Content Analysis of academic consensus in terrorism definitions;

Chasing Ghosts in Bermuda Triangle.

By

Dr.Shereen Salah Sayyah

Lecture of Social Planning

The Higher Institute of Social work in Cairo

Content Analysis of academicconsensus in terrorism definitions;

Chasing Ghosts in Bermuda Triangle.

Abstrac

What does not accept the contrary, that the good communication between disciplines requires agreement on definitions of terminology. Brian Jenkins has called the definition problem the Bermuda Triangle of terrorism. Philip Schlesinger, a British sociologist, even argued that no commonly agreed definition can in principle be reached, because the very process of definition is in itself part of a wider contestation over ideologies or political objectives. Response to this issue this Study objective to exploration a revised academic consensus definition of terrorism by Content Analysis of 262 terrorism definitions through 10 Elements ; Dual character of the term terrorism ‹Threefold context ‹Perpetrator as source or agent of violence   ‹Political ‹Violent act   ‹Threat-based communication‹Differentiation between direct civilian victims and the ultimate target audience ‹Terror/fear/dread ‹Intent   ‹Campaign   .

Key words: Terrorism Terminology Ideologies - Academic consensus.

Definitions of terrorism:

Some people consider the quest for a more perfect definition of 'terrorism' as 'no more than a futile polemical exercise, chasing a chimera', to quote Kiran Krishan, one of our respondents to a questionnaire mailed out in 2006 to scholars and other experts in the field of terrorism. . [1] Walter Laqueur held as early as 1977 that '[a]ny definition of political terrorism venturing beyond noting the systematic use of murder, injury and destruction or the threats of such acts toward

achieving political ends is bound to lead to endless controversies'. [2]

aMore recently, he wrote, 'After thirty years of hard labour there is still no generally agreed definition of terrorism.[3] Brian Jenkins (of the RAND Corporation) has called the definition prob-

---

[1] Omar Malik, Enough of a Definition of Terrorism. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000, p. 4.

[2] W. Laqueur, Terrorism. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977, p. 79.

[3] Walter Laqueur, No End to War: Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century. New York: Continuum, 2004, p. 232
.

lem the 'Bermuda Triangle of terrorism.' [1] So , the study will Classification the Definitions of terrorism in The following Elements :

(1) Violence, force

(Year not known - Anonymous) [2] Kill one, frighten ten thousand. '(Mozorov-1880)[3] It replaces by a series of individual political assassinations, which always hit their target، (Hardman-1936) [4] as a term used to describe the method or the theory behind the method whereby An organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic Use of violence.،(Thornton-1964)[5] as entailing the use or threat of violence.،(Walter-1964)[6] as a conventionally means a type of violent action.،(Left-1965) [7] as a fighting system openly.،(Aron-1966) [8]as the psychological effects are out of proportion to its purely physical result.)، (Silverman and Jackson-1970) [9] as process of

---

[1]Quoted in Alex P. Schmid, Political Terrorism: A Research Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases and Literature. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1984, p. 7. and Alex P. Schmid, 'Introduction to Terrorism'. Lecture delivered on 16 March 1989 during the AEGEE/COMT conference 'Towards a European Response to Terrorism: National Experiences and Lessons for the Europe of 1992', p19..

[2] R. Clutterbuck in unpublished talk; quoted in P. Wilkinson, Terrorism and the Liberal State. London: Macmillan, p. 48.

[3] Nicholas Morozov, 'Terroristic Struggle' (London 1880), in Feliks Gross, Violence in Politics: Terror and Political Assassination in Eastern Europe and Russia. The Hague: Mouton, 1972, p. 106.

[4] J.B.S. Hardman, 'Terrorism'. In Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 14. New York: Macmillan, 1936, pp. 575–576.

[5] Thomas Perry Thornton, 'Terror as a Weapon of Political Agitation'. In H. Eckstein (ed.), Internal War: Problems and Approaches. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964, pp. 73–74, 77–78.

[6] E.V. Walter, 'Violence and the Process of Terror'. American Sociological Review, 29(2), Spring 1964، pp. 248–250, 256.

[7]R. Gaucher, Les terroristes. Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1965, pp. 235, 10–11.

[8] R. Aron, Peace and War. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966, p. 170.

[9] J.M. Silverman and P.M. Jackson, 'Terror in insurgent warfare'. Military Review, 50, October 1970, pp. 61–63.

violent change. ،(Crozier- 4791) [1] as motivated violence for po-litical ends ،(United Kingdom -1974) [2] as the use of violence for political ends and includes any use of violence.،(Bite -1975) [3] as politically and socially motivated violence. ،(Jenkins –1975) [4] as The threat of violence.،(Paust -1977) [5] as a form of violent strat-egy, a form of coercion utilized to alter the freedom of choice of others.،(Kaplan –1978) [6] as the use of force.،(Gordon - 1985) [7]as the systematic use of violence and intimidation to achieve an end.،(Gun

ter - 1986) (8) as a phenomenon that usually stems from the failure ure of its perpetrators to develop sufficient political.،(Mitchell et al - 1986) (9) as involves deliberate coercion and violence.،(Lynch -

---

[1] B. Crozier, 'Aid for Terrorism'. In Annual of Power and Conflict, 1973–1974: A Survey of Political Violence and International Influence. London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1974, p. 4.

[2] A Report on the Operation of the Law. London: National Council for Civil Liberties, 1976, p. 36.

[3] V. Bite, Foreign Affairs Division, Library of Congress, International Terrorism – Issue Brief no. IB 74042, Appendix of US Congress, Sen-ate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee to Investigate the Ad-ministration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. Part IV, May 14, 1975, 94th Cong., 1st. Sess. Washington, DC: GPO, 1975, p. 253.

[4] B. Jenkins, International Terrorism: A New Mode of Conflict. Los Angeles: Crescent, 1975, pp. 1–2..

[5] J.J. Paust, 'A Definitional Focus'. In Y. Alexander and S.M. Finger (eds), Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. New York: John Jay Press, 1977, pp. 20–21.

[6] A. Kaplan, 'The Psychodynamics of Terrorism'. In Y. Alexander and and J.M. Gleason (eds), *Behavioral and Quantitative Perspectives on Terrorism*. New York: Pergamon Press, 1981, pp. 36–37.

[7] *American Heritage Dictionary. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985, p. 671.*

[8] *Michael Gunter, 'Contemporary Armenian Terrorism'. Terrorism, 8(3), 1985, p. 216.*

[9]*M. Stohl and G. Lopez (eds), Government Violence and Repression: sion: An Agenda for Research. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986, p. 5.*

1987) (1) as the use of violence and threats to use violence as a political weapon to achieve control.،(Townsend -

1988) (2) as the use of force by the armed.،(Wardlaw-1989) (3) as (3)as the use, or threat of use, of violence by an individual or group.،(George-Abeyie -1991) (4) as the use of force/violence or threat of force/violence.،(Narveson –1991) (5) as means of random acts of violence.،(Walker - 1992) (6) as the use of violence for political ends. (Wilkinson - 1992(7) as all the systematic and and premeditated use of violence to create a climate of extreme fear.،(Freeman - 1994) (8) as the use of violence against non-combatants, civilians or other persons .، (Reilly - 1994) (9)as the use of intentional violence against non- combatants for political

---

(1) Edward A. Lynch, 'International Terrorism: The Search for a Policy'. Terrorism: An International Journal, 9(1), 1987, p. 310.
(2) Charles Townsend, in answer to questionnaire, quoted in: A.P. Schmid et al., Political Terrorism, p. 38.
(3) Grant Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics, and Counter-measures*, 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 16.
(4) D.E. Georges-Abeyie, 'Political Criminogenesis of Democracy in the the Colonial Settler-State: Terror,Terrorism, and Guerilla Warfare'. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 14(1), 1991, p. 5.
(5) Jan Narveson, 'Terrorism and Morality'. In R.G. Frey and Christopher Morris (eds), *Violence, Terrorism and Justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 119.
(6) *Clive Walker, The Prevention of Terrorism in British Law. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992, p. 8.*
(7) P. Wilkinson, 'Observations on the Relationship of Freedom and Terrorism'. In Lawrence Howard (ed.),Terrorism: Roots, Impact, Responses. New York: Praeger, 1992, p. 156.
(8) C.W. Freeman, *The Diplomat's Dictionary*. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1994, p. 379, quoted in Jamal R. Nassar, *Globalization and Terrorism: The Migration of Dreams and Nightmares.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004, p. 16.
(9) Wayne G. Reilly, 'The Management of Political Violence in Quebec and Northern Ireland'. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 6(1), Spring 1994, p. 45.

ends.،(Reisman and Antoniou –1994) (1)as the use of violence against civilian and military targets.،

(1998- Arab League Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism Article) (2)as act or threat of violence.، (Khatchadourian-1998) 1998) (3)as the immediate acts

of terrorist violence . ،(Medd and Goldstein -1999) [4]as perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents.،(1999 Organization of the Islamic Conference) [5]as any act of violence or threat.،(Honderich -2002) [6] Violence with a political and social intention.،(Boyle -2003) [7]as violent acts intended to influence decisions. (Chomsky -2003) [8] as the calculated use of violence or threat of violence.،(Kapitan -2003) [9]as the deliberate use of violence.،(Encyclopaedia Britannica - 2004) [10]as the systematic use of terror or unpredictable violence

---

[1] W. Michael Reisman and Chris T. Antoniou (eds), The Laws of War: A Comprehensive Collection of Primary Documents on International Law Governing Armed Conflict. New York: Vintage Books, 1994, p.293.

[2] Quoted in UN Office of Legal Affairs, *International Instruments related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism*. New York: United Nations, 2001, pp. 153–154.

[3] Haig Khatchadourian, *The Morality of Terrorism*. New York: Peter Lang, 1998, p. 11.

[4] US Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, 1994, p. 6.

[5] ibid., pp. 189–191.

[6] Ted Honderich, *After the Terror*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002, pp. 98–99.

[7] Joseph Boyle, 'Just War Doctrine and the Military Response to Terrorism'. *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 11(2), 2003, pp. 155–157.

[8] Noam Chomsky, 'Terror and Just Response'. In J.P. Sterba (ed.), *Terrorism and International Justice.* Oxford: Oxford: University Press, 2003, p. 69.

[9] Tomis Kapitan. 'The Terrorism of "Terrorism"'. In J.P. Sterba (ed.), *Terrorism and International Justice.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 48.

[10] 'Terrorism'. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2004, *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, 9 June 2004, http://search.eb.com/eb/article?eu=73664 .

against governments, publics, or individuals.٬ (Kapitan -2004) [1] as politically motivated violence directed against non-combatants. ٬(Young -2004) [2]as the use, or the threat of the use, of violence.٬(Palmer-Fernandez -2005) [3]as the organized use of violence against civilians or their property

(2) Political

(Robespierre-1794) [4]as a terror is nothing else than immediate justice, severe, inflexible.٬(Russian Narodnaya Volya Party, in The People's Will -1879) [5] as consists of the destruction of the most harmful persons in the government.٬ (League of Nations Convention for the Prevention and Repression of Terrorism - 1937) [6] as acts of terrorism' means criminal acts directed against a State.٬(Sobel -1975) [7]as acts of violence for political coercion.٬(Watson -1976) [8] as a strategy, a method by which an organized group or party tries to get attention for its aims.٬(Mickolus -1977) [9] as the use, or threatened use, of anxiety-inducing,

[1] Tomis Kapitan, 'Terrorism in the Arab–Israeli Conflict'. In I. Primoratz (ed.), *Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues*, p. 175.

[2] *Robert Young, 'Political Terrorism as a Weapon of the Politically Powerless'. In Igor Primoratz (ed.), Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues, p. 56.*

[3] *Gabriel Palmer-Fernandez, 'Terrorism, Innocence and Justice'. Philosophy and Public Quarterly, 25(3), Summer 2005, p. 24.*

[4] *Maximilien Robespierre (February 1794), quoted in Paul Wurth, La Répression internationale du terrorisme. Lausanne: Imprimerie la Concorde, 1941, p. 12.*

[5] *Ze'ev Iviansky, 'Individual Terror: Concept and Typology', Journal of Contemporary History, vol. 12, 1977, p. 46.*

[6] *Paul Wurth,La répression internationale du terrorisme, Lausanne: p. 50.,*

[7] *L.A. Sobel (ed.), Political Terrorism. Oxford: Clio Press, 1975.*

[8] *F.M. Watson, Political Terrorism: The Threat and the Response. Washington, DC: Robert B. Luce, 1976, p. 1.*

[9] *E.F. Mickolus, 'Statistical Approaches to the Study of Terrorism'. In Y. Alexander and S.M. Finger (eds), Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. New York: John Jay Press, 1977, pp. 210–246.*

extra-normal violence for political purposes.‹(Milbank -1977) [1] as violence employed in pursuit of political. (Waldmann -1977) [2]as the service of power maintenance.‹(Wilkinson -1977) [3] as the systematic use of murder and destruction, and the threat of murder and destruction in order.‹ (Crenshaw Hutchinson -1978) [4]as a systematic and purposeful method used by a revolutionary organization‹ (Evans and Murphy -1978) [5]as the threat or use of violence by private persons for political ends.‹ (Hamilton -1978) [6] [6] as planned acts of violence, employed for explicitly political purposes.‹ (Jenkins -1978) [7] as any violent act by an opponent.‹(Karanovic´ -1978) [8] as create fear.‹(Lösche -1978) [9] as a a form of exercise of power based on the systematic production of fear and fright.‹(Schreiber -1978) [10] as a political act, ordinarily

[1] D. Milbank, quoted in. Hassel, 'Terror: The Crime of the Privileged', leged', p. 8.

[2] P. Waldmann, Strategien politischer Gewalt. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977, p. 70 (translated by A.S.).

[3] P. Wilkinson, Terrorism and the Liberal State. London: Macmillan, 1977, pp. 48, 51, 52–53.

[4] M. Crenshaw Hutchinson, Revolutionary Terrorism: The FLN in Algeria, 1945–1962. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 1978, pp. 18, 21, 77–78.

[5] A.E. Evans and J.F. Murphy (eds), the American Journal of Comparative Law, 28, 1980, p. 355..

[6] L.C. Hamilton, Ecology of Terrorism: A Historical and Statistical Study. Boulder, CO: University of Colorado, 1978, pp. 23–24.

[7] B.M. Jenkins, 'The Study of Terrorism: Definitional Problems', 1978, 1978, in Y. Alexander and J.M. Gleason (eds), Behavioral and Quantitative Perspectives on Terrorism. New York: Pergamon Press, 1981, pp. 4–5.

[8] M. Karanovic´, 'Pojam terorizma' (The concept of terrorism). Jugoslavenska Revija za Kriminologiju i Krivicˇno Pravo, no. 14, 1978, p. 88.

[9] M. Funke (ed.), Extremismus im demokratischen Rechtsstaat. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1978, pp. 82–83 (translated by A.S.).

[10] J. Schreiber, The Ultimate Weapon: Terrorists and World Order. New York: William Marrow, 1978, p. 20.

committed by an organized group.‹(Schwind -1978) [1]as Politically motivated behavior. (Zawodny -1978) [2] as order to change values and institutions through extralegal means. ‹(Mickolus - 1980) [3]as the use, or threat of use, of anxiety-inducing, extra-normalviolence for political purposes.‹(Hess- 1981) [4] as

the threat or use of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups.‹(Lodge -1981) [5]as the resort to violence for political ends by unauthorized, non-governmental actors ., (Quainton - 1982 International) [6]as the threat or use of violence for political. ‹(Coady - 1985) [7]as a political act, ordinarily committed by an organized group .‹ (Hewitt –1990) [8]as alter the political situation by changing public opinion. ‹(Weinberg -1990) [9]as a type of politically motivated violence threatened. ‹(Mullins - -1997) [10]as intended to change a government.‹(Mullins -1997 [1]

[1] H.-D. Schwind, 'Zur Entwicklung des Terrorismus' . In H.-D. Schwind (ed.), Ursachen des Terrorismus der Bundesrepublik. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978, p. 26 (translated by A.S.).

[2] J.K. Zawodny, 'Internal Organizational Problems and the Sources of Tensions of Terrorist Movements as Catalysts of Violence'. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 1(3–4), 1978, p. 285.

[3] E.F. Mickolus, Transnational Terrorism: A Chronology of Events, 1968–1979. London: Aldwych Press, 1980, pp. xiii–xiv

[4] US Central Intelligence Agency, Patterns of International Terrorism. ism. Washington, DC: CIA, 1980, p. ii.

[5] Juliet Lodge (ed.), Terrorism: A Challenge to the State. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981, p.5.

[6] David C. Rapoport and Yonah Alexander (eds), The Rationalization tion of Terrorism. Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1982, p. 39.

[7] Anthony Coady, 'The Morality of Terrorism'. Philosophy, 60, 1985, p. 52.

[8] Christopher Hewitt, 'Terrorism and Public Opinion: A Five Country Comparison'. Terrorism and Political Violence, 2(2), Summer, 1990, p. 145.

[9] Leonard Weinberg and William Lee Eubank, 'Political Parties and the Formation of Terrorist Groups'.Terrorism and Political Violence, 2(1), Spring, 1990, p. 128.

[10] Wayman C. Mullins, A Sourcebook on Domestic and International Terrorism: An Analysis of Issues, Organizations, Tactics and Responses. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1997, p. 33.

)as based upon ideologies of racial.‹Collins and Horowitz –2000) [2] as a conventional attack. ‹(de Mesquita -2000) [3]as any act of violence undertaken for the purpose ofaltering a government's political policies.‹(International Counter-Terrorism Academic Community -2004) [4]as use of violence against civilians in order.‹ English 2009) [5]as involves heterogeneous violence used or threatened with a politica

(3) Fear, terror emphasized

(The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary-1969) [6]as The state of beinterrified or greatly frightened; intense fear,fright,or dread.‹(Moss-1971) [7] as the systematic use of intimidation for political ends.‹(Moss-1972) [8] as the systematic use of intimidation for political purposes.‹(Wilkinson -1974) [9]as the use of coercive intimidation.‹(Fromkin -1975) [10]as violence used to create fear. ‹(USSR Ministry of the Interior –1989) [11]as illegal or premeditat-

---

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Joseph J. Collins and Michael Horowitz, Homeland Defense: A Strategic Approach. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2000, p. 13.*

[3] *Quoted in Michael Clark, 'China's "War on Terror" in Xinjiang: Human Security and the Causes of Violent Uighur Separatism'. Terrorism and Political Violence, 20(20), 2000, quoted from proofs.*

[4] *International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, ICT Newsletter, no. 4, Spring 2004, p. 11.*

[5] *Richard English, Terrorism: How to Respond. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009*

[6] *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 3rd edn, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, pp. 2154–2156.*

[7] *R. Moss, 'Urban Guerrilla Warfare'. Adelphi Papers no. 79. London: Institute of Strategic Studies, 1971, pp. 1, 3.*

[8] *R. Moss, Urban Guerrillas: The New Face of Political Violence. London: Temple Smith, 1972,p. 32.*

[9] *P. Wilkinson, Political Terrorism. London: Macmillan, 1974, p. 11.*

[10] *D. Fromkin, 'The Strategy of Terrorism'. Foreign Affairs, 53(4), 1975, pp. 693, 694, 697.*

[11] *D.L. Milbank, 'Research Study'. International and Transnational Terrorism: Diagnosis and Prognosis. Washington, DC: CIA Political Research Department, 1976, pp. 1, 8.*

ed acts of violence committed.‹(Weisband and Roguly -1976) [1] as a terrorist violence tries to create the framework for political interactions.‹(Franck -1978) [2] as the terrorist rather than being directly related to external variables.‹(Gurr - 1986) [3]as a symbolic act designed to influence political behaviour by extraordinary means.‹ (Encyclopaedia - 1987) [4]as the systematic use of terror or or unpredictable violence against governments, publics, individuals to attain a political objective.‹ (Bunzl –1991) [5]as a method to spread fear through repreated application of violence. ‹(Jackson – 1991) [6]as any organized set of acts of violence designed to create an atmosphere of despair or fear.‹ (Rabbie –1991) [7]as a form of psychological warfare using violence.‹(Richardson -1999) [8] as a politically motivated violence directed against non-combatant or symbolic targets.‹(Fotion -2004) [9]as a policy of coercive intimidation.‹(Walzer -2004) [10]as to spread fear.‹(Neumann -2009) [1]as [1]as the deliberate creation of fear.‹

[1] Y. Alexander (ed.), International National, Regional and Global Perspectives. New York: Praeger, 1976, pp. 258–259, 278–279.

[2] T. M. Franck, 'International legal action concerning terrorism'. Terrorism, 1(2), 1978, p. 187.

[3] T.R. Gurr, Empirical Research on Political Terrorism: The State of the Art and How It Might Be Improved'. MS, Boulder, CO, 1986, pp. 2–3.

[4] Mark S. Watson, 'Rogue States and State Sponsored Terrorism'. Available at http://markswatson.com/WebSite/terrorFrame2Source1_1.htm.

[5] John Bunzl, Gewalt ohne Grenzen: Nahost-Terror und Österreich. Vienna: Österreichisches Institutfür Internationale Politik, 1991, p. 3 (translated by A.S.).

[6] M.W. Jackson, 'Terrorism, "Pure Justice" and Pure "Ethics"'. Terrorism and Political Violence, 2(3), Autumn,1990.

[7] Jacob Rabbie, 'A Behavioural Interaction Model: Toward a Social-Psychological Framework for Studying Terrorism'. MS (1991).

[8] Max Taylor and John Horgan (eds), The Future of Terrorism. London: Frank Class, 1999, p. 2.

[9] Nick Fotion, 'The Burdens of Terrorism'. In I. Primoratz (ed.), Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 44.

[10] Michael Walzer, 'After 9/11: Five Questions about Terrorism'. In Walzer, Arguing about War. New Haven,

(4) Threat

(Crozier-1960) [2] as the threat or the use of violence for political ends.

،(Paust -1974) [3] as the purposive use of violence or the threat of violence.،(Kossoy -1976) [4]as actual or threatened use of violence.،(Pierre -1976) [5]as the threat of violence.،(US Central Intelligence Agency -1976) [6] as as the threat or use of violence for political.،(Wolf -1976) [7] as the threat or use of deliberate violence.،(Clutterbuck -1977) [8]as the attack on an individual to frighten and coerce a large number of others.،(Jenkins -1977) [9]as the use of actual or threatened.،(Jenkins -1977) [10]as the threat of violence, individual acts of violence, or a campaign of

CT: Yale University Press, 2004, p. 130.
[1] *Peter Neumann, Old and New Terrorism. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009, p. 8.*
[2] *B. Crozier, The Rebels: A Study of Post-war Insurrections. London: Chatto & Windus, 1960, pp. 159–160, 173.*
[3] *J.J. Paust, 'Some Thoughts on "Preliminary Thoughts on Terrorism"'. American Journal of International Law, 68(3), 1974, p. 502.*
[4] *Makram Haluani, 'Gewaltpolitik: Eine politikwissenschaftliche Makroanalyse eines politischen Kampfmittels und seine Problematik im heutigen Latein-Amerika'. University of Münster, PhD thesis, 1982, p. 85.*
[5] *J.D. Elliott and K. Gibson (eds), Contemporary Terrorism. Gaithersburg, MD: International Academy of Collaborative Professionals, 1978, p. 36.*
[6] *D.L. Milbank, 'Research Study'. International and Transnational Terrorism: Diagnosis and Prognosis. Washington, DC: CIA Political Research Department, 1976, pp. 1, 8.*
[7] *J.B. Wolf, 'Controlling Political Terrorism in a Free Society'. Orbis – A Journal of World Affairs, 19(34),1976, pp. 1289–1290.*
[8] *R. Clutterbuck, Guerrillas and Terrorism. London: Faber & Faber, 1977, pp. 11, 21.*
[9] *B.M. Jenkins, Combating International Terrorism: The Role of Congress. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1977, pp. 1, 5.*
[10] *J.J. Easson and A.P. Schmid 150 Conrad V. Hassel, Terror: The crime of the Privileged – An Examination and Prognosis'. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 1(1), 1977, p. 1.*

lence.‹(Silverstein -1977) [1] as the systematic threat of impris-onment, mutilation or deat‹(Smith -1977) [2] as the use and the threat of violence.‹(Schmid and de Graaf -1980) [3] as the deliberate ate and systematic use or threat of violence against instrumental human.‹(Wardlaw -1987) [4] as the threat, practice, or promotion of of force for political objectives. ‹(Jaggar -2005) [5] as the use of extreme threats or violence designed to intimidate or subjugate governments, groups or individuals.‹ (NACOS -2010) [6] as a vi-olence or the threat of violence by groups or individuals who de-liberately target civilians.‹

(5) (Psychological) effects and (anticipated) reactions

Günther- 2791) [7] as a systematization that operates with dread as an element of action.‹(Price -1977) [8] as Planned vi-lolence intended to have psychological.‹(Hess -1981) [9] as the goal of psychic effectiveness.‹(Ganor -1999) [10] as a form of psy-

[1] M.E. Silverstein, 'Medical Rescue as an Antiterrorist Measure: A Strategist's Cookbook'. In R.D. Crelinsten (ed.), Research Strategies for the Study of International Political Terrorism. Montreal: Internation-al Centre for Comparative Criminology, 1977, p. 91.

[2] W.H. Smith, 'International Terrorism: A Political Analysis'. In The Year Book of World Affairs, 1977, vol. 31
London: Stevens, 1977, pp. 138–139, 153.

[3] A.P. Schmid & J. de Graaf, Insurgent Terrorism and the Western News Media. Leiden: COMT, 1980, p. 8..

[4] Grant Wardlaw, quoted in George Rosie, The Directory of Interna-tional Terrorism. New York: Paragon House, 1987, p. 18.

[5] Alison M. Jaggar, 'What Is Terrorism, Why Is It Wrong, and Could It It Ever Be Morally Permissible?' Journal of Social Philosophy, 36(2), 2005, p. 209.

[6] Brigitte L. Nacos, Terrorism and Counterterrorism, 3rd edn. Boston: ton: Longman, 2010, p. 31.

[7] J. Günther, 'Terror und Terrorismus'. Neue Deutsche Hefte, 19(4), 1972, p. 33 (translated A.S.).

[8] H.E. Price, 'The Strategy and Tactics of Revolutionary Terrorism'. Comparative Studies in Society and History, January 1977, p. 52.

[9] Henner Hess, 'Terrorismus und Terrorismus-Diskurs'. Tijdschrift voor Criminologie, 14, 1981, p. 174.

[10] Boaz Ganor, 'Counter-terrorism Policy: Efficacy versus Liberal-Democratic Values, 1983–1999'. PhD dissertation, Hebrew University,

chological warfare against the public morale.‹ (2002 - Inter-American Convention against Terrorism) [1] as a serious attack on the life, the physical, material, or moral well-beingA serious attack on the life, the physical, material, or moral well-being.‹(Held - 2004) [2] as the intention to spread fear or the intention to harm non-combatants.‹(Smilansky -2004) [3] as the intentional targeting of non-combatants with lethal or severe violence.‹

   (6) Victim–target differentiation

   (Sederberg - 1981) [4] as severe acts of violence directed at non-combatants by the contending sides of a political gle.‹(Devine and Rafalko - 1982) [5] as violence directed, as a matter of political strategy, against innocent persons.(‹ Wilkins - 1983) [6] as the actual or threatened use of violence against persons or property.‹(Ross - 1988) [7]as a method of combat in which random or symbolic victims are targets of violence.‹(Crelinsten – 1989) [8] as the combined use of threat and violence against one set

---

Jerusalem, 2002. Quoted from English abstract (13 September 2002) p. 2.

[1] *OAS document CP/CAJP1891/02 corr. 1. of 25 March 2002. For the final version of 3 June 2002 (which is less specific), see www.oas.org/xxxiiga/english/docs_en/docs_items/AGres1840_02.htm (accessed 22 July 2010).*

[2] *Virginia Held, 'Terrorism, Rights, and Political Goals'. In I. Primoratz (ed.), Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues, p. 65.*

[3] *Saul Smilansky, 'Terrorism, Justification, and Illusion'. Ethics, 114, July 2004, p. 790.*

[4] *P.C. Sederberg, Defining Terrorism. Colombia: University of South Carolina, 1981, p. 3.*

[5] *Philip E. Devine and Robert J. Rafalko, 'On Terror'. Annals of the American Academy, no. 463, September 1982, p. 40.*

[6] *Burleigh Taylor Wilkins, Terrorism and Collective Responsibility. London: Routledge, 1992, p. 6.*

[7] *Jeffrey Ian Ross, 'Attributes of Domestic Political Terrorism'. Studies in Conflic and Terrorism, 11(3), 1988; based on A.P. Schmid Political Terrorism: A Research Guide, 1984.*

[8] *Ronald D. Crelinsten, 'Images of Terrorism in the Media (1966–1985)'. Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa, 1989, p. 167.*

of targets victims.‹(Hughes -1990) [1]as who take and threaten hostages.‹(The Mitchell Commission report on the Palestinian-Israeli violence (accepted by both sides) - 2001) [2] as involves the deliberate killing of randomly selected non-combatants for political ends.‹(2001- UN Ad Hoc Committee on Terrorism) [3] Serious damage to public or private property. (Coady -2004) [4]as the organized use of violence to attack non-combatants cents').‹(Simpson -2004) [5] as consists of acts of indiscriminate violence directed at civilians or non-hostile personnel.‹(Walzer - 2004) [6]as the deliberate killing of innocent people‹(Richardson - 2006) [7] as deliberately and violently targeting civilians.

(7) Purposive, planned, systematic tactic

(Anonymous -1977) [8]as continuation of public protest by different means.‹(Iviansky -1977) [9]as seeks to sow disorder and panic, to undermine.‹(Mallin -1977) [10] as the threat of violence or an act or series of acts of violence effected through surreptitious

---

[1] Martin Hughes, 'Terror and Negotiation'. Terrorism and Political Violence, 2(1), Spring, 1990, p. 73.
[2] Michael J. Jordan, 'Terrorism's Slippery Definition Eludes UN Diplomats'. Christian Science Monitor, 4 February 2002. , p. 12
[3] UN Doc. A/C.6/56/L.9, Annex I.B, 2001.
[4] C.A.J. Coady, 'Defining Terrorism'. In Igor Primoratz (ed.), Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 5. Appendix 2.1: 250-plus Definitions of Terrorism 155
[5] Peter Simpson, 'Violence and Terrorism in Northern Ireland'. In Igor or Primoratz (ed.), Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues, p. 161.
[6] Walzer, Arguing about War. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, Press, 2004, p. 130.
[7] Louise Richardson, What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat. New York: Random House, 2006, pp. 4–6.
[8] Quoted by F. McClintock, in R.D. Crelinsten (ed.), Research Strategies for the Study of International Political Terrorism. Montreal, International Centre for Comparative Criminology: 1977, p. 162.
[9] Ze'ev Iviansky, 'Individual Terror: Concept and Typology'. Journal of Contemporary History, 12(1), 1977, p. 50.
[10] J. Mallin, 'Terrorism as a Military Weapon'. Air University Review, 28(2), 1977, p. 60.

means by an individual.،(Zinam -1978) [1] as the use or threat of violence by individuals or by organized groups to evoke fear and submission to   attain some economic, political, socio-psychological, ideological, or other objective.،(Allemann -1980) [2] as campaigns on the other. The claim of the terrorists to consti-tute a type of 'urban guerrilla.،(Kaplan -2004) [3] as the use of the internet as a vehicle through which to launch an attack.،(McMahan -2004) [4] as intentional attacks, for political or ideological purpos-es.،(Rodin -2004) [5] as the deliberate, negligent, or reckless use of force against non-combatants.،(University of Princeton: WordNet 2.0 A Lexical Database for the English Language -2004)، [6] as the calculated use of violence،(Gianola -2009) [7] as the strategic ac-tivity, be it of an individual or an [organized group, of a bearer of collective interests.،(Tinnes -2010) [8] as planned,unpredictable vi-olence against targets selected arbitrarily or for their symbolic val-ue.

[1] O. Zinam, 'Terrorism and Violence in the Light of a Theory of Dis-content and Frustration'. In M.H. Livingston (ed.), International Terror-ism in the Contemporary World. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978, pp. 241, 244–245.

[2] Fritz Rene Allemann, 'Terrorism: Definitional Aspects', Terrorism: An International Journal, 3(3–4), 1980, pp. 185–186

[3] Eban Kaplan, 'Terrorists and the internet'. Council Foreign Rela-tions, 8 January 2004, at www.cfr.org/ publica-tion/100005/terrorists_and_the_internet.html.

[4] Jeff McMahan, 'The Ethics of Killing in War'. Ethics, 114(4), July 2004.

[5] David Rodin, 'Terrorism without Intent'. Ethics, 114, July 2004, p. 755.

[6] www.cogsci.princeton.edu/cgi-bin/webwn?stage=1&word=terrorism bin/webwn?stage=1&word=terrorism (accessed 17 August 2004).

[7] Danica Gianola, Il volto del terrorismo. Florence: MEF Firenze Atheneum, 2009, p. 195 (translation from Italian by D.G.).

[8] Judith Tinnes, 'Internetbenutzung islamistischer Terror- und Insur-gentengruppen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von medialen Geiselnahmen in Irak, Afghanistan, Pakistan und Saudi-Arabien'. PhD dissertation, Universität des Saarlandes, Saerbrücken, 2010, p. 28 (translated by A.S.). Appendix 2.1: 250-plus Definitions of Terrorism 157

(8) Method of combat, strategy, tactic

(Mallin- 1791) [1] as a form of guerrilla warfare.،(Crenshaw Hutchinson -1972) [2]as a part of insurgent strategy in thecontext of internal warfareor revolution.، (Laqueur - 1987) [3]as the use or the threat of use of violence, a method of combat, or a gy.،(Merari –1999) [4] as a means, not a goal. Because it is the simplest form of armed struggle.،(Weinberg and Pedahzur (New Academic (Minimal) Consensus Definition -2003) [5]as motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence.،(Margolis - 2004) [6]as employing weapons of mass destruction.

(9) Extra-normality, in breach of accepted rules, without humanitarian constraints

(Jenkins and Johnson -1975) [7] as a single incident or a campaign of violence waged outside the presently accepted rules.،(Singh -1977) [8] as a type of violent activity subsumed under the general heading of unconventional warfare. ،(Mick-

---

[1] J. Mallin (ed.), Terror and Urban Guerrillas: A Study of Tactics and Documents. Miami: University of Miami Press, 1971, pp. 3–5.

[2] M. Crenshaw Hutchinson, 'The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism'. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 16(3), 1972, pp. 383–396.

[3] Walter Laqueur, The Age of Terrorism. Boston: Little, Brown, 1987, p. 9. J.J. Easson and A.P. Schmid 152

[4] Ariel Merari, 'Terrorism as a Strategy of Struggle: Past and Future. Terrorism and Political Violence, 11(4), 1999.

[5] Leonard Weinberg and Ami Pedahzur, 'The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism'. Paper prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Panel 21fl14, Empirical Analyses of Terrorism, Philadelphia, 27–31 August 2003, pp. 10-12

[6] Joseph Margolis, 'Terrorism and the New Forms of War'. Metaphilosophy, 35(3), April 2004, p. 411.

[7] B.M. Jenkins and J. Johnson, International Terrorism: A Chronology, 1968–1974. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1975, p. 3.

[8] B. Singh, 'An Overview'. In Y. Alexander and S.M. Finger (eds), Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. New York: John Jay Press, 1977, pp. 5–6

olus -1978) [1]as the use, of anxiety-inducing extra-normal violence for political purposes by an individual or group.،(Shultz -1978) [2] as the threat and/or use of extra-normal forms of political violence.،(Green -1981) [3]as anyone who attempts to further his views of coercive intimidation.،(Schmid -1984) [4]as a method of combat in which random or symbolic victims tims serve as an instrumental target of violence.،(Gal-Or - 1990) [5]as a kind of mini-warfare without a conventional military front.،(Card -2003) [6] as a Mass killing of unarmed civilians targeted deliberately.،(Sterba -2003) [7] the use or threat of violence against.

(10) Coercion, extortion, induction of compliance

(Waciorsky-1939) [8]as a method of action by which an agent tends to produce terror in order toimpose his tion.،(Nutter - 1984) [9]as a direct coercion...، (Wellman - 1984) [10]as the used to coerce with the threat of great harm of one or

[1] E.F. Mickolus 'Trends in Transnational Terrorism'. In M. Livingston (ed.), International Terrorism in the Contemporary World. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978, p. 44.

[2] R. Shultz, 'Conceptualizing Political Terrorism: A Typology'. Journal nal of International Affairs, 32(1), 1978, pp. 8–9.

[3] L.C. Green, 'Aspects of terrorism'. Terrorism, 5(4), 1981, pp. 373–374.

[4] A.P. Schmid, Political Terrorism, A Research Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases and Literature. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1984, p. 111.

[5] Noemi Gal-Or, 'The Israeli Defense Forces and Unconventional Warfare: The Palestinian Factor and Israeli National Security Doctrine'. Terrorism and Political Violence, 2(2), Summer 1990, p. 221.

[6] Claudia Card, 'Questions Regarding a War on Terrorism', Hypatia, 18(1), Winter 2003.

[7] J.P. Sterba, 'Terrorism and International Justice'. In J.P. Sterba (ed.), Terrorism and International Justice. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 206.

[8] J. Waciorsky, Le terrorisme politique. Paris: Pedone, 1939, p. 98.

[9] J.J. Nutter,'Terrorism: A Problem of Definition or Epistemology?' Cocta News, no. 3, 1984, p. 167.

[10] Carl Wellman, 'On Terrorism Itself'. In Joe P. White (ed.), Assent/Dissent. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt, 1984, pp. 254–255.

more persons if the threat is not heeded.‹(Dolnik -2003) [1] as premeditated acts of ideologically or religiously motivated violence.‹ (Annan -2005) [2]as intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians.

(11) Publicity aspect

(Gross -1972) [3] as a apolitical tactic.‹(Schmid -2002) [4] as as the use, or credible threat of use, of destructive force against noncombatant/civilian targets for purposes of propaganda.

(12) Arbitrariness; impersonal, random character, indiscrimination

(Chernov-1909) [5] as a form of military combat, a form of war, and as in war, any state whose military tactics are outdated exposes itself to failure.‹(Arendt-1951) [6]as the arbitrariness by which victims are chosen.‹(Dallin and Breslauer—1970) [7]as stresses of the element of arbitrariness. ‹(Combs –2000) [8] as a

[1] *Adam Dolnik, 'Die and Let Die: Exploring Links between Suicide Terrorism and Terrorist Use of Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Weapons'. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 26(1), 2003, p. 20.*

[2] *UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, quoted in Jeffrey F. Addicott, Terrorism Law: Materials, Cases, Comments, 5th edn. Tucson, AZ: Lawyers & Judges Publishing Company, Inc., 2009, p. 4.*

[3] *F. Gross, Violence in Politics: Terror and Political Assassination in Eastern Europe and Russia. The Hague: Mouton, 1972, pp. 9–12.*

[4] *Alex P. Schmid, 'Nuclear Terrorism: How Real is the Threat? Keynote Address', in International Atomic Energy Agency, Office of Physical Protection and Material Security, Measures to Prevent, Intercept and Respond to Illicit Uses of Nuclear Material and Radioactive Sources. Vienna: IAEA, 2002, p. 16.*

[5] *Source: V.M. Chernov (leader of one wing of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party), 1909, quoted in Ze'ev Ivianski, 'Individual Terror', p. 49.*

[6] *H. Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism. New York: Harcourt Brace Brace Jovanovich, 1951, pp. 6, 331–332.*

[7] *A. Dallin and G.W. Breslauer, Political Terror in Communist Systems. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970, pp. 1, 2, 12, 19, 26.*

[8] *Cindy C. Combs, Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century. Upper Saddle Rivver, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000, p. 8.*

violence – that which is perpetrated on innocent victims .‹(Corlett -2003) [1] as the attempt to achieve (or prevent) political, social, economic.

(13) Civilians, non-combatants, neutrals, outsiders as victims

(Morrison et al-1792) [2] as events involving relatively highly ,organized and planned activityon the part of small but co-hesive groups.‹(Laos -2000) [3]as the indiscriminate use of vio-lence,.‹(Coady -2001) [4]as Intentionally targeting non-combatants with lethal or severe violence.

(14) Intimidation

(Hacker- 3791) [5]as the use of the intimidation instrument of of rule by the powerful.‹(Holton -1977) [6]as a method of coercing a population or its leadership by means of fear or tion.‹(Horowitz -1977) [7]as the selective use of fear.‹(Leiser -1977) 1977) [8]as any organized set of acts of violence designed to create

[1] J. Angelo Corlett, Terrorism: A Philosophical Analysis. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003, p. 119.

[2] D.G. Morrison, R.C. Mitchell, J.N. Paden and H.M. Stevenson, Black Africa: A Comparative Handbook. New York: Free Press, 1972, p. 130n.

[3] Nicolas K. Laos, 'Fighting Terrorism: What Can International Law Do?' Perceptions, 5(1), March–May 2000, p. 191. J.J. Easson and A.P. Schmid 154

[4] C.A.J. Coady, 'Terrorism'. In Lawrence C. Becker and Charlotte B. Becker (eds), Encyclopedia of Ethics, 2nd edn. New York: Routledge, 2001.

[5] F. Hacker, Terror: Mythos, Realität, Analyse. Reinbek bei Hamburg: burg: Rowohlt, 1975, 1973, pp. 17, 19, 20, 183 (translated by A.S.).

[6] Gerald Holton, 'Reflections on Modern Terrorism'. Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, 3(1), Fall 1977, p. 96.

[7] I.L. Horowitz, 'Can Democracy Cope with Terrorism?' Civil Liberties ties Review, 4(1), May–June 1977, p. 30.

[8] B.M. Leiser, 'Terrorism, Guerrilla Warfare and International Morali-ty'. Stanford Journal of International Studies, 12, Spring 1977, pp. 39, 61n.

an atmosphere of despair or fear.،(Holton -1978) [1]as a method of coercion of a population or its leadership through fear or traumatization.،(Karanovic^ -1979) [2] as systematic and organized violence against non-resistant persons to create fear in them.،(Hacker -1980) [3]as the manufacture and spread of fear.،(Army Regulation 310-25 U.S. Army, Dictionary of United States Army Terms -1983) [4]as the use or threat of violence in furtherance of a political cal aim.،(Hoffmann - 1984) [5]as a purposeful human political activity, which is directed toward the creation of a general climate of fear.، (Smith-1984) [6]as create a climate of fear and intimidation tion by means of threats or violent action،(Wilkinson - 1987) [7] as coercive intimidation.،(Mozaffari –1988) [8]as the use of violence or the threat thereof to achieve a political end by means of creating fear .،(Lackey-1989) [9]as threat or use of violence against non-combatants.، (Allan –1990) [10] as a governing instrument in an ef-

---

[1] Gerald Holton, 'Reflections on Modern Terrorism'. Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, 3(1), 1978, pp. 265–266.

[2] Milivoje Karanovic´, 'The Concept of Terrorism'. In US National Criminal Justice Reference Service, International Summaries, 3. Washington, DC: Department of Justice, 1979, p. 88. Appendix 2.1: 250-plus Definitions of Terrorism 151

[3] Frederick J. Hacker, 'Terror and Terrorism: Modern Growth Industry try and Mass Entertainment'. Los Angeles: Hacker Clinic, 1980.

[4] Army Regulation 310-25, U.S. Army, Dictionary of United States Army Terms. Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1983, p. 260.

[5] R.P. Hoffman, 'Terrorism: A Universal Definition'. PhD thesis, Claremont, CA: Claremont Graduate School, 1984, p. 181.

[6] US antiterrorism legislation as quoted by Brent L. Smith, Department of Criminal Justice, University of Alabama in Birmingham, Alabama, 1984, p. 217.

[7] P. Wilkinson, 'Pathways out of Terrorism for Democratic Societies'. In P. Wilkinson and A.M. Stewart (eds), Contemporary Research on Terrorism. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987, p. 453.

[8] Mehdi Mozaffari, 'The New Era of Terrorism: Approaches and Typologies'. Cooperation and Conflict, 23(4), 1988.

[9] Douglas Lackey, The Ethics of War and Peace. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989, p. 85.

[10] Richard Allan, Terrorism: Pragmatic International Deterrence and Cooperation. Occasional Paper Series 19. New York: Institute for East-West Security Studies, 1990, p. 85.

fort to preserve the state order.،(Hoffman –1998) [1]as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence.،(Malik - 2000) [2] as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence . (Cooper –2001) [3]as the intentional generation of massive fear by human beings.،Combs and Slann -2003)[4] as creating a mood of fear for political purposes.

(15) Innocence of victims emphasized

(Chisholm-1948) [5] as the planned use of violence or threat of violence against an individual or social group.، (Netanyahu - 1986) [6] as the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming, ing, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear.،(Anderson -1998) [7]as seeks deliberately to target largely non-combatants as its victims and to cultivate terror among both victims and tors.،(Elshtain -2003) [8]as the random murder of innocent people.

(16) Group, movement, organization as perpetrator

(Anand - 1984) [9] as the art of compelling an individual, group, or authority to adopt a particular disposition.، (Wilkinson -

---

[1] *Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998, p. 32.*
[2] *Omar Malik, 'Terrorism: Method or Madness. Paper 1. Enough of the Definition of Terrorism'. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000, p. 11.*
[3] *H.H.A. Cooper, 'Terrorism: The Problem of Terrorism Revisited'. American Behavioral Scientist, 44(6), February 2001, pp. 881–893.*
[4] *Cindy C. Combs, Martin Slann et al., Encyclopedia of Terrorism. New York: Checkmark Books, 2003, p. 209.*
[5] *H.J. Chisholm, 'The Function of Terror and Violence in Revolution'. MA thesis, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, 1948, pp.11–12, 18–19, 21–22.*
[6] *Benjamin B. Netanyahu (ed.), Terrorism: How the West Can Win. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1986, p. 9.*
[7] *Sean K. Anderson, 'Warnings versus Alarms: Terrorist Threat Analysis Applied to the Iranian State-run Media'. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 21(3), p. 281.*
[8] *Jean Bethke Elshtain, Just War against Terror. New York: Basic Books, 2003, pp. 18–19.*
[9] *V.K. Anand, Terrorism and Security. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1984, p. 19.*

1986) [1]as the systematic use of murder and destruction in order to to terrorize individuals, groups, communities or governments into conceding to the terrorists' political demands.،(Alexander and Sinai - 1989) [2]as the deliberate employment of violence or the threat threat of the use of violence by sovereign states or the sub- national groups.،(Ganor –1998) [3]as the use of violence against civilians or against civilian targets in order to attain political aims.،(Byman -1999) [4]as deliberate violence by a sub-national ethnic group to advance its cause، (European Union -2002) [5]as an intentional act which may seriously damage a country or an international organization

(17) Incalculability, unpredictability, unexpectedness of occurrence of violence

(Neale -1973) [6]as the use or threat of violence and designed to influence politicalbehaviour.،(Finger and Alexander - 1977) [7] as perpetrating random and brutal intimidation, coercion or destruction of human lives and.،(Funke -1977) [8] as systematic, planned threatening with, or application of, violence organized to

---

[1] *Paul Wilkinson, Terrorism and the Liberal State, 2nd edn. London: Macmillan, 1986, p. 14.*

[2] *Y. Alexander and J. Sinai, Terrorism: The PLO Connection. New York: Crane Russak, 1989, p. 1.*

[3] *Boaz Ganor, 'Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?' Herzliya, Israel: The Interdisciplinary Center, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, 1998, p. 12.*

[4] *Daniel Byman, 'The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism'. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 21(2), 1998, p. 151.*

[5] *United Nations, Office on Drugs and Crime, Combating International Terrorism: The Contribution of the United Nations. New York: United Nations, 2003, p. 108.*

[6] *W.D. Neale, 'Terror – Oldest Weapon in the Arsenal', Army, August gust 1973, p. 11.*

[7] *Y. Alexander and S.M. Finger (eds), Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. New York: John Jay Press, 1977, pp. ix–xi.*

[8] *M. Funke, 'Terrorismus – Ermittlungsversuch zu einer Herausforderung'. In M. Funke (ed.), Terrorismus: Untersuchungen zur Strategie und Struktur revolutionäerer Gewaltpolitik. Bonn: Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1977, p. 13 (translated by A.S.).*

strike by surprise.‹(Greisman -1977) [1]as the catalogue of organized violence.‹(Thackrah –1987) [2] as an organized system of extreme and violent intimidation to create instability within democracies.‹(Schneider –1994) [3]as the use of violence or the threat of violence against persons or objects.

(18) Clandestine, covert nature

(Bouthoul -1975) [4] as the work of small and very secret groups.‹ (Wilkinson-1976) [5] as a special form of clandestine, undeclared and unconventional warfare waged without any humanitarian restraints or rules.‹(Laqueur -1977) [6] as the use of covert violence by a group for political ends.‹(Wördemann -1977) [7] the use of force by a small and isolated.‹(Wilkinson - 1986) [8]as a special form of clandestine, undeclared and unconventional warfare, waged without any humanitarian restraints or rules.‹Della Porta - 1988) [9]as the action of clandestine political organizations.‹(Schmid - 1988) [10]as an anxiety- inspiring method of repeated violent action,

[1] H.C. Greisman, 'Social Meaning of Terrorism: Reification, Violence and Social Control'. Contemporary Crises, no. 1, July 1977, p. 305.

[2] R. Thackrah, 'Terrorism: A Definitional Problem'. In P. Wilkinson and A.M. Stewart (eds), Contemporary Research on Terrorism. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987, p. 38.

[3] Joachim Schneider, Kriminologie der Gewalt. Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1994, p. 175 (translated by A.S.).

[4] G. Bouthoul, 'Definitions of Terrorism'. In D. Carlton and C. Schaerf Schaerf (eds), International Terrorism and World Security. London: Croom Helm, 1975, pp. 50–59.

[5] P. Wilkinson, Terrorism versus Liberal Democracy: The Problem of Response. London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1976, pp. 1–3.

[6] W. Laqueur, Terrorism. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977, pp. 79, 79n.

[7] F. Wördemann, Terrorismus, Motive, Strategien. Munich: Piper, 1977, p. 24.

[8] Paul Wilkinson, quoted in W. Gutteridge (ed.), The New Terrorism. London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1986.

[9] D. Della Porta, in answer to questionnaire, quoted in A.P. Schmid and A.J. Jongman, Political Terrorism. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1988, p. 37.

[10] Alex P. Schmid et al., Political Terrorism, p. 28.

employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors.‹(Hudson -1989) [1]as unlawful violence, or the plausible threat of such violence, by an illegal, sub-national, clandestine group – usually carried out in a peaceful, civilian.‹(Rimanell – 1989) [2] as a violent form of political struggle employed by revolutionary groups.‹(Crelinsten –1992) [3] is the combined threat and use of violence, planned in secret. (157)‹ (Collin – 1997) [4]as the exploitation of computerized systems.‹(US Department of State (Title 22 of the US Code, Section 2656 (d)) - 1999) [5]as a violence perpetrated against non-combatant combatant targets by subnational groups.‹(International Law Dictionary and Directory -2004) [6]as the sustained clandestine tine use of violence.

(19) Repetitiveness; serial or campaign character of violence

(Horowitz-1973) [7]as un-sponsored and unsanctioned violence against the body or bodies of others.‹(Primoratz -2004) [8]as

---

[1] R.A. Hudson, 'Dealing with International Hostage-Taking: Alternatives to Reactive Counterterrorist Assaults', Terrorism, 12(5), 1989, pp. 321 ff.

[2] Marco Rimanelli, 'Italian Terrorism and Society, 1940s–1980s: Roots, Ideologies, Evolution, and International Connections'. In US–European Relations and International Law. Washington, DC: Public Affairs Department, George Mason University, 1989.

[3] Ronald D. Crelinsten, 'Victims' Perspectives'. In David L. Paletz and and Alex P. Schmid (eds), Terrorism and the Media: How Researcher, Terrorists, Government, Press, Public and Victims View and Use the Media. London: Sage, 1992, p. 212.

[4] B. Collin, Convergence of the Physical and Virtual Worlds. San Jose, CA: Institute for Security and Intelligence, 1997, p. 99.

[5] United States Code, Section 2656 (d), quoted in US Department of State, Patterns of Global Terrorism 1999. Washington, DC: Deptartment of State, April 2000, p. viii.

[6] http://august1.com/pubs/dict/t.htmh (accessed 17 August 2004).

[7] I.L. Horowitz, 'Political Terrorism and State Power', Journal of Political and Military Sociology, 1, 1973, p. 150.

[8] Igor Primoratz, 'What Is Terrorism?' In I. Primoratz (ed.), Terrorism: ism: The Philosophical Issues, p. 24.

the deliberate use of violence, or threat of its use, against innocent people.

(20) Criminal

(Marighela-1971) [1] as the use of bomb attacks.،(Fairbairn - 1974) [2] as a form of violence and Revolutionary guerrilla.،(US FBI -1976) [3] as a types of criminal activity.،(Fearey -1976) [4] as assassination or murder, kidnapping, extortion, arson, maiming or an assortment., (US Task Force -1976) [5] as a way of engaging in certain types of criminal activity.،(Bell -1978) [6] as a model to madmen and criminals appears.،(Bassiouni -1979) [7] as a strategy of unlawful violence calculated to inspire terror in the general public or a significant segment thereof in order to achieve a power-outcome.، (Nanes – 1984) [8] as a violent act or an act dangerous to human life in violation of the criminal laws of any state. ، (US Federal Bureau of Investigation - 1984) [9] as the unlawful use of force or violence against،(South Asian As sociation for Region

---

[1] *Carlos Marighela, For the Liberation of Brazil. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1971, p. 89.*

[2] *G. Fairbairn, Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare: The Countryside Version. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1974, pp. 348–349. Appendix 2.1: 250-plus Definitions of Terrorism 149*

[3] *M. Wilson and J. Lynxwiler, Abortion Clinic Violence as Terrorism. Birmingham: University of Alabama at Birmingham, 1988, pp. 264–265*

[4] *Remarks by R.A. Fearey, US Coordinator for Combating Terrorism, ism, 19 February 1976, in J. Wolf, Fear of Fear: A Survey of Terrorist Operations and Controls in Open Societies. New York: Plenum Press, 1981, p. 201.*

[5] *US National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice, Standards and Goals, Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism. Washington, DC: GPO, 1976, p. 3.*

[6] *J.B. Bell, A Time of Terror: How Democratic Societies Respond to Revolutionary Violence. New York: Basic Books, 1978, pp. 3, 49, 95–96.*

[7] *M.Ch. Bassiouni,'Prolegomenon to Terror Violence'. Creighton Law Review, 12(13), 1979, p. 752.*

[8] *Allan S. Nanes, Congressional Developments (1984), p. 72.*

[9] *FBI Analysis of Terrorist Incidents in the United States (1984), p. 87.*

Cooperation (SAARC) - 1987) [1] as a political offence. , (Linn - 1988) [2]as the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear.، (Houghton –1995) [3]as a a political crime.، (Hoffman –1997) [4] religious terrorist violence first and foremost is a sacramental act of divine duty،(Davidson Smith -1998) [5] as a form of anti-state terrorism that manifests itself as an extreme, illegitimate. ، (1999 -Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism) [6]as any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of of a State .،(1999 - Treaty on Cooperation among States Members of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Combating Terrorism) [7]as an illegal act punishable under criminal law.، (EU Definition of Terrorism- 2001) [8]as an offences intentionally committed by an individual or a group against one or more countries. (،Knobler et al – 2002) [9]as using biological agents.،(NATO

---

[1] UN Office of Legal Affairs, International Instruments related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism. New York: United Nations, 2001, p. 148.

[2] Ruth Linn, 'Terrorism, Morality and Soldiers' Motivation to Fight: An An Example from the Israeli Experience in Lebanon'. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 11(2), 1988, p. 139.

[3] Matthew G. Devost, Brian Houghton and Neal Allen Pollard, 'Information Terrorism: Political Violence in the Information Age'. Terrorism and Political Violence, 9(1), Spring 1997, p. 77.

[4] Bruce Hoffman, 'The Confluence of International and Domestic Trends in Terrorism'. Terrorism and Political Violence, 9(2), Summer 1997, p. 4.

[5] G. Davidson Smith, Single Issue Terrorism (1998), Online available ble at www.fas.org/irp/threat/com74e.htm as of 13 February 2004. (Commentary, No. 74).

[6] UN Office of Legal Affairs, International Instruments related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism. New York: United Nations, 2001, p. 212.

[7] Quoted in UN Office of Legal Affairs, International Instruments Related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism, pp. 174–175.

[8] Quoted in Jeffrey Benner, 'Who EU Calling a Terrorist?' Wired News, at www.wired.com/news/ print/0,1294,48807,00.html.

[9] Global Health. Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 2002. Based on a Workshop of the Forum on Emerging Infections, ISBN 0-309-08253-6, S. 276. Online, available at:

Standardization Agency -2003) [1]as the unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence against individuals.، (Derrida and Borradori 2004) [2]as a reference to a crime against human life and violation of laws.،(Addicott -2009) [3]as the illegal use of violence directed at civilians to produce fear.

(21) Demands made on third parties

(German Federal Republic, ministry of the interior - 1984) [4]as the enduringly conducted struggle for politicalgoals.،(Ahmad - 1986) [5]as the use of terrorizing methods of governing or resisting a government' .،(Kaufman – 1986) [6] as the random murder of innocent people.، (Ezeldin - 1987) [7]as a systematic and persistent strategy of violence Practised by a state or political group against another state or political group.،(Murphy –1989) [8] as an acts of

---

books.nap.edu/books/0309082536/ html/index.html (accessed 11 March 2004).

[1] NATO Standardization Agency, NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions (English and French). AAP-6 (2004). Brussels: NATO, 2004 (Allied Administrative Publications).

[2] Jacques Derrida and Jürgen Habermas, Le 'concept' du 11 septembre: dialogues à New York (octobre–décembre 2001. Paris: Éditions Galilée, 2004, pp. 155–156 (translated by A.S.).

[3] Jeffrey F. Addicott, Terrorism Law: Materials, Cases, Comments, 5th edn. Tucson, AZ: Lawyers & Judges Publishing Company, 2009, p. 4.

[4] German Federal Republic, Ministry of the Interior. Verfassungsschutzbericht 1984. Bonn: Bundesministerium des Inneren, 1985, p. 17n (translated by A.S.).

[5] Eqbal Ahmad, 'Comprehending Terror'. Middle East Report, May–June 1986, p. 3.

[6] Irving R. Kaufman, 'Cold-Blooded Killers, Not Freedom Fighters', New York Times, 22 August 1986, p. A23.

[7] Ahmed Galal Ezeldin, Terrorism and Political Violence: An Egyptian Perspective. Chicago: University of Illinois, 1987, pp. 39–40.

[8] John F. Murphy, before the International Law Association; quoted in J.F. Murphy, State Support of International Terrorism. Legal, Political, and Economic Dimensions. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989, pp. 19–20.

international terrorism include.‹(Taylor Wilkins - 1992) [1] as the attempt to achieve political, social, economic, or religious change by the actual or threatened use of violence.‹ (Chalk –1998) [2] as an inexpensive method of warfare that can achieve relatively effective results.

Methodology

Content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text. 1 These inferences are about the sender(s) of the message, the message itself, or the audience of the message. The rules of this inferential process vary with the theoretical and substantive interests of the investigator Content analysis can be used for many purposes as describe trends in communication content. Content analysis refers to a general set of techniques useful for analysing and understanding collections of text .[3] so, the study exploration a revised academic consensus definition of terrorism by Content Analysis of 262 terrorism definitions through (10 Elements .[4]) ; Dual character of the term terrorism ‹Threefold context ‹Perpetrator as source or agent of violence ‹Political ‹Violent act ‹Threat-based communication ‹ Differentiation between direct civilian victims and the ultimate target audience ‹Terror/fear/dread ‹Intent ‹Campaign .

---

(1) Burleigh Taylor Wilkins, Terrorism and Collective Responsibility. London: Routledge,1992, p. 6. Appendix 2.1: 250-plus Definitions of Terrorism 153

(2) Peter Chalk, 'Political Terrorism in South-East Asia'. Terrorism and and Political Violence, 10(2), Summer 1998, p. 97.

(3) ROSENGREN, K. E. (ed.) (1981) Advances in Content Analysis. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage., p.1.

(4) Schmid, A.P., 'Terrorism: The Definitional Problem'. Case Western ern Reserve Journal of International Law, 2004, pp. 375–419.

table (1)

identifies results of Content Analysis of academic consensus in terrorism definitions

Element	Frequencies	Percentage
1-Dual character of the term 'terrorism		
An ideology	83	31.7%
The primary victims of violence	31	11.8%
special form of violence	98	34.0%
generate power in political conflict	41	15.6%
a practice, tactic or method	29	11.1%
influence and manipulate the political process	52	19.8%
deliberately planned	42	16.0%
2: Threefold context		
a form of rule by fear	61	23.3%
a continuation of protest and propaganda by other means	9	3.4%
a form of irregular warfare	82	31.3%
3: Perpetrator as source or agent of violence		
takes a human agent to produce terrorism	52	19.9%
a human agent to produce terrorismt that can produce terrorism	49	18.7%
include secret agents	73	27.9%
violence-prone ideological movements	16	6.1%
attribute the capacity to engage in terrorism	7	2.7%
include figures from organized crime	27	10.3%

the agent is usually acting from an under-ground	69	26.3%
under the veil of secrecy	74	28.2%
4: Political		
not merely criminal or psychotic violence	9	3.4%
referred to the common concerns of the citizens	80	30.5%
a form of violence without moral	31	11.8%
influence the state government's politics	79	30.2%
as violent protests	13	5.0%
protest suicides	2	0.8%
storming of government buildings	9	3.4%
Political violence	89	34.0%
collective violent action	16	6.1%
civil strife	8	3.1%
mass political violence	88	33.6%
internal war	5	1.9%
5: Violent act		
use of violence without moral restraints	49	18.7%
illegal or illegitimate application of extreme force	15	5.7%
death or serious injury	9	3.4%
Bombing	8	3.1%
armed assault	62	23.7%
Massacre	13	5.0%
hostage taking for coercive bargaining	9	3.4%
criminal offences outside the context of war	12	4.9%

non-combatants are deliberately targeted	27	10.0%
selective violence	59	22.5%
indiscriminate violence	62	23.7%
6: Threat-based communication		
create a climate of fear	77	29.3%
a fear of repetition	4	1.5%
can strike anyone	59	22.5%
dual-phase incidents	12	4.9%
publication of death lists	5	1.9%
organized crime	67	25.6%
allegedly against	5	1.9%
a form of blackmail takes place	9	3.4%
use the conditional suspension	7	2.7%
7: Differentiation between direct civilian victims and the ultimate target audience		
Innocent	19	7.3%
harmless civilians	2	0.8%
unarmed civilians	47	17.9%
civilians in general	35	13.4%
the defenceless in general	29	11.1%
who are neutral or not a party to the conflict	37	14.1%
indiscriminately chosen (random) victims	28	10.7%
nonmilitary targets	14	5.3%
genuine non-combatants	16	29.0%
non-civilian noncombatants	21	8.0%
unarmed police not on duty	12	4.6%

8: Terror/fear/dread		
deliberate act of violence	63	24%
produce a psychological effect	19	7.3%
the element of surprise	70	26.7%
coercively exploit – shock	11	4.2%
a climate of terror	33	12.6%
hate the victim	14	5.3%
9: Intent		
search for attention	2	0.8%
Publicity	4	1.5%
Destabilization	34	13.0%
mobilization of supporters	7	2.7%
polarization in society	9	3.4%
enforcing obedience	3	1.1%
destroying public	17	6.5%
confidence in government	45	17.1%
advertising the goals of the terrorist organization	14	5.3%
publication of a manifesto	8	3.1%
10: Campaign		
declaring a conditional cease-fire	2	0.8%
involve multiple simultaneous attacks	16	6.1%
dual- or multi-phase acts of terrorism	5	1.9%
single-phase attacks	2	0.8%
a political front organization	27	10.3%
use terrorism as a stand-alone technique	9	3.4%
lightning war	8	3.1%