolated from each other- they originate from a variety of factors, intertwined with allegiances and alliances that create a firm network among them, enabling convenient traveling across borders. The increasingly transnational nature implies that terrorist groups and networks are associated with organized crime across borders, and modern and sophisticated communication methods ensure that terrorist groups can communicate covertly and rapidly. This is a concerning threat to Africa's security as the expanding and deepening collaboration in recruitment, training, financing, and terrorist operations among terrorist groups across the continent, and even globally is constantly persisting (Ray 2016:3). Using modern communication systems, a sophisticated method of trainers to share military tactics, media strategies and ways for money transfers, this transfer of expertise is evident in the spread of suicide bombings across Nigeria, Libya, Tunisia, Chad, and Somalia, as well as the increased use of IED's. Consequently, there is also a flow of recruits, lured by the promise of improved socio-economic conditions. Boko Haram is a suitable example of terrorist groups exploiting their linkages to reach their regional objectives.

The Global Terrorism Index (2018:11) named Nigeria as the third most affected country, followed by Iraq and Afghanistan. The ongoing insurgency in Nigeria is a clear effect of the above-mentioned. Money and training from AQIM gave Boko Haram a substantial boost when Abubakar Shekau assumed control of the group in 2010 (Ray 2016:4). Under the group's former leader Muhammad Yusuf, reigning from 2002-2009, they focused on the withdrawal from society and the establishment of small schools and camps. As police pressure increased toward the end of that period, the group evolved into an urban phenomenon, directly confronting Nigerian police and its military. Boko Haram is not only active in Nigeria, where they originated from, but also neighbouring Chad, Niger and Cameroon, indicating the spill over effects of countries in proximity with each other. ISIL has gained the allegiance of Boko Haram, mainly based in Nigeria, and this has resulted in many of its fighters travelling to Libya to provide support for ISIL.

Those recruited were mainly disaffected youths, unemployed graduates and former *Almajiris*²². Since 2014, villages have been destructed along with Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps, Boko Haram has resorted to forcible kidnappings of young girls and teenage boys, forcing them to carry out operations in and around Nigeria (Ray 2016:12).The boys are used to acquire intelligence and to carry out attacks in local villages or barracks, while in neighboring countries such as Niger, boys are recruited from existing criminal gangs and join only because of an economic incentive. In 2015, Boko Haram pledged allegiance to IS, allegedly to perceive the former as a powerful international terrorist organization to attract possible new recruits and sources of funding (FATF 2016:7). Following this, IS's official media arm, al-Furqan, confirmed the pledge, and had specifically noted their expansion to Nigeria.

In North Africa, the Armed Islamic Group from Algeria, consisting of foreign fighters, former members of the Mujahideen and its splinter faction, the Salafist group for preaching and combat (GSPC), were responsible for training individuals from Chad, Sudan, Libya, Mali and Mauritania in combat (Flahaux & De Haas 2016: 2). The GSPC extended their scope of attacks on government and military targets, throughout Algeria, northern Mali, regions of Niger and Mauritania. Since then, they have been renamed to the al Qaeda in the Islamic Magreb (AQIM) after pledging allegiance to the global militant al Qaeda organization, and have been responsible for providing support and training to Boko Haram in Nigeria (Solomon 2017:67).

Al-Shabaab largely has an internationalist outlook, believing in the manifestation of a global jihad (Falode 2018:160). Furthermore, they are extremely active in cyberspace, using it to endorse their brand of radical Islam, encourage lone-wolf attacks against the West and to get new recruits globally. There have been reports that Boko Haram was also collaborating with Al-Shabaab, allowing Boko Haram to send fighters to Somalia for training. It has also been reported that a Boko Haram member, Mamman Nur, received training from Al-Shabaab in Somalia in preparation for the attack on the UN Headquarters in Abuja on 26 August 2011 (FATF 2016:7).The origins, manifestations, maintenance and support of most extremist groups in Africa, is not isolated from each other- they originate from a variety of factors, intertwined with allegiances and alliances that create a firm network among them, enabling convenient traveling across borders. In North Africa, the Armed Islamic Group from Algeria, consisting of foreign fighters, former members of the Mujahideen and its splinter faction, the Salafist group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC), were responsible for training individuals from Chad, Sudan, Libya, Mali and Mauritania in combat (Flahaux & De Haas 2016:2). The GSPC extended their scope of attacks on government and military targets, throughout Algeria, northern Mali, regions of Niger and Mauritania. Since then,

²²Almajari is a practice in Nigeria where children leave their homes and are sent to live and study under renowned Islamic teachers.

they have been renamed to the al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) after pledging allegiance to the global militant al Qaeda organization, and have been responsible for providing support and training to Boko Haram in Nigeria. The intensification of factors such as the Arab Spring, along with its open and porous borders and extensive ungoverned spaces throughout the Maghreb and Sahel regions have contributed to the increase in transitional connections and communications between extremist groups and the movement of fighters. For example, the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) has gained the allegiance of Boko Haram, mainly based in Nigeria, and this has resulted in many of its fighters travelling to Libya to provide support for the ISIL group (Ramdeen 2017). Al-Shabaab had launched attacks against movement institutions, citizens, international organizations and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AFRISOM), becoming infamous for infiltrating local organizations to recruit and train the youth of Somalia. One of the most devastating attacks in the region was the attack on 15 January 2019, at one of Kenya's hotel and office complexes located in Nairobi by terrorist group dusitD2. A major factor contributing to the terrorist threat in the region is the presence of Al-Shabaab, especially in Somalia, however recent attacks are displaying their reach outside the country (United Nations Security Council 2018). Al-Shabaab controls large parts of Somalia, which enables them to launch attacks in neighbouring Kenya and Ethiopia, further spreading terrorism and regional instability. The January 2019 attack was the effect of Al-Shabaab now believed to have split up into sub-groups. The revelation that the attackers were Kenyans in sleeper cells within the country support allegations that Al Shabaab has changed tactics, combining old with new methods in their terrors campaign.

4.2.7. Improved Communication and Broadcasting

Terrorist groups have also used the internet as a communication and coordination tool during attacks, as well as used it to raise operational finances. Overall, the internet has significantly accelerated and changed the way wars have been fought, particularly in terms of the operation of terrorist groups and the methods for displaying the impact that terrorist groups have. For both Boko Haram and al-Shabaab, the use of internet or social media has been instrumental in achieving their objectives, and is useful for reaching out to young people, particularly during recruitment exercises. Various markets in Africa have benefited from increasing investment and market progression and has supported the expansion of various economies including those of Kenya, Nigeria and Ghana (Cox, Marcellino, Bellasio, Ward, Galai, Meranto, Persi, & Paolo 2018:7). The technological breakthrough with the greatest impact on the continent is seen in the sharp increase in mobile phone use and the increase in availability in bandwidth. Social media can provide an easy and quick level of interaction between potential recruits and terrorists and

can also be used to mobilize funds for terrorist activities, as they can reach out to sympathetic communities and individuals to secure financial support.

Social media provides significant benefits for terrorist groups, but arguably the most importantly one is that information can travel across geographic spaces within a short amount of time and can often be accessed and shared by anyone. More broadly, terrorists can use the internet to reinforce ideological narratives, normalize radical behaviours, allow potential recruits to connect with like-minded individuals and conceal user's identities can use the internet (Cox et. al 2018:9). Al-Shabaab has established an online strategy, which outlines how social media is used for propaganda, recruitment, coordination, and fundraising. They have been particularly active on Twitter, YouTube, and its own news channel called Kata'ib, which mainly produced videos focusing on recruiting the youth amongst the Somali diaspora and Western foreign fighters. In 2009, the group released their first video onto Kata'ib pledging allegiance to Osama bin Laden, then al-Qaeda leader. The group then shifted their attention to Twitter when they reported the 2013 Westgate attack in Kenya in real time. This activity was repeated in 2015, in both the al-Shabaab attack on Lido Beach in Mogadishu, Somalia, and the Maka al-Mukarama hotel attack. Boko Haram's online strategy is not as sophisticated as al-Shabaab's; nonetheless, it appears to have become more advances in its techniques follow Shekau's declaration of allegiance to IS.

4.2.8. *Ease of Travel and Transnational Nature*

Africa has the benefit of visa-free travel within regional communities as part of an attempt to bolster economies through trade. Furthermore, these inherited borders have not taken into consideration the histories of those who are not the same, inherent ethnic and religious groups, which have caused conflicts (Cannon & Iyekekpole 2018:379). The states and borders are largely artificial and imposed onto the continent rather than them being a natural extension of sovereignty. Poor border controls have been a facilitator for terrorism, as it leads to the creation of ungoverned spaces- areas where the state's influence does not extend to, acting as a breeding ground for the conduct of illicit activities. In Northern Mali, armed terrorist groups including AQIM, Ansar Dine, including its affiliates such as the Macina Liberation Front (FLM) in Central and Southern Mali, and Al-Mourabitoun operate in historically ungoverned or under-governed spaces and have forged local alliances with rebel groups (FATF 2016:5).

4.2.9. *Religious Motivation*

In recent years, there had been an increased proliferation of religious-based terrorist groups that are motivated by extremist religious ideology. Religious ideology also serves as another factor for

the recruitment of people into terrorist groups. Therefore, individuals who have strong beliefs in a similar ideology to that of terrorist groups are vulnerable and easily recruited into these organizations. As an example, both Boko Haram and al-Shabaab are religious-based terrorist organizations whose agenda seeks the popularisation of Islamic beliefs in Nigeria and Somalia respectively (FATF 2016:13).

Ray (2016:3) asserted that an additional concerning threat emerging on the African continent is the increasing competition among the militant groups, feeding into their main objectives of capturing attention. In addition to gaining more attention, terrorist groups are also aiming to capture territories, proving their lethality and relevance, attracting potential recruits. When comparing al-Qaeda and ISIS affiliated groups on the continent, it is apparent that both sides embrace and encourage anti-Western, global jihad ideologies and their own distinct regional objectives; however, the strategies used to achieve those objectives differ.

Cannon & Iyekekpolo (2018:371) ascribe Boko Haram's origin to its official founding by either Muhammad Yusuf in 2002, or when it launched their first attack and became an insurgency under the leadership of Abubaker Shekau; however, ignoring Northern Nigeria's militant religious context, which led to Boko Haram's flourishing. Boko Haram's official name is *Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad*, meaning "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad" in Arabic (Ray 2016:5). The shortened and more common name (Boko Haram) means, "Western Education is sinful" in the Hausa language, one of the indigenous languages in Nigeria and Niger. With the Iranian Revolution of 1979, missionaries such as Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Libya and Pakistan, who were all sponsored by Saudi Arabia, were involved in promoting the Wahhabi doctrine during the 1990's.

4.2.10. *Single Issue Terrorists and Lone Wolf Terrorism*

The presence of Single Issue and Lone Wolf Terrorists remain extremely low on the African continent, with a few exceptions taking place in 1988 when Barend Strydom, a Christian Afrikaner, shot and killed seven people around Strijdom Square located in Pretoria. Strydom had then declared that he was the leader of an organization called White Wolves, which did not exist and was a figment of his imagination (Opperman 2018). Most terrorist groups in Africa are motivated by more traditional aspects and recruitment efforts are more geared towards joining existing groups.

However, the terror-related incidents, which occurred in South Africa have led to reports calling them lone-wolf attacks. These incidents include the discovery of explosive devices around Durban in July 2018, an explosive device at Imam Hussaim Mosque in Ottawa (KwaZulu-Natal), and the

slitting of throats at Ottawa and Malmesbury Mosques in June 2018 and have been depicting a concerning trend (Daily Maverick 2018).

4.2.11. *The Increased Interest in the Recruitment of Women*

Terrorist groups often rely on women to gain a strategic advantage, recruiting them as facilitators and martyrs while also benefiting from their subjugation (Bigio & Vogelstein 2019:1). Often, their roles as perpetrators, mitigators and victims are overlooked. The number of women implicated in terrorist related crimes has been on the increase and the use of technology and social media has enabled more sophisticated outreach, which would directly target messages to radicalize and recruit women. Furthermore, it provides a platform where females thrive by expanding their reach for recruitment and undertaking greater operational roles in the virtual sphere. In 2014, a network of 15 women across the US was charged for transferring thousands of dollars to militants of Al-Shabaab in Somalia (Bigio & Vogelstein 2019:4). On 10 April 2016, a raid on a militant cell in Rabat located in Morocco, led to the arrest of 10 women and seized a variety of chemicals and bomb-making materials in their home (Control Risks 2018). This was part of ISIS' new strategy to incorporate female militants into its attacks.

Attacks by women have not only been increasing in number, but also in severity and brutality. The role of women in terrorism has been entrenched in Nigeria, when in 2014, Boko Haram kidnapped 276 Chibok schoolgirls, resulting in an international effort to attain their release. The terrorist group then began a widespread campaign using female suicide bombers, including girls forced to be recruited. These female bombers have been so effective, that women comprise close to two-thirds of the group's suicide attackers (Bigio & Vogelstein 2019:12). More recently, the deadliest incident in 2018 involved three female bombers who killed 20 people in a crowded marketplace (Bigio & Vogelstein 2019:4). Furthermore, while only 4% of women in Nigeria have the opportunity to finish secondary school, some women would join Boko Haram as a hope to gain freedom and resources to receive Koranic education.

Some terrorist groups promote an ideology, classifying women as inferior to men, and offers strategic and financial benefits through women's subjugation. These groups include Boko Haram, the Islamic State, al-Qaeda, al-Shabab, and other groups use sexual violence to terrorize populations into compliance, displace civilians from strategic areas, enforce unit cohesion among fighters, and even generate revenue through trafficking, and by suppressing women's rights also allows extremists to control reproduction and harness female labour (Bigio & Vogelstein 2019:2). Women have been active participants in armed rebel groups over the past several decades, as seen in Algeria, where female National Liberation Front fighters evaded checkpoints in the 1950s to deploy bombs at strategic urban targets (Bigio & Vogelstein 2019:3).

4.3. REGIONAL RESPONSES TO TERRORISM

The African Union (AU) had a legal framework in place to combat terrorism since 1999 since they adopted key measures in response to terrorism. These include the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism (Algiers Convention of 1999) and subsequent Protocol (2004); the AU Plan of Action on the prevention and Combatting of Terrorism (2002) and the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (2004) (Sigsworth 2019:10). These measures were created to adhere to the general principles of international human rights law and commits states to protect the human rights of all their citizens and was underscored during its Ordinary Sessions in Kampala. Furthermore, in March 2019, the AU reviewed AFRISOM, and had authorized and supported the G5 Sahel Joint Force.

Despite all the progress made thus far, the AU has been criticized for recognizing and acting against Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab six years too late, by the time when these groups became a trans-border phenomenon after progressing into Chad and Cameroon. Due to this, the AU Commission appointed a panel of experts to propose a plan of action and assess the effectiveness of the African Standby Force in 2013. Furthermore, the AU Peace and Security Council released a communiqué in 2015, setting out the regional and international effort to be undertaken against Boko Haram. The terrorist attacks, killings, kidnappings, hostage taking, sexual violence and other abuses are repeatedly condemned by the organisation and presented as potential crimes against humanity. The communiqué also acknowledges the devastating effects of these crimes, most notably massive internal displacement and population flows from Nigeria into Niger, Cameroon and Chad, which constitutes a large burden for receiving countries. This is, therefore, perceived as a threat to the entire region and continent, which highlights the need to provide support to the affected member states, strengthen operational capacity and take the necessary measures on a regional level to neutralize Boko Haram (Dragan 2016:9). The AU's response indicates a more coherent and inclusive discourse on the topic, however decision-making is often slow and/or fruitless.

A variety of factors highlight the need for a regional response to terrorism within the West African region, including the proximity of borders, the ease with which small arms and light weapons are spread, weak and porous borders, the free movement of goods and people, and the increasing networks of criminal movements. In addition to the free movement, these groups share ideas and cooperate on a wide range of activities, which have become entry points through which terrorism has spread on the continent.

ECOWAS adopted the Political Declaration and Common Position against Terrorism (2013) as a regional framework for preventing and combatting terrorism (Sigsworth 2019:10). It calls for the

elimination of terrorism in the entire region, but also reaffirms the commitments of states to uphold international law, as seen below:

“[A]ll Member States collectively abhors torture and other degrading and inhumane treatment of terrorist suspects and undertakes to strengthen democratic practices and rule of law to ensure due process, fair trial and equality before the law for all citizens.” (Political Declaration and Common Position against Terrorism in 2013:6)

The abovementioned declaration includes a Counterterrorism Strategy and Implementation Plan, grounded on the respect for human rights and the rule of law, stating that:

“[u]nder no circumstances should counterterrorism be used as a justification for the violation of human and people’s rights’.⁴³ All three of the strategy’s pillars foreground the importance of the rule of law and human rights approaches to combatting terrorism” (Political Declaration and Common Position against Terrorism in 2013:10)

More recently, a Partnership between the AU, the UN Counter Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate, and the Lake Chad Basin Commission was established. It sought to develop common elements for a regional approach to screen, prosecute, rehabilitate and reintegrate persons associated with Boko Haram, and to engage directly with states on the Lake Chad Basin on regarding the challenges posed by Boko Haram. (Sigsworth 2019:11)

Somalia, falling under the East African Commission (EAC), the UN was forced to act in order to guarantee security and stability seeing as there was no effective central governing authority in the country (Falode 2018:159). This led to the establishment of the African Union Stabilization Mission (AFRISOM)²³ in conjunction with the AU, to combat Boko Haram and establish a functional, democratic government. In other responses, the Security Council has spoken out against terrorism and violent extremism by dispatching the UN Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) in assisting the AU in security, peacebuilding and humanitarian issues.

After the attack on the US embassy in Kenya (where a simultaneous attack happened in neighbouring Tanzania), it prompted military intervention to reduce the threat posed by Al-

²³AFRISOM Members are Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Ethiopia, as they have been directly affected by terrorism.

Shabaab. Furthermore, the country's government prioritized the development of counter-terrorism policies and strategies, pivoted on legislation, law enforcement and border security. Terror and extremist financing were also curbed by international and regional cooperation of the Kenyan government. Some of the new laws passed include the Prevention of Terrorism Act, Proceeds of Crime and Anti Money Laundering Act and Prevention of Organised Crime Act.

A Southern African Development Community (SADC) Counterterrorism Strategy in 2016 was adopted by SADC heads of state to strengthen the region's peace and security infrastructure. These should be implemented and effectively enforced following recent attacks in Mozambique, with the Cabo Delgado attack on 05 October 2017 being representative of terrorism shifting towards Southern Africa. SADC Heads of state attended a workshop held in the same province in July 2019 in order to strengthen their rule of law based criminal justice responses for preventing and countering terrorism (UNDOC 2019). There is also a Regional Counter-Terrorism Strategy with its Action Plan, enabling a common approach against terrorism collectively, which includes the sharing of information on suspected terrorists, enacting and reviewing national legislation on preventing and combating terrorism, and strengthening the capacity of the Financial Intelligence Units. The Muizenberg case is one of the cases depicting the ambiguous and sluggish attitude of the South African government in addressing terrorism. Despite the nature of the items seized during the raid and the gravity of the charges against the three men (high treason, conspiracy to commit murder and unlawful possession of firearms, ammunition and explosives), they were not arrested (Solomon 2012: 145). Instead, they left the country without facing prosecution. SADC states have demonstrated varied commitments to addressing the issue of terrorism. With the UN's Security Council Resolution 1373 of 2001, all UN countries, along with all SADC member states, are bound to take the necessary measures to address terrorism. SADC states were bound to reporting to the newly created Counter Terrorism Committee on the implementation of Resolution 1373, to which there have been ranging responses (Rifer 2009:5).

Both the Arab Maghreb Union²⁴ (AMU) and Community of Sahel-Saharan States²⁵ (CEN-SAD) are AU recognized Regional Economic Communities (REC) and thus form part of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The AMU, however, has never formalized its relationship with the AU by signing the *Protocol on Relations between the RECs and the AU*. Despite the regional infrastructure provided, the AMU had been largely dormant for close to 20 years over the conflict between Algeria and Morocco regarding the status of the Western Sahara.

²⁴ Member states include Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia

²⁵ Member states include (North African in bold): Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo and Tunisia

CEN-SAD was established in 1998 during a summit meeting instigated by Muammar Gaddafi in the presence of the heads of state of Mali, Chad, Niger, and Sudan and a representative of the president of Burkina Faso. In June 2018, Egypt established a counterterrorism centre based on the recommendations made by CEN-SAD during a series of meetings held in 2016.

The League of Arab States (LAS) discourse condemns terrorist actions carried out by IS, Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab, and largely aligns with UN and Western calls for action (Dragan 2016:7). The meeting held by LAS to engage with Iraqi missions and US indicates a willingness to cooperate with the international community and to support regional and national efforts to combat terrorism. The Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism was signed by LAS to deal directly with the threat of terrorism, which vows to take preventive and suppressive measures against terrorist groups. To strengthen this agreement, the Convention also provides that the countries shall cooperate towards this end by exchanging information, assisting in investigations and exchanging expertise, but also by coordinating their judicial efforts, such as extradition or protection of witnesses. The text also provides means of implementation for these endeavours. The Peace and Security Council of LAS, established in 2006, addresses terrorist threats in the context of collective security. The duties that fall within the scope of regional peace and security are cooperation to confront transnational threats such as organised crimes and terrorism, proposals to establish Arab peace-keeping forces and proposals for extraordinary meetings held by the Council in case of aggravation of conflict in one of the member states (League of Arab States 2000).

4.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter assessed the current trends of terrorism on the African continent, by exploring each region in terms of terrorist trends and manifestations. In addition to the unique security challenge faced by the continent in the form of evolved and *new* terrorism, the continent is also faced with a variety of socio-economic problems and colonial legacies. Terrorism occurred in mainly the North- West- and East- African regions, however, following recent terrorism manifestations, it seems that the trend is moving southwards. This chapter assessed terrorist manifestations and trends in each of the African regions, followed by an analysis of the emergence of *new* terrorism through the characteristics of new terrorism outlined in Chapter 2. Lastly, the chapter ends with the responses to terrorism by various regional bodies on the continent.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Traditional terrorist threats have always been region-specific and originated from the demands of local non-state actors. They typically used terrorism to challenge the government. However, contemporary terrorist threats are multidimensional and has a globalized nature as terrorism in the 21st century is now transnational in scope, objectives and consequences. The impact of terrorist attacks is now far-reaching and not limited to a specific geographical region. In addition, 21st century attacks have shown that the areas of operation are no longer limited to the Middle East. This research has shown that terrorist groups now operate transnationally and through effective and covert communication technologies and social media. Furthermore, this research aimed to provide a classification of terrorism over time based on the tactics and objectives of terrorist groups.

Since the end of the Cold War, the nature of security threats in Africa has changed substantially. Terrorism, in its highly decentralized form, has been on the increase, mainly driven by substantial but highly unequal economic growth, (incomplete) democratization that is often linked with weak state capacity and poor governance; and various demographic factors, including strong population growth, rapid urbanization, and an increasing share of economically and socially deprived youth (Von Soest & De Juan 2018). These factors have created opportunities violence, essentially changing the nature of security threats in Africa. The devastating and lethal nature of 9/11 committed by an Islamic group realized the distinction between *old* and *new* terrorism however the attacks were an immense outlier- a single event is not a trend. What is clear is that this single outlier was the start of terrorist attacks manifesting this sort of trend.

5.2. SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

The main objective of this study was to analyse the evolution of terrorism and terrorist characteristics from *old* and *new* terrorism and argue that current manifestations of terrorism are mainly classified as *new* terrorism, containing some characteristics of *old* terrorism. The typology provided in this study allows for improved analysis of how terrorism and terrorist attacks manifest themselves under the categories of old and new terrorism. Furthermore, this research also aimed to assess the extent to which *new* terrorism is facilitated by globalization.

Chapter 1 focused on the evolution in the manifestation of *new* terrorism and the implications for South Africa's security. It outlines the research problems and research questions, which is that

new terrorism is ever-evolving considering globalization and queries whether South Africa is equipped to deal with the threat or not. The literature overview assessed traditional conceptualizations and manifestations of terrorism, the manifestations of *new* terrorism, terrorist activities on the African Continent and implications for South Africa' security. A qualitative approach and constructivist paradigm were used to approach the research. This chapter also outlines the methodology of the study, which was a literature-based study conducted through a desktop study.

Chapter 2 focused on the historical overview of terrorism, assessing Pre-Modern Terrorism, the Origin of the Concept of Terrorism rooted in the Reign of Terror, Terrorism and the link to Anarchy during the 18th-19th century, and Modern Terrorism in the 20th Century. It was also assessed whether the events of 9/11 can be perceived as the beginning of *new* terrorism. Next, the distinguishing characteristics of *old* terrorism are outlined and described comprehensively and illustrated through examples. The following section was a conceptual overview of the definition of *new* terrorism, followed by the distinguishing characteristics of *new* terrorism. The evolution towards new terrorism is explored and an overview of the concept of *new* terrorism is outlined.

The countries most affected by terrorism are listed as outlined by the Global Terrorism Index (2018), followed by a breakdown of *new* terrorist manifestations by continent. The emergence of *new* terrorism is outlined through the characteristics stated in Chapter 2. This section is then followed by an overview of international policy and security responses from various regional organizations.

Chapter 4 focused on the trends and manifestations of terrorism on the African continent according to the regions. This is followed by the emergence of *new* terrorism in line with the characteristics contained in Chapter 2. This section is followed by the responses to terrorism by African regional organizations.

5.3. TERRORISM SHIFTING TO SOUTHERN AFRICA

Terrorist attacks, groups and violent extremism has spread outside of its epicentres towards previously low risk countries, and particularly southwards. Certain factors, including geographical, socio-political, and economic, creates the perception of Mozambique as a potentially attractive operating target for violent extremism, as well as a possible corridor for international groups and jihadists into the Southern African, region, and more concerning, South Africa. The escalating attacks in northern Mozambique are being claimed by IS under the banner of the Islamic State Central Africa Province (ISCA), signalling a shift in the strategy employed by the terrorist group (Opperman 2018). Their claims were in response to an attack that occurred on 28 May 2019 in

the Macomia district in Mozambique, during which 16 people died when home-made explosives were thrown onto a truck and then opened fire (Opperman 2019). On 5 October 2017, a militant Islamic group conducted an attack on several police stations, government officials, and residents in the town of Mocímboa da Praia located in the Cabo Delgado Province, causing great surprise to observers of international Jihadism (Pirio, Pittelli & Adam 2018). Furthermore, reports have surfaced that the members of the militia group, locally known as both al-Shabaab and Swahili Sunnah, are appearing to attract new recruits and national police arrested 24 men travelling in a bus from Nacala, in the Nampula Province to the Cabo Delgado Province, suspected of traveling to join the group (Pirio, Pittelli & Adam 2018). The groups present in Mozambique have expressed aims and objectives like those of international jihadist groups, such as the establishment of an Islamic state following Sharia law and the resignation of using the government's secular education system (Pirio, Pittelli & Adam 2018). IS aims to reinforce the message that the implosion of the Caliphate does not imply a final victory in which the group has been defeated. This is where their strategy of diversification into various 'provinces'.

Spill over effects are evident on the African continent, as seen in Somalia's terrorist trends spreading over to Kenya and then Tanzania, due to their proximity. Somalia's Al-Shabaab and their affiliates have been settling in neighbouring Kenya and Tanzania. The latter has been classified as an at-risk country for violent extremism in 2015, which proved true as the country experienced a series of terrorist attacks in 2017 (UNDP 2018:47). Recent attacks recorded pose a threat to South Africa in a variety of ways, due to the country's political and economic vulnerabilities, lack of social cohesion, and their history with terrorism.

The determination of the extent and content of engagements between those who committed the recent attacks and members of IS is of utmost importance as this will point to the presence of a threat to South Africa. Despite the apparent collapse of the Caliphate in Iraq and Syria, the organization reflect an intricate system of associations, recruitment and networking. It is a hybrid organization comprised of a leadership and lean core management structure, and with that, it has developed a global network. They have also successfully found a way to exploit social media engagements in order to create a sense of belonging and membership, providing an ideal platform for final motivation to execute attacks or actions in support of the group, including propaganda and fund raising. IS, as well as other terrorist organizations, are adept at searching through online forums, message boards and social media websites to identify prospective supporters. From a security perspective, the internet is the ideal place to initiate factions, as identities are elusive and communications difficult to monitor. IS also make use of English-language magazines for distribution electronically. Training camps are no longer confined to physical areas but have now evolved onto the social media realm with a radical social environment. From a regional perspective, the spread of terrorism to Southern Africa could form part of spreading Islamic

extremism down the eastern corridor of the African corridor, and area extending from the Horn of Africa, down the East towards southern Africa. This is significant as the area is of strategic importance to IS, Al-Qaeda as well as their affiliates.

5.4. IS TERRORISM A REAL THREAT IN SOUTH AFRICA?

Attacks occurring since 2017 which have been labelled as terrorism seems to depict that terrorism is a real and increasing threat in the South Africa and renewed the debate whether the country is at risk of experiencing terrorism. Arguably the most significant case is that of the Thulsie twins, Brandon-Lee and Tony-Lee, who was arrested on 09 July 2016 for allegedly planning violent attacks against Jewish Institutions and the US Embassy in Johannesburg, Gauteng²⁶ (Chabalala 2016). They were allegedly in contact through social media and instant messaging sites, making use of rapid and secure communications with various IS leaders who provided guidance on their intended attacks. The siblings are accused of discussing terrorist plans with an undercover Federal Bureau of Investigation agent, believing he was an ISIS operative based in the US. The pair then sought advice on making bombs and asked for funding, and successfully acquired the Mujahideen Poisons Handbook by Abdel-Aziz, and a manual entitled How to Survive in the West: A Mujahid Guide, containing measures on how to live a double life. Other incidents contributing to the renewed debate include:

- The murder of British couple Rodney and Rachel Saunders in northern KwaZulu-Natal after being kidnapped on 10 February 2018 by ISIS supporters Sayfudeen Aslam del Vecchio, Fatima Patel, and Ahmad Jackson Mussa, along with their teenage neighbour, Thembamandla Xulu; and
- The attack on the Shi'a Imam Hussain mosque in Verulam, KwaZulu-Natal, on 10 May 2018, when three men stormed the mosque and attacked mosque officials and worshippers by slitting one's throat and seriously injuring two others. An investigating officer claimed that they found a manual on how to make bombs and carry out assassinations and IS propaganda at the alleged ringleader's house (Fabricius 2018).

The technological and information evolution has given terrorist organizations access to knowledge, technical and human resources and enabling them to take advantage of these developments. With that, terrorist groups have proliferated across national borders and have left states in a state of surprise with their capabilities and speed of action. Hence, the threat of

²⁶Along with the identified targets, various news reports also stated that other targets included affluent Jews and Jews who are fighting in Israel returning to South Africa, cartoonist Zapiro for drawing cartoons that offended Muslims, and an unidentified gay imam.

terrorism is no longer confined to national borders and remains a concern of the international community. Today, terrorists make use and take advantage of the increased expansion of information and weapons technology at their disposal. South Africa's vulnerability of terrorist attacks is increased as new technologies and their increasing availability, as well as terrorists' increasing mobility, raises the prospects for attacks to occur. The prevalence of access to online terrorist-related websites and social media, as well as the dire socio-economic conditions create fertile ground for radicalization.

The challenge of the debate of the risk posed by international terrorist groups to South Africa lies in balancing the potential security threat posed by these groups against the risks of overestimating the threat. The debate stemmed from the United Kingdom and Australia issuing travel alerts following the above incidents. With this, the potential of fuelling unnecessary social divisions and violence against foreigners out of fear is on the increase. This is significant as terrorism is not unique to a specific country or region, and there has been an increase in associated acts of terrorism, reflecting its spread internationally.

The attacks labelled as terrorist attacks merit proactive engagement on the issue of counterterrorism, however does not create enough credence to claim that terrorists are planning to attack South Africa. Various factors might leave South Africa open to the threat of terrorism, including fragile global geopolitics, the militarization of South African neighbourhood, domestic fragility, economic crises, corruption and political fracturing. Schoeman (2016) suggests that instead of terrorism posing a threat to South Africa, the country is more used as a transit point for terrorists and as a base for planning and financing operations. Evidence alluding to the aforementioned include the arrest of Khalfan Khamis Mohamed, in Cape Town a suspect in the 1998 al-Qaeda bombings of the US embassy in Nairobi; the British National Samantha Lewthwaite, the so-called white widow and an alleged member of al-Shabaab, spending several years hiding in South Africa; and the possession of fake South African passports by Al-Qaeda members.

The extent of domestic radicalization and terrorist activities is less clear than the above links and they should be carefully monitored, as the lack of communication from government regarding responses to reports of alleged terrorist activities could create distrust and uncertainty around the risk of terrorism within South African borders. Furthermore, it could lead to questions around government's ability and commitment to addressing the problem. What is required, is more transparency and better communication from government.

5.5. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The Southern Africa region's member states have been victimized by terrorism, have been embroiled over links to terrorist financing and fundraising, have their borders tarnished by perpetrated, and all have their tradition of small, domestic terrorist influence, however small they may seem (Rifer 2009:2). In South Africa, the greatest threat may not come in the form of terrorist attacks, but rather from an absence of a coordinated anti-terror regime making the state seem vulnerable. The shift of organized violence and terrorism beyond traditional concepts of armed conflict, weaponry and terrorist requires a new and innovative approach to peace and security. The emergence of the terrorist threat as regional, rather than national phenomenon, indicates a need for regional responses. Considering these recent attacks, South Africa should be conscious of certain factors:

- That attacks are seldom lone wolf in nature but are often preceded by cell structures that plan and execute them with precision. With this, attacks are often guided from the terrorist group, made possible through constant and rapid communication;
- Terrorist groups no longer need sophisticated weapons to guarantee high impact and media attention;
- Social media and the internet used as recruitment tools and enable encrypted communications to guide and direct attacks;
- The attacks which are seemingly terror related occurring since 2017 provides valuable insights, thus an opportunity for South Africa to inform a proactive counterterrorism strategy.
- Counterterrorism strategies need to be sustainable in a long- term manner and ideally coordinated with regional objectives as terrorism is transnational;
- Government should also raise awareness about the current state of terrorism in South Africa in order to ensure that citizens are aware of the realities, which in turn, would be facilitated by clear communication.

With the above in mind, when reviewing and creating policies, the following should be considered:

- The characteristics identified in Chapter 2 should be considered with regards to preventative measures when drawing up counterterrorism strategies;
- Monitoring and Evaluation tools and plans should be implemented which include clear outcome and output indicators;
- Considering a private-public partnership in setting up counterterrorism measures;
- Consider regional objectives in the fight against terrorism and take in to account lessons learnt

A challenge for South Africa is the way in which regional bodies should address terrorism in an environment where insecurity originates from challenges of governance and development. A total shift in how these issues are handled should occur as South Africa's security challenges largely relate to inadequate levels of good governance and widespread socio-economic issues, and these issues should be addressed when assessing counterterrorism measures.

South Africa needs to adhere to immigration and border controls in order to eradicate corruption at border points and within various government departments responsible for domestic affairs, security and policing. Furthermore, government needs to consider the more effective use of security personnel for efficient monitoring and policing. If military interventions are to be used, they need to consider possible human rights violations, mass displacements, loss of lives and damage to infrastructure. In addition, corruption should be rooted out, and socio-economic issues should be addressed. Soft power approaches include the enhancement of the use of mediation, developing a more efficient way in which information and research is shared to counter terrorism and violent extremism, enhancing humanitarian diplomacy, and to strengthen the link between development and peace processes. South Africa is in a unique position that the government can proactively act to prevent any future attacks, hence the need for a comprehensive and effective counterterrorism strategy.

Further areas for research on the topic of terrorism include:

- The study of ungoverned spaces in Africa as a security threat and facilitator of terrorism;
- The psychological background and motivations of a *new* terrorist;
- The impact of current socio-economic conditions on youth radicalization;
- Conditions in South Africa creating a vulnerability for recruitment;
- Assessing context for distinguishing between criminal acts and terrorist attacks;
- A comparison in the development of South Africa's anti-terrorism legislation with other country's strategies.

5.6. CONCLUSION

The attacks in Northern Mozambique has altered the typical notion that terrorism is predominant in North, West and East Africa. Terrorist groups do not operate independently from the international environment and are influenced by changes in their environment. Currently, international terrorism is dominated by radical Islamic groups, but in future this might change because most terrorist organizations lost momentum and ended. A shift in international events and changing perceptions and values will most likely determine the motivation for new terrorist campaigns. This was seen at the decline of communism when the rise of radical Islam emerged.

Terrorism is a global and globalizing phenomenon. This is seen in new terrorists' tactics, use of weapons, recruitment strategies, and establishment of networks, amongst other factors. South Africa needs a foundation of good and reliable information on which counterterrorism strategies are built on. There seems to be a lot of ambiguity regarding terrorism as a security threat to South Africa, leaving government in a hesitant state whether to pursue the threat or not. This research aimed to provide the information to support the pursuit of overt anti-terrorism legislation and effective counter terrorism strategies, and to urge the South African government that despite the terrorist threat not being imminent in the country, effective and comprehensive counterterrorism measures need to be implemented in the case that the threat arises. Various factors which could leave South Africa vulnerable to terrorism should be addressed to minimize the possibility of terrorist attacks within the country, and effective communication between the government and citizens should take place.

This research demonstrates the evolution in terrorism from *old* to *new*, with each comprising of distinct characteristics. The differentiation between these two types of terrorism is mostly a matter of perspective and motivation. Terrorist groups also do not operate in a vacuum, but are influenced by existing political, socio-economic and cultural environments. Even though it has shown new manifestations and types of actors, terrorist attacks do not demonstrate a clear distinction or mutual exclusivity between *old* and *new* actors, tactics and weapons. The factors contributing to terrorism and violent extremism are complex, and the way the threat is addressed can create further complications, hence great care should be taken in the best interest of South Africa to address the threat.

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