

# Addressing the Causes of Terrorism

The Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism

**Volume I**

THE INTERNATIONAL SUMMIT ON  
DEMOCRACY, TERRORISM AND SECURITY

**8-11 March 2005 Madrid**

  
CLUB DE MADRID

THE INTERNATIONAL SUMMIT ON  
DEMOCRACY, TERRORISM AND SECURITY

**8-11 March 2005 Madrid**

# **Addressing the Causes of Terrorism**

The Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism

## **Volume I**

The opinions expressed in individual papers are based on the discussions of the working groups at the International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security. They reflect the views of their authors, but not necessarily those of the Club de Madrid or any of its members.

The *Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism* is available in Spanish and English. To order additional copies, please write to:

**Club de Madrid**  
Felipe IV, 9 – 3º izqda.  
28014 Madrid  
Spain

Tel: +34 91 523 72 16  
Fax: +34 91 532 00 88  
Email: [clubmadrid@clubmadrid.org](mailto:clubmadrid@clubmadrid.org)

© Club de Madrid, 2005

Series editor: Peter R. Neumann  
Editorial Assistance: Henrik A. Lund and Milburn Line  
Production: ESC/Scholz & Friends

# Contents

---

Introduction by Kim Campbell	5
------------------------------	---

---

## Addressing the Causes of Terrorism

### Psychology

By Jerrold M. Post	7
--------------------	---

### Political Explanations

By Martha Crenshaw	13
--------------------	----

### Economic Factors

By Ted Robert Gurr	19
--------------------	----

### Religion

By Mark Juergensmeyer	27
-----------------------	----

### Culture

By Jessica Stern	35
------------------	----

---

## The Club de Madrid

Mission and Activities	41
List of Members	42
The Madrid Summit	45
The Madrid Agenda	47

---

## **Introduction**

**to the Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism**

Dear friend,

I am delighted to introduce the *Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism*. The policy papers that can be found in this volume are the result of an unparalleled process of debate which culminated at the International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security in Madrid in March 2005.

The Madrid Summit – held on the first anniversary of the Madrid train bombings on March 11, 2004 – was the largest gathering of terrorism and security experts that has ever taken place. It was our intention to be as comprehensive as possible, that is, to launch a strategic dialogue between scholars, practitioners and policymakers, but also to come up with practical suggestions that may help to resolve some of the dilemmas we have encountered since September 11, 2001.

The two hundred experts that participated in our working groups took up the challenge with great enthusiasm and dedication. In the months leading up to the conference, thousands of messages and hundreds of papers were exchanged. At the event itself, a whole day was spent on concluding the (sometimes heated) debates. The policy papers which resulted from this process will, I believe, be of enduring significance:

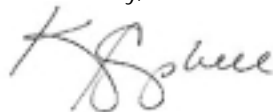
- With the input of two hundred of the world's leading scholars and expert practitioners, they represent the most informed judgement on the issue of democracy and terrorism to date.
- In being explicit about areas of consensus and disagreement, they provide an honest picture of the 'state of the debate'.
- They outline a number of fresh, practical ideas, which will be of great interest to policymakers and practitioners across the globe.

Taken together, the three volumes of the *Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism* outline the elements of a comprehensive response to the challenge from terrorism. The first volume examines the roots and underlying risk factors of terrorism and details concrete measures on how these could be addressed. The second looks at the security side, including creative proposals for improving the effectiveness of the law enforcement effort. In the third, we explore how the foundations of democratic governance (human rights, civil society, the rule of law, etc.) can be turned into assets rather than obstacles in the struggle against terrorism.

The emphasis on democratic values is no accident. The members of the Club de Madrid are all former heads of state and government committed to strengthening democracy around the world. The Madrid Summit was not our first initiative, nor is terrorism the only challenge to democratic governance we have addressed. In fact, we are currently running programmes and projects in four different continents. If you want to learn more about the Club de Madrid, please contact us or visit our web site at [www.clubmadrid.org](http://www.clubmadrid.org).

For the moment, though, I hope you enjoy reading the policy papers in this volume of the *Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism*.

Yours truly,



Kim Campbell  
Secretary-General of the Club de Madrid  
Former Prime Minister of Canada



# Psychology

*By Jerrold M. Post*

The working group on the psychological roots of terrorism deliberated intensively both virtually and in person over a four month period. As a result, a consensus emerged regarding core psychological principles, implications and policy recommendations.

## **Key Principles**

*Terrorism is an extremely complex and diverse phenomenon*

Given how different the causes and perspectives of right-wing, nationalist-separatist, social revolutionary and religious fundamentalist terrorists, it should come as no surprise that the psychologies of these types of terrorism differ as much as their motivations. We should therefore be discussing terrorisms – plural – and terrorist psychologies – plural – rather than searching for a unified general theory explaining all terrorist behaviour. Thus, there is not a ‘one size fits all’ explanation: the relationship between leadership and followers, the group and organizational dynamics, as well as the decision patterns differ from group to group. And while psychology plays a crucial role in understanding terrorism, to comprehend this complex phenomenon fully requires an inter-disciplinary approach, incorporating knowledge from political, historical, cultural, economic, ideological and religious scholarship.

In other words, it is important to consider each terrorism in its own political, historical and cultural context. For terrorism is a product of its own place and time. It is an attractive strategy to a diverse array of groups which have little else in common.

*Explanations at the level of individual psychology are insufficient*

It is not going too far to assert that terrorists are psychologically ‘normal’ in the sense of not being clinically psychotic. They are neither depressed, severely emotionally disturbed, nor are they crazed fanatics. In fact, terrorist groups and organizations regularly screen out emotionally unstable individuals. They represent, after all, a security risk.

There is a multiplicity of individual motivations. For some, it is to give a sense of power to the powerless; for others, revenge is a primary motivation; for still others, it is to gain a sense of significance. Within each group, there are motivational differences among the members, each of whom will be driven to differing degrees by group interest versus self-serving actions, as well as those inspired by ideology.

A clear consensus exists that it is not individual psychology, but group, organizational and social psychology, that provides the greatest analytical power in understanding this complex phenomenon. Terrorists have subordinated their individual identity to the collective identity, so that what serves the group, organization or network is of primary importance. For some groups, especially nationalist/separatist terrorist groups, this collective identity is established extremely early: hatred, one may say, is ‘bred



in the bone'. This, in turn, emphasizes the socio-cultural context, which determines the balance between collective and individual identity.

### *It is important to distinguish leaders from followers*

The role of the leader is crucial in drawing together alienated, frustrated individuals into a coherent organization. They provide a 'sense-making', unifying message that conveys a religious, political or ideological goal to their disparate followers. The leader plays a crucial role in identifying the external enemy as the cause, and drawing together into a collective identity otherwise disparate individuals, who may be discontented and aggrieved, but who – without the powerful presence of the leader – will remain isolated and individually aggrieved. The 'political entrepreneur' or hate-mongering leader plays a crucial organizing role. This, of course, is exemplified by Osama bin Laden who has become a positive identification object for thousands of alienated Arab and Muslim youth. For his followers, bin Laden serves as the heroic revenger, with the courage to stand up against the superpower. And, in following his lead, the individual follower can be seen as unselfish, altruistic and heroic to the point of self-sacrifice.

It is also important to understand the process by which followers enter the leadership echelon, which – while extremely important to the viability of the group – is not well understood. The systematic study of autobiographical accounts can help identify the salient features of this dynamic.

### *The dynamics of suicide terrorism*

It is easy to comprehend how a religious fundamentalist leader can use his religious authority to interpret religious scripture to justify extreme acts of violence. Yet, charismatic leaders can persuade their 'true believer' followers to carry out such acts even when they are pursuing a secular cause. This could be seen, for example, in the willingness of members of the Kurdish separatist PKK or the Tamil Tigers LTTE to commit suicide.

Suicide terrorism is a function of a culture of martyrdom, the organizational decision to employ this tactic, and a supply of recruits willing to give their lives in a 'martyrdom operation'. Social psychological forces are particularly important, leading some scholars – with particular reference to Palestinian suicide terrorism – to speak of the 'suicide terrorist production line'. The elements of this 'production line' include the establishment of a social contract, the identification of the 'living martyr' (which accrues great prestige within the community), and – in the culminating phase – the production of the final video. After one has passed through these phases, to back away from the final act of martyrdom would bring unbearable shame and humiliation. Similar but fuzzier phases may occur for other groups as well. Thus, as with terrorism psychology in general, suicide terrorism is very much a function of group and collective psychology, not individual psychopathology.

### *The terrorist life cycle is important to understand*

It is useful to unpack the life course of terrorists and consider the psychological processes they are undergoing at different phases: what initially attracts a potential terrorist to the terrorist group differs from what he or she experiences in terms of radicalization and consolidation of group and collective identity. Likewise, what makes the terrorist carry out acts of violence is different from what leads a terrorist to become disillusioned and leave the group.

The process of becoming a terrorist involves a cumulative, incrementally sustained and focused commitment to the group. For the majority of contemporary terrorists, there is an early entrance onto the pathway into terrorism – whether religious or secular – with many subsequent ‘way stations’. In particular, there is a continuing reinforcement by manipulative leaders, consolidating the collective identity, as well as externalizing, justifying and requiring violence against the enemy. This implies that early intervention is required, for once a youth is embedded within the group, his extremist psychology will be continually reinforced. The power of group dynamics – especially for the closed group – is intense, and once an individual is in the group, it is very difficult to penetrate his psychology and extricate him. Given that the attraction to, and entrance into, the terrorist path is a gradual process (which for some groups begins in early childhood), changing the influences upon this pathway will necessarily occur over an extended time frame.

As important as understanding the path into terrorism, is understanding what leads terrorists to leave. In this respect, it is critical to understand the processes that occur within the group/organization, as this has important implications for counter-terrorist policy. Exit from terrorism can be as complex as becoming involved with terrorism. The life course of the terrorists must therefore be understood in detail, so that optimal strategies for influencing these processes can be developed. In fact, the type of actions that have an impact upon the course of terrorism are not well understood, and many actions designed to counter terrorism consequently have counter-productive effects.

Groups may adhere to the same underlying ideology but differ remarkably in organizational structure. Thus, while *Hamas*, *Islamic Jihad* and *Al Qaeda* all find justification in the Koran for their ‘killing in the name of God’, the organizational form of *Hamas* and *Islamic Jihad* is traditionally more hierarchical and authoritarian: followers are directed from higher organizational levels; they only have a limited say in the conduct of operations; and decisions cannot be questioned.

In contrast, *Al Qaeda* has a much looser organizational form with distributed decision making. This decentralization was intensified following the effective destruction of *Al Qaeda* command and control in Afghanistan in 2001, leading some terrorism experts to conclude that *Al Qaeda* in its traditional form is functionally dead. What has been termed the ‘new’ *Al Qaeda* is considered by many to be an ideology rather than an organization. The successor global *Salafi jihad* network is widely distributed and semi-autonomous, operating more out of hubs than nodes, with wide latitude to plan and execute operations. The March 11 train bombings in Madrid reflect this emerging network.

Furthermore, although most Muslim immigrants and refugees are not ‘stateless’, many suffer from an existential sense of loss, deprivation and alienation from the countries in which they live. They are often exposed to extreme ideologies that radicalize them and can facilitate entrance into the path of terrorism. The diaspora has been identified as particularly important for the global *Salafi jihad*, with eighty per cent of recruits joining and becoming radicalized in the diaspora.

## **Areas of Discussion**

### *The psychology of weapons of mass destruction terrorism*

There is a broad consensus among scholars of terrorism that, for most terrorist groups, the use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) would be counter-productive. Most terrorist groups seek to influence the West and call attention to their cause. In these respects, mass casualty terrorism would be contrary to their aims.

It is necessary to distinguish between discriminate and indiscriminate terrorism, for some terrorist groups would entertain the use of such weapons on a tactical basis if it was guaranteed that they would not injure their own constituents. Exceptions in terms of motivation are fundamentalist Islamist terrorists (especially the *Salafi jihadists*, who are not interested in influencing the West but want to expel its corrupt modernizing values) and right wing terrorists (who often seek revenge). In contrast, for example, to the Egyptian *Islamic Jihad*, the *Salafi jihadists*, who are not embedded in a particular nation, are therefore particularly dangerous.

In addition to motivations and psychology, resource and expertise are required, and it can be argued that the assistance of states would be necessary for terrorist groups to produce effective weapons of mass destruction, especially in relation to nuclear terrorism. Without the assistance of states, biological terrorism is the most threatening WMD terrorism in which sub-state groups might become engaged.

### *The psychological effects of the New Media*

Identifying the impact of the new media – especially the 24/7 cable news environment and the internet – and grappling with the approaches to countering these influences is a serious challenge. The new media, particularly the internet, play an increasingly important role in establishing a sense of community among otherwise widely dispersed alienated youth. The danger here is that the community is driven and unified by an increasingly radical anti-Western ideology. Terrorist communiqués, ideological writings, hate speech and internet propaganda should not go unanswered but be responded to by well reasoned counter-argumentation.

### **Policy Implications**

The ‘war on terrorism’ is a war unlike other wars, and it will require concerted efforts over decades. While the terrorists’ ‘collective identity’ has been shaped gradually over many years, the attitudes that are at the foundation of terrorism will not quickly be altered. When hatred has been ‘bred in the bone’, when socialization to hatred and violence begins early and is reinforced and consolidated into a major theme of the collective identity, there can be no short term solution.

### *Research*

Interventions designed to break this cycle must begin early, that is, before that identity is consolidated. The nature of those interventions should be informed by the systematic study of the lives of terrorists, differentiating among terrorist types in general and groups in particular, and by understanding each terrorism in a nuanced manner within its own particular cultural, historical and political context. Given the different demographic, pathways, attitudes, and motivations, this makes it necessary to conduct field work, including interviews with captured or defected terrorists. One cannot counter a group that one does not understand.

Furthermore, if the goal of terrorism is to terrorize, terror is the property of the terrorized. Programs that reduce vulnerability to terror and promote societal resilience represent a key component of anti-terrorism. This requires research designed to understand what steps can immunize society against terror and promote societal resilience.

### *Society and governance*

It will require decades to change the culture of hatred and violence. In this struggle, the moral high ground needs to be maintained, for example by strengthening the rule of law and exemplifying good governance and social justice. To depart from these standards is to lower ourselves to the level of the terrorists and to damage liberal democracy.

Early interventions are required to inhibit entrance onto this violent path. Such interventions should involve educational, religious and social organization as well as the media, providing opportunities for integration and countering message of hatred against the minority. Such interventions should be based on social science research, such as the successful programs designed to curb youth gang violence.

All this highlights the fact that the struggle against terrorism is by no means a responsibility for the security services alone. This is not to say, however, that the military has no role to play in countering terrorism. The use of armed forces can be highly significant in relation to ‘sanctuary denial’: without the existence of sanctuaries like Afghanistan, the training and planning required to support complex operations like the September 11 attacks will be extremely difficult.

### *Diaspora communities*

Considering the growing number of vulnerable individuals in émigré and diaspora communities, interventions that respect cultural differences while helping to integrate the refugees with the recipient society will be important. Western governments should directly support the development and implementation of community based interventions aimed at promoting community and individual level changes that would support greater incorporation and integration of refugees and diaspora youth into the political culture of Western liberal democracies.

### *Public diplomacy and strategic communication*

Given that terrorism is a vicious species of psychological warfare, waged through the media, one does not counter psychological warfare with smart bombs and missiles: one counters psychological warfare with psychological warfare. Each phase of the terrorist life cycle is a potential focus of intervention. In other words, counter-terrorist measures must be designed to:

- Inhibit potential terrorists from joining the group. Once inside the group, the power of group dynamics is immense, continually confirming the power of the group’s organizing ideology and reinforcing the member’s dedication to the cause.
- Produce dissension in the group.
- Facilitate exit from the group. It is important to stimulate and encourage defection from the group. A number of states with significant terrorism problems – Italy, Spain in the Basque region, and Great Britain in Northern Ireland – have creatively employed amnesty programs to facilitate terrorists leaving the group.

- Reduce support for the group and its leader. If, for every terrorist killed or captured, there are ten more waiting in line, it is critical to marginalize the group and to de-romanticize and de-legitimize the leader. In the case of radical Islamist terrorism, this can only be done from within Islam, with moderate Arab political leaders and moderate Muslim clerics taking on the extremists in their midst who have hijacked their nations and their religion. The goal here is to alienate the terrorist organization from its constituency, which plays a crucial role in providing a reservoir of new recruits. This, in turn, will inhibit potential terrorists from joining the group or organization in the first place.

### **Members of the Working Group**

- Jerrold Post, George Washington University, USA (co-ordinator)
- Scott Atran, University of Michigan, USA, and Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France
- Dipak Gupta, San Diego State University, USA
- Nasra Hasan, United Nations Information Service
- John Horgan, University College Cork, Ireland
- Ariel Merari, Tel Aviv University, Israel
- Marc Sageman, Foreign Policy Research Institute, USA
- Alex Schmid, United Nations Office for the Prevention of International Terrorism
- Christ Stout, University of Illinois, USA
- Jeff Victoroff, University of Southern California, USA
- Stevan Weine, University of Illinois, USA

# Political Explanations

*By Martha Crenshaw*

The working group agreed on the central principle that terrorism is a form of political action. It cannot be taken out of specific historical contexts or treated as a generic phenomenon. It is a strategy rooted in political discontent, used in the service of many different beliefs and doctrines that help legitimise and sustain violence. Ideologies associated with nationalism, revolution, religion, and defence of the status quo have all inspired terrorism. We have to look at the opportunities, resources, intentions, and perceptions of actors for whom terrorism is useful to intimidate opponents, communicate goals, advertise the cause, recruit followers, and mobilize popular support.

## **Key Principles**

### *The causes of terrorism*

Explaining terrorism in terms of background conditions (social, economic, demographic, political, or cultural) is insufficient at best, and wrong at worst. Focusing exclusively on underlying structures provides little predictive capacity. 'Root causes' may, in fact, influence the subsequent trajectory of terrorism more than its onset since they determine the extent of social support for violence by justifying grievances. Even when background conditions hold relatively constant, terrorist activity may escalate or decline. Furthermore, contagion processes may operate cross-nationally and result in the spread of terrorism from the point of origin to locales with different conditions. 'Globalization', for example, facilitates the spread of terrorism but it is not a direct cause. (One paradox of globalization worth noting is that groups with the most fervent anti-Western ideologies exploit Western technology for their own gain. Groups with apparently anti-modernist agendas may themselves be the result of modernization.) Instead, historical contingencies and the perceptions and intentions of small, radicalised political conspiracies are most important in explaining terrorism. We must not forget that terrorism requires the active participation of only a very small number of individuals who may or may not represent collective interests.

Terrorism is not a monolithic phenomenon but rather quite diverse, not only in terms of ideology but in organization and inception. Sometimes terrorism is associated with a social movement or political party that enjoys significant popular support, largely as a result of its non-violent activities such as providing much needed social services. (*Hamas* and *Hezbollah* are examples of such implanted organisations.) Such actors employ terrorism because it is a temporarily expedient means of pressuring a government. They can survive, even flourish, without using terrorism. Other groups are more socially isolated. They may be splinter factions of larger organizations, or small groups that have formed in order to use terrorism. Such groups have few options other than terrorism and over time it may become an identity for them as much as a strategy. Groups of both types are subject to internal strains and divisions, and factionalism is common. Their leaders struggle to maintain cohesion and loyalty.

Introducing this distinction raises another point: in some circumstances, terrorism may be seen as legitimate by popular audiences, especially when they are discriminated against and access to power is blocked. It cannot be denied that in some circumstances the public may not only support the goals behind terrorism but the method itself.

### *Terrorism and democracy*

The relationship between terrorism and democracy is a key concern. Are certain types of regimes more likely to experience terrorism than others? In particular, are democracies more at risk than other types of states? Do regimes that do not tolerate dissent force opponents into terrorism? Will democracy prevent terrorism?

A key point to recognize here is that 'democracy' is far too broad a term. Not all democracies are equally inclusive or pluralistic or respectful of minority rights. Elected majorities may discriminate systematically against minorities. Many of the world's functioning democracies are limited or partial. They are likely to be less developed, less wealthy, and less stable than consolidated democracies. However defined, democracy does not guarantee immunity. Democracy and terrorism are not polar opposites: saying 'yes' to democracy, unfortunately, does not mean saying 'no' to terrorism. Established liberal democracies with long traditions of free speech and tolerance of dissent have been the targets of both domestic and foreign terrorism, both at home and abroad. We can point not only to the United States but also to Canada, Great Britain, Germany, France, Greece, Italy, Spain, Turkey, and India. The causes espoused by the groups resorting to terrorism were varied, including ethno-nationalism and separatism, leftwing revolutionism, religion, and rightwing extremism.

In the case of terrorism that is generated within a democracy, the degree of social, ethnic, and political heterogeneity or fragmentation within the state appears to be a critical variable. Highly contentious politics and divided societies are likely to be associated with a greater risk of terrorism. They are typically associated with the prevalence of other forms of political violence as well. The instigating factors for violence constitute a complex, dynamic equation that is difficult to solve regardless of regime type.

Thus we should ask not only where terrorism is likely to occur but also where it will have the most serious consequences for democracy. Transitional or new democracies are the most fragile, because their authority is weak and the legacy of past oppression may be strong. Terrorism has the potential to jeopardize democratic transitions. Reference can be made, for example, to the effect of terrorism on movements away from military rule in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Spain, and Algeria. Terrorism in these cases persisted through the transition process.

A question raised in this respect is whether terrorism in transitional periods is a consequence of unresolved grievances or of state weakness. If it is the latter, then strengthening the state's capacity to deal with terrorism, while insisting on ethical standards of conduct by police and security forces, is essential. Maintaining public authority during transitions is a necessity, both to contain terrorism and to avoid linking democracy with chaos in the public mind.

Yet the government must avoid falling into the trap of terrorism followed by counter-terrorism, leading to an uncontrollable spiral of violence. It is essential that human rights standards are internalized. Engagement and debate with parties that accept dialogue are preferable to the blanket suppression of all opposition in the name of security. Terrorism can create permissive majorities that will allow harsh repression of all opposition in the immediate – the government, however, must look to the future.

Different historical experiences are also critical insofar as they determine perceptions of state legitimacy. Thus the authoritarian past of a democratizing state may continue to limit public confidence and trust in government despite the adoption of democratic institutions and procedures. ‘Holdovers’ from the old regime often cling desperately to power, and new groups entering the political process are suspicious of unfamiliar patterns of political claim-making. Groups that used terrorism against the old regime may persevere due to their own internal dynamics rather than the character or policies of the new, more tolerant regime.

### *International politics*

The causes of terrorism are international as well as domestic. We have previously referred to globalization, as it facilitates the operations of transnational conspiracies. Advances in technology enhance their mobility and their ability to communicate internally and externally. They take advantage of the weakness of state borders and the sheer volume of travel. It is also possible that the goals of some modern terrorism (*Al Qaeda* and its offshoots) may include overturning the international order, perceived as a manifestation of Western domination of the Muslim world.

Another source of concern at the level of the international system is state weakness, whether collapse or involvement in extensive civil conflict (the former often a result of the latter). Some failed or failing states – those without central governments or with governments that cannot maintain control over their territory or populations – become hosts for radical conspiracies that both impede stabilization and export terrorism to other targets and audiences. Prolonged civil conflict and instability produce waves of refugees and immigrants who form alienated diasporas in which terrorist groups may find shelter. Economic weakness and political repression may also contribute to immigration. Dissatisfaction with local conditions is displaced onto the international system. These conditions are thus a serious problem for the international community.

Another consideration to note is that any type of regime, democratic or authoritarian, may be involved in an asymmetric conflict outside its borders. Stable and well-developed democracies may not face a serious threat from internally-generated terrorism, but external intervention or political, economic, and cultural presence may provoke terrorism from the outside. Thus, a state’s susceptibility to terrorism is determined not just by how it treats its citizens at home but by its actions abroad. When such actions lack international legitimacy and local populations perceive them as unjust, radical groups come to see terrorism as an appropriate response. Not all interventions are the same, of course, and some are perceived positively by the populations in question. Indeed, such a reception may be more likely when interventions are genuinely multilateral.

### *Religion*

A last question that must be addressed is the role of religion. Religious doctrine, in our view, is a ‘tool of mobilization’ or a justification for terrorism rather than a direct cause. For example, discontent with the political and economic status quo leads to support for radical Islamist groups. Religiosity itself is not a cause of political radicalism. Appeals to religion are likely to be a way of framing or representing a struggle in terms that a potential constituency will understand rather than the determinants of a strategic choice. As noted above, groups espousing similar goals often choose different methods, disagreeing over the means more than over the ends. A number of factors contribute to the choice of terrorism, including disillusionment over the possibility of change through non-violence or through violence other than terrorism (e.g., guerrilla warfare) as well as conceptions of religious doctrine. Religious justifications are often combined with other, explicitly political, goals, such as nationalism or self-determination.



## *The future*

We urgently need to look beyond the present to ask what doctrines will inspire terrorism in the future. Nationalism has reappeared as a cause of terrorism, with Iraq being a compelling example. In addition, at least for Europe, the rise of intolerance, particularly on the right, could spawn new terrorist movements. With the expansion of the European Union and the salience of the immigration question, rightwing and nationalist political parties may capitalise on fear and resentment to promote or facilitate the use of violence against perceived 'dangerous classes' such as immigrants, asylum-seekers, or refugees. The problem of minority inclusion is becoming more salient in increasingly multiethnic and multicultural societies. If majorities perceive minorities as collectively responsible for terrorism, backlash is likely.

## **Policy Implications**

### *A legitimate response*

How the state responds to terrorism matters more than type of government. Different types of states with different histories, resources, and interests are predisposed to respond differently, but all have a range of policy choices.

The response to terrorism poses numerous dilemmas. Policies must be developed to stop terrorism in the present, since a central obligation of the state is to protect its citizens, but they must also prevent it in the future. Any action taken to counter terrorism has to be effective in the short-term *and* in the long-run. Coercive or repressive policies designed to destroy or contain the terrorist threat in the immediate, even if successful in achieving that end, may alienate and aggrieve others who sympathize with the claims of those resorting to violence. Moderates may join the opposition if the political arena is polarized or if they cannot be protected from terrorist intimidation. Thus the response to terrorism must be legitimate if the government is to defeat a group without expanding its support base. Violations of human rights in the pursuit of counter-terrorism will be counterproductive.

### *Towards a nuanced approach*

Striking a balance between the two goals of present and future security requires a nuanced approach – one that distinguishes between challengers that are isolated and those that have popular support. The government must understand the bases of critical social support and the circumstances that appear to justify terrorism to its users and their sympathizers. Otherwise it risks playing into the hands of its adversary. Treating terrorism exclusively as a military or security problem is likely to be self-defeating.

Governments should encourage the transformation of those radicalised groups that are linked to broader social and political movements or political parties. They should be encouraged to join the political game and enter into dialogue. Indeed, the government should offer a democratic pact: oppositions that accept dialogue and renounce violence by making a commitment to respect human rights, the rule of law, and democratic norms will be included in the political process.

Often movements and parties split over the use of terrorism, and extremist factions pursue an independent path. Leaders and followers also differ. Once embarked on, terrorism assumes its own dynamic, especially if it results in a spiral of violence and counter-violence, provocation and counter-provocation. It can become routine and habitual. Yet the relationships between non-violent and violent factions remain ambiguous and conflicted. Government policies should differentiate between the two tendencies rather than force them to coalesce.

Where information is lacking or where constraints are ignored because the immediate threat seems both imminent and dangerous, governments may lean toward an indiscriminate approach. (Democratising governments are likely to suffer from both problems – lack of information as well as fear of destabilisation and possibly habits and routines of repression inherited from the past.) However, tactics such as mass arrests and other ‘collective impact measures’ alienate those wrongly accused as well as their families, friends, and cohorts. Such policies also neglect a critical factor contributing to terrorism: the socialization process that produces recruits (usually young men, not necessarily disadvantaged in relative terms) into underground organisations. Likewise, punishing non-violent opposition as severely as violence reduces incentives for restraint. It equalizes risk. It may be difficult for governments to resist public demands that terrorism be punished, especially if the government has established a reputation for retaliating. Thus, democratic leaders should note the danger that counter-terrorism policies will establish precedents and expectations that will be hard to change.

### *Spoilers*

Governments must also recognize that their very success in promoting accommodation is likely to provoke terrorism from groups that continue to reject compromise and from factions that splinter off from the groups that accept dialogue. Terrorism gives ‘spoilers’ in peace processes a unique comparative advantage. Governments must not allow peace processes to be derailed by such exploitation.

### *Victims and the public*

Attention must also be paid to the victims of terrorism, who must be satisfied with the government’s response. The past cannot be forgotten, but vindictiveness must be avoided. Here the principle of ‘no impunity’ should be raised. All parties should be held accountable for acts of violence and violations of human rights. Blanket amnesties are therefore not to be recommended. In the absence of a sense that justice has been done, popular demands for retribution may be overwhelming. Governments should institutionalize aid for victims, who are owed apologies from those responsible for acts of terrorism as well as material compensation.

Democratic governments have a responsibility to educate their publics and to encourage heightened democratic solidarity, not fear, in the face of terrorism. Governments should not rush into decisions that are based on public pressures due to fear or hatred. Rather, the response must be considered, deliberate, and controlled by the civilian authorities.

### **Members of the Working Group**

- Martha Crenshaw, Wesleyan University, USA (co-ordinator)
- Rogelio Alonso, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Spain
- Mohamed Fared Azzi, Oran University, Algeria
- Ronald Crelinsten, University of Ottawa, Canada
- José Luis Herrero, FRIDE Foundation, Spain
- Barbara Lethem Ibrahim, Population Council, Egypt
- Saad Eddin Ibrahim, American University Cairo, Egypt
- Fernando Reinares, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Spain
- Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca, Fundación Juan March, Spain
- Ekaterina Stepanova, Russian Academy of Sciences
- Mario Sznajder, Hebrew University, Israel
- Leonard Weinberg, University of Nevada, USA

# Economic Factors

*By Ted Robert Gurr*

Terrorism is a tactic, sometimes a strategy, chosen by groups waging conflict. In addition to their ideologically-driven pursuit of ethno-national, religious, or revolutionary objectives, the perpetrators justify their choice of terrorism – rather than other political strategies – by a mix of rational calculation about its costs and benefits.

*Our working group agreed on three principles:*

- It is possible to diagnose and respond to the socio-economic and political circumstances in which terrorist movements and ideologies take root.
- It is essential to analyze incentives and disincentives that affect militants' decisions to choose terrorist tactics and individual decisions to join, avoid, or oppose such groups: 'Economics is not just about whether economic variables can help explain observed outcomes. It is most fundamentally about how human behaviour is shaped by the interaction of incentives and constraints' (David Gold).
- Terrorism today has both local and transnational causes and costs, and it therefore requires co-ordinated local, regional, and global policy responses.

## **Areas of Discussion**

*How important are poverty and inequalities as causes of terrorism?*

Poverty per se is not a direct cause of terrorism. Macro-studies show that terrorism can occur anywhere, but is more common in developing societies, rather than in poor or rich countries, and is most likely to emerge in societies characterized by rapid modernization (Alberto Abadie, Tore Bjorgo). Economic change creates conditions that are conducive for instability, the emergence of militant movements and extremist ideologies. In the Islamic world, for example, the more traditional segments of the population are disoriented by sweeping socio-economic change, and are therefore especially susceptible to movements that strengthen threatened identities, provide explanations, and give believers a sense of empowerment (Yigal Carmon). A pervasive risk factor in developing societies is the so-called youth age bulge, that is, a substantial increase in the proportional size of the young male population facing insecure employment prospects.

Within countries, the groups that support and give rise to terrorist movements usually are relatively disadvantaged because of class, ethnic, or religious cleavages. At the individual level, the leaders of militant movements are better educated and of higher status than most of the population from which they come. This, however, is true of leaders of almost all political organizations (Ekkart Zimmermann, Jeroen Gunning, Jitka Maleckova). A significant number of activists are similarly well educated, even though many face uncertain employment opportunities (resulting in what many experts call 'status

dissonance'). Recruits are also drawn from among poorer and less-educated youth – those with a lack of opportunities to complete secondary or higher education, or unable to find good jobs. Militant movements frequently draw in what Bjorgo calls fellow-travellers and criminals – people motivated by social needs and pressures and chances for personal gain rather than ideology.

The status of women is especially important. Although women are sometimes recruited as suicide bombers, in general they seldom support terrorism. Cross-national studies show that the higher women's relative educational status and political participation, the less frequent are political violence and instability. Three mechanisms may be at work: (1) educated and empowered women may socialize youth in ways that inhibit their susceptibility to recruitment to terrorism; (2) they also help strengthen civil society organizations that provide alternatives to political militancy; and (3) in the longer run, women's education contributes to declining birth rates, leading to a reduction in the problems associated with large youth populations.

In summary, structured inequalities within countries are breeding grounds for violent political movements in general and terrorism specifically. As shown below, structured inequalities across the interdependent global system have similar consequences.

### *How do political conflicts shift to and from terrorism?*

Ethno-nationalist and revolutionary terrorist movements – such as the Kosovar militants, Chechen rebels and Italy's Red Brigades – usually emerge in the context of larger political conflicts that are centred on the grievances of groups that see themselves as economically or politically marginalized. For these movements, terrorism is a tactic in a larger campaign which is used and then discarded depending on opportunities and costs.

In what circumstances do militant movements shift to terrorist strategies? A general principle is that semi-repressive regimes contribute to the escalation of political conflicts to terrorism. Their repression is not consistent enough to destroy terrorist organizations, while their reforms are insufficient to persuade militants to give up strategies of violence (Zimmermann). Also common is a division of labour between more conventional political participation by parties and social movements, and the employment of violent means by other groups in the same domain. Schmid cites a recent study, which show that 124 out of 399 terrorist groups are affiliates of, or splits from, political parties.

Another general principle is that some militant groups choose terror tactics in the expectation that governments will increase repression, leading to a shift in public support from the government to the terrorists' cause (Joshua Sinai, Schmid). Radicalization and a wave of terrorist attacks also may result from a specific hostile event that calls for revenge – for example the 'Bloody Sunday' shootings by British soldiers in Derry-City in 1972, Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount/Al-Aqsa Mosque in the year 2000, and the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. In other cases, radicalization is the result of 'spillover' from conflicts involving kindred in neighbouring states. Lyubov Mincheva notes that the nationalist rebellion of Kosovo Albanians in 1998-99 provided encouragement, arms, and agents for subsequent terrorist campaigns by Albanians in the Presevo region of Serbia and in Macedonia.

Diasporas may also promote terrorist tactics. Gabriel Sheffer observes that 27 of the 50 most active terrorist organizations today are either segments of ethno-national or religious diasporas, or are supported by them. Kurds, Palestinians, Sikhs, Tamils, and many other migrant peoples are motivated by discrimination and repression against kindred in their homelands – and elsewhere – to organize and support violent resistance, especially when they see that non-violent political action is ineffective. They do not expect to 'win' by supporting violence but rather to dramatize injustices and create imperatives for reform.

The policy challenge is how to reduce the incentives for groups in conflict to choose terrorist tactics, and how to increase the incentives to give it up. As a general principle, democratic rights and institutions give activists incentives to participate in conventional rather than violent politics. Michael Stohl observes that if governments follow strategies of political accommodation in response to political challenges, they may not deter active terrorists but are likely to undermine support for them in the larger population – who no longer see a rationale for terrorism. Just as provocative actions by governments can cause a backlash that precipitates terrorism, accommodation by governments can cause a public backlash against terrorists.

### *What is the role of extremist ideologies?*

Radical doctrines can profoundly affect how people interpret their situation, respond to efforts to mobilize them, and choose among alternative strategies of political action. Gold cites evidence that terrorist organizations respond to cyclical declines in economic performance by using an ideological message to increase their recruitment. Bjorgo observes that ‘the presence of charismatic ideological leaders able to transform widespread grievances and frustrations into a political agenda for violent struggle is a decisive factor behind the emergence of a terrorist movement’. Extreme nationalism – like *Jihadist* doctrines and militant Hinduism – frames disaffected people's ideas about what is possible, permissible, and required. Zimmermann notes that such ideologies can shift cost-reward ratios by convincing militants that their sacrifices will have payoffs – if not in this life, then in the next.

People whose lives are disrupted by rapid modernization – for example, when sudden oil wealth precipitates a change from tribal to high-tech societies – are especially susceptible to extremist ideologies. When traditional norms, social patterns and identities are threatened, people are ripe for conversion to new radical ideologies based on religion or nostalgia for a glorious, mythic past or promised future. Ideologies derived from Islamic principles are powerful because, for traditional people in Arab societies, religion covers all aspects of life and gives meaning, counsel, and justifications for action (Bjorgo, Carmon).

In a transnational world, ideologies help members of far-flung groups to co-ordinate action. Ideologies of Palestinian or Kurdish or Chechen nationalism connect dispersed communities in support of a common objective – and also facilitate the provision of international support. Similarly, *Jihadist* doctrine helps Islamist militants connect with marginalized people throughout the Muslim world.

Ideologies differ in type as well as function. They may be used to justify nationalist aspirations, calls for revolution, cultural purification, or a mix of these. Several group members say it is essential to recognize that only some Muslim activists are concerned about *Jihad*; others have more limited political and welfare goals (Sheffer, Gunning). In the Middle East and its diasporas, political and religious motivations often run in parallel.

Schmid points out that ideology is not always necessary for terrorist activity. A collective or individual desire for revenge against acts of repression may be motivation enough. Likewise, criminal groups like the Colombian drug cartels have engaged in terrorism to prevent extraditions to the US without any gloss of ideology. And Mincheva observes that ethno-nationalism facilitates the often violent operations of the Serbian criminal mafia, a gang with links to security services, and the Albanian drug mafia.

### *How does economic globalization contribute to terrorism?*

Globalization has great potential to provide economic benefits that can be realized by disadvantaged groups and provides openings for the incorporation of women (Sue Eckert). Yet, as Atanas Gotchev points out, the process of globalization has also vastly increased incentives and opportunities for terrorism and makes it easier to organize, finance, and sustain terrorist strategies.

*Globalization as cause and motivation for terrorism:* The counterpart to successful integration into the global economy is the growth of ‘weak globalisers’ who become less competitive, whose populations have falling or stagnant incomes, and – as a result – experience growing unemployment, political tension, and religious fundamentalism. A number of African and Muslim countries have steadily ‘de-globalized’ over the last 25 years. The general effects are an increase in inequalities and social polarization among states. Such growing inequality may lead to terrorist acts justified by the perpetrators in the name of a more equitable distribution of wealth.

*Cultural resistance to globalization:* The permeability of cultural boundaries and the global spread of market culture is interpreted by some militants as the ‘infiltration of alien and corrupt culture’, which is then used as a justification for nationalist and radical religious movements that aim at cleansing their societies and cultures of foreign influence.

*Globalization fosters the development of new minorities:* Globalization facilitates the movement of workers and refugees across borders, leading to new minority groups in ‘settled’ societies, many of which are linked politically to kindred elsewhere.

*Globalization increases opportunities for militant and terrorist groups:* The cross-border movement of activists, information, and money from supporters (governments, diasporas, political sympathizers) to terrorist groups is facilitated by globalization. Simultaneously, the sinews of globalization – from pipelines to communication networks – become ‘soft targets’ for transnational terrorists.

*Linkages develop between political and criminal networks:* Organized crime and terrorist groups use similar – sometimes the same – means for moving materials, people and funds across boundaries. Underground banking networks developed by criminal groups are also used by terrorist groups. Some proceeds from illegal businesses end up funding terrorist groups. These developments blur the distinctions between political and criminal, increase the capacity of the linked groups to resist international action, and increase the terrorists’ incentives for continuing their campaigns.

These malign connections are particularly evident in the Balkans and the Caucasus, where – as Mincheva points out – ‘the interaction of Balkan terrorism with global terrorism is a marriage of convenience. Balkan terrorists – mostly Bosnian Muslims and the Albanian mafia – have become a part of the global terrorist network not for dedication to Wahhabism but for [their shared] interest in making money’.

When militant groups do turn to crime to finance their political activities, politics may gradually become a cover for crime for profit. Bjorgo points out that leaders or factions within the militant movement sometimes oppose political solutions to the conflict because it would undermine their vested ‘business interests’: ‘Why should the Colombian FARC guerrillas seriously support a peace solution when they run a highly successful ransom-for-money business and collect protection taxes from drug barons?’

*Globalization weakens the state:* As a result of global constraints, governments – especially in the global South – have seen a decline in their capacity to control their economies. Their law enforcement capacities are weakened. Both indirectly facilitate international terrorism.

## **Policy Implications**

Our analyses suggest strategies to reduce the incentives and opportunities for violent political movements. They may not dissuade currently active groups from terrorism but should dry up their support and channel future grievances into conventional politics in the long run.

### *Changing the socio-economic environments that breed terrorism*

In our view, policymakers should:

- Design development strategies that mitigate the impact of rapid socioeconomic change on vulnerable segments of the population in poorer countries. More specifically, it is vital to implement long-term international aid and investment policies that help empower the groups that are most directly affected in order to influence the nature and pace of development (Gotchev). It is especially important to promote participation and opportunities for groups left behind in rapid development. Redistribution of new wealth among the population in the form of education *and* corresponding job opportunities is a significant element of this strategy. Education without opportunities is an explosive combination (Bjorgo) – even more explosive is the expansion of traditional Islamic education that provides no skills for participation in modernizing societies but sanctions Jihadist resistance to modernization and its agents.
- Promote women’s literacy, education, and economic and political participation.
- Encourage governments of heterogeneous societies to reduce group discrimination and barriers to domestic socio-economic mobility by promoting international norms of equal rights, supporting small-scale private enterprise (Gold) and offering inducements, such as conditional economic assistance and favourable trading partnerships to governments that implement such policies.
- Design strategies to reintegrate ‘weak globalizers’ into the world economy, for example by developing a duty-free regime for their products and facilitating their membership in international trade organizations (Gotchev). This could be accompanied by the subsidized transfer of key inputs and technologies (Gold).
- Enlist the co-operation of non-governmental bodies including the corporate sector, financial institutions, and donor NGOs in long-term socioeconomic reform efforts. International corporations and investors are in a strong position to influence the policies of governments in host countries in ways that minimize the risks of terrorist attacks on their facilities and personnel. For example, they could develop voluntary codes of conduct (such as the Sullivan principles used in South Africa and the McBride principles in Northern Ireland) and corporate social responsibility initiatives to promote responsible investment, as well as employment practices, and community relations that reduce inequalities and promote the growth of civil society (Eckert, Gurr). It may also be possible to design and fund public-private partnerships in responding to security threats (Gotchev).



### *Changing the political environments that facilitate terrorism*

Political development is an essential complement to socio-economic improvements. The working group believes that it is important to:

- Promote the growth of the middle and professional classes and their organizations. Middle class, civil society groups usually have strong incentives to support non-violent politics and to discourage militants from terrorist actions.
- Encourage governments to design political and economic opportunities that alter the cost/benefit calculations for political activists in ways that discourage support for terrorism, especially in countries where political militants are active but have not yet resorted to terrorism (Stohl). Another aim should be to promote political compromise with dissident groups, particularly those that have broad-based support (Bjorgo, Gunning).
- Counter the propagation of extremist ideologies, especially but not only *Jihadist* doctrines.
- Encourage the international media, local schools and public figures to challenge and provide alternatives to hate propaganda.
- Support reformist Islamic scholarship, media, and organizations (Carmon).
- Devise programs that increase Muslims' favourable exposure to democratic societies and thought, for example by prompting direct and virtual dialogue among Muslims and Christians, and sponsoring short-term visits of Muslim students to non-Muslim communities (Gurr).
- Facilitate democratic reform, because long-run socio-economic and political policies that reduce the risks of terrorism are easier to implement in democracies than autocracies. However, Western-style democracy is not a magic bullet. In some societies, transitions to democracy prompt cultural resistance and may create opportunities for violent political movements. International support for specific reforms like those listed above is a first step; achieving those reforms will contribute over the longer run to the emergence of strong and stable democracies.

### *Reducing the material and political resources of militant organizations*

Once they have emerged, terrorist groups' capability to carry out their campaigns need to be undermined. The following elements are considered essential:

- Interrupting the flow of financial resources to militant groups is already being pursued by the international community, yet its effectiveness has proved to be limited. The reasons are that most terrorism is low-cost, and because militants have recourse to alternative remittance systems, use of couriers, and local fund-raising through crime (Schmid). Attempting to cut off all international funds to disadvantaged groups linked to terrorism is impossible. Many recipients of funds are 'first and foremost, engaged in activities whose purposes are to enhance the cultural, civic and economic well-being of their own communities' (Sheffer). It is important, therefore, to allow appropriate charities

to continue helping ordinary people within a system of ‘robust checks and balances’, as exemplified by the approach adopted by the UK Charity Commission (Eckert, Gunning).

- Undermining political support for militants is a promising strategy. Diaspora groups in Western societies may pressure activists in their homelands to follow more moderate strategies, especially if the alternatives have potential pay-offs for reducing their grievances (Sheffer). Domestically, militants always face the risks of defection and loss of support from their potential supporters. Selective amnesty and opportunities for individual or collective disengagement have long been used to help defuse rebellions, and are equally applicable to terrorist movements.
- Better international co-ordination and joint action are essential. Regional and international organizations should take the lead in containing cross-border terrorism that is generated by regional conflicts in the Balkans, Central Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere (Mincheva), provided this is done in co-operation with the authorities and civil society organizations of countries in each conflict region (Sheffer). In addition, all governments should create central authorities for international co-ordination against international terrorism and crime, which are capable of taking swift, joint action with counterparts in other countries (Schmid).

### **Members of the Working Group**

- Ted Robert Gurr, University of Maryland, USA (co-ordinator)
- Alberto Abadie, Harvard University, USA
- Jose Antonio Alonso, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain
- Tore Bjorgo, Norwegian Police University College (deputy co-ordinator)
- Yigal Carmon, Middle East Media Research Institute, USA
- Sue Eckert, Brown University, USA
- David Gold, New School University New York, USA
- Atanas Gotchev, University of National and World Economy, Bulgaria
- Jeroen Gunning, University of Aberystwyth, Wales
- Jitka Maleckova, Charles University, Czech Republic
- Lyubov Mincheva, University of Sofia, Bulgaria
- Alex Schmid, United Nations Office for the Prevention of International Terrorism (advisory)
- Gabriel Sheffer, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
- Joshua Sinai, independent researcher, USA
- Michael Stohl, University of California at Santa Barbara, USA
- Ekkart Zimmermann, Dresden University of Technology, Germany



# Religion

*By Mark Juergensmeyer*

This working group brought together a remarkable team of scholars from around the world. They were experts not only on Islamic violence in Europe and the Middle East, but on terrorist acts committed by Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu and Sikh activists in virtually every continent on the globe.

The conclusions of this group reflect a broad understanding of the role that religion has played in legitimizing violence and motivating violent activists and followers. The following is a short outline of the areas of agreement, concern and continuing discussion.

## **Areas of Agreement**

### *Religion is seldom the only cause of terrorism*

The scholars agreed that while religion has been a major factor in recent acts of terrorism, it is seldom the only one. Religious ideologies, goals, and motivations are often interwoven with those that are economic, social, and political. A group's decision to turn to violence is usually situational and is seldom endemic to the religious tradition to which the group is related. Islam does not cause terrorism, nor does any other religion with which terrorist acts have been associated. As John Esposito explained, usually 'political and economic grievances are primary causes or catalysts, and religion becomes a means to legitimate and mobilize'. Ian Reader stated that even in the case of Aum Shinrikyo, the Buddhist movement implicated in the Tokyo nerve gas incident in 1995, the religious factor 'would not have been enough to take the group in the direction that it did'.

### *Religion can contribute to a 'culture of violence'*

Even though religion may not be the sole cause of terrorism, it can exacerbate the situation. Religion brings to a situation of conflict images of grand struggle and an abiding absolutism. As Ian Reader put it, religion is often 'centred around themes that can be inherently polarizing — concepts of truth, notions of good, of absolutes and ultimate realities'. For this reason, religion can contribute to a culture of violence where violence becomes 'a defining issue' in the identity of activist groups. In these cases violence plays what Samuel Peleg described as a 'catharsis effect of being liberated as terrorism for terrorism's sake'. As David Rosen pointed out, there can be a kind of 'intoxication' with violence. Esposito believes that groups may experience a 'siege' mentality. What Mark Juergensmeyer terms 'cosmic war' perspective can sometimes take on a reality in which violence is essential to demonstrate the existence of that imagined war.

### *Religious terrorism has an ambivalent relationship to the state*

As Esposito emphasizes, although religious terrorism tends to be an instrument of non-state groups, states have at times used religion to legitimate state violence and terrorism, as John Esposito pointed out. Rosen referred to the role of Iran in sponsoring terrorist movements. On the other hand, Bassam Tibi indicated that the *jihadi* movements often targeted their own modern Muslim governments and were therefore anti-state and revolutionary in nature. Ian Reader pointed out that the 'war on terrorism' contained a religious dimension of sacred war surprisingly similar to the point of view adopted by those perpetrating terrorist acts, and Behzad Shahandeh also indicated that state efforts at counter-terrorism sometimes created more terrorism in response. He said that the war on terror has 'deteriorated the situation' and 'made enemies out of old friends'.

### *Terrorism can be found in all religious traditions*

All members of the group agreed that examples of religious terrorism can be found in all religious traditions. No one religious tradition holds a monopoly on violence, and all religious traditions can be used to justify acts of destruction and aggression. This trait of absolutism makes it possible for religious activists to identify as enemies whole cultural traditions, thus obliterating the secular distinction between combatants and innocents. 'The rejection of innocence', Reader states, 'may be a particular hallmark of religious terrorism'.

## **Areas of Discussion**

### *Can the religious factor be 'reduced' to economic and political causes?*

Several members of the group wanted to make clear that although economic, political and other causes intertwine with religious ones, the religious element should not simply be reduced to an expression of these other factors. It supplies a significant component of its own. Bassam Tibi argued that scholars should 'abandon their reductionism' and respect the fact that 'religion is a body in itself' and a significant factor in violent incidents. In some cases religious goals have been primary. Antonio Elorza maintained that in the case of *Al Qaeda* and other Islamic groups involved in terrorism, the 'pre-eminence of the religious factor' is 'undeniable'. Rosen pointed out that religion was foremost in the minds of the Jewish extremists who attempted to blow up the Dome of the Rock and wanted to rebuild the ancient temple on Temple Mount. Esposito highlighted the fact that the Islamic attacks were largely against the secular state not religious targets. He described the religious struggle in which they were engaged as one of 'contexts rather than texts'.

### *Is violence more frequently linked with monotheistic traditions?*

Samuel Peleg pointed out that the monotheistic religions (Christianity, Judaism and Islam) have a tendency to authoritarianism and intolerance due to 'their centrist emphasis on a single deity'. Esposito said that the 'three Abrahamic traditions' have been 'more prone to exclusivist theologies/worldviews which can be used by political and religious leaders to legitimate imperialist expansion, violence, and terror'. Elorza gave explanations of why – in his view – Islam and Judaism had a propensity towards violence and Buddhism did not. Other members of the group stressed that some strands of Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism have also been capable of hideous acts of terror, and that these acts have been

justified by violent images and themes within these Eastern traditions. Moreover, the distinction between 'monotheism' and 'polytheism' is much debated by scholars of comparative religion who point out that a supposedly polytheistic religion such as Hinduism has a strong sense of unity behind its diversity, and that notions such as the Christian Trinity and concepts of sainthood introduce a complexity into the idea of God in the supposed monotheisms of Western religions.

### *Can we talk about a 'cause' of terrorism?*

Several members of the group questioned our way of thinking about the emergence of violent strategies among activist groups. According to Reader, the issue is not the 'cause' of violence but its timing: what factors conduce to create violence at a particular moment? As he put it: 'when talking of acts of religious violence or terror, the question is not just "why did these people espouse terror?" but, critically, "why did they do it *at this juncture*?" and "what combinations of factors brought them around to thinking that violence and terror were the only feasible – and, in their view, a rational, logical or religious response – at this particular time?"' Reader went on to point out that in his study of *Aum* he found that it 'began as a peaceful and optimistic movement with a self-proclaimed mission to save and transform the world – but that it shifted to being a violent and negative movement that came to believe that only violent means could shake the world out of its current material ethic and bring about transformation'. He concluded by saying that 'to understand why violence became a doctrinally sanctified aspect of *Aum's* identity, and how its religious impulses removed all barriers to violence and, especially, to indiscriminate terror,' we should study 'its historical development and see how a variety of factors could intersect. Besides identifying "causes" one needs to identify how a variety of causes and factors intersect, and in what ways and in what time scales'.

### *Is religion the innocent victim or the problem?*

Some members of the group said that all religious traditions preach peace, and the use of religion by violent actors is an aberration. Shahandeh said that 'religion is taken advantage of in pursuit of power'. Reader disagreed, arguing that it was 'dangerous' to 'idealize religion'. Other members of the group emphasised that when religion enters into a social or political conflict, it can transform it in a way that makes negotiation difficult. The conflict then becomes rigid and radical, and takes on a militant stance. Esposito explained the process this way: 'While some may not be particularly devout in regard to religious observance, when going into battle and faced with death many turn to their religious traditions. We see this in the "Great Wars" of nationalism as well as among religious terrorists like some of the 9/11 extremists'. He goes on to explain the importance of religious authorities:

While it may not be necessary, it certainly is very advantageous for religious terrorism to be approved or legitimated by sacred texts or religious leaders. This has been the case in the past and certainly in modern times from Yigal Elan [the Jewish extremist who killed Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin] to Osama Bin Laden and the Indonesian *Jamaat*.

Juergensmeyer characterized the role of religion in violent conflict this way: 'religion is seldom the problem, but the role of religion can be problematic'.

### *Is religious terrorism modern or anti-modern?*

The theme of anti-modernism is explored by Esposito, Juergensmeyer, Bruce Lawrence, and others in their books on the rise of religious nationalism. Esposito put the matter this way:

Acts of religious terrorism are not always, but certainly have been, rebellions against the secularization of state and society, the excesses of modernity and globalization. The critique is often in terms of the failures of modern states and societies and with that the loss of religious identity and values. The global resurgence of religion has seen radical forms religion become a primary vehicle for both government and anti-government legitimization (India, Iran, Israel, Egypt, Sudan, Indonesia, Thailand, Uzbekistan etc.) In many ways, it is what Marxism and forms of secular nationalism and socialism were in the past.

It was pointed out, however, that even though religious groups may espouse an anti-modernist ideology they are themselves quite modern in their organization and outlook on the world.

### *Is there a difference between the violence associated with religious identity as opposed to religious ideology?*

Because the religious worldview is a totalizing one, issues of identity and ideology are often merged. Juergensmeyer, for instance, prefers to speak of a ‘culture of violence’ which contains ideological and social dimensions rather than about ideas and organization as if they were totally separate. In our group, Peleg put the matter this way: ‘I can not honestly determine the difference between religious ideology and religious identity. I think they become one and the same, or at least very close to one another, especially in times of rancour and zeal. How they define themselves (identity) becomes what they believe in and what they want to do (ideology). Take the case of *Gush Emunim* [a radical Jewish settler group]: “I am a settler [identification] and my aim is to settle all of the Land of Israel [ideology]”, they used to say. Their terrorism, as exposed in the Jewish Underground Trials in 1984, was nourished by both identity and ideology’.

### *Does religion become the link between personal and political goals?*

Several studies of religious terrorism – including those by Juergensmeyer, Cynthia Mahmood, and Jessica Stern – focus on the personal dimension of activism, specifically the experience of frustration and humiliation. They show how religion in such situations is important in linking a personal sense of fulfilment to the social and/or political goals of an activist group. In our discussions, Ian Reader focused on a similar emotion: the sense of failure. Reader put it this way:

In the cases I have looked at, one very potent factor has invariably been present: the concept of failure. I see *Aum*’s violence as a response to its sense of being overwhelmed, threatened (even if that external threat was primarily what I called a case of “imagined persecution”) and sensitive to its inability to have any real influence over events or be able to do anything to stem the tide of the problems (materialism, etc) that it saw as the real problem in the world. In such contexts, one needs to understand how movements deal with failures and setbacks – and that it is in the ways that these are handled that many of the possible manifestations of violence (or, conversely, developments that ensure that movements are peaceful even if theologically radical) may be found.

In the small-scale millennial groups I have looked at, they have tended to become consumed by frustration and anger at the feeling that they were being ignored, that their messages were being overlooked and/or that they were fragmenting.

The sense of a mission in collapse (or a “truth” that faces destruction, annihilation or disappearance) is a potent force in generating violence. Religious and religiously inspired groups are more likely to transform their innate feelings of conflict with the existing order into something more dramatic, confrontational and violent, if and when they feel that their messages are being so marginalised that they run the risk of being swept aside altogether, and when they feel that the very existence of the group is threatened as a result. The immediate trigger for the suicides at Jonestown [in 1978] was the defection of a small group of very prominent followers who had been with [cult leader Jim] Jones since the very early days of *People’s Temple*: these defections implied the collapse of the whole movement. Few if any religious groups become involved in violent activities when they are in a position of triumph and strength: failure, by contrast, becomes a prevailing factor in the turn to violence.

## **Policy Implications**

### *Responding to terrorism in different ways*

Since many religious activists are caught up in a world view of cosmic warfare, they expect their opponents to respond violently, even militarily. For this reason, military action, including threats of such action, do not deter them. They may simply harden their resolve. Although police and military intervention is understandable in response to violence, it should always be used with care, including the awareness that it might produce more violence in response.

Therefore:

- Multi-track approaches (involving political, social and economic in parallel with security and military measures) should be employed.
- Channels of communication and negotiation have to remain open at all times.
- Response teams should consult with experts in the religious traditions involved.

### *Attending to the underlying causes*

The most effective response is to deal with the underlying causes and tensions that have led to violent strategies. This will dissuade potential followers from supporting a terrorist movement and rob the movement of its audience. Since religious violence often contains an implicit moral critique of authorities, governments should never relinquish the high ground: they must show that they have a moral concern equal to if not great than that of the extremists who challenge them.



Therefore:

- Adherence to principles of justice and human rights is essential.
- Seemingly intractable conflicts, such as the Israel-Palestine dispute, need to be dealt with.
- The development of centres for tolerance, dialogue, and conflict resolution should be encouraged.

### *Rewarding moderates with respect*

Counter-terrorism is a struggle to win the hearts and minds of those moderates who are the potential supporters of the terrorists. Most activists represent only a tiny minority of the societies of which they are a part, and they are competing with authorities for the respect of the people. It is important for authorities to adopt policies that isolate the extremists while treating societies as a whole with dignity, civility and respect. If they treat people as potential terrorists, this position may become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

We recommend:

- The promotion of inter-cultural education at all levels of society, providing background into different religious communities.
- The facilitation of interfaith interactions with an emphasis on people-to-people relationships.
- The establishment of an independent organization – for example, Tolerance Watch – in order to monitor representations of religious communities on television, news media, textbooks, and other public forums.
- The monitoring of incarceration and rehabilitation policies, so that prisons do not become incubators of terrorism among terrorist suspects or sympathizers.
- The encouragement of religious responsibility. While authorities have a responsibility to ensure religious freedom, religious leaders and other members of religious communities have a responsibility not to abuse that freedom by encouraging or justifying hatred, fanaticism or religious war.

### *Isolate and de-legitimate extremists*

The extremists can be isolated if moderate religious leaders are respected. They might be brought into consultation and involvement in the government. Negotiations that involve moderate leaders are likely to be more productive, and marginalize supporters of extremist positions.

## **Members of the Working Group**

- Mark Juergensmeyer, University of California at Santa Barbara, USA (co-ordinator)
- Jalal Al-Mashta, Al-Nahdhah newspaper, Iraq
- Azyumardi Azra, State Islamic University, Indonesia
- Dalil Boubaker, French Muslim Council
- Antonio Elorza, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain
- John Esposito, Georgetown University, USA
- Dru Gladney, University of Hawaii and East-West Center, USA
- Samuel Peleg, Strategic Dialogue Centre, Israel
- Harish Puri, Guru Nanak Dev University, India
- Ian Reader, Lancaster University, England
- David Rosen, American Jewish Committee
- Behzad Shahndeh, Tehran University, Iran
- Susumu Shimazono, Tokyo University, Japan
- Shibley Telhami, University of Maryland, USA
- Bassam Tibbi, Göttingen University, Germany



# Culture

*By Jessica Stern*

Terrorists come in many varieties. Radical Hindu nationalists are killing Muslims and Christians in India. Radical Jewish groups are murdering Palestinians and fighting the Israeli state. Neo-Nazis continue to prey on minorities in America and Europe. Criminals pretending to promote workers' rights operate in Colombia. Yet today, the terrorists most threatening to international security are the so-called 'global *ihadists*'.

Issues that have been raised by the scholars participating in our group revolve around the notion that terrorism often arises in response to a culture of alienation fuelled by cultural conflict rather than in response to any particular national culture. We can think of this culture of alienation and humiliation as a kind of growth medium in which the process of radicalization commences and virulent extremism comes to thrive.

Cultural factors (including ethnic and religious grievances) are likely to be interwoven with individual incentives, political ideologies, and economic goals. Another potentially critical factor is the emergence of a charismatic leader who is capable of inflaming grievances and galvanizing support for a mission. All these are 'risk factors' which may contribute to the rise of a terrorist group or movement.

While states can and do get involved in repression and terrorism, we focused on non-state actors – both domestic and trans-national. Also, it is important to distinguish between local conflicts – often tied to particular cultures – and global terrorist groups. It may be possible to negotiate, at least in principle, with groups fighting over territory or cultural values. But there is very little scope for negotiation with a global *jihadi* group such as *Al Qaeda*, which fights globalization and the West.

## Areas of Agreement

### *Local Conflicts*

Narratives and historical memories can give terrorists what they see as 'just causes' to engage in violence. Nabi Abdullaev offers the example of the Chechens under Stalinist rule: 'The social isolation of the Chechens during the Soviet period led to the development of two ethical systems in Chechen society: one for internal interactions, and a second – for the (predominantly hostile and mistrustful) world. In this polarized ethical universe, there are fewer constraints against violence perpetrated against representatives of an "alien" world'. Thus, Mark Beissinger explains, alienation produced out of longstanding and deep cultural conflict constitutes an underlying condition for terrorism to flourish.

On the other hand, groups promoting a cultural or nationalist agenda may simply 'sell' their cause to the global jihadist movement. The radicalization of Islam in Chechnya and the Ferghana valley in Central Asia suggests that global *ihadists* create global networks by relying in part, though not entirely, on connections with local groups that promote nationalist or local causes.

This implies that the resolution of local conflicts does not necessarily result in the eradication of the groups promoting violence. Some individuals may find themselves disappointed when the group achieves its stated goals. Some may have become 'addicted' to various aspects of their underground lives, and the group itself subsequently evolves into a gang of ordinary criminals or drug-runners. They may sell their expertise to the highest bidder. Indeed, some factions may decide to join the global *jihadi* movement.

Nonetheless, as Beissinger argues, reducing the salience of local conflicts through negotiation could make it more difficult for terrorists to operate by creating a milieu in which fewer recruits and resources are available. Guerrillas, as Mao reminds us, require support from the local population in order to thrive. Terrorists need that support too. Local conflicts, as well as broader cultural ones between and within religious groups, or even between tribes and clans, set the stage for recruitment.

### *Sources of recruitment*

The global *jihadist* movement is both an expression and a symptom of the era of globalization, spread through the internet and other global media, such as satellite television. In contrast to merely local groups, the global *jihadi* movement has emerged out of what Olivier Roy calls 'deculturation'. It is not the expression of a given traditional culture under siege, but a reflection of globalization and uprooting. Young people attracted to the global *jihad* are often precisely those least interested in maintaining ties with the cultural norms of their parents and grandparents. They find their identity in a new, radical *jihadi* culture divorced from its cultural underpinnings. Indeed, a number of studies suggest that young people attracted to the global *jihad* may not be particularly religious when they join: they are recruited through social networks, and radicalization takes place within the group.

The British diplomat Paul Schulte warns that the *casbah* (the slum in Algiers where resentment of French colonialism finally boiled over) is spreading worldwide. Every first world city now has a third world one within it, he observes, where residents are 'emotionally very far withdrawn from the surrounding national public space', where dangerous and proselytizing extremist groups are likely to prey on individuals with 'various statuses of official citizenship and subjective identity, identification and loyalty'. To varying national extents, we have to worry, 'though we may not choose publicly to admit, that forceful actions against external terrorist base areas may provoke these potential internal actors into decisively changing their allegiances and moving to active violence' in opposition to the West.

Rural communities, as Nabi Abdullaev points out, may be no less susceptible to the culture of global *jihad*. Advancing modernization can lead to an erosion of traditional (predominantly patriarchal) social orders in communities that would otherwise check the rise of radicals. Radicals can exploit the rapid collapse of traditional cultures with slogans promoting purification and a return to traditions. The process can be aggravated by a lack of opportunities for young people, such as in Chechnya.

Another source of recruits for violent extremist groups are American and European prisons, where Saudi charities now fund organizations that preach radical Islam. According to Warith Deen Umar, who hired most of the Muslim chaplains that are currently active in New York State jails, prisoners who are recent Muslim converts are natural recruits for Islamist organizations. In Europe, Andres Ortega argues, prisons have become ghettos for Muslims. Wardens often do not know the languages spoken by their inmates. Prisons are also a place where terrorist organizations recruit and make connections with organized criminals and other terrorist organizations.

Some groups function as ‘gateway organizations’ to terrorist groups. These groups do not necessarily advocate or legitimise violence, but promote a radical ideology which facilitates recruitment. Examples include *Hizb-ut-Tahrir*, a global Islamist organization, and *Tablighi Jamaat*, a revivalist group that aims to create better Muslims through ‘spiritual jihad’: good deeds, contemplation, and proselytizing.

## **Areas of Discussion**

### *Israel/Palestine*

Regarding local conflicts, Gilles Kepel emphasizes the centrality of Palestine to the entire *jihadist* phenomenon. Bin Laden has repeatedly emphasized that he and his network are fighting US foreign policy in the Middle East – especially American support for the Saudi regime and the state of Israel. Olivier Roy, on the other hand, does not see the plight of Palestinians as a uniquely important cause of global *jihadism*.

### *Globalization*

Gardner Peckham does not believe that globalization is a motivating factor for terrorists: while globalization increases the flow of trade and ideas, thereby increasing terrorists’ capacity to do us harm, their interest in doing so is not a result of that process. The counterargument, which the author of this paper and other members of the working group subscribe to, is that globalization and the need to compete for jobs and ideas on a global scale *feels* humiliating, even if global productivity rises and although, on average, most people benefit. Terrorists find a way to augment and strengthen this feeling of humiliation among potential recruits. In this context, it is worth recalling the words of Bin Laden’s deputy, Ayman Al Zawahiri, who argues that it is better for the youth of Islam to pick up arms than to submit to the humiliation of globalization and Western hegemony.

## **Policy Implications**

One thing is clear. If the West continues to prosecute a war on terrorism without thinking about what motivates new recruits, we will lose. We are in a race with radical clerics who are using our actions to help mobilize new recruits. As the US Defense Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, asked in a memo, ‘Are we capturing, killing, deterring or dissuading more terrorists every day than those clerics are deploying against us?’ For the moment, the answer appears to be no. It is necessary, therefore, to broaden our strategy, and the following policy recommendations may prove to be a useful contribution to succeeding in this task.

### *Engaging Western Islam*

Several members of our group argued that it is important to engage Western Islam. All the dilemmas and problems of the wider Muslim world exist in these Western Muslim communities – but they are played out in democratic, open societies, where there is the possibility of open political debate. Kepel maintains that Western Muslims may come to ‘present a new face of Islam - reconciled with modernity

- to the larger world'. He envisions a 'New Andalusia', a 21<sup>st</sup> century version of Spain under Muslim rule – this time in the whole of the European Union: 'Andalusia must come to symbolize a place where the hybridization and flowering of two distinct cultures can produce an extraordinary progress in civilization'. Yet, Roy cautions that the West must learn to tolerate the many varieties of Islam, not just its most liberal variant: diversity, he argues, must be accepted and encouraged. In either case, all the members of the working group agreed that it was of critical importance to work together with Muslims, especially those in the West, in developing a strategy for fighting global  *jihadism*.

This strategy needs to incorporate two strands. The first includes measures to promote tolerance and inter-religious dialogue, such as:

- Facilitating educational and cultural exchanges between Western and Muslim countries.
- Investing in the creation of experts on Islamic cultures and languages at the university level.
- Promoting tolerance by supporting the coverage of Islamic culture, civilization and religion in Western textbooks. (Conversely, textbooks that are disseminated in the Muslim world should be required to promote tolerance for non-Islamic religions.)
- Creating forums in which moderate Islamic leaders can denounce terrorism and are widely recognized for doing so.
- Promoting cultural sensitivity, especially when implementing anti-terrorist measures.

The second strand aims at engaging a number of critical groups:

- Hassan Abbas argues that it is important for law-enforcement authorities to enter into a systematic dialogue with so-called 'gateway organizations': 'Telephone tapping, electronic surveillance and the buying of a few informants are no substitute for direct engagement'. Law enforcement and intelligence agencies need better training to differentiate political groups from those that promote violence, or they may inadvertently further radicalize non-violent groups. As Ejaz Haider points out, there is a danger of emphasizing the distinctions between 'us' and 'them': 'There are many people out there who may not, and do not, agree with Western policies, but neither do they hate the West'.
- Clerics in Western countries are often recent immigrants with little understanding of the needs and orientation of Western Muslims. They regard their mission as saving the Muslim youth from Westernization. A solution may be to make the local training of Imams a requirement. In fact, one may even envisage the creation of a Western equivalent of the  *Al Azhar* University in Cairo, which has been the centre for religious education across the Muslim world for many centuries.
- To reduce the probability of terrorist recruitment in prisons, the authorities should hire chaplains trained to promote tolerance rather than hatred. Furthermore, language training should be provided to facilitate prisoners' reintegration into society.

### *Playing a more positive role in the Arab world*

When interacting with the Arab world, military intervention and covert actions should be undertaken only when the benefits are expected to exceed the likely increase in terrorism. More broadly, the perception that Western governments have been willing to play along with brutal dictators in the Middle East has increased the widespread resentment of the West, and makes it necessary to develop new approaches:

- Governments need to re-consider their choice of interlocutors. In an era in which war is becoming increasingly privatised, the intelligence required to fight our adversaries will increasingly come from unofficial sources.
- Conversely, to succeed in the fight against terrorist, the role of ‘ordinary people’ may turn out to be crucial. Beissinger argues, therefore, that governments should support the emergence of human rights movements and civil societies. It is crucial, in this respect, that Islamist organizations are included in this notion of civil society.
- Ortega believes that we should co-operate with the Arab and Islamic media in order to improve the image of the West and that of democratic values more generally. In doing so, however, we need to recognize that this process of democratization may increase, not decrease, global terrorism in the short term.

### *Resolving festering conflicts and strengthening weak states*

As explained above, festering conflicts – and the state failure and weakness they induce – are important risk factors for terrorism. Terrorists make inroads into local populations by providing social services to communities that are poorly served by governments. They set up shop in conflict-prone zones and weak states unable to police their borders. Flashpoints can also come to serve as important symbols for those who attract new recruits. The West must take the resolution of these conflicts seriously if it aims to make headway in fighting terrorism.

### **Members of the Working Group**

- Jessica Stern, Harvard University, USA (co-ordinator)
- Nabi Abdullaev, The Moscow Times, Russia
- Hassan Abbas, Harvard Law School, USA
- Haizam Amirah Fernandez, Real Instituto Elcano, Spain
- Mark Beissinger, University of Wisconsin, USA
- Ejaz Haider, The Friday Times, Pakistan
- Gilles Kepel, Institut d’Etudes Politiques, France
- Jean-Luc Marret, Fondation pour la Recherche Strategique, France
- Andres Ortega, El Pais and Foreign Policy Edición Española, Spain
- Gardner Peckham, BKSH, USA
- Olivier Roy, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France
- Giandomenico Picco, GDP Associates, USA





# The Club de Madrid

## Mission

The Club de Madrid is an independent organisation dedicated to strengthening democracy around the world. It launches global initiatives, conducts projects, and acts as a consultative body for governments, democratic leaders and institutions involved in processes of democratic transition. The personal practical experience of its members – fifty-seven former heads of state and government – in processes of democratic transition and consolidation is the Club de Madrid's unique resource. Along with the experience and co-operation of other high level political practitioners and governance experts, this resource is a working tool to convert ideas into practical recommendations.

## Programmes and Activities

The Club de Madrid brings three major resources to its work:

- A unique mix of former heads of state and government.
- A committed focus on democratic transition and consolidation.
- Programmes with a practical approach and measurable results.

The Club de Madrid undertakes projects related to its core mission of promoting and defending democracy. One of the Club de Madrid's major assets is the ability of its members to offer strategic advice and peer-to-peer counsel to current leaders striving to build or consolidate democracy. The organisation also plays an advocacy role in promoting democratic principles in certain country, regional or thematic cases, such as with the International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security.

To learn more about the Club de Madrid's mission and activities, please go to our web site – [www.clubmadrid.org](http://www.clubmadrid.org) – or contact us directly:

Club de Madrid  
Felipe IV, 9 – 3º izqda.  
28014 Madrid  
Spain

Tel: +34 91 523 72 16  
Fax: +34 91 532 00 88  
Email: [clubmadrid@clubmadrid.org](mailto:clubmadrid@clubmadrid.org)

## List of Members

**Fernando Henrique Cardoso**,\* President. Former President of Brazil.

**Mary Robinson**,\* Vice President. Former President of Ireland.

**William J. Clinton**, Honorary Co-Chairman.

Former President of the United States of America.

**Kim Campbell**,\* Secretary General. Former Prime Minister of Canada.

---

**Valdas Adamkus (on leave)**, President of Lithuania.

**Martti Ahtisaari**, Former President of Finland.

**Raúl Alfonsín**, Former President of Argentina.

**Sadig Al-Mahdi**, Former Prime Minister of Sudan.

**Alvaro Arzú**, Former President of Guatemala.

**Patricio Aylwin**, Former President of Chile.

**José María Aznar**, Former Prime Minister of Spain.

**Belisario Betancur**, Former President of Colombia.

**Carl Bildt**, Former Prime Minister of Sweden.

**Gro Harlem Brundtland**, Former Prime Minister of Norway.

**Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo**, Former Prime Minister of Spain.

**Jimmy Carter**,\*\* Former President of the United States.

**Aníbal Cavaco Silva**, Former Prime Minister of Portugal.

**Joaquim Chissano**, Former President of Mozambique.

**Jacques Delors**, Former President of the European Commission.

**Philip Dimitrov**, Former Prime Minister of Bulgaria.

**Leonel Fernández (on leave)**, President of the Dominican Republic.

**José María Figueres**,\* Former President of Costa Rica.

**Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle**,\* Former President of Chile.

**César Gaviria**,\* Former President of Colombia.

**Felipe González Márquez**, Former Prime Minister of Spain.

**Mikhail Gorbachev**, Former President of the Soviet Union.

**Inder Kumar Gujral**, Former Prime Minister of India.

**Antonio Oliveira Guterres**, Former Prime Minister of Portugal.

**Václav Havel**, Former President of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic.

**Oswaldo Hurtado**, Former President of Ecuador.

**Lionel Jospin**, Former Prime Minister of France.

**Helmut Kohl**, Former Chancellor of Germany.

**Alpha Oumar Konaré**, Former President of Mali.

Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union.

**Milan Kučan**, Former President of Slovenia.

**Hong-Koo Lee**,\* Former Prime Minister of Korea.

**John Major**, Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

**Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro**, Former President of Cape Verde.

**Ketumile Masire**, Former President of Botswana.

**Tadeusz Mazowiecki**, Former Prime Minister of Poland.

**Rexhep Meidani**,\* Former President of Albania.

**Lennart Meri**, Former President of Estonia.  
**Valentín Paniagua**,\* Former President of Peru.  
**Anand Panyarachun**, Former Prime Minister of Thailand.  
**Andrés Pastrana**, Former President of Colombia.  
**Javier Pérez de Cuellar**, Former Secretary-General of the United Nations.  
Former Prime Minister of Peru.  
**Romano Prodi**, Former President of the European Commission. Former Prime Minister of Italy.  
**Jorge Fernando Quiroga**, Former President of Bolivia.  
**Fidel Valdes Ramos**, Former President of the Republic of the Philippines.  
**Poul Nyrup Rasmussen**, Former Prime Minister of Denmark.  
**Petre Roman**, Former Prime Minister of Romania.  
**Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada**, Former President of Bolivia.  
**Julio María Sanguinetti**,\* Former President of Uruguay.  
**Jennifer Mary Shipley**, Former Prime Minister of New Zealand.  
**Mário Soares**, Former President of Portugal.  
**Adolfo Suárez**, Former Prime Minister of Spain.  
**Hanna Suchocka**,\* Former Prime Minister of Poland.  
**Ernesto Zedillo**,\* Former President of Mexico.

(\* Member of the Executive Committee

(\*\*) Honorary Member

#### **Other Members of the Executive Committee**

---

**Diego Hidalgo**, President of the Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE).  
**George Matthews**, President of the Gorbachev Foundation of North America (GFNA)  
**T. Anthony Jones**, Vice-President and Executive Manager of GFNA.  
**José Manuel Romero**, Trustee of FRIDE.

#### **Other Honorary Members**

---

**José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero**, Prime Minister of Spain.  
**Esperanza Aguirre**, President of the Regional Government of Madrid.  
**Alberto Ruíz-Gallardón**, Mayor of Madrid.



# The International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security

**March 11, 2004**

Ten bombs exploded on four trains during rush hour in Madrid. More than 190 people died, almost 2,000 were injured. It was one of the most devastating terrorist attacks in Europe in recent history. As in the United States of America on September 11, 2001, it was an attack on freedom and democracy by an international network of terrorists.

One year on, Madrid was the setting for a unique conference, the International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security. Its purpose was to build a common agenda on how the community of democratic nations can most effectively confront terrorism, in memory of its victims from across the world.

## **Objectives**

The Madrid Summit aimed to promote a vision of a world founded on democratic values and committed to effective co-operation in the fight against terrorism. It brought together the world's leading scholars, practitioners and most influential policymakers. It was the largest gathering of security and terrorism experts that has ever taken place:

- 23 Heads of State and Government
- 34 former Heads of State and Government.
- Official Delegations from than 60 countries.
- Heads of inter-governmental and international organisations including the United Nations, the European Parliament, Council and Commission, NATO, Interpol, the League of Arab States, and many others.
- 200 experts on terrorism and security.
- 500 representatives from non-governmental organisations and civil society.

## **The Working Groups**

In the months leading up to the Madrid Summit, more than two hundred of the world's leading scholars and expert practitioners explored the issues of democracy, terrorism and security in an unparalleled process of scholarly debate. The discussions were conducted through a system of password-protected web-logs. On the first day of the summit, the groups met in closed sessions to conclude their work.

Each working group issued a final paper of recommendations on which the individual contributions in the Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism are based.

## **Results**

The principal legacy of the Madrid Summit is an innovative plan of action: The Madrid Agenda.

It draws on the various contributions made at the summit, in particular the speeches given by the leaders of official delegations, the discussions that took place during more than twenty panel sessions, and – most importantly – the conclusions of the working groups.

The document was adopted by an Extraordinary General Assembly of the Club de Madrid on March 11, 2005.

# The Madrid Agenda

To remember and honour the victims of the terrorist attacks of March 11, 2004, the strength and courage of the citizens of Madrid, and through them, all victims of terrorism and those who confront its threat.

We, the members of the Club de Madrid, former Presidents and Prime Ministers of democratic countries dedicated to the promotion of democracy, have brought together political leaders, experts and citizens from across the world.

We listened to many voices. We acknowledged the widespread fear and uncertainty generated by terrorism. Our principles and policy recommendations address these fundamental concerns.

Ours is a call to action for leaders everywhere. An agenda for action for governments, institutions, civil society, the media and individuals. A global democratic response to the global threat of terrorism.

## The Madrid Principles

Terrorism is a crime against all humanity. It endangers the lives of innocent people. It creates a climate of hate and fear. It fuels global divisions along ethnic and religious lines. Terrorism constitutes one of the most serious violations of peace, international law and the values of human dignity.

Terrorism is an attack on democracy and human rights. No cause justifies the targeting of civilians and non-combatants through intimidation and deadly acts of violence.

We firmly reject any ideology that guides the actions of terrorists. We decisively condemn their methods. Our vision is based on a common set of universal values and principles. Freedom and human dignity. Protection and empowerment of citizens. Building and strengthening of democracy at all levels. Promotion of peace and justice.

### A Comprehensive Response

We owe it to the victims to bring the terrorists to justice. Law enforcement agencies need the powers required, yet they must never sacrifice the principles they are meant to defend. Measures to counter terrorism should fully respect international standards of human rights and the rule of law.

In the fight against terrorism, forceful measures are necessary. Military action, when needed, must always be co-ordinated with law enforcement and judicial measures, as well as political, diplomatic, economic and social responses.

We call upon every state to exercise its right and fulfil its duty to protect its citizens. Governments, individually and collectively, should prevent and combat terrorist acts. International institutions, governments and civil society should also address the underlying risk factors that provide terrorists with support and recruits.



## **International Co-operation**

Terrorism is now a global threat. We saw it not only in Madrid, New York and Washington, but also in Dar-es-Salaam, Nairobi, Tel Aviv, Bali, Riyadh, Casablanca, Baghdad, Bombay, and Beslan. It calls for a global response. Governments and civil society must reignite their efforts at promoting international engagement, co-operation and dialogue.

International legitimacy is a moral and practical imperative. A multilateral approach is indispensable. International institutions, especially the United Nations, must be strengthened. We must renew our efforts to make these institutions more transparent, democratic and effective in combating the threat.

Narrow national mindsets are counterproductive. Legal institutions, law enforcement and intelligence agencies must co-operate and exchange pertinent information across national boundaries.

## **Citizens and Democracy**

Only freedom and democracy can ultimately defeat terrorism. No other system of government can claim more legitimacy, and through no other system can political grievances be addressed more effectively.

Citizens promote and defend democracy. We must support the growth of democratic movements in every nation, and reaffirm our commitment to solidarity, inclusiveness and respect for cultural diversity.

Citizens are actors, not spectators. They embody the principles and values of democracy. A vibrant civil society plays a strategic role in protecting local communities, countering extremist ideologies and dealing with political violence.

## **A Call to Action**

An aggression on any nation is an aggression on all nations. An injury to one human being is an injury to all humanity. Indifference cannot be countenanced. We call on each and everyone. On all States, all organizations – national and international. On all citizens.

Drawing on the deliberations of political leaders, experts and citizens, we have identified the following recommendations for action, which we believe should be extended, reviewed, and implemented as part of an ongoing, dynamic process.

## The Madrid Recommendations

Political and philosophical differences about the nature of terrorism must not be used as an excuse for inaction. We support the Global Strategy for Fighting Terrorism announced by the Secretary General of the United Nations at the Madrid Summit on March 10. We urgently call for:

- the adoption of the definition proposed by the United Nations High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change.
- the ratification and implementation of all terrorism-related conventions by those states which have not yet done so.
- the speedy conclusion of the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism.

And we believe it is a moral and practical necessity to address the needs of terrorist victims. We therefore recommend:

- the exploration of the possibility of creating high commissioners for victims both at the international and the national level, who will represent the victims' right to know the truth, as well as obtain justice, adequate redress and integral reparation.

### International Co-operation

The basis for effective co-operation across national borders is trust and respect for the rule of law. Trust is built through shared norms, reciprocity and the practical experience of effective collaboration. To encourage this sense of mutual confidence, we propose:

- the establishment of regular, informal forums for law enforcement and intelligence officials, which may grow from bilateral consultations into a formalised structure for multilateral co-operation.
- the strengthening of regional organisations, so that measures to combat terrorism are tailored to local needs and benefit from local knowledge and networks.
- the effective co-ordination of these mechanisms at the global level.

International collaboration in the fight against terrorism is also a question of human and financial capital. We call for:

- the establishment of an international mechanism – including states, non-governmental organisations and the private sector – to help link states that are in need of resources with those that can provide assistance.
- the creation of a trust fund for the purpose of assisting governments that lack the financial resources to implement their obligations, as proposed by the United Nations High-Level Panel.

### Underlying Risk Factors

Terrorism thrives on intimidation, fear and hatred. While authorities have a responsibility to ensure freedom, including religious freedom, leaders, including religious leaders, have a responsibility not to abuse that freedom by encouraging or justifying hatred, fanaticism or religious war. We propose:

- the systematic promotion of cultural and religious dialogue through local encounters, round tables and international exchange programmes.

- the continuous review by authorities and the mass media of their use of language, to ensure it does not unwittingly or disproportionately reinforce the terrorist objective of intimidation, fear and hatred.
- the creation of programmes, national and international, to monitor the expression of racism, ethnic confrontation and religious extremism and their impact in the media, as well as to review school textbooks for their stance on cultural and religious tolerance.

While poverty is not a direct cause of terrorism, economic and social policy can help mitigate exclusion and the impact of rapid socioeconomic change, which give rise to grievances that are often exploited by terrorists. We recommend:

- the adoption of long-term trade, aid and investment policies that help empower marginalised groups and promote participation.
- new efforts to reduce structural inequalities within societies by eliminating group discrimination.
- the launch of programmes aimed at promoting women's education, employment and empowerment.
- the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015.

Terrorists prosper in societies where there are unresolved conflicts and few accountable mechanisms for addressing political grievances. We call for:

- new initiatives at mediation and peace-making for societies which are marked by conflict and division, because democracy and peace go hand in hand.
- a redoubling of efforts to promote and strengthen democratic institutions and transparency within countries and at the global level. Initiatives such as the Community of Democracies may contribute to this goal.

### **Confronting Terrorism**

Democratic principles and values are essential tools in the fight against terrorism. Any successful strategy for dealing with terrorism requires terrorists to be isolated. Consequently, the preference must be to treat terrorism as criminal acts to be handled through existing systems of law enforcement and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law. We recommend:

- taking effective measures to make impunity impossible either for acts of terrorism or for the abuse of human rights in counter-terrorism measures.
- the incorporation of human rights laws in all anti-terrorism programmes and policies of national governments as well as international bodies.
- the implementation of the proposal to create a special rapporteur who would report to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on the compatibility of counter-terrorism measures with human rights law, as endorsed by the United Nations Secretary General in Madrid.
- the inclusion and integration of minority and diaspora communities in our societies.
- the building of democratic political institutions across the world embodying these same principles.

In the fight against terrorism, any information about attacks on another state must be treated like information relating to attacks on one's own state. In order to facilitate the sharing of intelligence across borders, we propose:

- the overhaul of classification rules that hinder the rapid exchange of information.
- the clarification of conditions under which information will be shared with other states on the basis of availability.
- the use of state of the art technology to create regional and global anti-terrorism data bases.

The principle of international solidarity and co-operation must also apply to defensive measures. We recommend:

- the creation of cross-border preparedness programmes in which governments and private business participate in building shared stockpiles of pharmaceuticals and vaccines, as well as the seamless co-operation of emergency services.

Solidarity must be enhanced by new efforts at co-ordinating the existing instruments of anti-terrorist collaboration. We propose:

- the streamlining and harmonisation of national and international tools in the fight against terrorism.
- the creation of clear guidelines on the role of the armed forces in relation to other agencies of law enforcement at the national level.
- the drawing up of national plans to co-ordinate responsibilities in the fight against terrorism, allowing for agencies or organisations with special skills to contribute to a comprehensive effort.

The threat from terrorism has made efforts to limit the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction even more urgent. We call for:

- the United Nations Security Council to initiate on-site investigations where it is believed that a state is supporting terrorist networks, and if necessary to use the full range of measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.
- the conclusion of the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, and the strengthening and implementation of the biological weapons convention.
- the continuation of innovative global efforts to reduce the threat from weapons of mass destruction, such as the Global Threat Reduction Initiative and the Global Partnerships.

Terrorists must be deprived of the financial resources necessary to conduct their campaigns. To curb terrorist funding networks, we recommend:

- increased and co-ordinated law enforcement and political and civic education campaigns aimed at reducing the trafficking of illegal narcotics, revenues from which are used to finance terrorism.
- the creation of an international anti-terrorist finance centre, which furthers research, trains national enforcement officials, and serves as a source of co-ordination and mutual assistance.
- the development of tools to increase the transparency of fundraising in the private and charitable sectors through the exchange of best practices.
- the expansion of 'financial intelligence units', which facilitate the effective corporation between government agencies and financial institutions.

## **Civil Society**

The process of building democracy as an antidote to terrorism and violence needs to be supported by the international community and its citizens. We propose:

- the creation of a global citizens network, linking the leaders of civil society at the forefront of the fight for democracy from across the world, taking full advantage of web-based technologies and other innovative forms of communication.
- an 'early warning system' as part of this network, helping to defuse local conflicts before they escalate, as well as providing a channel for moral and material support to civil society groups facing repression.

## **Taking The Madrid Agenda Forward**

The Club de Madrid will present the Madrid Agenda to the United Nations, the forthcoming Community of Democracies ministerial meeting in Chile, as well as other institutions and governments. The Club de Madrid will engage with universities, specialised research institutes and think-tanks to elaborate the proposals made by the Summit's working groups and panels.

The space for dialogue and exchange of ideas opened by this Summit, drawing on the work of the numerous experts, practitioners and policymakers involved, must continue. The papers prepared provide a powerful tool for all those who wish to understand the challenge from terrorism and seek effective solutions.

Keeping in our hearts the memory of the victims of terrorism in different continents, and in particular the terrible attacks in the United States in 2001, we believe it would have both symbolic and practical value to hold a further global conference on September 11, 2006, to take stock of the progress made in realising the Madrid Agenda.

Madrid, March 11, 2005



The Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism consists of three volumes:

- **Volume I**

**Addressing the Causes of Terrorism**

includes contributions on the psychological roots of terrorism, political explanations, economic factors, religion, and culture.

- **Volume II**

**Confronting Terrorism**

deals with policing, intelligence, military responses, terrorist finance, and science and technology.

- **Volume III**

**Towards a Democratic Response**

addresses the role of international institutions, legal responses, democracy promotion, human rights and civil society.

