

De-Legitimizing Terrorism: Creative Engagement and Understanding of the Psycho-Social and Political Processes Involved in Ideological Support for Terrorism

Anne Speckhard, Ph.D.¹

Introduction

In recent years the world has witnessed a proliferation of global terrorism much of it carried out by groups ideologically connected to each other by the common reliance on a shared (although individualistically and often nationalistically expressed) militant jihadist ideology which makes use of distorted tenets of Islam. This militant jihadist ideology claims that Islam is under attack and rallies its adherents to join the global jihad – a war in defense of Islam. It makes a global call to Muslims all over the world to place their religious allegiances above all other allegiances (i.e. familial, national, etc.) and to consider themselves as the “fictive kin” or “Muslim brothers” of all Muslims everywhere. Disturbing events in conflict zones (i.e. Palestine, Iraq, Chechnya, and Afghanistan) are offered by these groups as concrete and alarming examples for advancing their ideology with its core theme that Islam is under attack and that therefore extreme and violent methods are justified to defend Islam and Islamic people and values everywhere. Promising to address the suffering they call to their adherents attention, and to not only end this suffering but to bring about a new world order – one that promises social justice and moral living in accordance with the tenets of the Quran - terror groups promote a militant jihadist ideology that rallies their forces, increases their pool of sympathizers, raises funds and operational support and most importantly motivates their members and new recruits to enact suicide terrorism – the most lethal of weapons in the terrorists’ arsenal.

Relying upon cadres of “martyrs” who enact suicide terrorism these groups have managed to come front and center in the current global security scene. Through continuous campaigns of striking both civilian and military targets both in the conflict zones and outside of them, they strike fear into civilian populations as well as into their much better militarily armed foes, disturb efforts to bring about much needed reform,

¹ Anne Speckhard, Ph.D. is Adjunct Associate Professor of Psychiatry, Georgetown University Medical Center, Professor of Psychology – Vesalius College, Free University of Brussels and psychological consultant of Advances in Health. E-mail: Aspeckhard@AnneSpeckhard.com

peace and democratization in the Middle East, foil reconstruction efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan (claiming to be fighting occupation), and fuel a backlash of military strikes and civil confusion that contributes to a clash of cultures that might otherwise not have occurred. Terror groups achieve these ends by promoting a mindset or ideology (that is spread through militant jihadi cell networks and increasingly via the Internet) that legitimizes the use of political violence and terrorism against civilians in order to achieve their political objectives.

This paper examines how it is that the militant jihadist ideology appeals to terrorist recruits, members and sympathizers of terrorist groups - both within and outside of conflict zones, and explores reasons why the global militant jihadist ideology appears to be spreading versus diminishing. Examining the motivations, responses and modus operandi of the groups themselves, their supporters, and membership as they interact with the militant jihadist ideology this paper offers potential means of creatively engaging these populations to fight against ideological support for terrorism— to win back the hearts and minds of people who in the past might have willingly embraced western democratic values and might do so again.

Analyzing Terrorism

In addressing how to counter ideological support for terrorism we must first accept that terrorism is essentially a psychological tool used by terror groups to manipulate the political processes of the government in which they hope to effect concessions. By most generally accepted definitions [1-3] terrorism involves the targeting of civilians, by non-state actors, in an effort to strike terror into a wider witnessing audience – one that is substantially greater than the victim group themselves (often making use of media amplification) - in order to influence the target government to change its policies and practices. If we begin from that definitional point it is clear that there are four levels of analysis to consider when one attempts to come to answers about how best to delegitimize the use of terrorism by politically oriented groups of non-state actors. These levels include: the group –its motivations and goals; its individual actors and their individually defined motivations and goals; its sympathizers/supporters and the factors which make their support either wax or wane and the factors which move supporters into more active roles or adversely its members to disengage from active roles; and lastly the ideology of the group which ties the whole four units together.

The Group

On the level of the group we must be clear in our understanding that terrorism is essentially a political activity. Terror groups exist generally as a reflection of difficult political situations in which perceived or real grievances – often surrounding nationalistic efforts to obtain independence from a much stronger military occupier – have resulted in the group turning to the use of politically motivated violence and terrorism.

Even the current militant global jihadists (i.e. Al Qaeda type groups and their affiliates) have their origins in nationalistic struggles – to liberate themselves from oppressive

regimes (Egypt primarily) and to remove foreign forces from holy soil (US troops from the Saudi peninsula). Realizing that the battle fought on their own lands was not productive and ended only in severe repercussions and persecutions of their membership these groups moved their operational base out of their homelands. They were fueled as well by the Afghanistani jihad in which many began to believe that militant jihad could even triumph over the super-powers of the day. In exile they greatly transformed their ideology – realizing that they could not create fundamental changes in their own societies by violence aimed only at their own governments. As a result they continued to endorse violent versus political channels but became international in their objectives – striking at what they perceive as the foreign support by the West (UK, US and Europe) for oppressive regimes and immoral practices back home.

Similar militant jihadist ideology is used to fuel political violence and terrorism in purely nationalistic struggles as well (i.e. Chechen and Palestinian groups for instance) but in these cases the ideology remains limited only to the struggle at hand and is not claimed to be a global one for all of Islam, nor are claims made regarding the necessity to strike at powers that might be seen as backing the so called “occupying” forces in these cases Russia or Israel. Claims are made by the group for the necessity of resorting to attacking civilians because the enemy is so much better equipped and so ruthless in its “occupation”.

Ahmed Sadat, leader of the PFLP told the author interviewing him in his jail cell in Jericho in November, 2004, “The reason the Palestinians have more and more of these guys (suicide bombers) is that the Israelis are well trained, they have high tech equipment, Apache missiles. These volunteers are volunteers to go and be Palestinian Apache missiles. They go and search for their targets. It hurts that a person dies this way, but we have no alternatives. No one likes his Army to die. Any Army likes to keep its soldiers but we have no alternative.” When we ask him if it works he answers, “It makes some kind of balance in losses. If you calculate losses of Israeli occupation to martyrdom you will see it is the most effective thing to make losses... In our conflict is 1 Israeli to every 3 Palestinians. We have a political goal to achieve . . . when a person gets killed in his own city, in his own house, in his own bedroom . . . When women, children are victims, when they burn his land, uproot his trees, destroy his homes. Even Nazis did not make these massive destructions of houses . . . Rage builds when the world looks at us as criminals and blames us. It’s because of the occupation and it’s against all international law and human rights.”

The war in Iraq and occupation by US coalition forces there also fuels political views in many parts of the Arab world and in Muslim thought worldwide, that the militant jihadist claims of western imperialism are true. This opens discourse from the militant jihadists for justifying terrorism as a proper response to foreign occupation.

From the terror group’s perspective we must also be aware of the theatrical nature of terrorism. Nowadays terror acts are dramas played out on a world wide stage with the terror effects of targeting relatively small groups of victims greatly amplified by the media (including the Internet) thereby creating anxiety within a much wider witnessing

audience of individuals that begin to fear that they too can suffer such a fate. In terms of theater, terror groups generally play to four audiences: to their own constituents who they are attempting to convince they can represent well by engaging in political violence; to the opposing government that they hope will respond with political concessions or on the contrary, with such brute counterforce that it ultimately de-legitimizes their moral authority and creates public sympathy for the terror groups demands; to the victim audience (who also witness the counterforce if it occurs) who they hope will become anxious enough to pressure their governments to respond positively to the demands of the terror group; and to foreign funders and sympathizers who they must impress enough to win from them financial and logistical support [4].

As we have seen in the case of Palestinian terrorism, the existence of multiple terror groups competing among themselves as well as with their own state actors, violence can also greatly escalate – in their case to the use of suicide terrorism by all of the terror groups – as the groups fight to establish themselves as the best and most committed representative of the people (i.e. willing even to martyr themselves) in achieving their desired political aims [4].

Hence when we look at the level of the group we must keep political grievances (real and perceived); failed political processes; and the existence of competition and potential outbidding by terror groups all as primary considerations in understanding why a group may have decided to engage political violence and terrorism for the aim of not only moving the political process, but also in terms of power politics to win financial backing (from both external as well as constituent sources), as well as to win constituents to their own group away from the legitimate state actors who may be seen as incompetent in achieving the political desires of the constituent population.

Interestingly with the evolution over the last two decades of the Internet we see that nearly all terror groups active today have taken a presence on the Internet – most with well designed web pages that offer their world view, ideology and spin on news events that pertain to their political concerns. These website generally contain apologetics for engaging in terrorism – citing the necessity of it to achieve the group’s political aims. In this regard they make ample use of photos and video footage (actual or doctored) that shows the brutality of the opposite side which is then used to justify counter-attacks on civilians. Likewise these websites make bids for engaging potential supporters and recruits for the group including operating chat rooms, journals and even aiming at children with the offer of games and entertainment that indoctrinates them into the group think. These issues will be discussed in more detail further on

The Individual

Individuals join terror groups for multiple reasons including: psycho-social, economic, religious, nationalistic and political reasons. The motivations and objectives on the individual level must of course converge at some point with the group’s but also may diverge and vary considerably from the goals or motivations of the group. It is clear that individual motivations for enacting terrorism, particularly suicide terrorism, vary

considerably depending upon if the individual is living within or outside of a conflict zone [5-16].

Inside Conflict Zones

Inside conflict zones the motivations for becoming suicide bombers tends to be trauma and revenge based, nationalistic, and related to very strong psychological needs that occur following traumatic experiences of living under occupation or conflict circumstances². Within conflict zones one must remember that if the conflict has gone on for any substantial length of time there are likely a large group of young people who have not developed normally and often suffer from posttraumatic stress and dissociative disorders from all the traumas they have experienced. Likewise there is often a pool of disillusioned individuals who have lost jobs, educational opportunities, been humiliated, and who struggle for basic daily needs and security. While the majority of traumatized individuals in conflict zones will not become suicide bombers even if invited to do so, an extremely small group will become vulnerable to terrorist ideologies that promote this tactic, especially those who are suffering posttraumatic arousal and dissociative states as a result of their traumatic experiences. Indeed in these cases the ideology of the terror group often functions as a type of short lived (literally) psychological first aid for them.

Feeling constantly agitated by traumatic flashbacks, unable to avoid daily reminders of their traumatic losses, feeling in constant danger, bereaved, angry and impotent, these individuals ultimately become so dissociative (i.e. separated from normal thoughts, perceptions and emotions) and emotionally numb that they often refer to themselves as “already dead”. Actually for them dying is no longer a feared outcome. They already have psychologically and emotionally numbed themselves to human suffering, yet it keeps mercilessly and painfully intruding into their thoughts: death may seem as a welcome release. Embracing it and exerting some control over when and how it occurs is sadly welcomed by these traumatized individuals.

For instance one can see how easy it might be for a terror group to manipulate this Gaza youth who grew up amidst long-term societal conflict, in a violently abusive family and lives with general hopelessness. He writes to the author in September 2006 during heavy incursions in Gaza the following words, “Am writing to you in the time that I feel dead. Again and again, I can’t scream. I can’t shout or cry. The amount of anger inside me, is just inside. I can’t release it. I thought writing will help, but it didn’t. I am just clicking and pressing small dumb things that transfer what I feel in a way or another to you. Signals, ain’t truth, electronic signals, not real feelings, Anne. My heart is so, so, so tired. I don’t know what to do or what to say... I am living in the worst place in the world. I feel like I’m choking inside, like I can hardly breathe...” This same young man writes earlier in the year (January 6, 2006) “I discovered I wish two things in my life, first to live far away from the so called ‘my family’ or I really wish to die in a very tragic

² This statement is based upon the author’s research interviews of suicide bombers, their friends, family members, senders and hostages in Israel jails, Palestinian territories, Uzbekistan, Chechnya, North Ossetia, Russia, Morocco and Lebanon. She has also spoken to radicalized individuals in France, Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

way but not to suffer much.” While this young man does not endorse suicide terrorism it’s clear that if a terror group that used the current militant jihadist ideology somehow got a hold of him and manipulated his loyalties they would not have too much work to do in order for him to be willing to give up his already hopeless life.

Individual motivations within conflict zones are also nearly always couched in terms of self and community defense. Those actors coming from within conflict zones who enact suicide terrorism are often doing it knowing full well that their acts may bring overwhelming retaliatory actions which should rationally deter them. They likewise often concede that their acts of self martyrdom may yield very little results politically. Yet because they have experienced and witnessed both firsthand and over the television, their neighbors, family members and loved ones being humiliated, injured and killed by what they view as an occupying force and many have grown up witnessing countless acts of violence - they are willing to enact self martyrdom sometimes only for the expressive aspects of it. They regard their actions as a means of expressing outrage and meting out some small measure of justice to the perceived enemy occupier. In this case revenge is a strong motivator and beliefs that the sacred has been trampled upon by the enemy– loved ones have been killed, the land has been taken – especially if it is holy land, or the occupier is of another religion are strong motivational forces for enacting terrorism [12, 17-19]

Suicide bombers from within conflict zones are often as well or better-educated and less poor than their peers [20, 21] and in other circumstances might have been leaders in their communities. They are acutely sensitive to their own suffering and that of those around them and wish to make a difference, but much like normally depressed and suicidal persons, they don’t see any other avenues of action. They want to escape their psychic pain but to do so honorably and to use their lives – even if it means dying - to help their communities. They are uniquely vulnerable to an ideology that promises that they will be heroes for the cause and that they can make a difference in the socio-political situation faced by their communities. They believe that their deaths are only a doorway to a better place and that by dying self sacrificially they can change things both now and in the afterlife, reuniting now with those gone before and later bringing with them relatives that they left behind. Vulnerable and in pain they succumb to an ideology that seduces them into sacrificing themselves for what they believe is a greater cause. Just like us they hope for a more just world in which human dignity and rights will be upheld, however unlike us - they have been deluded into believing that their acts of killing even innocent civilians might bring this into being - and for this they sacrifice themselves.

Non- Conflict Zones

In non-conflict zones the motivations for becoming involved in terrorism and becoming a suicide terrorist appear much more to do with the terrorist ideology playing upon personal issues of social alienation, marginalization, need for positive identity, a desire for a meaningful life, heroism and acting out of strong feelings of secondary

traumatization³. While an individual who has seen his family member killed in front of his eyes and feels his country has been occupied might be understood for seeking revenge, one must ask about what can possibly motivate immigrant descent and even non-immigrant Europeans, Turks, Moroccans, Uzbeks, Saudis, and others to join such groups to go and agree to self martyrdom in order to kill? In their cases the main motivational set appears to involve vulnerable actors who are exposed to other individuals within a terror network through kin and friendship groups [22] or through Internet and informal recruiting⁴. In their cases these individuals are often marginalized, frustrated and without hope in their societies.

In Europe they are often first, second or third generation immigrants or converts to Islam who feel deep sympathy and even kinship (i.e. as “Muslim brothers”) for those in conflict zones. Within the European migrant community there is often a deep sense of feeling alienated and no secure sense of identity and belonging in either their country of origin, or more importantly their host culture. Facing discrimination, sometimes well educated but still facing poor job prospects, lacking positive identity and sense of life meaning and having little else to make of themselves, once exposed to terrorist ideologies young people especially are attracted to the appeal to become heroes for a cause.

In these cases nearly always the sponsoring organization makes use of five powerful motivators. The first two are the idea of belonging and identity – belonging to an important cause and group - and taking on a heroic identity. The third is the use of pictures and graphic video footage of conflict zones that are shown to the potential recruit and interpreted as atrocities against innocent victims – mainly featuring Chechen and Palestinian suffering and now Iraqi and Afghanistani footage as well. Just as relief organizations in our societies often uses pictures and video footage of human suffering to motivate us to give to worthy causes, these organizations do the same, playing upon the emotional reactions of their audiences to find the individuals vulnerable enough to respond to their calls to action. Thus we find that in nonconflict zones the traumas that are occurring in conflict zones are used to motivate potential recruits. This tactic makes use of the concept of secondary traumatization in which witnessing film clips or photos of of real or misconstrued injustices are used to create a traumatic state in the one witnessing it so much so that the outrage and trauma can motivate them to take action in behalf of the victim(s) of such injustice(s).

The words of a disillusioned radical living in Brussels⁵, Belgium illustrate how he was radicalized and then found his way out of it. This young man (age 24) was adopted from Rwanda to white Belgium parents. Growing up as the only black in his community he was alienated and confused about his identity. In search for his “African” roots he found

³ This statement is based upon the author’s research interviews of radicalized individuals (including would be self-martyrs, and family members and friends of suicide bombers) in France, Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

⁴ In Brussels we have found that there are Internet cafes where if one logs on for a half hour or so pop up ads appear inviting one to join the worldwide jihad.

⁵ Speckhard, Anne - Brussels radicalization interview, November 2005.

Islam, converted at age fifteen and started attending a radical mosque where he fell under the influence of extremist militant wahhabist teachers.

Speaking about how media exposure along with radical preaching moved him to the point of becoming ready to martyr himself he explains, “When I went to Morocco with my wife to her mother’s house I saw Al Manar – Lebanon TV. They have a way to mix religion and politics. I can understand it because there is a true crisis in Palestine. . . . What I saw on the television was two Israeli soldiers taking big stones and breaking the bones of a Palestinian man, breaking his arm bones, his shoulders, all the bones in his hands, all the bones in his feet, his ribs, smashing them with a big rock. I’m sure they killed him or left him to die. I couldn’t understand all of the Arabic but I didn’t need language to understand – it was all there in the pictures. Imagine people see that in the morning, get breakfast and see that on their television. When you see that you feel there is a unity of Muslim people. I decided to go there (to become a fighter). I was completely crazy. I had a wife and baby but I thought I would go anyway.”

In the European case where distorted Islamic ideologies are being used, often those individuals who become terrorist recruits are sensitive and care about the conflicts they learn about but are not able to read in Arabic and fall prey to teachers who tell them they know and can interpret the Koran better for them and teach them based on Islam the proper response to address such suffering. This is not to say they are simple minded – quite the contrary – often it is the well educated and sensitive individuals who read news and care about the world and who would be leaders if they felt they had a way of participating in their society and its political discourse. Frustrated by lack of opportunities to help others in need, and needing a meaningful role and identity they find answers in terrorist groups.

The young Belgian convert to radical Islam (quoted above) recalls “At that time I was a believing radical. For a radical you can die and kill for God no problem. I can die or be killed at anytime. I knew people who went to Afghanistan as bombers, the people who killed Mousad. To get the connections to go, here in Brussels, is no problem.” Reflecting on how he got out he explains, “The problem is you see all the people, politics, everything – you see through the Koran and it’s your perspective. Likewise he recalls that at that time, “I was completely lost” and reflects that it’s difficult to question what is being taught if you don’t learn Arabic. “If you say to yourself this thing is God’s will, you have to do it. It’s simple. If you can’t read in Arabic and people tell you that you cannot understand and you have to do it. I tried very sincerely to do so. I followed everything, the prayer schedule, eating and way of drinking all in the Sunnah. But there are also ideas about jihad. At age nineteen I was ready to go to Lebanon and fight for my brother Palestinian. I didn’t know politics but I had an idea we had some Muslim community, our brothers that we must defend.” Thankfully this young man found his way out of the radical groups by studying Arabic and religion intensively until he found his own answers independent of the militant teachers he had fallen under. Looking back at how close he came to going to be a “martyr” he explains, “The difference between me and the others (who remain in the radical groups) is my (language and religious) studies.”

Fourth and fifth are the ideas often taken from religion – that one ought to sacrifice in behalf of the brotherhood of the believers and not tolerate assaults against sacred values – being willing even to die for the sacred. In this manner the ideas of “fictive kin” [23], cosmic warrior-hood and martyrdom are instilled. The individuals who respond to such calls to action are appealed upon to depart from the frustrations of this life, reject the society that has marginalized or frustrated them and join a group following a path that promises eternal rewards. Suddenly the individual who was previously frustrated, feeling worthless, had little hope and so on feels a sense of belonging, a firm identity and purpose in what will soon turn out to be a foreshortened life.

Dynamism in the Individual Response to the Terror Group

The individual reasons for being involved in a terror group are likewise not static, but change considerably over time depending in large measure upon the person’s level of engagement and roles played in the group. For instance a person living in a conflict zone who has lost a family member may motivated be in the first moments by deep pain over a personal loss or trauma to seek out membership in a terror group in order to enact revenge and fight for social justice, but once engaged in it may find that the “fictive kin” and familial loyalties in the group deeply engage his needs to belong while also replacing lost family ties. Over time this same person may find that the sense of positive identity and feeling of having some control over negative events especially in a chaotic conflict zone and the ability to express ones pain and make the enemy feel his pain even without achieving any real political gain of social justice may become much more important than the original feelings of outrage and desire to revenge for the traumatic loss although these original feelings may also continue to be operative. Likewise economic gains from various roles in the group may gain in importance over time, and have played at least a minor role for those concerned about leaving family members behind after martyring themselves. Similarly, taking on or deepening radical religious beliefs may lead a person outside of a conflict zone who joined a terror cell for the senses of belonging, a positive identity and of adventure to overtime consider what previously may have been unthinkable - taking on a self martyrdom operation.

Group Dynamics - Individuals Inside Groups

Social psychology research on group dynamics finds that at least in experiment settings individuals in small cohesive groups often find it difficult to voice dissent when all other group members agree on something – even when the item in question is clearly objectively untrue. Instead of dissenting about the obvious untruth, individuals in such groups often begin to doubt themselves and acquiesce to the group’s views. This finding is less strong when the group is not cohesive and there are others voicing dissent in the group. Hence we can assume that individuals who belong to small cohesive terror cells that place a high value on respect for the leadership’s views may overtime begin to agree with many aspects of a terror groups ideology because they find it too difficult to dissent, this more of as a result of the group dynamics rather than it being a result of having been objectively persuaded of the correctness of the groups beliefs regarding the use of violence or targeting of civilians. This of course brings up the usefulness of introducing

dissenting views inside terror cells and when that is not possible at least knowing the ideology that is being spun inside of them and providing exposure on the societal scale to dissenting views.

Likewise social psychologists have also observed that individuals appear to more easily engage in anti-social behaviors including violence, when acting as a group than when acting on their own (particularly if they can hide their identities while doing so). Thus we must keep in mind that individual reasons for approaching and joining a terror group are often multiple and some may become more important over time once a new recruit has forged bonds of loyalty to the other members. The group's goals and ideology likewise need not be the same as the individuals but need only to resonate to the individual's psycho-social needs and everyday sense of reality at the time of joining. Over time it is likely the individual will find it harder to doubt the correctness of the group if the group is small and cohesive as most terror cells are. Also in the group setting the individual who at first may not have endorsed violent solutions may overtime become much more willing to engage violence as the answer to the problems that originally motivated him or her to join the group in the first place.

Social Support for Terrorism

Terrorist Ideology and Social Resonance

The social psychological resonance between the objectives of a terror group and its potential members occurs on multiple levels. Within conflict zones the ideology of militant jihadists terror groups is often spread throughout society by word of mouth, preaching in Mosques, through social networks and by posters, film clips, songs, word of mouth and so on. Inside conflict zones the population undergoing daily traumas, hardships and humiliations are searching for ways to explain to themselves their difficult circumstances. Often there is foreign occupation, loss of homes, struggles over territory, ethnicity, religion and political independence. Solutions to the problem are debated throughout society and those promoted by the terror groups mix with those permeating society. In these cases when the terror groups take hold of ideas – such as in Palestine when those struck down during the first Intifada were celebrated as martyrs for the cause – it was not hard to take it to the next level to celebrating and promoting those who were willing to self martyr for the cause, so much so that we began then to see a spate of posters, film clips and songs celebrating self martyrdom. Often in conflict zones the terror groups ideology begins to permeate the culture such as during the second Intifada in Palestine when one could say there was a culture of martyrdom pervasive throughout the society. Posters, film clips, popular songs, poems and so on in praise of martyrs (including those who self martyred) permeated the culture so much so that it was impossible not to be aware of societal admiration for those who took the self martyrdom path in behalf (as they saw it) of society. In these cases the terror groups do not have to work hard to convince potential recruits, but simply wait for those who are the victims of trauma, who are in a bad state psychologically, to present themselves as potential self martyrs.

In nonconflict zones the ideology of the terror groups is generally sent out into the society to see what kind of resonance occurs (via the Internet, networks of individuals and preaching) in the daily life and realities of potential members and a synergy occurs in this manner. We see this occurring in Europe where militant global jihadist web sites spin their ideology and disperse it over the Internet to vulnerable populations. In this case claims are made about Islam being under attack with film clips of events portrayed inside conflict zones “proving” the case globally. When these reach disillusioned young men and women of Islamic background and immigrant descent in Europe they may touch them in a way that causes them to resonant to such claims. Finding themselves unemployed, the object of discrimination (in Belgium young Moroccan Belgians find it difficult to enter many nightclubs where young people go to dance on the weekends, find it hard to get employment commiserate with their education and so on) and feeling no positive identification with the nation they live in, nor sense of belonging and usefulness to it, they may begin to resonant to the claims of such groups that their real loyalties should be to religion and to the global brotherhood of “real” Muslims worldwide (real Islam operationalized as the group defines it) and to changing their world order by resorting to violence.

While at first not necessarily open to violent answers these potential recruits may become more so as their first psychological needs are reached and they are drawn further into accepting proposals that violence is an answer. Indeed as potential recruits meet and discuss solutions to their own problems and mix these with those offered by the terror groups some are drawn into the terror group’s ideology and the ideology of the group also advances.

On the societal support level of analysis we must constantly remain aware of the existence of real and perceived grievances of a large group of constituents the group purports to represent as well as a failed political process in which these groups or its members/supporters were unable to win their objectives. Both of these factors play into the constituent group beginning on a grassroots level to accept the terror group’s claims to represent them politically and the ideological support that begins to spread within the wider social group in behalf of terror group’s use of violence against civilians, including martyrdom operations. There is also a contagion effect that we must consider that occurs even with normal suicide – those who are in the family and friendship network of a suicide bomber are often so deeply affected by the act that they too begin to consider acting similarly. We have found countless examples of radicalization proceeding through close friendship and relatives networks as have other authors [22]. Thus radicalization can increase geometrically once it gets going if societal conditions are such that many see no hope in engaging in peaceful political means of enacting change and see the terror groups as offering a viable alternative.

Top Down/Bottom Up Social Resonance

Clearly the needs within society both within conflict zones and outside of them mix with the objectives of the terrorists groups. It is tempting to think that terrorist ideologies are imposed upon societies in a top down fashion but that is not really the case. We see

clearly how the Palestinian conflict evolved over time with society being frustrated with violence and hoping for good solutions, while terror groups vied with the Palestinian authority for power– spoiling the peace process and then vying in the ensuing conflict for societal support. As the society was already celebrating its martyrs and the terror groups increasingly vied for power by upping the ante by sending out self martyrs the debate within society eventually evolved to an ideology now promoted by terror groups there which permits women and perhaps now even older children, to self martyr in behalf of the cause.

A similar debate occurred within the militant global jihadist groups concerning suicide terrorism – a debate among the leadership and membership that was debated globally in many Internet forums, and even by those peripheral to the groups – deciding on a societal and group level if suicide terrorism is acceptable. It has generally been accepted among many Muslims worldwide that suicide terrorism is an acceptable form of resistance in the Palestinian territories - for Palestinians to engage in fighting “occupation” and some believe it’s fine to use in any occupation. Fewer believe it’s an acceptable method to use outside of conflict zones, but clearly we see an ever growing societal acceptance that it may be an answer to certain problems. A similar debate occurred regarding women as suicide bombers with an increased acceptance for female involvement in this type of terrorism.

The same debate currently occurs regarding the use of weapons of mass destruction. Once held firmly out of consideration beyond the red lines, it is increasingly coming into consideration by militant jihadist terror groups as they process the real and claimed experiences of themselves and their constitution populations. Chechen rebel leaders for instance began to endorse the use of chemical and biological weapons after they believed poisons had been used against themselves with rebel leader Khattab dying from a poisoned letter and Basaev receiving a poisoned sock[24]. Currently a mass hysteria broke out in Chechnya in which many children and their parents were convinced that Russians or (Ossetian mothers from Beslan) were poisoning Chechen children. Despite clear scientific evidence that no poison exposure had occurred and that the outbreaks were due to hysteria among the children, it was very difficult to persuade the children and their parents otherwise. When societies and the terror groups who hope to represent them believe they are under this level of attack, it is not hard to garner social support for the defense of society by making use of extreme methods.

Indeed researcher Khalil Shakiki found that support for suicide terrorism among the Palestinian public was directly related to how under threat the public felt, with a more threatened public more strongly endorsing suicide operations and a less threatened public waning in their support for suicide operations.

Opening Pathways to Accept Aggression Against Civilians

The psycho-social variables that open the pathways for aggression in human beings are understood to a point. Indeed militaries who wish to maximize the efficacy of their soldiers, that is increase their willingness and actual tendencies to shoot and kill enemy

soldiers in battle, have studied and make use of some of this knowledge just as terror groups do as well. One known way to encourage an individual to kill is to dehumanize his enemy, which changes the act and culpability for killing substantially. Western militaries generally refer to enemy combatants in a manner that dehumanizes them, at a minimum referring to those who are to be killed as “the enemy”. Militaries often also use nouns (the enemy) versus pronouns which objectify enemy combatants rather than making it clear they are referring to people. Another tactic is to demonize the enemy – to show his clear guilt and inhumanity to others. Militant jihadist terror groups use the same psychological tactics referring to the infidel and point out clear and disturbing human rights abuses.

Western militaries have likewise long known that soldiers are more likely to kill in defense of their group or unit than they are to kill in pure aggression or self defense, thus it is common for the unit to go out into battle together and for soldiers to be linked as responsible for each other in a “buddy” system. Militant jihadist terror groups are no strangers to this tactic and make great use of referring to their actions as in defense of their fictive kin – Muslims everywhere. They also make specific pledges of brotherhood in their terror cells, and consider loyalty to these “brothers” far and above actual familial blood ties. As Marc Sageman points out, today’s militant jihadists recruit along familial and friendship networks [22]. If this is truly the case they simply deepen existing group ties of loyalty in their terror cells.

To understand how a terror groups ideology resonates within societies and individuals it is sometimes useful to ask oneself the question of “for what are you willing to die?” and “for what are you willing to kill?” Many would die to defend loved ones, family members, home, territory and even homeland. Others would kill to defend the homeland and to protect against threats to their loved ones, some even out of revenge. Terrorists are no different and this nearly universal willingness to move to aggression in defense of family and home can and is manipulated by terrorists ideologies that claim home, family members, and loved ones are under threat.

For instance the ideas of Islam under threat, appealing to Muslim “fictive kin” and outrage over atrocities was evident in a new release of “Adam the American” speaking on the a recent Al Qaeda tape in which he argues for American Muslims to begin to join the global militant jihad. He begins stating, "It's crucial for Muslims to keep in mind that the Americans, the British, and the other members of the coalition of terror have intentionally targeted Muslim civilians and civilian targets, both before, as well as after September 11. In both the first and second Iraq wars, as well as in their forays into Somalia, the Sudan, and Afghanistan, just to give you a few examples." He continues, "They have targeted civilians for assassination and kidnapping. They kidnapped any non-Afghans they found, and shipped them off to Guantanamo or worse. Many were handed over to the American and British-backed despotic regimes of the Islamic world, to be brutally interrogated. And with the blessing and support of that notorious Afghan-killer Hamid Karzai, they've murdered thousands of Afghan civilians as they slept in their beds, traveled on the roads, attended weddings, and prayed at the mosques. I know they've killed and maimed civilians in their strikes because I've seen it with my own eyes. My brothers have seen it.

I've carried the victims in my arms, women, children, toddlers, babies in their mothers' wombs. You name it, they've probably bombed it. I could go on and on - and that's just Afghanistan. We haven't talked about American and British atrocities in the two Iraq wars. Let's take a look at the latest to be revealed. In Mahmudiya, five American soldiers gang-rape an Iraqi woman, and then, to hide the evidence, murder her and three members of her family, and burn her body. Then, when our *mujahideen* take revenge on the unit which committed this outrage, and capture and execute two of its members, they're called terrorists, and Muslims are supposed to disown them or face the consequences."

He justifies targeting civilians, "So after all the atrocities committed by America and Britain and their allies, which constitute terrorism in every sense of the word, you want us to observe restraint and civility in our response, or better yet - not respond at all? You want us to target their soldiers and tanks only, which as we've seen, still makes us terrorists in our eyes. And why should we target their military only - because to do otherwise would violate the precepts of that idol, that false god called international law, which we've conclusively shown, they themselves violate? No thanks, we have our own law, the law of God, who says in His book: 'And if you punish, let your punishment be proportionate to the wrong that has been done to you.' And we have the Sunna, the example of our Prophet, peace be open him, who erected catapults against the people of Qaif, despite the presence of women, children, and non-combatants among them, and who excused the inadvertent killing of the unbelievers' women and children in night raids. I'm not saying that we should go and slaughter their women and children one by one, like they did ours, at Haditha, and Ishaqi, and Mahmudiya, and God knows where else, even if some of our legal experts have permitted that, and even if it is hard to imagine that any compassionate person could see pictures, just pictures, of what the Crusaders did to those children, and not want to go on a shooting spree at the Marines' housing facilities at Camp Pendleton. But what I am saying is that when we bomb their cities and civilians, like they bomb ours, or destroy their infrastructure and means of transportation, like they destroy ours, or kidnap their non-combatants, like they kidnap ours, no sane Muslim should shed tears for them." [25]

Jihadist Militant Ideology and the Role of Religion

Constructing a Cosmic warrior

As anyone who has studied the history of warfare knows, religion is often invoked to send warriors out to battle, as believing that one is dying for a higher cause is highly motivating. Nearly *all major faiths* have in the past been used in this way and still are. Just as nearly all nations going to war today still make use of religious rhetoric when looking for popular support and to motivate their warriors (consider the rhetoric of crusades and the just war debates carried on in the west prior to invading Afghanistan and Iraq) - so too do many of today's terror sponsor groups. While the loosely affiliated Al Qaeda/ global Salafi terrorist groups do not represent legitimate nation states, they claim that they are acting in behalf of a group of beleaguered people, that they are in a war, and their ideology is aimed to motivate warriors for the battle.

The difference is not so much in the use of religion to garner popular support for acts of war and to motivate warriors but in the distortions of mainline religion to justify the tactics these warriors are motivated to adopt and the targeting of innocent civilians that their ideology justifies. We see in these current jihadist ideologies promulgated over the Internet and through underground networks the promotion of suicide terrorism as the most effective way for these groups to triumph and the manipulation of treasured religious principles valuing martyrdom in behalf of Islam misused to motivate foot soldiers to self-recruit themselves into suicide missions against innocent civilian targets.

When one considers the current militant jihadists' groups' uses of religion to motivate individuals to sign up to die in order to kill others, it makes strategic sense. Any believer of *any faith* will act in extraordinary ways if persuaded of the following:

- He is in a cosmic battle [26] involving apocalyptic forces which will eradicate either his side or the other, hence necessitating a war of defense;
- He should dehumanize and even demonize his enemies by seeing them as the enemies of God;
- In joining the group and taking on its values and teachings, he has learned the mind of God and is authorized to act in the battle by the will of God;
- The battle in which he is fighting is for sacred values [23]; and
- He must go to extraordinary means to eradicate and blot out those he sees as evildoers – even innocent civilians – who he believes are standing in the way of and offending God's will.

It is important to state however that even though groups that make use of distorted versions of Islam are currently highly effective in promoting this cosmic warfare ideology to endorse the tactic of suicide terrorism, this does not mean that Islam is the problem. If it were, we would not have seen the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), who are mainly Marxist atheists making use of this same tactic. In their cases they made no reference to Islam; nor religion at all, but relied upon charismatic leadership, deep-seated anger over nationalistic concerns and injustices, and the hope of becoming heroes for their cause to motivate human bombing recruits. Likewise many cults including the Aum Shinryoku (the Japanese Hindu-related cult responsible for the sarin gas poisonings in the Tokyo metro), the Peoples Temple cult following Jim Jones (who made a suicide pact and killed themselves and their families resulting in over nine hundred deaths), the Army of God (Christian-based abortion clinic bombers) and so on have made similar use of non-Islamic religions to induce an apocalyptic vision of the world in which the believers became willing to endorse violence and even kill and die in order to bring it about.

While Islam is currently being misused to promote suicide terrorism it is not in itself the problem. The problem is powerful links terrorists' groups are able to make between individual motivations to self-sacrifice, societal circumstances leading to despair and defiance, and the linking of these with a hijacked version of Islam which plays upon sacred scriptures promoting self-sacrifice in behalf of the group. Any distorted mainstream religion can become an ideology used to motivate for suicide terrorism.

Currently the main ideology in use among the most active suicide terrorist groups (i.e. the loosely affiliated Al Qaeda/global Salafi and other nationalistic jihadist linked groups) is a hijacked version of Islam calling for would be martyrs from around the world to sacrifice themselves in behalf of a worldwide or nationalist jihad.

As far as the involvement of a hijacked version of Islam in the majority of the most current cases of suicide bombing we must acknowledge two things. Firstly, Islam is a religion that has always valued the struggle for three basic values – justice, morality and human dignity and it is only natural that when a terror group is hoping to motivate recruits it can appeal through Islamic traditions to action in behalf of these fundamental values (especially if it can argue that one is acting in self and community defense). Indeed this idea of self and community defense has been the basis of nearly all fatwas in support of martyrdom (i.e. suicide missions). Secondly, a majority of the world’s Islamic populations live under corrupt and autocratic regimes, face numerous human rights violations, territorial occupations and/or discrimination hence there are many *political* reasons that Islamic people might gravitate to a terrorist ideology that shares with them the *political* goals of fighting for freedom and human dignity. Religion is simply the vehicle for uniting them and giving them courage for fighting (in whatever mistaken or brutal ways they chose) for the *political* goals they share. When we mistakenly believe that Islam itself is the problem and begin to assault deeply valued religious traditions and beliefs we only fuel the fires of the currently “in vogue” terrorism ideologies.

The Fight Against Ideological Support for Terrorism

The solutions to fighting ideological support for terrorism are of course as multifaceted as the societal conditions that support individual and societal receptivity to terrorist’s ideology and create a ready pool of recruits in many and varied areas of the world. The solutions are not simple and will be difficult to bring about. The most basic of our tasks is to work to end the conflicts which create the fodder for trauma-based recruitment both in the conflict zones themselves and through secondary traumatization. When photos and videos of conflict zones are fed through the Internet and other recruiting media to those living in alienated and marginalized circumstances we find that they too may join the fight simply to find an identity and something worth living and dying for.

Addressing Societal Support and Lessening the Pool of Recruits

There will likely always be fringe groups that promote dying to kill. There will also always be individuals who are vulnerable to recruitment by these groups. However, we unwittingly create the circumstances in which the pool of recruits expands exponentially when we fail to address the societal factors leading to individual vulnerability and societal support that make these groups impossible to extinguish, and self replenishing faster than we can stop them. Then U.S. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld’s famous words about being unable to kill terrorists as fast as they regenerate may become true. In these cases their pool of recruits becomes so large that the terror groups can go on forever. Likewise we must begin to address and take apart the rhetoric of terror sponsoring

organizations – addressing their ideologies by engaging with them in a discourse that can perhaps lead to more, instead of less people believing that political solutions do exist and terror acts are neither necessary nor useful in bringing about a just, moral and dignified existence.

Using Dialogue in the Defense Against Terrorism

Unlike previous enemies, the new global terrorism strikes civilian targets and aims to create anxiety and destruction to the masses. Defense against terrorism takes three main forms all of which the West must be actively engaged in. These are as follows: 1) hardening defenses by taking measures to secure populations and installations from attack 2) military and intelligence operations for the penetration and destruction of terrorist sponsoring organizations, 3) getting at and addressing the root causes of terrorism so as to reduce popular support for terrorism and terrorism recruitment [23]. The first requires technological applications, the second military and intelligence and the third psychosocial and political understanding and solutions. This paper addresses the third aspect which to be undertaken well requires that one understand the political context, recruitment processes, motivations and indoctrination that are involved in constructing modern day terrorists. There is also a fourth element and that is to engage terrorists in some sort of dialogue – to listen to their demands, try to understand what it is they really want and see if it is not possible to steer at least their supporters if not the fringe elements back into engaging in the failed political process.

We are dishonest with ourselves if we claim dialogue with terrorists is impossible as we already “speak” to and past them in many ways (the war on terrorism perhaps being the prime example) and we “hear” their responses as well in all the violent ways we currently engage one another. It might be possible to engage in another non violent dialogue as well and dismissing this possibility without carefully considering that nearly all terrorism represents a failure of, or deep frustration with, political processes may be short sighted. We might be able to bring at least some of the terrorists back to the political bargaining tables.

Committing to Human and Civil Rights – Offering Alternatives to Violence

Likewise in the realm of politics, the west must struggle against terrorism not only by hardening defenses and seeking out ways to destroy terrorists and their social support but also by committing to fight for human dignity and human rights by working to forge political solutions and offering alternatives to the ideology and methods put forth by terror sponsoring groups. Without viable alternatives in sight terrorist ideologies can figuratively “corner the market”.

Western countries, particularly in Europe who have large Muslim populations must also work to integrate their populations and give them a vibrant voice in the political discourse. The radicalization of disgruntled populations in Europe now puts many European nations on the frontline. Already radicalized homegrown terrorists from Europe have participated in suicide attacks in Israel, Afghanistan, Iraq, attempted to down

multiple airliner bounds for the U.S., and attacked on their own soil in Madrid and London. And these attacks may only be the first in a series of attacks on European soil. As more and more European men and women travel to Iraq to join the jihad we can expect that they may act similarly to the former Afghani jihadists when they returned home from the war. Many who were trained in militant terrorist techniques turned these skills learned in the jihad against their home countries – the same can happen in Europe. Already there are ethnic ghettos in Europe where disenfranchised, alienated, individuals lacking any positive identity can fall prey to the terrorist messages brought to them over the Internet and through teachings of local teachers. European passport holders travel freely to the U.S. and can bring the jihad with them as well [27]. Europe in particular needs to work for political solutions to ending the alienation and disenfranchisement that exists especially among the Muslim first to third generation migrant communities. It may be that Europe needs a civil rights movement and teaching methods of nonviolent protest to enact needed social reforms in Europe for immigrant populations could form a safeguard against those who see militant jihadist groups as the only ones capable to champion their causes.

The usual fodder that is fed to European recruits is usually pictures and video footage of real and disturbing injustices in the Islamic world. The west must engage increased respect for human rights and increased participation of the citizens of these countries in the political process so that they do not resort to terrorism. The current political debate in the U.S. and the UK in support of torture as well as the numerous scandals from Abu Ghraib to Guantanamo Bay to the burning and desecration of enemy corpses in Afghanistan provide the best terrorist recruitment. The United States once was the beckon of light and respect for human dignity and liberty in dark times, and not seen to be part of the darkness that it claims to be fighting. We must work to restore this image in the world and that is respect that will only be earned in deeds not rhetoric alone.

Promoting Societal Resilience to Terrorism

The aim of terrorists is to create terror and their campaigns of striking civilian populations in unpredictable times and places puts everyone on alert. No place and no one feels safe. While suicide terrorism is the most lethal form of currently used forms of terrorism and creates the most fatalities, we must keep in mind that terrorism generally wounds and kills a small number of individuals. It is the media amplification effect of the terrorist strikes that creates a much greater psychological impact in the wider witnessing audience - engendering widespread fear. We must use psychological strategies to counter psychological tactics [28]. On the one hand this means increasing the resilience of civilian populations [29, 30] – making them realize the relative risks of terrorism – that the annual toll of deaths by terrorism rarely come near the number killed in drunk driving incidents for example. Many strategies can be used to increase civil preparedness for terrorism that decreases the intended impact of terror groups – of spreading fear throughout societies. This also diminishes the knee jerk reaction to countering terrorism and allows for more carefully thought out approaches. Likewise we can work with media to dampen the media amplifying effects terrorists currently enjoy after enacting terrorism.

Counter Education – Inoculating Children Against Terrorism Ideologies

We must also work to counter terrorist ideologies that support martyrdom operations, making use of all disagreement on the issue and helping more moderate voices to be heard. Indeed it may pay to consider educational programs for school children in Europe and NATO countries where migrant populations are likely to encounter and may potentially be radicalized by terrorist ideologies. If these populations are exposed in school to a moderated discussion regarding terrorist ideologies and taught correctly what all mainstream religions teach about the appropriate and inappropriate use of violence at a young age they can learn and be prepared ahead of time to see how the logic and premises within many of these ideologies is faulty and not supported by mainstream religious thought. This strategy being similar to how young school children are currently educated to prevent them from becoming victims of sexual predators on the Internet, to drug dealers, child molesters etc. This educational exposure could perhaps serve as an inoculation from being naively exposed with no preparation at a later age, to be educated to think critically about and to counter the appeal of such ideologies especially when they are paired with compelling images and logic demonstrating either real or perceived social injustices. Children at young ages can be taught how effective nonviolent methods have and can be used to fight injustice and the fruitlessness of terrorist violence so that they are prepared ahead of time to reject such appeals.

Debranding Al Qaeda

It is not beyond reason to imagine western powers using Madison Avenue ad campaigns to fight against current acceptance of suicide terrorism in many Muslim enclaves. Just as we use clever logic to debrand products the current militant jihadist ideology of Al Qaeda and it's affiliates can also be debranded⁶. Just as advertisements in the US “war on drugs” put out simple images like an egg in a frying pan stating “this is your brain on drugs” we can do similar things with simple rhetoric and strong symbols that create revulsion instead of acceptance of suicide terrorism. It would not be difficult to create television adds and Internet pop ups that show Muslim school children, innocent Muslim women and civilians anywhere first in peaceful activity and then suddenly being blown up with a simple slogan following such a disturbing image saying “not my Islam” with a sub title of “Attacking innocent civilians, mothers and school children is always wrong, no matter how good the cause. Islam endorses justice, morality and human dignity – never terrorism.”

Preventing and Remediating the Role of Violence in the Lives of Children

An increased recognition of the role of violence in the lives of children is needed. We must keep in mind the deep traumatization that occurs to war inflicted populations, particularly children and adolescents who can grow up to be tomorrow's terrorists. We must search for strategies to help remediate and prevent this transmission of violence into the next generation. Within conflict zones it is useful to work to fund and actively

⁶ Thank you to Thelma Gillen from the UK MOD for this suggestion.

support programs that help those individuals who are psychologically disturbed by the traumas of war who fall easily prey to ideologies that encourage them to be heroic in the eyes of their communities by sacrificing themselves for the cause: a medicine they take like psychological first aid. Like normal suicide it's a short-lived solution to their psychological pain. Outside of conflict zones we must keep in mind that any exposure to violence –even at home opens pathways to more readily endorsing violent solutions to social problems.

Closing the Purse Strings to Terrorism Finance

Terrorists of today seem to make due with relatively little funds, yet attacking in the area of terrorism financing is also important. There is currently a complex interplay between criminality, banking and terrorist networks. Without the funds to pay for their actions terror groups can be considerably thwarted in recruiting, promulgating their messages and sending forth terrorists. As Chechen terrorist leader Shamil Basayev admitted when he claimed responsibility for Beslan that the lack of finances had held him back from striking the heart of Russia, “We planned the operation in Moscow or Leningrad, and wanted if we could to carry it out even in two places simultaneously. But the lack of finances didn't allow us to plan that operation in the centre of Russia”[31]. So certainly curtailing the finances available to terrorist organizations can make a difference.

Internet Patrol

In regard to the Internet, we must find ways to cripple terrorists websites that openly incite hate crimes. While we must protect freedom of speech, we can move against those sites that give material support for enacting terrorism and incite others to terrorist activities. It is possible to fight these sites by alerting and demanding their hosting sites (often in western countries) to no longer host them and fight in cyber space against the statements they make by monitoring and even disrupting them.

Offering Non Violent Alternatives

As much as possible it is useful for the West to think less about military answers to the psychological warfare enacted by terrorists but instead to answer with two pronged political and even psychological strategies that thwart the ability of terror groups to operate as terrorists but open the space for group concerns to be heard and effective in reaching political solutions. It is also fruitful to enact programs that equip and encourage groups to be effective on a political level without resorting to violence – such as occurred in Ukraine during the Orange Revolution – and to teach political groups methods of nonviolent protest which have been highly effective in resolving deep social injustices such as the civil rights workers in the U.S. who battled racism, Nelson Mandela's group who ended apartheid and Gandhi who overthrew an empire. This may be particularly needed in Europe where large sectors of society are unhappy and may be able to be recruited by terrorist networks.

Containing a Virulent Virus

Whether or not we can overcome the new breed of terrorism is uncertain. Most counter-terrorism experts would agree, however, that the threat continues to grow and measures must be taken to contain the threat. The ideologies of terrorism, particularly those espousing suicide operations spread like a virulent virus particularly in the context of states weakened by corruption, conflicts and ethnic and religious discrimination. The spread of global terrorism must be contained. To do so we must aim to form a better understanding of the types of terrorism and methods used, recruitment strategies and the fit between ideology and individual vulnerabilities to fall prey, or worse even to seek out these ideologies, and this in order to have a better capability of combating the growing trend. Terrorist organizations are constantly evolving, we must do the same.

Conclusions

Unless we take the time to understand the threat we are dealing with and its origins on the organization, ideological, societal and individual levels we are unlikely to find good solutions. We must do all we can to de-legitimize terrorist ideologies and offer potential recruits and sympathizers hope in the political process and in better solutions than violent ones. One can only trust that such efforts will succeed in creating a world in which potential suicide bombers will find more for which they wish to live than that for which they wish to die – as those who die to kill, point out our failures to make life worth living.

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