ISSUE TERRORISM: AN ANALYSIS OF TRENDS IN NORTH AMERICA

By

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Issue Terrorism: An Analysis of Trends in North America

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ABSTRACT

Issue motivated terrorism can be understood as an extreme, illegitimate, and often violent response to a controversial issue within a given society. In North America, issue terrorism has accounted for the largest proportion of domestic terrorism incidents over the last twenty years. The actions of North American issue terrorists, such as the destruction of property and threatened violence, have been directed against a wide range of targets in both the public and private sectors. Overwhelmingly, these attacks have been motivated by contentious environmental, animal rights, abortion, and globalisation issues.

Any theoretical explanation of issue terrorism requires an understanding of the conceptual distinctions between expressions of legitimate protest and violent protest. Furthermore, a wide range of activities that constitute issue terrorism must be identified. This thesis explores the phenomenon of issue terrorism in the context of Dr. Raymond R. Corrado's state and anti-state model of terrorism and provides a new typology with which to locate issue terrorism within the domain of political terrorism. This thesis will also provide an analysis of the modern trends in issue terrorism in order to understand the root causes, degree, and extent of issue terrorism in North America.

DEDICATION

This thesis is for my beloved mother, Patricia, from whom I receive my inspiration...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ALF	Animal Liberation Front
ATF	Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms
CRC	Coastal Rainforest Coalition
CSIS	Canadian Security and Intelligence Service
ELF	Earth Liberation Front
ENGO	Environmental Non-government Organization
ETA	Freedom for the Basque Homeland
FACE	Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FINTRAC	Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Center
FLQ	Front for the Liberation of Quebec
GATT	General Agreement on Taxes and Tariffs
GMO	Genetically Modified Organism
HSA	Hunt Saboteurs Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
MSNBC	Microsoft Network Broadcasting Corporation
NAF	National Abortion Federation
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NCAP	National Clinic Access Project
NEPA	National Environmental Policy Act
PATRIOT	Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act
PETA	People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RSPCA	Royal Society for the Protection of Cruelty to Animals
SPC	Sheriff's Posse Comitatus
SPCA	Society for the Protection of Cruelty to Animals
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union

INTRODUCTION

The 1996 Centennial Olympic Park bombing in Atlanta, Georgia and the anti-globalisation riots in Genoa, Italy 2001 marked a turning point in the contemporary history of political terrorism just as the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington did in 2001. The Atlanta Olympics bombing and Genoa riots brought issue terrorism to the forefront, while September 11, 2001 demonstrated the emergence of international religious fundamentalist Islamic terrorism as the leading terrorist threat facing Western democracies. Throughout the 20th century, state terrorism, along with anti-state ideological and/or ethnic-nationalist terrorism, dominated the theoretical literature. The 20th century began with anarchist terrorists in Europe assassinating political figures and bombing buildings in the emerging Western liberal democracies. Their ideology justified the use of terror as the only effective means of countering the overwhelming police powers of the state in preventing anarchists from non-violently implementing their utopian societies. In effect, the use of terror tactics by the government and its agents was directed to ensure that corrupt industrial and political elites would remain in power by eliminating any serious political opposition whether in the emerging industrial societies, such as Czarist Russia, or capitalist liberal democratic societies, such as the United States. Workers would continue to be routinely exploited in factories and mines, ordinary citizens brutally subjugated by the police and secret police, and economic and political power would continue to be centralized among the elites. While the Russian Czar was openly despotic, a lesser form of state terrorism existed in countries such as the United Kingdom and the U.S during the same period. By the 1930s, secular ideological state terrorism, in the form of communism and fascism, emerged as the basis of power in the Soviet Union, Germany, and Italy. In addition, anti-state ethnic-nationalist terrorist organizations emerged throughout Africa, the Middle-east, and South-East Asia

in the 1960s to challenge the European colonial empires. In Third World colonies, such as Vietnam, Algeria, and Kenya, these anti-state terrorist groups were part of guerrilla armies engaged in civil wars. However, even in Western Liberal advanced Capitalist economies, such as Canada, the U.K, the U.S, France, and Italy, anti-state ethnic-nationalist organizations challenged the internal colonial structures that its members claimed impoverished and terrorized historical national regions such as Quebec, Northern Ireland, Puerto Rico, Corsica, and the Tyrol respectively. At the same time in these Western Liberal advanced industrial countries, ideological anti-state terrorist groups reminiscent of the early 20th century ideological movements arose. For example, the Baader-Meinhoff Group in West Germany, the Weathermen in the U.S, the Japanese Red Army, and the Red Brigades in Italy emerged utilizing bombs and assassinations in the 1970s and 1980s in an attempt to challenge and change the status quo. As well, state terrorist regimes emerged in South Africa and Asia. Both the U.S and the Soviet Union supported either state terrorist regimes or anti-state terrorist groups based on Cold War battles and shifting alliances on a country by country basis. Millions of citizens died or were terrorized throughout the second half of the 20th century because of political terrorism (Chomsky & Bennet, 2002). With the end of the Cold War by the early 1990's, theorists such as Fukiyama (1992) argued that ideology had lost its power to motivate political movements. Corrado (1983) argued that both the ideological and ethnic-nationalist movements would decline largely as a result of strategic political compromises such as regional devolution and federalist powers granted to provinces and states by central governments of western political regimes. As well, the material and life-style advantages produced by the dramatically growing advanced capitalist service economies would contribute to the decline of traditional anti-state political terrorist movements.

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Understandably, virtually all the theoretical literature on political terrorism focuses on the above mentioned classical forms of political terrorism. In contrast, there is only very recent and limited literature on the two emerging forms of terrorism – international fundamentalist Islamic terrorism and issue terrorism. The latter form has received scant theoretical attention especially given the epic events of September 11, 2001 and the U.S declared war on terrorism. Issue terrorism, however, remains an important theoretical issue since there is very little conceptual understanding of this phenomenon.

While some contemporary typologies, such as Corrado and Cohen (2001), White (2002), and Smith (1994) identify issue terrorism, there are no attempts either to elaborate its conceptual structures in terms of organization, tactics, and targets, or to examine the numerous issue terrorist incidents. It will be argued in this thesis that an empirical examination of the characteristics and incidents of issue terrorism are an essential first step in developing a theoretical understanding of this important phenomenon. There is little doubt that events, such as abortion clinics bombings and the destruction of industrial assets, whether animal research labs or genetically modified crop fields, are controversial. Similarly, anti-globalisation riots, which occur routinely at international meetings of key multi-national organizations, such as those associated with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the General Agreement on Taxes and Tariffs (GATT), and the annual meetings of the G-8 countries' political and financial leaders, are increasingly violent both in terms of rioters and police instigations and reactions. For example, in Genoa, Italy (2001), the Italian police were accused of engaging in state terrorist tactics against anti-globalisation protesters when one protester was shot at point blank range and many of those arrested were physically and mentally abused while in police custody. Part of the controversy is the lack of understanding concerning what types of organizations are emerging in issue terrorism. Animal rights

and environmental issue terrorist groups, for example, do not appear to replicate the organizational structures of traditional anti-state terrorist groups identified above. It appears that a fundamental difference is the advent of the internet that facilitates the creation of "virtual" cell organizations. This form of organization is extremely difficult to describe since it is difficult to distinguish issue terrorist activists from the far more numerous non-violent social movement members who support challenging a particular government or industry policy, such as abortion. It also is extremely difficult to describe the networking links among different issue terrorist groups, such as those concerned with animal rights issues versus environmental issues because they are not organized like traditional ideological or ethnic-nationalist terrorist groups.

Beyond different types of organizational structures, there is little information about the types of tactics, targets, and damages resulting from issue terrorism. It can be argued that the media is sensationalizing this form of terrorism far beyond the actual threat it poses to citizens in countries such as Canada and the U.S. In effect, while the Atlanta Olympic bombing was tragic because one innocent bystander was killed and 111 were injured, taking a broader perspective of how this event fits into the realm of terrorism, this was a minor isolated incident. However, by focusing an inordinate amount of media attention on infrequent issue terrorist incidents, a mistaken image is created in the public; anti-abortionists and anti-globalisationists are an on-going threat to innocent citizens and pose a genuine threat to the stability of political institutions and the survival of targeted industries or organizations. For example, tree-spiking of old growth forests in the Pacific North-Western region of the U.S has caused significant economic damage to forestry companies and the small town industries dependent on them is a frequently repeated message in the media. Yet, there are no studies that quantify the actual

damages resulting from this particular issue terrorist tactic. Similarly, there are few studies that report the costs of other tactics employed by issue terrorist organizations.

By elaborating the conceptual structure of issue terrorism in this thesis, it will be possible to better explicate theoretical models or theories of this form of terrorism. As mentioned above, to date, most theories of political terrorism have focused on its' traditional forms. Chapter One of this thesis discusses these traditional forms of terrorism and the various counterterrorism models that have been used to respond to them. The different types of social movements and issue terrorist groups affiliated with issue terrorism will be discussed in the Chapter Two. This chapter will demonstrate that a diverse number of issue terrorist groups exist and that several groups share many structural characteristics and membership. Chapter Three describes the methodology that was employed to obtain and record issue terrorism incident profiles into a data base. The instrument that was designed and the level of analysis employed are also discussed in this chapter. Finally, Chapter Four discusses these results and provides a trend analysis with respect to the types of issue terrorism incidents, the most common tactics employed in these incidents, and group profiles and targets.

CHAPTER 1: DEFINITIONS AND TYPOLOGIES
OF POLITICAL TERRORISM

Introduction

The concept of political terrorism often results in widespread controversy for the global media primarily because the term terrorism has a pejorative connotation and severe political implications. Media and government usage of terrorism labels are ideologically subjective since they emerge from specific national and international power relations, national histories, and cultures. The public meaning of terrorism is in constant flux and is dependent on a country's history, the ideological orientation of the ruling regime, the degree of media independence, the nature and scope of the conflict, the expressed or perceived motives of the terrorists, and the social, economic, religious, and political status of the perpetrators and victims. In addition to the popular debate over the use and meaning of political terrorism, there has been considerable scholarly controversy. For the purpose of this thesis, political terrorism will be narrowly focused only on those acts that involve primarily political objectives.

Definitions of Political Terrorism

Brian Jenkins (1984) defines terrorism broadly as the use or threatened use of force to effect political change. Political terrorism, therefore, is not defined by specific acts of terror, but rather only those acts committed as part of a process to change the political status quo. Walter Laqueur further specifies this definition by adding the "illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective by targeting innocent people" (1999:72). This conceptualisation raises two important issues. First, by referring to the illegitimate use of force, Laqueur restricts political terrorism to violent acts against the government. Since often governments typically have a monopoly on the legitimate use of force, the state use of terror is not necessarily characterized as political terrorism. Rarely

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do governments define their own use of force as illegitimate (Cohen, 2001). Still, Laqueur's definition is an improvement over Jenkin's because he argues that terrorism victimizes the innocent. However, Laqueur does not provide criteria for determining who can be defined as an innocent victim. For example, Al-Qaeda has rejected the notion that American non-combatants are innocent victims of terrorism. Rather, Al-Qaeda contends that since the general population of the United States elects its' representatives, all citizens are responsible for their government's policies. Moreover, Al-Qaeda argues that since American foreign policy results in the deaths of Muslim non-combatants, specifically women and children, all Americans are legitimate targets. Hamas, which targets Israelis in Israel and the Occupied Territories, claims that since every male and female Israeli citizen must serve a period of compulsory military service, all citizens are part of the state's military apparatus and, therefore, legitimate targets.

While scholarly definitions of terrorism distinguish political violence from other forms of violence, official government definitions of terrorism emphasize identifying the perpetrators of terrorism, their motivations, their victims, and counterterrorism policies. For example, the U.S Vice President's Task Force on Terrorism defined terrorism as:

> [t]he unlawful use or threat of violence against persons or property to further political or social objectives. It is usually intended to intimidate or coerce a government, individuals or groups, or to modify their behaviour or politics (Vice President's Task Force on Terrorism, 1986).

This definition provides the basic motivations for terrorism and its general goals. As with Laqueur's definition, terrorism is the unlawful use or threat of violence. However, this definition includes the notion that terrorism, in addition to being designed to achieve certain political or social objectives, is also intended to intimidate or coerce. Terrorism is designed to instil fear in its targets.

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A more detailed official government definition of terrorism was produced by the U.S Department of State. It defines political terrorism as:

> [p]remeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience (State Department, 1999).

This definition is important because it includes several new elements to consider in order to understand political terrorism. Terrorism is a premeditated act, it is systematic and planned. Terrorism is part of a considered political strategy, rather than a random, impulsive event. Political terrorism, therefore, is different from other forms of political violence, such as spontaneous riots or isolated acts of random violence against government agents or its symbols. This definition also distinguished terrorism from other forms of violence, such as guerrilla warfare, by its victims, rather than its tactics. According to the U.S Department of State, victims of terrorism are always non-combatants. In addition, terrorists are defined as members of sub-national groups who act clandestinely. In other words, perpetrators of terrorism do not wear identifying uniforms. While this definition does not explicitly mention fear as an objective, it does state that the goal of terrorism is to influence an audience.

In response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States introduced extensive amendments to their existing anti-terrorism legislation. This package of amendments is known as the PATRIOT Act. It adopts the United States Code (2002) definition of terrorism:

> [v]iolent acts or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State, or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States or of any State; that appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping; and occur primarily outside the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, or transcend national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished, the persons they appear

intended to intimidate or coerce, or the locale in which their perpetrators operate or seek asylum (U.S Code, 2002).

The U.S Code definition of terrorism recognizes the contemporary international nature of terrorism by not limiting its definition of terrorism solely to acts that occur within the United States' territorial jurisdiction. This broad interpretation provides the U.S government with the option, and possibly the obligation, of responding to external terrorist acts. This definition of terrorism also identifies specific acts of domestic terrorism:

> [a]cts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State; appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States (PATRIOT Act, 2001).

Also, in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Canada introduced its first explicit anti-terrorism legislation. The Anti-Terrorism Act of Canada, Bill C-36, defines political terrorism as:

> [a]n offence under one of 10 U.N. anti-terrorism conventions and protocols; or is taken or threatened for political, religious or ideological purposes and threatens the public or national security by killing, seriously harming or endangering a person, causing substantial property damage that is likely to seriously harm people or by interfering with or disrupting an essential service, facility or system (Department of Justice, 2001).

This definition is consistent with the PATRIOT Act. As well, the Canadian law recognizes the international nature of terrorism and includes both acts that occur within and outside of Canada. The Canadian federal government also has the option, and the obligation, of responding to terrorist acts that occur outside of Canada. However, Bill C-36 differs from the PATRIOT Act since the Canadian law is based on the United Nations general definition of terrorism which includes religion as a motive for terrorism. This addition is important because from the end of the Cold War, religious ideologies, rather than secular ideologies, have become the primary basis for both state and anti-state terrorism

(Corrado & Cohen, 2001). Finally, Bill C-36 includes the motive of interfering with or disrupting an essential service, facility or system as terrorism. Similar to all the anti-terrorist laws, according to Bill C-36, the federal government must respond to terrorist acts against Canadians. The Canadian law does not, however, explicitly mention any obligation on the part of the government to respond to foreign state terrorist acts against Canadians. Presumably, this omission exists because there are United Nations laws to deal with such acts to which Canada is obliged to respond.

Most definitions of terrorism, especially government definitions, as illustrated above, define terrorism in terms of acts that are committed against the state, and neglect to define terrorism in terms of acts that are committed by the state. Stohl and Duvall (1983) contend that this limitation reflects the assumption that legitimate governments, are typically responsible in their use of force, and are not engaged in terrorism. For example, legitimate governments may use violence and force in the form of police institutions. While the police may use force, the government is unlikely to define police actions as illegitimate. However, Stohl and Duvall's definition of terrorism emphasizes state terrorism. They define terrorism as threatened or perpetrated violence that is directed at some victim where the violent actor, typically a state agent, intends the violence to induce terror in some witness beyond the immediate victim. The objective is to maintain or express the government or regime's power (Stohl, & Duvall, 1983). In effect, Duvall and Stohl represent the conceptual perspective that political terrorism is overwhelmingly a tactic historically employed by the state or government against its citizens and not vice versa.

The main reason definitions of terrorism vary is that this concept is used to describe a wide range of different violent acts and perpetrators. While it has most commonly been used to describe the violent actions of individuals or groups in conflict

with the ruling regime, more recently, it includes the violent acts of the ruling regime or its official and unofficial agents against its citizens or the citizens of another country. Since the 1970s, the term terrorism has also been used to describe the violent actions of people who belong to single issue interest groups based on themes, such as anti-globalisation, animal rights, and/or anti-abortion (White, 2002).

In addition to distinguishing terrorism from other forms of violence, it is also imperative to distinguish political terrorism from other forms of politically motivated violence, such as guerrilla warfare and commando tactics used in civil war. Many acts committed by a state's military forces during times of war, such as espionage, large scale destruction of property, and propaganda campaigns, often resemble the tactics of terrorists. However, terrorists rarely directly engage a state's military with the objective of gaining and controlling territory. Instead, as demonstrated by the definitions discussed above, terrorists aim to induce fear in the general population with the goal of forcing either the ruling regime or certain citizens to respond to their specific political demands. Unlike guerrilla warfare, in which rebels typically do engage the regime's military directly with the intention of occupying and controlling territory, terror tactics are most often used during times of peace and target non-combatants (White 2002; Corrado & Cohen, 2000).

Systematic violence is a necessary component of political terrorism, regardless of the specific purpose of the terror campaign, because a primary objective is to instill fear in an audience beyond the immediate victims of the terror attack. In effect, terrorism is primarily designed to send a specific message to an audience larger than those directly victimized by the act, namely a message of strength, willingness, and determination to use violence to achieve political objectives (Corrado & Cohen, 2000). As well, terrorists act in a clandestine manner. While all criminals attempt to avoid detection by the authorities, terrorist groups are specifically organized in ways that

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restrict the ability of a captured terrorist to disclose information about their entire organization. In contrast, guerrilla groups are typically organized according to traditional military structures. Terrorist organizations usually have a small cell structure composed of a handful of members linked to an essentially anonymous common group. This cell structure enhances secrecy between cells in order to limit the ability of a state to destroy a terrorist organization by capturing a member of any single cell. This structure neutralizes the ability of the state to infiltrate or otherwise collect information about an entire group. While there are multiple variations of this basic cell structure, it remains the most common organizational structure for anti-state terrorist organizations (Corrado & Cohen, 2000).

As with conventional crimes, political power is the ultimate basis for terrorism in any country. Often, governments have not defined the violent political actions of individuals or groups as terrorism in order to avoid providing the offender(s) with any greater status other than ordinary criminal. Governments have a vested interest in labelling terrorists as common criminals, thereby deligitimizing the terrorist's political objectives. However, when governments define violent acts as terrorism, this label provides the "legitimate" basis for government repression or a reduction of its citizens' freedoms and civil liberties (Corrado & Cohen, 2000).

All of the violent tactics used in terrorism, such as murder, arson, and hostage taking, are defined as criminal acts by national and international criminal codes. However, most terrorists are convictional, rather than conventional, criminals. Conventional criminals engage in offences for their own personal benefit without any specific political motivations (Schafer, 1989). For example, crimes committed by conventional offenders can be opportunistic, such as theft, or violent crimes of passion, such as manslaughter. The motivations for acts of terrorism are convictional in that they

are committed explicitly for political reasons, have a social and/or political objective, and are committed, not for the material benefit of the individual, but for the greater good as defined by the perpetrator. Furthermore, the organizational structures of terrorist groups, their belief systems, and their motivations distinguish terrorists from criminals (White, 2002).

There is a wide range of motivations for political terrorism. For state terrorism, the most common motivation is the real or perceived threat that an internal or external group poses to the political, social, religious, and/or economic status quo. An elite based ruling regime, for example, typically uses terrorism to preserve their elite status. The motivations for anti-state terrorism range from concern over one specific issue, such as the environment, to changing the dominant religious or secular ideology of the state, such as creating an Islamic fundamentalist state or a socialist state. Another frequent motive is the desire for an ethnic based nation-state, such as the Front for the Liberation of Quebec's (FLQ) goal of an independent French Quebec from Canada. From the 1960s to the 1990s, most convictional terrorists used secular ideologies, such as Socialism, Maoism, Marxism, Anarchism, and Communism, as the motivation for their terrorist campaigns.

Like secular ideologies, religious fundamentalism has been the basis for terrorism both in agrarian and industrial societies. Violent religious fundamentalism focuses on issues, such as a desire to purify the world of non-believers, to impose a specific religious doctrine, or to establish or maintain a theocratic form of government (White, 2002). A recent trend in advanced capitalist societies, such as the United States and Canada, are terrorists based on specific issues, such as protecting the environment, promoting animal rights, anti-abortion, and anti-globalisation. Issue terrorism involves a response by a group designed to attract widespread attention to a perceived issue or

grievance within society by engaging in violence, causing economic damage, preventing or delaying certain personal, commercial, or industrial activities, and forcing governments or organizations to rethink specific policies, programs, and operations (Smith, 1998). Issue terrorists have engaged in threats and acts of violence, destruction of private and public property, and other terror tactics to draw domestic and foreign attention to their specific issue. As with secular or religious ideological terrorism, the basis for the violence and property destruction is the perception that legitimate or non-violent means of affecting the desired objective are either too slow, ineffective, or not possible.

While the conceptual development of terrorism has been a scholarly enterprise, the media also plays an important role in defining certain violent actions as terrorism. In countries with state controlled media, propaganda campaigns can be used to distort the meaning of the actions of the government so that they are either unknown by the public or not considered terrorism. In contrast, in liberal democracies, there is no common definition that governs the media's application of terrorism (White, 2002). However, constant media coverage of terrorism can create the misimpression that terrorism is an easily identifiable phenomenon with simple root causes. Rarely do most of the media portray political terrorism as the complex phenomenon depicted in scholarly research.

Given the limitations of the definitions and the conceptual complexity discussed above, this thesis adopts Corrado and Cohen's (2000) definition of political terrorism. They define terrorism as a politically motivated act that involves systematic violence with an intention to cause extreme fear in an audience that is distinct from the immediate victim of the violence. This definition has several advantages over the other conceptualisations of terrorism. By stating that terrorism is politically motivated violence, this definition is not limited only to those who engage in violence against the state.

Moreover, Corrado and Cohen (2000) argue that the violence must be systematic. The acts of terrorists can be distinguished from other forms of violence because they are not random, but are planned and executed in order to achieve a specific political outcome. This definition also addresses the central purpose of terrorism - to cause extreme fear in the ruling regime or the general population to either maintain the status quo or to alter it in some way. Most importantly, the intended audience is far wider than the actual victims of terror. In effect, these victims are targeted because of what they represent as political symbols to a national or international audience. As with most other definitions, Corrado and Cohen (2000) contend that terrorism is distinct from conventional military conflicts and that terrorists act clandestinely.

Typology of Anti-State Terrorism

Given the above review, it is evident that there are many different groups, motivations, tactics, and objectives that can be defined as political terrorism. Several typologies of terrorism have been developed to describe the wide array of conceptual themes (White, 2002). For example, some typologies distinguish between terrorism that is committed by extreme left-wing and extreme right-wing groups. Other typologies make their distinctions based on group structures, the selection of targets, or the tactics that groups employ. Flemming, Stohl, and Schmid (Smith, 1994) have identified approximately fifty typologies of terrorism and have categorized them into four broad categories: terrorist groups; terrorist motivations; terrorist methods of operation and target selection; and historical origins of terrorist groups. The failure of most typologies of political terrorism is that they either do not create types that are mutually exclusive or are so specific that the individual types apply only to one terrorist group.

Still, White (2002) contends that typologies offer several advantages over definitions of political terrorism. First, typologies can be used to identify several different

types of terrorism. Second, they allow for a more accurate representation of the scope of terrorism at the local, national, or international level. Third, typologies distinguish between types of violence and the social meanings of terrorist acts. One key issue with the use of typologies is the extent to which they are adaptable to ever changing meanings and types of terrorism. As this thesis is interested in issue terrorism, an extremely useful typology to distinguish between various forms of anti-state terrorism is Corrado's typology terrorism (Corrado & Cohen, 2000). Unlike typologies that focus on tactics or target selection, Corrado's typology distinguishes anti-state terrorist organizations based on their overriding political objectives. Corrado contends that while the overall goal of anti-state terrorism is to alter the status quo of the state in some way, anti-state terrorism takes one of three forms: ideological terrorism, ethnic-nationalist terrorism, and issue terrorism. While not all anti-state terrorist groups can be classified exclusively into only one of the three categories, this typology does effectively distinguish between the significant variations among groups defined at anti-state terrorists.

Corrado's Anti-State Typology of Terrorism

Anti-state terrorism based on ideology is not designed necessarily to destroy the state. Rather, the goal is to replace the existing political structure with one derived from a radical philosophy. According to Corrado's typology (see Figure 1), ideological terrorism can be divided into secular and religious ideological types (Corrado & Cohen, 2001). Secular ideological anti-state terrorism is violence intended to change the political, social and/or economic structures of the state according to a radical or revolutionary ideology, such as Fascism, Lenin-Marxism, Maoism, or anarchism. In the case of Marxist-Lenin based terrorism, these groups are committed to replacing the capitalist state with a Marxist- Lenin regime as capitalism is seen as the root cause of all

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society's economic inequities and social ills. Terrorist groups, such as Germany's Red Army Faction, Italy's Red Brigades, and the Japanese Red Army are examples of secular ideological anti-state terrorist organizations. Other groups, such as anarchists, are committed to completely abolishing hierarchical based systems of governance. These movements challenge the fundamental principles by which governments have traditionally ruled societies (Corrado & Cohen, 2000). With the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, secular ideological terrorism, especially left-wing terrorism, has waned. As Corrado and Evans (1988) predicted, the ideological basis for left-wing terrorism has been systematically diminished.

Religious ideological terrorism differs from secular ideological terrorism in that religious scriptures or theological doctrine are the primary motivating factor for this type of terrorism (Corrado & Cohen, 2000). While secular ideological terrorism has declined, religious terrorism, especially violence in support of fundamentalist ideologies, has increased over the past two decades. This type of terrorism unifies diverse groups of individuals that share the same religious convictions regardless of borders, language, culture, political systems, etc (Corrado & Cohen, 2000). Moreover, religion is a very powerful motivator for action. Rather than engaging in violence in the pursuit of some economic or political framework, religious terrorists are acting in the name of a deity.

The second type of anti-state terrorism is ethnic-nationalist terrorism. According to Corrado and Cohen (2000), ethnic-nationalist terrorism is politically motivated violence based on ethnicity or the desire to build a state based on ethnic distinctions. Anti-state terrorism based on a desire to secede from a state or create an ethnically homogeneous country was the most common form of anti-state terrorism in the 1990s. Examples of this form of terrorism include the FLQ in Canada, the IRA in Northern Ireland, and the ETA in the Basque region of Spain.

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Issue terrorism is the third form of anti-state terrorism in Corrado's typology. Issue terrorism is focused on resolving a specific moral, social, economic, or political issue, rather than altering the general status quo of the state. For example, abortion, animal rights, and the environment are issues that have lead to the formation of terrorist groups. These kinds of groups engage in acts of terrorism to draw attention to their position, force the government to reconsider its political position on a specific issue, and intimidate others into accepting their values and beliefs (Corrado & Cohen, 2000). Once the issue is resolved, the terror campaign typically ends. There are two significant differences between issue terrorism and the two other types of anti-state terrorism. First, while the other types of anti-state terrorism are focused on a total restructuring of the state, the goals of issue terrorists are, by comparison, quite limited. For instance, issue terrorists might engage in violence to change a state's policy towards a woman's right to choose to have an abortion or to stop logging in a particular forest. Second, while issue terrorists are in conflict with the state, they rarely attack the state directly. In other words, their targets have traditionally been non-governmental organizations that are directly connected to their issue. For example, animal rights-based terrorists might destroy an animal research laboratory.

Figure 1: Corrado's Typology of Anti-State Terrorism

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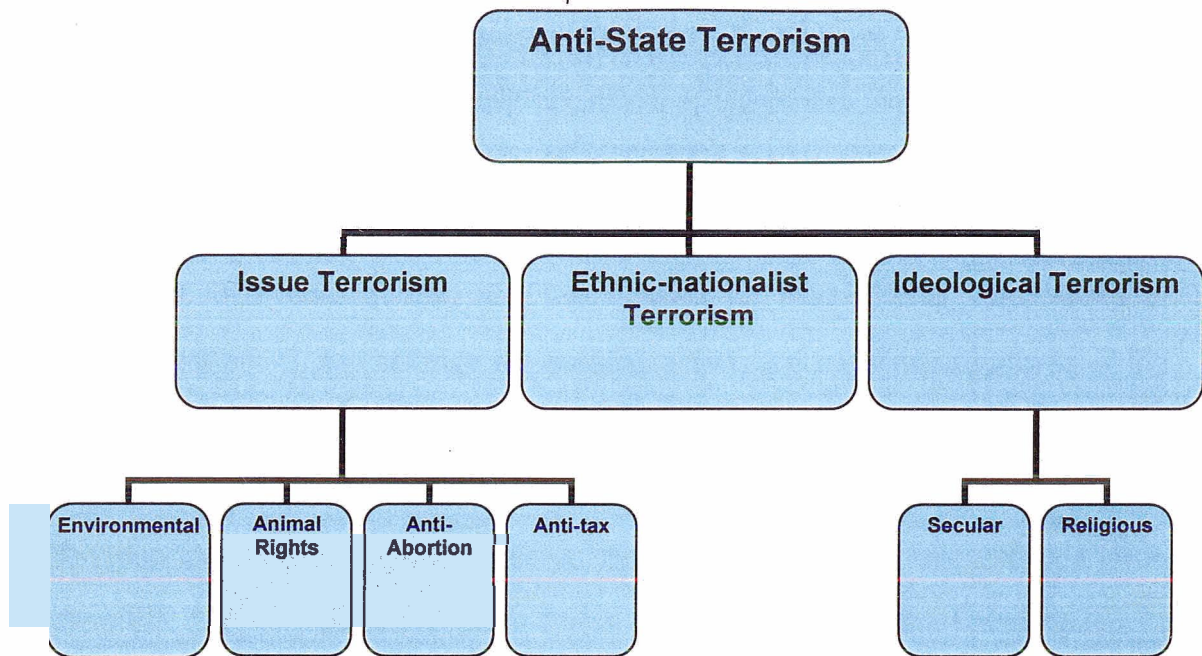
Characteristics of Issue Terrorism

Issue terrorism has become a predominant form of terrorism in the last quarter of the 20th century. This form of terrorism is posing an increasing challenge to counterterror and law enforcement agencies because of its lack of a clear organizational structure and membership. In addition to not having a centralized or hierarchical leadership structure or permanent membership lists, this form of terrorism is frequently characterized by acts of violence or property destruction committed by individuals acting independently, but claiming their acts in the name of an organization (Combs, 2003). For example, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) has an amorphous membership structure in which individuals can engage in acts of eco-terrorism in support of ELF objectives without any guidance, instruction, or contact with the ELF's leadership structure. Still, issue terrorism shares many of the same characteristics as secular ideological terrorism. For example, a majority of secular ideological terrorist groups from North America and

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Western Europe were motivated by extreme left-wing ideologies based on the philosophies of radical scholars, such as Karl Marx, Che Guevera, and Mao Tse-Tsung. These radical movements typically originated at universities and were designed to challenge the status quo and question the fundamental principles that governed Western society. Similarly, issue terrorists use the issues, such as the capitalist exploitation of resources, over consumption, and the influence of multi-national corporations in government affairs, to challenge the political, social, and economic structures of the state. Yet, the political objective is not the revolutionary restructuring of either the political or economic structures of the countries. Issue terrorism, therefore, is not neo left-wing ideological terrorism. Moreover, right-wing ideology can also produce issue terrorists. For example, the Sheriff's Posse Comitatus (SPC) in the United States, a radical anti-tax group that engaged in anti-state terrorism, was influenced by right-wing ideology. Moreover, anti-abortionist terrorists are also predominately right-wing in their political ideology (Smith, 1998).

Left-wing terrorists in America are bound together by five key similarities: their belief that people are inherently good and that it is the capitalist system that makes people greedy and manipulative; that the wealth of the state should be equally distributed among all its members; they are urban-based; a tactical approach based on the simultaneous need for both secrecy and publicity; and selecting targets that either further their political or social causes or provide funds to continue the terror campaign (Smith, 1994). Combs (2003) notes that issue terrorists and secular ideological terrorists have similar views on human nature, economics, and fanatic devotion to their cause. However, there are significant differences when considering their bases of operations, their tactical approach, their selection of targets, and their ultimate political objectives.

Moreover, there are significant differences in the response that issue terrorists receive from the governments in North America and Europe.

Identifying the base of operations for issue terrorist groups today is very difficult because of their clandestine use of the internet. Using the World Wide Web to recruit, train, and disseminate information, issue terrorist groups generally have no central headquarters or formal membership. A modified cell structure with no centralized command that issues orders and directives to the cells is the typical organizational form. Members are referred to as "supporters" of the cause rather than as operatives, cell members, or "foot soldiers" common to traditional terrorist cell structures (Combs, 2003). Press offices in the form of computer linked members disseminate information and propaganda. This network is often the sole physical component of issue terrorist groups. The internet effectively provides issue terrorist groups with a transnational and virtual operational system. Unlike the classical cell structure, it is not uncommon for "supporters" to drift in and out of an active role. Most critically, it can be very difficult to confirm the identity of "supporters" who utilize only internet names. This is a definitive and radical innovation in the terrorist cell structure. This change also reflects the absence of the traditional ideological based commitment to the terrorist group.

The issue terrorist tactical use of violence with notable exceptions, such as anti-abortion groups, is more moderate than secular ideological terrorists. The primary tactic is economic damage, rather than physical harm of individuals. Several techniques to cause economic damage are utilized. For example, issue terrorists who seek to preserve old growth forests spike trees with long nails that are dangerous to forestry workers who could be seriously injured if they were cutting down a tree with a chain saw and hit the nail. The spike, when hit with the powerful rotary blades of the chain saw, can become a bullet-like projectile. Typically, the spike nails are visible to the forestry workers, or

warnings will be issued by eco-terrorists that a particular section of forest has been spiked. In either case, the purpose is to induce fear in the forestry worker so that they will avoid cutting, or do so in a limited way. The result is to increase the inefficiency and cost of harvesting old growth trees. As mentioned above, another technique is to vandalize or destroy a physical structure, such as a laboratory, essential to an organization's production capacity. As well, harassment of workers can disrupt morale. Field manuals are disseminated through the internet and contain detailed instructions in how to engage in acts of sabotage ranging from minor vandalism and threats to bombings.

As mentioned above, the selection of targets for issue terrorists has primarily to do with their motivating issue. For example, issue terrorist groups that are concerned with environmental issues, such as the ELF, advocate attacks against the property of corporations that it believes damage the environment (Combs, 2003), while anti-abortion terrorists target abortion providers. The targets of issue terrorists are significantly more specific than the targets of secular ideological groups which are usually symbols or agents of the state (Corrado, 1983).

Counterterrorism and Policy Responses to Issue Terrorism

Liberal democracies have responded to political terrorism in three ways: the criminal justice model; the communication model; and the war model (Crelinsten & Schmid, 1993). The apprehension, prosecution, and, if necessary, the extradition of terrorists characterize the criminal justice model and was implemented in the United States in the early 1970s. Normal criminal justice mechanisms are employed and terrorist acts are considered conventional crimes. This approach minimizes the political motivation behind terrorist acts resulting, in part, in the deligitimization of such acts by reducing them to ordinary criminality. Governments do not usually label radical

individuals or issue groups engaging in minor acts of vandalism as terrorists. However, once the violence escalates and becomes systematic, the most severe criminal justice sentences are resorted to and the political terrorist designation may be employed by the police, prosecutors, and other government officials to justify the extreme policing and sentencing measures. For example, in the United States and Canada, once the assassination of doctors who performed abortions, and the bombings of abortion clinics in the U.S occurred, the criminal justice systems and the media in these countries referred to the perpetrators as terrorists. The first execution of an anti-abortion terrorist convicted of murdering a doctor and his body guard took place in 2003. Both the assassin and the criminal justice officials identified the murders as terrorism since the murders were considered part of an on-going campaign to create fear among clinical personnel who participated in abortion in Canada and the U.S. A related episode receiving enormous publicity in the summer of 2003 involved the arrest of the notorious Atlanta Olympics bomber and anti-abortion clinic bomber who had eluded capture for more than five years. Both the media and government officials suggested that the bomber and the assassin eluded capture because the terrorists were likely supported or protected by a terrorist network.

The communication model is characterized by a focus on the macro characteristics believed to reflect the root causes of terrorism, namely human rights and economic, social, and political disparity issues (Crelinsten & Schmid, 1993). As the gap between the wealthy and the poor of a country widens, and it is seen to be based on ethnic, religious, social, and/or political differences, acts of terrorism increase (Nagai, 2002). In effect, this model recognizes and addresses larger social, political, and economic bases for terrorism. Central to this response are long term strategic changes to rectify the problems. In other words, these changes are tantamount to conceding that

the terrorists have correctly identified the causes of the problems of poverty and discrimination. The communication model does not provide justification for terrorism, however, this model is based on the assertion that a criminal justice model response alone to terrorism will not be ultimately effective. A major limitation to this approach is that any substantial concessions would require some dramatic shift or revolutionary change to the political, economic, or social status quo (Crelinsten & Schmid, 1993). The communication model, nonetheless, favours far less substantial concessions, typically involving changes in economic practices. For example, forestry companies have altered their long standing "clear cutting" of old growth forests. Instead, they rely either on selective cutting or on cutting only renewable forests. Many cosmetic corporations no longer test their products on animals. On a more macro-economic scale, both powerful advanced capitalist countries and their related international agencies, such as the World Bank, and the IMF have conceded that restructuring or forgiving the massive and crippling debts of Third World or developing countries can reduce worldly poverty and disease.

The War model is the third approach to terrorism. For example, in response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in Washington and New York, the United States has adopted the war model. Canada has responded similarly in the past against the Front for the Liberation of Quebec (FLQ) in the 1970s. A key characteristic of this model is the use of emergency powers legislation. The statutory framework for emergency powers requires a state of national crisis followed by a formal invocation of emergency measures. In order to protect civil rights, emergency powers in Canada contain oversight mechanisms and an expiry date. However, this is not always the case. In response to the violence in Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom normalized the use of emergency powers. The introduction of the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act of 1922 in

Northern Ireland had provisions for termination, but was subsequently renewed and modified until it became a permanent statute in 1989 known as the Prevention of Terrorism Act (Gross, 2001). An essential tactic in the war model is the integrated use of police, national intelligence, and military resources to combat terrorism internally and externally where there is an international terrorist network. Normally, these institutions have distinctive functions and cooperate on rare occasions usually in response to an emergency, such as a major riot or threats to visiting foreign dignitaries. In contrast, the war model envisages an integrated command structure to coordinate daily police and military operations to identify and defeat terrorist organizations. Using national and international intelligence services, terrorists are tracked and their organizations often are infiltrated in order to apprehend them before they can engage in terrorist acts. While emergency legislation allows for an extreme response, other similar legislation stipulates a lower level of coordination. Bill C-36 in Canada and the U.S PATRIOT Act illustrate this approach and will be discussed below. Clearly, issue terrorists do not yet pose the same level of threat as some ethnic-nationalist or ideological terrorist groups. Therefore, the likelihood of issue terrorists being dealt with through legislated counterterrorism policies is low. However, if issue terrorists resort to sustained campaigns of highly destructive sabotage and violence, the likelihood of governments adopting a War model increases.

In the contemporary period, state counterterrorism policies are primarily directed at combating the threat posed by ethnic-nationalist and ideological (secular and religious) anti-state terrorist groups. However, certain elements of traditional counterterrorism approaches are utilized for issue terrorism, namely criminal justice responses, the interdiction of financial assets, national intelligence, and diplomacy. Issue terrorism is a relatively recent phenomenon and the criminal justice model has been the

most common response. As mentioned above, specific legislation to enhance this model has been passed in Canada.

Bill C-36 integrates various counterterrorism resources, such as the criminal justice system, organizations that interdict the financial assets of terrorists, and enhanced domestic and foreign intelligence capabilities. This Bill introduces new options in Canadian criminal law including specific penalties for terrorist activities. Law enforcement capabilities have been broadened with provisions, such as preventive arrest procedures designed to prevent terrorist acts. Also, intrusive investigative techniques, including extended wiretap warrants, are more readily available to the police and intelligence services. These new provisions are contentious because of the potential of violating civil liberties if they are used indiscriminately or without proper oversight.

Financial resources are essential for conducting political terrorism (Pillar, 2001). Most terrorist organizations have complicated and secret financial networks. Bill C-36 provides mechanisms for interdicting terrorist financial assets, such as freezing and forfeiture of property, and the detection and deterrence of money laundering through the use of special agencies, such as the Financial Transactions Reports and Analysis Centre (FINTRAC). A critical change includes modifications to the Income Tax Act regarding the registration and monitoring of charities in order to inhibit terrorist groups using charitable organizations clandestinely to finance their operations. Foreign governmental financial support of terrorist organizations has also been targeted. Economic sanctions against other countries that sponsor or support terrorism can also be invoked (Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2002).

Effective intelligence is an essential element in any counterterrorism approach. The Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS) has been the primary source of intelligence in Canada since its inception in 1985. CSIS does not have any law

enforcement capabilities. Rather, CSIS presents intelligence data to the Attorney General of Canada regarding terrorist activities. The Attorney General passes on the intelligence data from CSIS to law enforcement and other related agencies to apprehend and prosecute terrorists. Bill C-36 enhances the capabilities of CSIS and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to gather information for intelligence purposes. For example, Bill C-36 made amendments to Bill C-24, Canada's organized crime legislation to extend the use of electronic surveillance to gather intelligence about terrorist groups. Another important provision is the introduction of investigative hearings that allow courts to compel individuals to give evidence related to terrorist activities. Again, this expansion of police investigative tactics is controversial because of the potential for civil liberties violations.

The three aforementioned counterterrorism models have been utilized by most countries to deal with the different types of terrorism. Both Canada and the U.S are currently using all three models albeit to different degrees. Clearly, the U.S has experienced far more immediate threats from international terrorist organizations, most importantly, Al Qaeda, and consequently, U.S policies and vastly greater resources explain why it has incorporated policies from all three models far more than Canada. Even in regard to issue terrorism, the U.S has faced far more frequent and violent terrorist acts. Nonetheless, as is evident with the anti-abortion terrorist assassination attempt against a Vancouver physician in 1994 by the American James Charles Kopp, issue terrorist organizations operate internationally. Similarly, Canada has also experienced anti-globalisation terrorist threats whenever it has hosted international financial forums such as the G-8 annual meetings. In other words, issue terrorism has cross-national and transnational connections even though these connections are not nearly as extensive and substantial as other types of terrorism.

CHAPTER TWO: THE MANIFESTATION OF ISSUE TERRORISM IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL, ANIMAL RIGHTS, AND PRO-LIFE MOVEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA

In North America, issue terrorism is primarily based on contentious environmental, animal rights, and abortion issues. The most prominent involve the environmental movement and the animal rights movement, while the frequency of anti-abortion related violence has been more limited though more extreme in Canada and the United States (Smith, 1998). The environmental and animal rights movements are more solvent than the anti-abortion movement, partly because a majority of people in North America support, at least moderately, their general objectives, while disapproving of terrorism to raise public consciousness and achieve the ultimate policy and legal changes. The abortion issue is different because of the extreme or non-compromising positions of both the pro-life and the pro-choice movements and the issue's related religious implications (White, 1998). Undoubtedly, all these issues have emerged in the second half of the 20th century as fundamental political, social, and economic changes occurred, especially as the advanced capitalist societies developed in North America and Western Europe.

Issue terrorism in Western liberal democracies evolved from the social and political movements prevalent since the 1970s. Issue terrorism, rather than ideological or ethnic-nationalist anti-state terrorism, has proliferated in North America because of its democratic institutions and its relatively stable economies. Typically, societies characterized by weak economies and non-democratic forms of governments do not foster post material values or permit their citizens to adopt radical forms of political expression (Corrado & Cohen, 2000). Post material values proliferate in societies where

there has been a shift away from the preoccupation with acquiring material goods. According to Inglehart (1997: 219), "when the point is reached at which most people take physical survival for granted, significant numbers of post materialists begin to emerge". This trend is intensified in advanced capitalist societies because as material wealth increases substantially, the material quality of life and human longevity correspondingly increases. However, in subsistence based non-democratic societies, post material values are uncommon because of prevailing physical and political insecurities based on hunger, internal disorder, and economic collapse. However, even in advanced capitalist countries, the majority of people are not post materialists. Instead, both material and post material values manifest themselves. The majority of middle class and working class people still are primarily motivated by the acquisition of wealth and material goods and improving their quality of life. In contrast, post materialists are more educated and/or wealthy, more likely to discuss politics, sign petitions, partake in boycotts, engage in other forms of political activism, and join issue oriented groups tied to broader social movements (Inglehart, 1997).

Post material values are evident in social movements which are groups of people who organize and coordinate to bring about a social change (Herberle, 1949). Gerlach (1999) characterizes many successful social movements as: segmentary and composed of many diverse groups; polycentric or having multiple, often temporary, and sometimes competing centres of influence; and networked in that they form loose, reticulate, and integrated communication channels with multiple linkages through travellers, overlapping membership, joint activities, and shared ideals and opponents (Arquilla & Ronfeldt, 2001). This multi-dimensional model of social movements demonstrates that fragmentation and factionalism is common. This occurs when membership expands at the same time as inevitable differences in both belief systems and tactics occur. The

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more radical members of these social movements are the most likely to believe that the mainstream membership tactics are too passive to effect any significant change in government or industry policies. One reaction is to form issue terrorist groups.

Most theories designed to explain the different forms of traditional terrorism emphasize a macro, meso, or individual level of analysis. The macro political level focuses on the economic and social conditions that increase the potential for politically motivated violence. The meso level emphasises the group-dynamics and processes that facilitate radicalisation and an increased risk of violence in previously non-violent protest groups. The individual level theories focus on the psychological traits and characteristics of group members that predispose them to joining violent organizations (Post et al., 2002). Gerlach's typology focuses on the second type by examining group dynamics and explaining the processes by which social movements become radicalised. This organizational or meso level of analysis provides the most detailed explanation and will be a major focus of this thesis.

Spriznak (1998) developed a risk assessment methodology outlining the radicalisation process of issue oriented groups in order to predict the likelihood of terrorism. His model outlines 11 'early warning indicators' that predict the transition of non-violent issue oriented groups into terrorist groups. Post et al. state that Spriznak's model is unique because the indicators include contextual societal factors, risk indicators that are specific to certain types of groups, dynamic variables, and feedback loops between the group and other social actors (Post et al., 2002). Spriznak's indicators explain the internal and external conditions of groups that increase the risk for social movements and issue oriented groups to engage in terrorism (see Table 1).

Table 1: Sprinzak's Early Warning Indicators for Radical Groups at Risk for Terrorism

Indicators
1. **The Intensity of Deligitimization**: The degree to which the radical group challenges the legitimacy of its opponents. The more intense the deligitimization, the greater the risk for terrorism.
2. **Moral Inhibitions and Anti-Violence Taboos**: Societal strictures on the legitimacy of violence. Radical groups operating in fragmented political cultures with a history of violence are a greater risk for terrorism.
3. **Previous Experience with Violence**: A radical group whose members have experience with violence, conflict, and weapons is an increased risk for terrorism.
4. **Rational Assessment of Risks and Opportunities**: The degree to which the radical group has calculated the necessity and feasibility of confronting its enemies with violence is indicative of risk for terrorism.
5. **Organizational, Financial, and Political Resources**: The degree to which the radical group has the resources to support a terrorist campaign is indicative of risk for terrorism.
6. **A Sense of Imminent Threat**: The degree to which a radical group feels threatened by its enemies. The more imminent and catastrophic the threat is believed to be, the greater the risk the group will resort to terrorism.
7. **Inter-Group Competition**: The degree to which a radical group is in competition with another group for a shrinking constituency and terrorism is perceived to be the path to keeping the group on top.
8. **Age of Activist**: The degree to which the radical group is composed of young activists. The greater the concentration of activists between the ages of 18 and 25, the greater the risk for terrorism.
9. **External Influence and Manipulation**: The type and level of support provided to radical manipulation organizations. Radical groups receiving money and training support from foreign governments are an increased risk for terrorism.
10. **A Sense of Humiliation and the Need to Take Revenge**: The degree to which the radical group is subjected to physical repression or torture, or perceives itself to be humiliated by its enemies. The greater the sense of humiliation, the greater the risk that the radical group will take revenge through terrorism.
11. **The Presence of Violent Leaders**: The degree to which the leader or leadership of the radical group demonstrates a history of violent behaviour. The more violent the leaders, the greater the risk for terrorism.

(Source: Post et al., 2002)

Some of Spriznak's indicators are useful to understand the formation of issue terrorist groups in North America. Spriznak's first indicator states that the more a radical group challenges the legitimacy of its opponents, the more likely it is that the group will engage in terrorism. This is referred to as the intensity of deligitimization (Post, et al., 2002). The intensity of deligitimization that some issue oriented groups exhibit in North America is substantial. Some environmental groups fervently challenge the environmental policies of both the state and corporations that they perceive as socially and environmentally irresponsible by advocating for immediate and acute change, regardless of the economic consequences of doing so. On the other hand, many environmental groups challenge the environmental policies of both the state and corporations more moderately by lobbying and developing sophisticated business plans that are environmentally sound and take into consideration the economic feasibility of such plans in the long term. Animal welfare groups advocate for more moderate change regarding the use of animals in areas such as research and farming, and the minimization of suffering that animals endure in research. However, animal rights groups seek to abolish the use of animals in research and other areas altogether. In the pro-life movement, the extreme anti-abortion groups lobby for the complete outlawing of abortion services, while more moderate groups advocate for changes in the law that will allow abortions under some circumstances, such as rape and incest. All of these types of activities are accomplished through several different activities that will be discussed in more depth in the following sections.

Strong and widespread social and moral inhibitions against the use of political violence in North America explains why issue terrorism remains at the extreme fringes of social movements. Few individuals join issue terrorist groups and there appears to be no support for terrorism among moderate and mainstream social movement members

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(Southern Forest Products Association, 2002). Typically, radical groups only flourish in fragmented political cultures with a history of violence (Spriznak, 1998). Canada and the United States do not have a tradition of substantial politically motivated violence. When such periods of violence occurred, they did not persist. Because social movements commonly are polycentric, this increases the possibility that a very small minority is predisposed to violence, especially when the movement is based on an emotionally charged and polarizing issue. This possibility is further enhanced when there are multiple subgroups competing for influence, power, and dominance (Gerlach, 1999). Whether any of these subgroups become radical enough to resort to terrorism depends on its resources.

Organizational, financial, and political resources, therefore, are crucial for a radical group to engage in terrorism. In effect, the degree to which groups are networked with each other financially and organizationally determines the likelihood of engaging in terrorism. Not uncommonly, issue terrorist groups have overlapping members. Unlike ideological and ethnic-nationalist terrorist organizations, individuals belonging to issue terrorist groups are often full fledged members of other radical social movements. Furthermore, occasionally, members of moderate and mainstream groups also join issue terrorist groups, if only as supporters. Even limited interconnections with mainstream group members are important for issue terrorist groups because of the financial support these affiliations can produce. Social movements receive most of their financing through direct contributions (Tsaliki, 2003). In part, due to overlapping memberships, contributions to moderate or mainstream groups can be transferred to issue terrorist groups with or without the knowledge of the contributing individual, organization, corporation, or government. For example, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) in the United States has investigated connections between animal rights groups and

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environmental issue terrorist groups. In recent years, the tax records of the moderate animal rights group People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) have revealed that they have provided direct contributions to the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) to "support their [sic] program activities" (Friedman, 2002). Furthermore, some argue that PETA has donated large sums of money to the legal defence of members of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) to support the actions of ALF members and members of the ALF serving time in prison (Friedman, 2002). Whether these contributions were intentionally made to support the actions of the ELF and ALF is debatable. Nonetheless, this finding by the IRS demonstrates that to some degree, financial support from moderate groups is finding its way into the coffers of certain issue terrorist groups.

While a radical group whose members have experience with violence, conflict, and weapons is considered an increased risk for terrorism, it is difficult to verify this assertion across all issue terrorist groups in North America. This is primarily due to the lack of success that law enforcement agencies have had apprehending North American members of issue terrorist groups. However, specific case studies can be used to support this assertion. In her biography, Ann Hansen (2001), who was a member of the issue terrorist group 'Direct Action', also known as the 'Squamish Five' that was active in Canada in the 1980s and early 1990s, received training from the Red Army Faction in Germany in the 1980s. Direct Action was an issue terrorist group that engaged in a series of bombings and large scale acts of destruction in response to a variety of contentious social issues.

The rational assessment of risks and opportunities indicator refers to the degree to which a radical group has calculated the necessity and feasibility of engaging in terrorism as a tactic. This construct can be theoretically applied to issue oriented groups as a predisposition to terrorism. First, as demonstrated in the previous chapter,

traditional responses to issue terrorism have not occurred outside of the criminal law in North America. That is, extra-judicial measures, such as anti-terrorism legislation, have not been applied to issue terrorism. Furthermore, with the aid of the internet and the de-centralized, non-hierarchical and anonymous cellular formation of issue terrorist groups, the likelihood of detection is decreased substantially. These two factors, in conjunction with hard line perspectives on social issues, and a range of targets that are relatively accessible in society, have facilitated the evolution of issue terrorism as a viable tactic to affect policy changes with respect to specific social issues.

The ability of issue terrorist groups to evolve and be sustained is also linked to the political saliency of the specific issue. The extent to which an issue invokes intense and extensive support among citizens constitutes a political resource for issue terrorist groups. For example, there is widespread support for environmentalism in North America, thus a larger pool of potential issue terrorists. The same parallel applies to animal rights. While there may be varied support in the general population for the inalienable rights of animals, most people support the idea that animals should not be treated cruelly. Again, in contrast, support for anti-abortion is not as widespread as environmentalism and animal welfare largely because a majority of citizens in liberal democratic societies support a woman's right to choose. Political resources and support for anti-abortion groups is, therefore, limited to groups and people that are typically more religious fundamentalists. Yet, the intensity of religious fundamentalists' beliefs is itself an important political resource for anti-abortion terrorist groups. The willingness to engage in terrorism, or at least provide financial, logistical, or moral support, is facilitated by the belief that God has morally justified the violence for the higher purpose of protecting the unborn. For example, it can be argued that while the Roman Catholic Church has publicly condemned anti-abortion terrorism, several of its leaders and

theologians have suggested that Catholic theology does allow for the rationale that violence for a higher divinely justified goal is not a mortal sin. In effect, the implication is that since the Catholic Church opposes both terrorism and abortion equally, there remains the possibility that the greater evil, namely abortion, justifies its removal through terrorism. Such ambiguity is a political resource to recruit anti-abortion terrorists.

Inter-group competition is not a common characteristic of issue terrorist groups. The ELF and the ALF have clearly maintained a monopoly on environmental and animal rights forms of issue terrorism. This is likely because the organization of issue terrorist groups does not foster a competitive element as memberships between groups often overlap. Furthermore, because of the readily accessible and broad mandates of most issue terrorist groups, individuals can support a variety of actions related to different issues as opposed to supporting only a particular group.

The establishment of a specific social movement is contextualized to the society from which it emerges. Therefore, issue terrorism can only be understood within a specific historical context. Each type of issue terrorism has a distinctive history, however, it is evident that the most contemporary social movements have their foundation in the emerging 19th century Western liberal democracies.

The Suffragettes: An Historical Example of Issue Terrorism

At the beginning of the 20th century in Britain, the Women's Suffrage Campaign, established in 1865, had not achieved its goal of obtaining the right of women to vote. Initially, the Women's Suffrage Campaign engaged in public demonstrations and lobbying the government, picketing, and holding public inquiry sessions to draw public attention to their cause. Partially in response to the ineffectiveness of these strategies, the Women's Suffrage Campaign transformed into the Women's Social and Political

Union (WSPU) in 1903. The WSPU engaged in increasingly militant tactics, such as disrupting services, harassing members of parliament, serious property damage, and ultimately murder (Monaghan, 2000). What distinguished this group from other types of terrorist groups at the time was its limited objective. Although the state was the group's primary target[1], the goal of the suffragettes was not ideological, in that they did not want to completely restructure their society's political or economic system. The suffragette terrorist campaign voluntarily ended in 1914 with World War I. Subsequently, women gained the right to vote in Britain in 1918, as well as in most other liberal democracies during the same time period.

The Environmental Movement

Environmentalism in North America can be traced back to the turn of the century when wildlife enthusiasts and wilderness preservationists in the United States lobbied to pass bird and game protective legislation (Taylor, 2000). However, the modern environmental movement commenced in 1970 in North America coinciding with the Earth Day proclamation in April of that year. Endorsed by the United Nations (1971), the Earth Day proclamation was a key event advocating the legitimacy of environmental concerns and serving as a venue for the environmental movement to enter into the political arena. At the same time, environmental groups were proliferating in the United States and environmentalism was becoming a mainstream social movement (Manes, 1990). Evidence for this includes legislation passed in the United States, such as the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and the Endangered Species Conservation Act (1969), the Clean Air Act (1970), the revised Endangered Species Act (1973), and

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[1] Throughout the terror campaign, the suffrage campaign targeted the private property of males because of their right to vote (Monaghan, 2000).

the introduction of the now widely utilized Environmental Impact Statement. As well, numerous government agencies and committees, such as the Presidential Council on Environmental Quality and the Environmental Protection Agency, were created. Environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGO's), such as the Sierra Club, experienced a large growth in membership from 16,000 members in 1960 to over 700,000 members worldwide by 2000.

Undisputedly, environmentalism in the 1970s was a mainstream social movement. Out of economic necessity, many growing environmental groups, such as the Sierra Club, adopted corporate structures in order to secure larger amounts of funding (Manes, 1990). The corporate climate was one factor that led to the subsequent divisions and the creation of factions in the environmental movement. Many environmentalists also believed that local and national political movements were usurping environmental issues in order to make themselves more attractive to voters. These two key issues were the basis for several of the radical transformations in the environmental movement in the late 1970s and early 1980s which eventually resulted in environmental issue terrorism.

The transformation and fragmentation of the environmental movement resulted in the emergence of specific interest groups. McKenzie (2002) argues that when interest groups emerge from within a larger social movement, the movement becomes more diverse and heterogeneous. Similarly, Arquilla & Ronfeldt (2001) state that as a movement grows and acquires larger numbers of members, it is inevitable that differences in belief systems between individual members will occur. For example, several radical groups embracing the philosophy of deep ecology emerged from the environmental movement. These radicals sought more immediate fundamental changes to environmental laws and policies, and opposed the mainstream groups' incremental change philosophy. The deep ecology philosophy embraces biocentrism; the belief that

all beings, human and non-human, possess intrinsic value and occupy equal status in the biological community (Eagan, 1996). This view proposes that the hierarchies imposed on nature by humans will destroy the environment. Deep ecologists advocate immediate and drastic environmental policy changes because the earth is expending its finite resources at a rate that exceeds natural replenishment (McKenzie, 2002). The primary basis for this ideological division in the environmental social movement, therefore, was the degree of reforms needed to protect the environment (Gerlach, 1999). Currently, there are many groups in the environmental movement that embrace different ideologies, tactics, and goals in the name of environmentalism. As with other social movements, the environmental movement developed its own radical groups whose members assert that the use of violence is the only effective tactic to achieve their environmental goals.

Environmental Issue Terrorism: Eco-terrorism

Eco-terrorism is issue terrorism that is based on environmental policies. Specific issues include logging, drift-net fishing, nuclear energy, whaling, and road construction. Eagan (1996) describes eco-terrorism as: "the use or threatened use of violence of a criminal nature against innocent victims or property by an environmentally oriented sub-national group for environmental-political reasons, aimed at an audience beyond the target, and often of a symbolic nature" (Eagan, 1996). Although the victims are often corporations involved in the resource development industry, the ultimate goal of the eco-terrorist is to cause economic damage that will result in specific changes in national and international environmental laws, and related fundamental changes in corporate practices.

In North America, eco-terrorism has largely been a response to resource exploitation and development (Smith, 1998). Recently, innovations in genetic

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engineering have attracted the attention of eco-terrorist groups with both private and public research facilities frequently being targeted. While tactics, in the absence of known motivations, objectives, and goals, are not sufficient to identify an act as eco-terrorism, there are several commonly employed strategies including: tree-spiking; equipment damage; the spraying of noxious substances in public buildings; mailing letter bombs or letters contaminated with poisonous substances; and general vandalism directed at specific targets (Elcock, 1998). In addition to similar tactics among eco-terrorist groups and other issue terrorist organizations, there is often some overlap in membership lists, cooperation, and organizational communications (Smith, 1998). Since there is an estimated 2000 moderate and extreme environmental groups in North America (Smith, 1998), there is likely a certain amount of exchange between moderate groups and eco-terrorist groups regarding ideology, funding sources, and membership. Again, the main difference between the moderate and extreme environmental groups is typically not ideology, but the tactical decision to employ violence and property destruction as a strategy. Several eco-terrorist groups are located in Canada's west coast. While there was an apparent lull in their activity in the mid to late 1990s, CSIS claims that the threat to Canadian resource industries has not lessened (Smith, 1998).

Numerous field manuals prepared and circulated by radical environmental activists highlight the ideology, operations, and tactics of eco-terrorist groups (see Foreman, et al., 1987). Describing terrorist tactics as monkeywrenching or ecosabotage, some of these manuals are extremely sophisticated and describe in detail how to engage in acts of eco-terrorism. These acts include vandalism and major destruction, how to disseminate propaganda, and how to evade security.

Tree-spiking is a common method of ecosabotage or monkeywrenching (Foreman, et al., 1987). The intended purpose of tree-spiking is to destroy the sawmill

blades used in the production of old growth timber. This is an effective strategy in causing economic damage. First, sawmill blades are extremely expensive to replace. Second, tree-spiking typically results in production delays and increases the operational costs of sawmills. This tactic also results in trees not being cut because loggers avoid trees that have been spiked. While tree-spiking is not intended to cause physical harm to individuals, in several cases, loggers have been seriously injured. If loggers do not hit the metal spike, when spiked trees reach the saw mill, the band saws used to process the timber come into contact with the spike. Flying shrapnel may injure or kill a worker while destroying the blade of the saw. In response to tree-spiking, loggers and sawmills have employed metal detectors to identify metal spikes embedded in trees. Consequently, eco-terrorists have used rock and ceramic spikes that render this method of detection useless. Many of the rock and ceramic spikes are as dangerous and effective as the more traditional metal spikes.

Eco-terrorists seeking to prevent timber sales can be strategic in their tree-spiking practices. For instance, some groups have engaged in spiking areas that have been marked for harvesting, sometimes years in advance (Foreman et al., 1987). For the terrorist, spiking trees years in advance has the advantage of allowing the spikes to become further embedded in the tree making them more difficult to detect. In instances when communiqués are issued to authorities describing such actions, law enforcement teams are often dispatched to locate and remove the spikes. The effects remain the same -- delays of timber sales and increases in law enforcement operating costs.

Other common tactics of eco-terrorists include obstructing or delaying development projects. Before large-scale developments can begin, roads are often required to facilitate logging, oil and gas exploration, or modern industrial tourism projects (Foreman et al., 1987).

Resource Production and Development

The natural resource industry in Canada has been a favoured target by various legitimate and terrorist environmental campaigns. The basis for the eco-terrorist campaigns is to combat perceived resource exploitation and to hinder further resource development. Campaigns targeting the forest and oil industries provide good examples of eco-terrorism based on resource exploitation and development.

Environmental activism directed at the forest industry has manifested itself in a variety of forms ranging from the development of legitimate activist marketing campaigns to the destructive practices characteristic of eco-terrorists. For example, environmental non-governmental organizations have been known to develop effective legitimate marketplace-based campaigns advocating the boycott of certain forest industry products. These actions have resulted in curtailing the market for specific types of forest products (BC Forestry Coalition, 2000). For example, the Coastal Rainforest Coalition (CRC) have engaged in a marketplace-based campaign aimed at redirecting fortune 500 companies and various governments away from purchasing products derived from old growth forests in Canada. The primary focus of the modern green campaign in British Columbia is the preservation of old growth forests (see Table 2). Old growth timber is highly valued and highly marketable because it produces high quality and defect-free wood (Booth, 1992). Proponents of harvesting old growth forests argue, "[b]y harvesting old growth now, there will be an initial pulse of high-quality timber, and then, after a sixty to one-hundred year gap, a steady flow of timber production in the future" (Booth, 1992: 45).

Table 2: Key Components of the Campaign to Save Old Growth Forests in British Columbia

Green Campaign Past	Green Campaign Present
Focus on protecting a specific area	Focus on forest type – boreal, temperate, etc.
Focus on Forest Practices	Forest practices no longer an issue, land use and certification are key
Contained within BC	Focus is international markets, fortune 500's, high profile *New York Times*
Grassroots, minimal coordination	Well integrated and internationally funded

Source: BC Forestry Coalition, (2000)

As with many environmental issues, the conflict over old growth forests is between the primacy of economic issues and environmental ethical concerns. The ethical basis for the preservation of old growth forests is characterized by biocentric and ecocentric perspectives, while the economic rationale for harvesting old growth forests is its profitability. Ecocentrism views of old growth forests are primarily concerned with the place and role that these forests play in the larger ecosystem. Eco-terrorists usually adopt deep ecology and biocentrism perspectives to rationalize their tactics. They are concerned not only with preserving the forests, but also animal habitats and the often endangered species within them (Booth, 1992). This radical perspective is based on the principle of non-interference with natural ecosystems. While the biocentrism and ecocentrism provide a degree of insight into the moral basis for eco-terrorism, they do not operate independently of more grounded and practical motivations for eco-terrorism, such as the invasiveness and the potentially detrimental effects of developing natural resources on communities.

Issue terrorism in the oil industry is also commonly associated with resource exploitation and development. For example, the oil industry in Alberta has been targeted by eco-terrorists since the 1990s. Eco-terrorism in the "oil patch" is rooted in concerns over the health and environmental effects of oil and gas exploration and production

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(Marr-Laing and Severson-Baker, 1999). These concerns have led to escalating conflicts between landowners and oil officials. Government inaction, the rapidly expanding oil-industry, and a growing body of scientific research on the harmful effects of oil and gas exploration have all contributed to the escalating tension and violence. Moreover, by 1999, as the oil industry in Alberta expanded to over 1200 companies, government funding for environmental protection agencies declined substantially. As a result, for some individuals and environmental organizations, the Canadian government clearly had sided with corporate resource exploitation, development, and profit at the expense of the environment. Certain radicalised persons advocate the use of violence to alter government policy.

While environmental groups can find scientific evidence and moral grounds to oppose oil and gas production, it is often the residents and landowners acting individually in those oil production areas who engage in eco-terrorism. Citing a growing body of scientific research on the negative health effects of oil and gas exploration practices, such as flaring[2], a few potentially affected landowners have responded by destroying corporate property. There have also been instances of well-site bombings and pipeline tampering (Vitello, 1999). Another motive for those violent acts is the perception that the oil industry has enormous influence on the traditionally conservative government in Alberta. Accordingly, non-violent campaigns are seen as futile (Marr-Laing and Severson-Baker, 1999).

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[2] Flaring is the petroleum industry's routine practice of burning off waste gas (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1999). There are many people concerned with the health effects associated with the release of the chemical compound H2S into the air when flaring sour gas wells.

Genetic Engineering

CSIS has also forecasted an increase in eco-terrorism related to bio-engineering and the genetic modification of crops (Bronskill, 2000). Genetically modified organisms (GMO's) are plants or animals whose genetic structures are purposely altered through the manipulation of their DNA sequences. The potential benefits of genetically engineered plants include: accelerated plant breeding; increased yield - sparing wilderness; plants and crops that can thrive in harsh environments; improved nutritional quality of plants and crops; the reduced use of chemical pesticides; and vaccine delivery (Bradshaw, 2002). While practices generally classified as "genetic engineering", such as cross breeding plants, have occurred for decades, modern practices involving the direct manipulation of DNA are relatively new. As a result, there are concerns about the lack of longitudinal data documenting the long-term negative and even catastrophic effects of genetic manipulation. Such concerns include: allergies; the unnatural breaching of species barrier; increased corporate control of agriculture; the ethics of genetic engineering; and the possible environmental effects and risks of genetic manipulation (Bradshaw, 2002). Other environmental risks involve: the non-target effects of genetic manipulation, such as insects becoming resistant to pesticides; the increased use of broad-spectrum herbicides that are damaging to the environment; gene flow to wild relatives and the creation of "super-weeds"; and an overall loss of biodiversity resulting in the development of a monoculture (Bradshaw, 2002).

Another motivation for issue terrorist attacks against genetic engineering enterprises includes the involvement and increased control by multinational corporations of agriculture. This basis for issue terrorism, however, is not limited to genetic engineering. Instead, for some individuals, this trend is part of the anti-globalization movement (Canadian Security and Intelligence Service, 2000). This movement primarily

targets corporate influence in global politics and economics. Common tactics for disrupting genetic engineering practices include fire-bombings and the destruction of both public and private research facilities. Other tactics are the destruction of specific test crops and, in some cases, the use of violence against individuals associated with corporate and government institutions.

The Animal Rights Movement

The animal rights movement and the environmental movement share many common characteristics because of the symbiotic relationship between animals and ecological systems. The historical and philosophical basis for both movements can be traced to the introduction of the practices of farming and domesticating animals (Strand & Strand, 1993). More recently, the animal welfare movement can be traced to 19th century Great Britain with the creation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) in 1824 which became known as the Royal SPCA, and the National Anti-Vivisection Society (Strand & Strand, 1993). Anti-vivisection is a term used to describe the opposition to the use of animals in research that became prevalent in science at the turn of the 19th century in England. Accordingly, anti-vivisection advocates that cruelty to animals should be averted because of their ability to suffer pain (Strand & Strand, 1993). However, the initial animal welfare societies did not seek to end the practice of using animals in research, but to establish legal criteria to ensure animals were treated humanely (Hendley & Weglian, 1992). The animal welfare movement in North America in the second half of the 20th century followed similar patterns of development with the passage of the Humane Methods of Slaughter Act (1958), the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act (1966), the Endangered Species Act (1969), and the Animal Welfare Act (1970) (Hendley & Weglian, 1992).

The emergence of the animal rights movement transformed the animal welfare agenda in the 1970s in North America. This movement is based on the belief that animals, like humans, have fundamental and inalienable rights. Radical animal rights organizations, such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), experienced unprecedented growth in the late 1970s and 1980s resulting in a membership of over 350,000 people in just ten years (Hendley & Weglian, 1992). Extremists emerged from the animal rights movement and began engaging in more direct and militant forms of action in the name of animal rights.

Animal Rights Issue Terrorism

Animal rights terrorist organization tactics are very similar to eco-terrorist groups. For example, both groups resort to vandalism, arson, and propaganda campaigns. However, the release of animals from research laboratories and acts directed towards animal enterprises, such as the fur industry, are the focal targets of animal rights extremist groups. In North America, this type of issue terrorism has primarily been in response to the use of animals in bio-medical research, cosmetic product testing, food production, and retail industries (Hendley & Weglian, 1992).

A large number of animal rights activists oppose any confinement and any exploitation of animals by humans. For example, while there is fervent opposition by animal welfare and animal rights groups for the use of animals in cosmetic product testing, animal welfare groups typically do not oppose the use of certain animals, such as rodents, in biomedical research. Generally, legally acceptable tactics, such as lobbying governments and organizations, have been the tactics of mainstream animal welfare groups. However, several fringe groups became frustrated by the slow and incremental pace of legal reform on animal rights issues, and, as a result, radicalized and adopted terrorist tactics including violence, theft, and property destruction (Hendley,

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& Weglian, 1992). This approach is termed 'direct action' and is characteristic of the activities of animal rights issue terrorist groups in North America.

Initially, direct action tactics originated in the United Kingdom to prevent game hunting (Hendley & Weglian, 1992). The Hunt Saboteurs Association (HSA), established in 1962 in the United Kingdom, was the most successful in preventing certain game hunting expeditions. Other groups emerged over the course of the 1960s and 1970s and increased the targets for direct action tactics to include animal research laboratories, food production facilities, and other animal related industries. In general, the goals of animal rights direct action fall into two broad categories: stealing animals from research laboratories and farms to prevent them from being subjected to research, testing, and production; and to inflict economic damage on testing industries. A further goal is to publicize the cruel treatment of animals. Still, most animal rights groups do not advocate violence against people.

Another 'Animal liberation' tactic involves removing animals from research labs and farms and relocating them into private homes or habitats. Large numbers of animals are also released into the wild. However, those who can not adapt frequently die. Animal rights groups also set fires to research labs in order to release large numbers of animals and/or to cause significant property damage or vandalism (Animal Liberation Front, 2002).

The Pro-Life Movement

The pro-life movement in North America consists of numerous groups opposing legalized abortion, primarily in the United States and Canada. Like animal rights and environmental groups, the anti-abortion movement is also fragmented. Some pro-life groups oppose all abortions, while others accept abortions in cases of rape or incest. Since their inception, pro-life groups have had intense support from churches and

religious conservatives. Abortion laws first appeared in the United States in the 1820s which made it illegal to abort a pregnancy after the first trimester. By the 1900s, largely through the political efforts of physicians, the American Medical Association, and legislators, most abortions were completely outlawed (Lewis, 2003). These stringent laws increased underground abortions which were typically unsafe and endangered the woman's life. The introduction of cheap and effective methods of birth control reduced the number of abortions[3] (Cohen, 1997). Despite contraceptives, by 1965, most states continued to outlaw all abortions, while some states made concessions for victims of rape, incest, or if the fetus was deformed (Lewis, 2003). The 1973 U.S Supreme Court case, Roe v. Wade, overturned the laws on abortion based on their unconstitutionality. This case made it legal for women to obtain an abortion up until the end of their second trimester (Roe v. Wade, 1973).

Since this Supreme Court ruling, abortion has been a polarizing political issue. Prior to Roe v. Wade, each state had a large degree of discretion in restricting abortion activities in the second trimester of pregnancy. Soper notes that "[t]he dispersion of authority in America's federal polity created the conditions necessary to make pro-life interest groups politically powerful" (1994:325). As a result, pro-life interest groups became involved in the policy process at all levels of government. Moreover, the pro-life movement has worked to overturn Roe v. Wade and to obstruct the operation of abortion clinics.

There are many variables that influence individual attitudes toward abortion, such as gender, labor force participation, marriage, education, and religion. Hout (1999) argues, for example, that women in the labor force are significantly more pro-choice than women who are retired or not participating in the labor force. Married women and

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[3] A 1995 study of the use of birth control indicated an estimated 85% reduction in abortion.

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widows are significantly less pro-choice than single, separated, or divorced women. Hout also contends that support for legal abortion increases significantly with each year of education. Catholics and fundamentalist Protestants are the most pro-life (Hout, 1999; Soper, 1994). Not surprisingly, restrictive laws on abortion can be found in those states where the pro-life movement and the groups described above are most powerful and politically active (Soper, 1994).

Anti-Abortion Issue Terrorism

In the early 1970s, as the pro-life movement accumulated a significant amount of political influence they were instrumental in reforming state laws related to abortion (Blanchard, 1994; Clark, 1995; Lord, 1994). By the late 1970s and early 1980s, more militant pro-life groups began directly discouraging and preventing both women from obtaining abortions and doctors from performing them through various techniques, such as intimidation, picketing, and demonstrations. These tactics were designed to increase the costs to abortion providers and consumers, thereby discouraging the supply and demand for abortion services (Kahane, 2000).

There are different methods of categorizing the activities of militant pro-life groups. For example, the National Abortion Federation (NAF) distinguishes between violence, disruptions, and clinic blockades. The NAF defines violence in terms of physical violence against abortion providers, bombings, arsons, and attempted bombings and arsons. Disruptions include picketing, hate mail and phone calls, and bomb threats, while clinic blockades include activities that physically restrict access to clinics, including protesting (National Abortion Federation, 2003). One militant pro-life group, Operation Rescue, describes civil disobedience as biblical obedience and submission and harassment as "suffering of the cross" (Kenney & Reuland, 2002).

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Kenney and Reuland (2002) have broadly categorized the various means of intimidation used by militant pro-life groups as demonstrations, non-physical harassment, civil disobedience, and violence. Picketing, protesting, and demonstrations are designed to disrupt the operation of abortion services. While most such activities are legal, they can result in minor charges, such as trespassing, disruption of services, and/or noise violations.[4] Non-physical harassment includes letter writing campaigns, telephone campaigns, and other forms of non-violent propaganda formats. Civil disobedience has been defined as non-violent breaches of minor laws meant as a form of political protest (Smart, 1978). Civil disobedience is not intended to discredit or necessarily harm the government. Rather it is designed to draw attention to a perceived grievance and raise public awareness to effect changes in policies and laws (Gosling, 1990). Kenney and Reuland (2002) define violence as threats and intimidation, arson, bombing, acid attacks, assault, stalking, and murder. These categories are useful for two reasons. First, the categories cover all of the main tactics used by militant pro-life groups. Second, the categories are consistent with current legal definitions and distinguish between legal and illegal activities.

As with eco-terrorists and animal rights issue terrorists, anti-abortion terrorists represent a minority in the extreme fringe of the pro-life movement. While the early history of the anti-abortion movement was characterized by individuals acting

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[4] The Freedom of Access to Clinics Entrances Act (FACE) was enacted in the United States in May 1994 in response to the increasing acts of violence against those who provide and obtain abortions. The legislation was enacted to protect patients and healthcare providers against threats of force and physical obstruction and destruction of reproductive healthcare facilities. It includes criminal and civil penalties against the use of force, threats of force, physical obstruction, or property damage that is aimed at interfering with those obtaining or providing reproductive health services. Punishment under the Act can include fines, imprisonment, or both (FACE Act, 1994).

independently, since the 1990s, anti-abortion extremists began to resemble and form links with paramilitary organizations. Individual anti-abortion extremists began creating cohesive cell structures, holding meetings to discuss tactics and potential targets, undergoing paramilitary training, organizing and planning attacks, and developing ties with right-wing militias in the United States (Bulita, 1997).

Despite the relatively small numbers of anti-abortion terrorists, Bulita (1997) notes that their impact on the abortion industry has been disproportionately large. The Army of God is one of the most prevalent anti-abortion terrorist groups in North America. Their members have participated in murders, bombings, and kidnappings of abortion doctors and clinics over the last 30 years (National Abortion Federation, 2003). The Army of God claims that violent attacks against abortion providers and customers will only end once abortion is completely repealed in the United States. They publish manuals that instruct individuals on how to build bombs, sabotage clinics, and harm doctors. Websites where manuals are available also have posted pictures of aborted fetuses and religious passages from the Christian bible that serve as justification for their violence.

Conclusion

Issue terrorist groups in the United States operate clandestinely, are amorphous in organization and membership, and are skilled in public relations (U.S Department of Justice, 1993). Generally, these groups have been successful at evading detection and developing propaganda campaigns to attract sympathizers. Throughout the 1990s, issue terrorist organizations have expanded their list of targets and engaged in an increasing number of acts of violence and property destruction. The two most prominent issue terrorist groups in the United States are the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and the Animal

Liberation front (ALF). The ELF and ALF are considered umbrella organizations in which a large number of other issue terrorist groups and individuals claim membership or a loose affiliation (See Appendix B for a list of selected groups). These groups have 'loose configurations' in that they are composed of small autonomous cells with no centralized command structure (Combs, 2003). There are, however, individuals and small groups who engage in issue terrorist acts that do not belong to or have no direct relationship with the larger formal membership structure. These self-directed terrorists often claim to act in the name of either ELF or ALF. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the internet has facilitated this free-lance approach because of the clandestine ease of accessing tactical information and the propaganda of issue terrorist groups. Anonymous cells can effectively coordinate activities by downloading lists of targets and addresses of key industry organizations and personnel from the internet. In this manner, issue terrorist groups can research and select their targets strategically. While it is obviously not possible to even estimate the size of the anonymous membership base, it is that it is in excess of the U.S Department of Justice (1993) speculation that the core membership of these issue terrorist groups is approximately 100 individuals in North America.

It is also evident that there is a broad range of types of issue terrorist groups primarily operating in Western liberal democracies, predominately Canada and the U.S. This diversity reflects the spectrum of controversial issues that have emerged in the last 25 years. In terms of the number of terrorist acts, issue terrorism has been far more predominant than the traditional ideological and ethnic-nationalist terrorism that dominated for most of the 20th century. Still, the scope and the immediate potential threat is still far larger for religious ideological terrorist organizations affiliated with groups such as Al Qaeda. Nonetheless, issue terrorist groups remain a fundamental

threat, in part, because of their organizational structures and the complex global and information technology dominated contexts they currently operate in.

As one of the objectives of this thesis is to describe the profile of issue terrorist incidents in North America utilizing public sources, the following chapters will discuss the methodology for deriving this issue terrorism data set and utilize this to illustrate several of the conceptual elements discussed above.

CHAPTER 3: PROFILING ISSUE TERRORISM INCIDENTS IN NORTH AMERICA: METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Since it is a relatively nascent phenomenon in liberal democracies, minimal research has been conducted on the topic of issue terrorism. Furthermore, as was demonstrated in the previous chapters, traditional political terrorism typologies are conceptually deficient with respect to issue terrorism. An essential initial step in elucidating the relatively recent and complex concept of issue terrorism is to derive a data set of terrorist incidents that can provide an empirical basis for its understanding. Palys (2003) states that flexibility, and breadth of coverage should be represented in exploratory research. Accordingly, a chronological data set of issue terrorism incidents in Canada and the U.S between 1977 and 2002 was created from publicly available data. This period was selected because there is a general scholarly consensus that issue terrorism evolved systematically during the last quarter of the 20th century.

Sources

Since no single public database of issue terrorist incidents exists, it was necessary to approach a law enforcement agency intelligence unit and a private corporation that compiled limited issue terrorist incident data sets. These data were gathered largely for criminal cases and, therefore, could provide extreme detail about each issue terrorist incident. This data was to be integrated with a larger data set gathered for this thesis based on public sources. While initially encouraging, the law enforcement agency and corporation did not make the data available because of on-going criminal investigations and trials. As such, this thesis data set was collected exclusively from publicly available sources including ten websites and two books that

chronologically documented incidents of environmental, animal rights, and anti-abortion issue terrorism.

Regarding the reliability and validity of the data sources, the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS) maintain that certain issue terrorist groups regularly document their actions on internet websites and in journals. Furthermore, CSIS indicates that these data can be useful for analytical purposes and statistical analyses to provide insights into trends, patterns, and activities of groups and individuals (Smith, 1998). From the 10 internet sources, two sources were the web pages of issue terrorist groups: the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). These two sources account for all of the incidents in the data set that were related to animal rights and environmental issues. In total, these two sources provided 1201 incidents to the data set. Three other internet sources provided data on anti-abortion violence (see Appendix C for the source list).

The first source of anti-abortion issue terrorism incidents was the Microsoft Network Broadcasting Corporation (MSNBC). MSNBC produced an extensive on-line module of anti-abortion incidents including violence and property destruction against clinics and individuals. In total, 174 anti-abortion issue terrorism incidents from MSNBC were included in the data set. The second internet source that provided data on anti-abortion issue terrorism incidents was the Feminist Majority Foundation. The Feminist Majority Foundation documents and disseminates information related to violence against abortion service providers and consumers in an on-going project called the National Clinic Access Project (NCAP). The NCAP monitors and records anti-abortion violence throughout the United States, and works with abortion clinics in the early detection and prevention of anti-abortion violence. The data for the NCAP are collected from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms

(ATF), different local and state law enforcement agencies, and clinic self-report surveys. Data from the Feminist Majority Foundation NCAP accounted for 55 incidents in the data set. The third and final internet source for anti-abortion issue terrorism was the National Abortion Federation (NAF). The National Abortion Federation (NAF) is a professional association of abortion service providers in both the United States and Canada. The NAF includes 400 non-profit and private clinics, women's health centres, Planned Parenthood facilities, and private physicians, as well as national and international researchers, clinicians, and educators from universities and teaching hospitals (National Abortion Federation, 2003). The NAF records only those incidents that are classified as anti-abortion violence by the local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies. The NAF data accounted for 10 incidents in the data set.

For the data that was collected from both of the book sources, as well as five of the internet sources, it was not possible to verify the origins of the data. Therefore, the data that were acquired from the two books and five remaining internet sources were discarded. Strategic sampling was utilized in the data collection for the research. Multiple sources were initially sought to provide of the broadest reporting of issue terrorism incidents. Because of the above validity issues, the final database contained 1440 incidents.

Gathering the data exclusively from publicly available sources introduces significant limitations for the research. First, because the environmental and animal rights related issue terrorism data is self-report data, the likelihood that all of the incidents were collected in a systematic way by the groups is problematic. There are self-serving benefits for issue terrorist groups to over-report incidents such as enhancing their public profiles. The same limitation applies to the anti-abortion data. However, multiple sources were utilized to collect the anti-abortion incidents as mentioned above.

Therefore, the primary limitations raised with the data involve the ability to generalize and make inferences about issue terrorist groups. However, the data is useful to begin to understand basic differences between different types of issue terrorist organizations and initial estimates about issue terrorist incident trends during the latter part of the 20th century.

Coding Framework for Issue Terrorism Incidents

A coding scheme was designed to record detailed information about specific issue terrorist incidents including where and when they occurred, perpetrators, tactics, and targets. These variables were utilized to determine any trends and patterns. For each incident, 121 variables were created that provided an in depth descriptive analysis. These variables were coded either as dichotomous nominal level variables, ordinal level variables, interval level variables, or text variables. For example, the date, time number of facilities, and individuals targeted were coded as interval level variables.

Text variables were utilized to code information about the target, the tactics used, the ensuing results of the attack, victims, and perpetrators. The text variables recorded information that was not sufficiently elicited by the dichotomous variables. In these cases, text variables were delineated as the 'other' variables. After the data were transferred into SPSS, all of the text variables were coded and converted into ordinal level variables so that they could be included in the data analysis.

Dichotomous nominal level variables were used to code all of the specific details of an incident. These variables comprised the majority of the data set and were used to identify specific information in an incident related to the type of incident, the target, the tactics used, the outcomes of the incident, the victims, and perpetrators.

This coding scheme was derived from several sources beginning with *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkey Wrenching*, which is a tactical field manual (Foreman et al., 1987). This document specifies a broad range of tactics for sabotage related to environmental, and animal rights issue terrorism, and was used in order to incorporate a wide range of tactics into the coding scheme (see: Foreman, et al., 1987). Other publications provided additional tactics used in anti-abortion issue terrorism incidents and, most importantly, a range of industry targets (*The Final Nail: Destroying the Fur Industry: A Guided Tour Issue 2* (1998); *The ALF Primer: A guide to direct action and the animal liberation front 3rd ed.*, 2003; Sperling, 1988; *Security, Privacy, & Anonymity for Autonomy*, 2003).

Another set of indicators was included in the coding scheme for those tactics and targets, group names, and incident outcome indicators that were not identified in the above literature sources. These indicators were derived from the data itself. Finally, the coding scheme was organized into 12 substantive sections (see Appendix D).

Variable Recodes: Incident Types, Incident Sub-Types, Tactics, and Perpetrator Information

Another 67 variables were derived based on the three major conceptual types of issue terrorism: environmental incidents; animal rights incidents; and anti-abortion incidents. For example, 'Environmental' incidents involved targets such as oil and gas/energy, forestry, or genetic engineering non-animal research industries, and urban development projects as primary targets. 'Animal rights' incidents involved targets such as the use of animals in research, farms with domesticated animals, animal processing facilities, restaurants, fur outlets, and other animal product retailers as the primary target. 'Anti-abortion' incidents typically included doctors' offices, birth control clinics, and family planning clinics. However, the three categories were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

While incidents were never double counted, in some cases, an incident was coded as both an 'environmental' and 'animal rights' incident if there were a range of specific targets that could be conceptually justified to be coded in both categories such as when overlapping memberships and joint operations between environmental and animal rights issue terrorist groups occurred. This lack of exclusivity is somewhat surprising since there is no research that suggests links among environmental, animal rights, and anti-abortion issue terrorist groups. In a small number of incidents, it was not possible to validly identify the type of incident, therefore, a variable was created to count these ambiguous cases. The five types of incidents were further identified with temporal and geographic variables, such as the year, country, and the state or province. Next, in order to analyse more specific trends in the types of issue terrorism incidents, more specific incident types were derived from the data set.

Incident Subtypes of Environmental and Animal Rights Types

An important step in describing the conceptual complexity of the three types of issue terrorism involves the identification of types of targets particularly for the environmental and animal rights terrorist categories. Environmental and animal rights issue terrorism sub-types represent a wide range of industries that are distinct from one another. Anti-abortion issue terrorism, however, is more specific with respect to the targets. The targets for anti-abortion issue terrorists are limited to the medical industry and, more specifically, to those facets of the medical industry that are involved with human reproductive technology.

Tactics

Another essential dimension of issue terrorism is the different types of violent tactics employed. The incidents were grouped into nine categories ranging from the least

violent to the most violent. The categories included: acts of vandalism; theft of animals; theft of goods including animals; bomb threats and hoaxes; threats and intimidation other than bomb hoaxes; bombing; arson; general violence; and violence toward specific individuals.

Individual Terrorist Characteristics and Organizational Affiliation

Not surprisingly, given the relatively few cases of issue terrorism that have been successfully prosecuted through public criminal trials, there is very little information available concerning the characteristics of individual issue terrorists. As mentioned above, several police agencies that accumulated this information declined its use in this thesis. In contrast, it was possible to identify whether an incident was perpetrated by either an individual supposedly acting alone, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), a self identified group other than the ALF or ELF, or specifically unclaimed incidents.

Analysis

Incident Trends by Geographic Region and Multi-Annual Time Categories

The frequency of environmental, animal rights, and anti-abortion issue terrorism incidents separately were analysed. Additional breakdowns were created by major regions in Canada and the U.S (see Table 3). All the incidents were recoded into the following time periods: 1977-1981; 1982-1986; 1987-1991; 1992-1996; 1997-2001. These geographic and year groups will facilitate an understanding of the potentially important trends in issue terrorism in North America because it is evident that both individuals and organizations operate in both countries and share memberships and other resources. Further geographic breakdowns are relevant since the types of terrorist targets appear to vary by region within these countries. Certain types of eco-terrorist

targets, including, for example, the oil and gas industries, are typically located in the western regions of Canada and the U.S. Similarly, anti-abortion targets appear to have been more frequently located in certain regions in the U.S, such as the South East. One explanation is that extreme religious fundamentalist groups are more concentrated in the so called "bible belt" cities of the region. The time grouping is potentially important because it is possible that issue terrorist incidents are concentrated in short time periods in response to the intensification of police investigative responses immediately following a group of incidents. In effect, the issue terrorist tactical operations essentially remain inactivated until the police counter tactics ease with time.

Table 3: Geographical Breakdown of the United States and Canada

United States						
South West Region	Pacific Northwest Region	North East Region	South East Region	South Region	Central Region	Alaska & Hawaii
Arizona California Colorado Nevada Utah	Idaho Montana Oregon Washington Wyoming	Connecticut Delaware Maine Maryland Massachusetts Michigan New Hampshire New Jersey New York Pennsylvania Rhode Island Vermont District of - Columbia.	Alabama Arkansas Florida Georgia North Carolina South Carolina Tennessee Virginia	Kansas Louisiana New Mexico Oklahoma Texas	Illinois Indiana Iowa Kentucky Minnesota Mississippi Missouri Nebraska North Dakota Ohio South Dakota Wisconsin	Alaska Hawaii

Canada			
BC / Prairies	Ontario / Quebec	Atlantic Region	North Region
British Columbia Alberta Saskatchewan Manitoba	Ontario Quebec	Newfoundland Nova Scotia Prince Edward -Island New Brunswick	North West –Territories Yukon Nunavut

Tactic and Target Trends by Geographic Region and Multi-Annual Time Categories

The frequency of the most common tactics used by environmental, animal rights, and anti-abortion issue terrorists was analysed for Canada and the U.S. These trends were also broken down into regions in each country. All of these incidents were also recoded into the time periods described above. The tactics employed by issue terrorists are likely to be different than those employed by other anti-state terrorists since it appears that the targets and tactics, for several reasons, are fundamentally different. Most importantly, issue terrorists are not seeking to provoke a revolutionary restructuring of their countries. In effect, while there is the potential for issue terrorist acts to increase in severity over time, the majority of incidents currently involve vandalism and property destruction, and it is the extreme cases that are the most violent. Analysing the tactics of issue terrorists over time also illustrates an escalation and/or de-escalation in the severity of incidents. Furthermore, identifying the prevalence of tactics geographically is one step that can help to identify specific cell formations by the tactics they employ since the overall number of issue terrorists in North America is quite small (Smith, 1998).

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As stated above, the final data set consists of 1440 incidents recorded for the period of 1977-2001. Given the enormous differences in the Canadian population (31 million) and the U.S population (280 million), it is not surprising that the overwhelming percentage (83.6%) of incidents occurred in the U.S (see Figure 2). However, the vastly disproportionate amount (76.3%) of animal rights issue terrorist incidents is somewhat unexpected. The remaining two types of issue terrorism also were similarly disproportionate; anti-abortion (16.2%) and environmental (4.2%). These ratios are evident in both Canada and the U.S (see Table 4). Keeping in mind the limitations with the data, it may not in fact be that animal rights issue terrorists are necessarily more active than the other types, but rather, are more sophisticated with respect to their dissemination of information. Historically, it can be argued that the environmental movement has been the most pervasive since the 1970s. Its proponents have portrayed the need for radical changes in environmental laws and related policy and practices in apocalyptic scenarios: For example, U.S and Canadian industrial practices are causing atmospheric pollution on such a devastating scale that catastrophic global warming is occurring. In addition, the environmental movement has vociferously argued that fundamental degradation of both organic and inorganic eco-systems is another result of advanced capitalist economies. In effect, not only are numerous animal species disappearing, but so too are the eco-systems they are symbiotically linked with for mutual survival. As well, a key tenet of the environmental movement is that the degradation of the environment is not only a major cause of disease in Canada and the U.S and otherwise globally, but also a cause of Third World poverty. It is not difficult, therefore to maintain that the environmental movement would be the most likely rather

than the least, theoretically, to spawn the most prevalent issue terrorist groups and incidents in the last quarter of the 20th century.

Figure 2: Frequency of Issue Terrorism Incidents per year in Canada and the United States. 1977-2001. (n=1440)
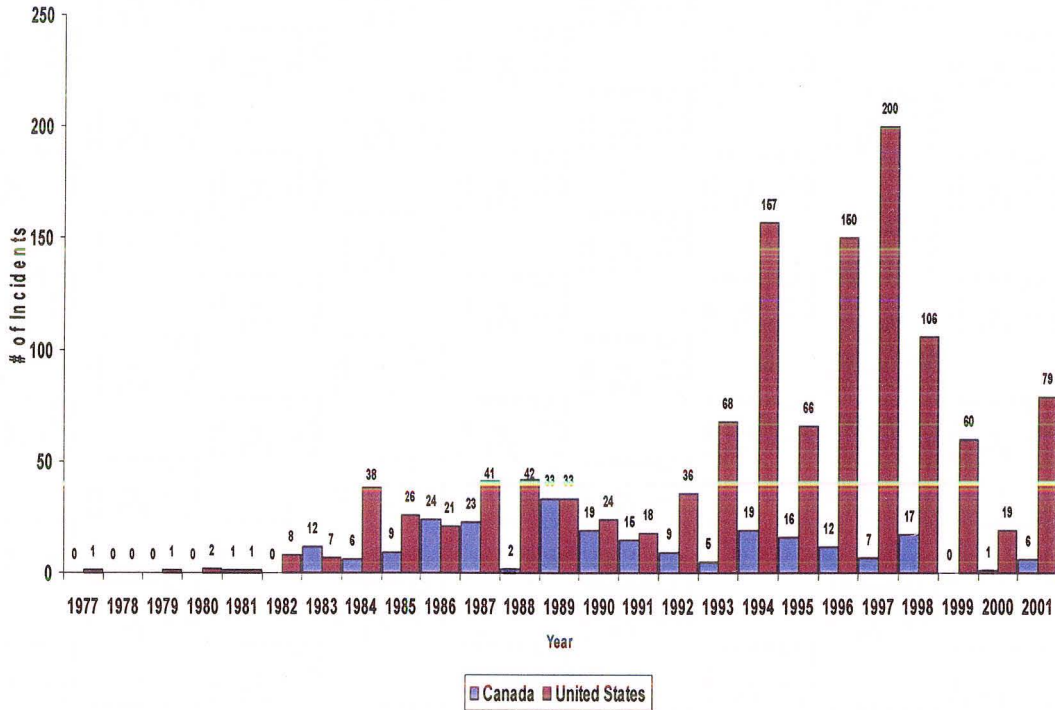
Table 4: Frequency of Issue Terrorism Incidents by Type and Country[5]

	Environmental Issue Terrorism Incidents	Animal Rights Issue Terrorism Incidents	Anti-abortion Issue Terrorism Incidents	Unidentified Issue Terrorism Incidents
n=1440				
Canada	7	217	4	9
United States	54	892	235	26
Total	**61**	**1109**	**239**	**35**

[5] Issue Terrorism Types are not mutually exclusive.

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Also, the literature on the anti-abortion movement and its fringe radical issue terrorist groups portray a violent determination to reverse pro-choice laws and medical practices. As discussed above, this movement involves biblical or divine authority to explain and justify terrorism. In contrast, no similar authority is utilized by the animal rights movement and terrorist groups.

Regarding the annual variation in the frequency of issue terrorist incidents in North America, it is evident that the highest number occurred in 1997. A clear trend exists based on this peak year since all of the next highest frequencies are also in the decade of the 1990s. However, it is important to distinguish the fundamental differences in trends between Canada and the U.S. During the initial decade of the 1970s, and even the 1980s, there were few differences even in frequencies. By 1994, an enormous discrepancy occurs with the U.S experiencing eight times the number of incidents. This ratio, while varying, remains large throughout the 1990s. It is possible to explain these trends by referring to broad social movements and policy and media trends in the two countries. During the 1970s the predominant global movements focused on international events linked to domestic political events. In both countries, the Cold War, specifically the Vietnam War, was the focus along with apparent ethnic-nationalist terrorist threats, such as the FLQ in Canada. The global oil crisis became a major issue in the late 1970s, along with other international Cold War events, such as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Nonetheless, it is likely that the concerns over acid rain caused by coal burning plants in the U.S mid-western states and the nuclear accident at Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island brought environmental issues into focus as well. Also, Acid rain, for example, not only affected the eastern U.S states, but also central and eastern Canadian provinces. As well, the harvesting of furs from baby seals in Newfoundland and other animals in both countries became an animal rights issue, particularly in

Western Europe. The Canadian federal government response to the environmental and animal rights social movements can be characterized as largely conciliatory. The baby seal hunt, for example, was banned. In contrast, the policy responses in the U.S were fundamentally more complex and inconsistent largely because of the constitutional division of power between the federal and state governments and the major policy shifts when conservative republican President Ronald Reagan replaced the pro-environment and liberal democratic President Jimmy Carter. During the eight years of the Reagan regime, many of the pro-environmental, animal rights, and even pro-choice policies either stagnated or were reversed. In contrast, there were no fundamental changes in Canadian federal policies in these policy areas during the Trudeau Liberal Party government and the Conservative Party Mulroney government.

Another critical and fundamental change occurred in the late 1980s in the international context for terrorism generally, and issue terrorism in particular. The end of the Cold War in 1989 directly affected the decline of secular ideological terrorist movements and even ethnic-nationalist terrorist movements. Often, either the U.S or the Soviet Union sustained their respective terrorist groups throughout the world. In effect, with the end of the Cold War, the focus of social movements likely shifted to issue based social movements during the 1990s. As well, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and other global economic trends intensified and received enormous media attention in advanced industrial liberal democratic countries. Again, while it is possible to argue that Canadian laws and policies can be viewed as continuing to be conciliatory towards the issue based social movements, the opposite is visible in the U.S. Despite the successes of the liberal democratic Clinton Presidency, U.S economic policies were conservative, and therefore environmental and animal rights issues were not primary. In addition, anti-abortion movements angrily viewed the Clinton regime because of its pro-

choice policies. In effect, the perceived damaging impact of global capitalist economic policies on the environment, and the pro-choice Clinton Presidency provided the context for the dramatic increase in issue terrorism, particularly animal rights based, in the U.S.

While there are fundamental differences in incident trends between the U.S and Canada, regional and city differences also were evident in Canada. Given the concentration of controversial oil and gas exploration industries concentrated in western Canada, as well as the widespread and even professional industry of animals, it is not surprising that the overwhelming number of incidents (60.9%) occurred in this region. Edmonton, Alberta had the most incidents (75) of any Canadian city, followed by Toronto and Vancouver. The latter two cities are Canada's financial and resource centres respectively (see Table 5).

Table 5: Frequency of Issue Terrorism Incidents in Canada by Region

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
			n=235			
BC/Prairies	-	1	74	51	17	143
Ontario/Quebec	1	50	18	8	13	90
Atlantic Region	-	-	-	-	1	1
North Region	-	-	-	1	-	1

The opposite regional patterns are evident in the U.S since Alaska and Hawaii (3) and the Pacific North West (90) had the fewest, while the North East (420), Central (197), and South East (197) have the most incidents (see Table 6). These regions have major concentrations of industrial and financial industries and, it can be argued, the

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greatest concentration of social movements based on animal, environmental, and anti-abortion themes. These movements typically draw membership and support from the large university communities and more liberal media. This inference is supported by the distribution of incidents among the major cities in these regions (see Table 7). However, the regional distribution of anti-abortion incidents indicates a different pattern. The South West region is prominent in the key mid-nineties period along with the South region. As discussed above, this likely reflects the "bible belt" cultural distinctiveness of these regions. Historically, fundamentalist Protestant regions have remained strong here and the large influx of conservative older citizens to these warmer climates has reinforced this basis for anti-abortion support. Yet, there is a far more equitable distribution of incidents among all the regions compared to the other two types of issue terrorism. The radical fringe of the anti-abortion movement, while likely small in number appear to be spread throughout the U.S. In effect, the abortion issue likely involves a more intense negative reaction throughout all the regions among all religious fundamentalists. In the few cases, such as the shootings of doctors in Buffalo and Vancouver, where there is anecdotal information about violent anti-abortion incidents, it appears that "safe-houses" and other resources are provided by a small number of supporters. The Atlanta Olympics and abortion clinic bomber Eric Rudolph apparently had the tacit support of friends who likely assisted him in eluding a massive police and FBI manhunt for five years.

Table 6: Frequency of Issue Terrorism Incidents in the United States by Region

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
			n=235			
South West	-	23	69	110	32	234
Pacific North West	-	7	6	39	38	90
North East	2	23	31	114	250	420
South East	2	17	14	84	29	146
South	-	13	7	24	53	97
Central	-	15	29	99	54	197
Alaska & Hawaii	1	1	1	-	-	3

Table 7: Distribution of Incidents in Major Cities in the United States, 1977 – 2001

City	# of Incidents
San Diego	13
San Francisco	25
Atlanta	12
Eugene	12
Washington	26
Philadelphia	36
Salt Lake City	10
Minneapolis	27
Detroit	10
New York	36
Sacramento	12
Indianapolis	14
Dallas	21
Cincinnati	10
Syracuse	22
Memphis	43
San Jose	14

Tactics

Several tactics were employed in issue terrorism incidents in North America with the immediate objective of causing economic damage. The most common political goal was to alter specific industry practices. Approximately two-thirds (66.3%) of the incidents involved acts of vandalism. These acts are estimated to have cost various industries approximately $6,500,000 in direct damages, not including related costs, such as increased insurance premiums, law enforcement, and hiring private security. Both animal rights (79.7%) and environmental (77%) issue terrorists most frequently resorted to vandalism. In sharp contrast, anti-abortion issue terrorist incidents rarely (0.83%) engaged in vandalism. Anti-abortion terrorists were most frequently involved in arson incidents. Approximately two-thirds of the 247 arson incidents recorded were identified with anti-abortion issue terrorists. Arsons constituted one quarter of environmental issue terrorist incidents. Again, certain terrorist types rarely used this tactic since only 6.2% of animal rights issue terrorism incidents involved arsons. Of all the tactics, arson was the most costly with $25,700,000 in estimated damages.

While it was anticipated that animal rights issue terrorists would dominate the use of thefts, they typically steal and release captive animals, virtually every incident (141 of 142) involved animals stolen from farms, research labs, and/or kennels. Occasionally (six incidents), records, files and equipment were also reported stolen. The $3,800,000 in damages resulting from thefts does not include the enormous economic costs that can occur to companies engaged in animal related research. Also, these companies likely incur increased insurance premiums and additional security costs. There is no information available concerning the delays in research related economic benefits from animal research, such as patent rights associated with medicine and cosmetics

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products. In effect, the actual damage figure cited substantially underestimates the actual costs.

Table 8: Monetary Damages as the Result of Issue Terrorist Tactics

Tactic	Damage in Dollars
Vandalism	$6,595,286
Arson	$25,726,550
Theft	$3,889,800
Bombing	$1,667,830
Bomb Threats/Hoaxes	$3,535,660

Again, it was expected that of the 75 bombing incidents nearly three quarters would involve anti-abortion issue terrorism. This tactic is strongly identified with anti-abortion terrorism. In contrast, slightly more than one-fifth (21.3%) of the bombings were identified with animal rights issue terrorism incidents, and only 5.3% with environmental issue terrorism. Typically, the 37 bomb threats and/or hoaxes also involved either abortion issue terrorism (40.5%) or animal rights (45.9%). While the actual bombings ($1,800,000) did cause the scale of financial losses associated with the above tactics, the symbolic costs of two people killed, and three people injured are inestimable.

Traditionally, it is the threat of physical violence that has made terrorists so effective in causing fear not only to the direct or immediate targets, but to others such as animal researchers or medical personnel. There were, however, relatively few (32) acts of violence and intimidation directed towards specific individuals. As expected, 14 incidents were anti-abortion related; in five of these incidents, an individual was shot, two

incidents involved an individual being stabbed, and in one incident an individual had butyric acid thrown in his face. Only one violent attack was identified with animal rights issue terrorism. Between 1977 and 2001, seven people have been killed as a result of issue terrorism incidents. Threats and intimidation were recorded in 18 incidents, all but one associated with animal rights issue terrorism.

Given the enormous publicity resulting from issue terrorism violence in North America from notorious individual incidents such as abortion clinic bombings, the Atlantic Summer Olympic bombings, and the shooting of medical doctors in Vancouver and Buffalo, it may be somewhat surprising that the actual number of violent attacks on persons across a quarter of a century is not that high. However, it is important to recall that terrorism is designed to create fear far in excess of the actual likelihood of being harmed. For example, a person is far more likely to die from food poisoning, lightning strikes, heart attacks, and cancer than any form of terrorism. Nonetheless, if one is an animal based researcher or an abortion clinic worker, the threat of violence is exaggerated and the fear intensified by the horrific media depiction of a few incidents. In part, this fear is enhanced since the potential victim typically is not able to distinguish between the social movement activist who is routinely visible and the individual terrorists among them. Again, terrorism's effectiveness is that it causes fear far in excess of the actual threat, especially during the contemporary historical period studied in this thesis. The media sensationalizes each infrequent violent incident to such an extent that the fear component of terrorism increases exponentially. It also needs to be kept in mind that potential issue terrorist victims are affected by the entire North American media as both Canadian and U.S potential victims are subject to the total coverage of terrorist incidents in both countries.

Issue Terrorism Tactics in Canada

As expected, the distribution of issue terrorist tactics follows the geographic pattern described above concerning the distribution of incidents (see Table 9). Again, the type of issue terrorist and target appears to largely determine the most prevalent tactic. The peak period occurred in the late 1980s and then declined precipitously by the end of the 20th century. As discussed above, it is quite likely that a combination of factors explains this trend. First, both federal and provincial governments and the non-violent social movements involving the key issues of protecting the environment, animal rights, and abortion engaged in constant dialogue throughout this 30 year period. To reiterate, conciliatory laws and practices may have mitigated the intense controversy surrounding these issues. For example, the Reform Party, later evolving into the Canadian Alliance Party, arose virtually spontaneously partly to promote the anti-abortion policy position. Even though it was not successful in reversing pro-choice laws and Canadian Supreme Court case law, this political party was able to channel the policy positions of the related social movements directly into the national and provincial areas as well as garner widespread media coverage. In effect, it is possible to argue that, at least, the relevant social movements had the respective policy concerns expressed and reacted to within the normal Canadian political context. Also, very critically, and in contrast to the U.S., Canada does not have a history of politically religious fundamentalism. With the exception of Alberta, political influence of religious fundamentalism is not remotely similar to its long standing influence in the "bible belt" region of the U.S.

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Table 9: Distribution of Issue Terrorist Tactics by Region in Canada

Vandalism

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
BC/Prairies	-	1	65	34	11	111
Ontario/Quebec	-	39	17	8	4	68
Atlantic Region	-	-	-	-	1	1
North Region	-	-	-	1	-	1

Arson

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
BC/Prairies	-	-	4	6	4	14
Ontario/Quebec	-	1	-	-	-	2
Atlantic Region	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Region	-	-	-	-	-	-

Theft

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
BC/Prairies	-	-	1	5	1	7
Ontario/Quebec	1	10	-	-	2	13
Atlantic Region	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Region	-	-	-	-	-	-

Bombing

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
BC/Prairies	-	-	-	2	5	7
Ontario/Quebec	-	-	-	-	3	3
Atlantic Region	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Region	-	-	-	-	-	-

Bomb Threats/Hoaxes

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
BC/Prairies	-	-	1	-	-	1
Ontario/Quebec	-	1	-	-	3	4
Atlantic Region	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Region	-	-	-	-	-	-

Issue Terrorism Tactics in the United States

Similar to Canada, the distribution of the five types of terrorist tactics in the United States follows the distribution of terrorist incidents by type of issue terrorism discussed in the above section.

Table 10: Distribution of Issue Terrorist Tactics by Region in the United States

Vandalism

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
South West	-	12	43	80	15	150
Pacific North West	-	1	1	26	14	42
North East	-	3	17	91	207	318
South East	1	2	3	65	12	83
South	-	-	1	10	41	52
Central	-	1	10	77	37	125
Alaska and Hawaii	-	-	-	-	-	0

Arson

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
South West	-	3	15	22	6	46
Pacific North West	-	4	5	12	14	35
North East	-	4	6	8	15	33
South East	-	6	8	17	6	37
South	-	9	5	12	3	29
Central	-	10	13	18	8	49
Alaska and Hawaii	-	-	1	-	-	1

Theft

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
South West	-	6	13	10	4	33
Pacific North West	-	2	1	4	9	16
North East	2	5	4	10	14	35
South East	1	3	2	2	-	8
South	-		1		3	4
Central	-	3	1	6	11	21
Alaska and Hawaii	1	1	-	-	-	2

Bombing

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
South West	-	-	4	4	1	9
Pacific North West	-	1	1	-	1	3
North East	-	10		-	2	12
South East	-	6	1	-	8	15
South	-	4	1	-	1	6
Central	-	2	5	-	6	13
Alaska and Hawaii	-	-	-	-	-	-

Bomb Threats/Hoaxes

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
South West	-	1	2	-	-	3
Pacific North West	-	-	-	-	2	2
North East	-	1	3	2	2	8
South East	-	-	1	1	2	4
South	-	-	-	-	1	1
Central	-	-	1	2	4	7
Alaska and Hawaii	-	-	-	-	-	-

Most importantly, and as expected, the bombing incidents were the highest (15) in the South East and lowest in the Pacific North West. Again, this reflects the respective saliencies of anti-abortion issue terrorism in the two regions. The latter region's populations are dominated by the major urban centres of Portland and Seattle, both traditionally characterized by non-religious fundamentalists and secularised cultures. Both these cities have major technology industries and large universities. Their respective rural areas are not very populated. In effect, these North Western states, along with Minnesota and Massachusetts, are commonly considered among the most culturally "liberal" in the United States. In contrast, the South Eastern states are the most conservative and all have substantial small town and rural populations that continue to

sustain traditional religious fundamentalism, even with increasingly "progressive" major cities, such as Atlanta.

Despite the 70 bombings, relatively few (11) individuals were directly targeted by all of the violent tactics. This likely reflects a critically distinguishing characteristic of issue terrorism from the other types of terrorism i.e., issue terrorists seek more to publicize their policy objectives than to cause widespread terror within the broader populations. This limited tactic is pragmatic and instrumental since a broadly terrorized public would inevitably provoke a backlash against the policy position of issue terrorists. Most social movements, therefore, likely view even this limited targeting of individuals as counterproductive. In contrast, property damage tactics are the most common and most consistent across five time periods. These tactics attract media attention without the terror associated with violence against individuals. Nonetheless, bombings remain common, especially in the South West. Again, typically, anti-abortion issue terrorists justify bombings morally with biblical references concerning the taking of life to preserve the rights of the unborn children of God. While few in number, the bombing trends indicated in Figure 3 support the inference that this tactic will likely continue. The initial time period had the highest number of bombings, followed by a precipitous drop in the middle two periods. However, a sharp increase occurred in the most recent time period.

Figure 3: Frequency of Bombings in Issue Terrorism Incidents by Region in the United States. 1982-2001. (n=58)
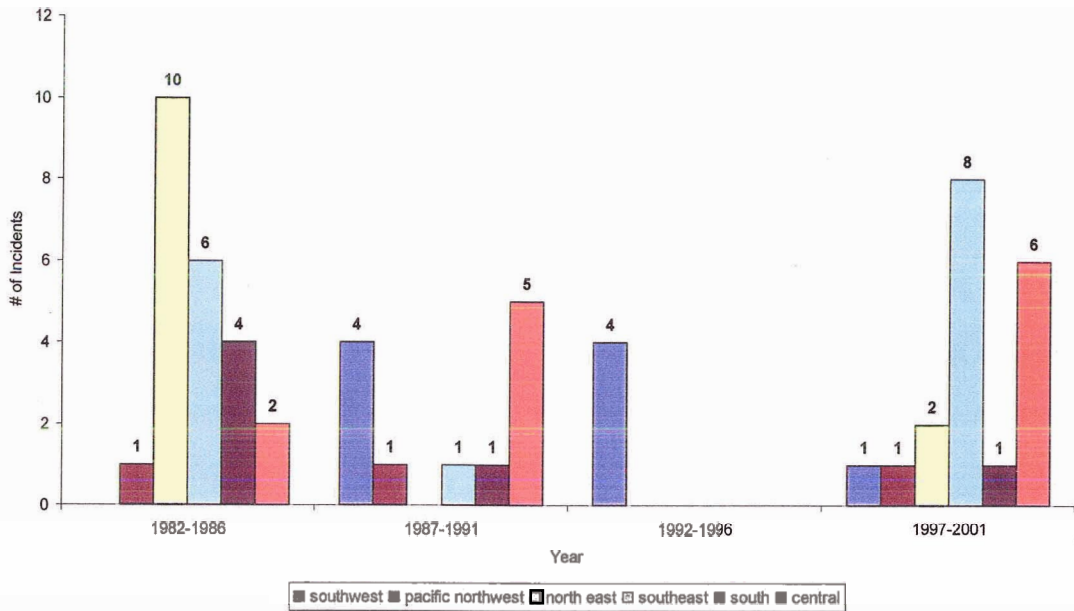
The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and Earth Liberation Front (ELF) Domination of Issue Terrorist Incidents

Of the 1440 issue terrorist incidents, it was possible to identify a group or individual perpetrator in 1022 incidents. Nearly all of the latter involved the ALF (87.7%). A small number (4.2%) of incidents were identified with the ELF. Both groups utilized property damage tactics, usually vandalism, with the ALF being the most predominant (82.9%). Theft was the second most frequent tactic of the ALF (12.6%) while the ELF second choice tactic was arson (33.3%) (15 of the 45 incidents). This group operated almost exclusively in the U.S. In contrast, there were 192 ALF incidents in Canada, overwhelmingly in the British Columbia and the Prairies, and less so in Ontario and Quebec peaking between 1987 and 1991 (see Table 11). It is in the British Columbia and the prairies of Canada that the combination of old growth forests, threatened animal

species, large scale game hunting enterprises, oil exploration, and fish farms provide highly media oriented targets.

The pattern of ALF incidents in the U.S stands in sharp contrast to the Canadian pattern. Most U.S incidents occurred in the North Eastern region and during the most recent time period (see Figure 4). This pattern is somewhat surprising given that the U.S Pacific North West has much in common with the adjacent region in Canada. It may be that the ALF organization members are more concentrated in the densely populated North East region of the U.S where the greater New York area alone has more than 14 million inhabitants or approximately half of the population of Canada. Including the greater Boston region, increases the North East region population quite substantially. Nonetheless, it is extremely difficult to determine or even hypothesize whether ALF members are more concentrated in the North East region of the U.S. Similarly, the overwhelming concentration of ALF incidents between 1997 and 2001 is not readily explicable. It is possible that a highly active group of ALF cells in the region during this period simply explains this pattern. Given the virtual organizational structure of environmental and animal rights issue terrorist organizations in North America, it is extremely difficult to explain the above incident patterns in the absence of either an obvious target access explanation or some distinctive political/cultural characteristic.

Table 11: Frequency of Issue Terrorism Incidents Involving the ALF by Region in Canada. 1977-2001. (n=192)

	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
BC/Prairies	-	1	73	35	1	110
Ontario/Quebec	1	50	17	7	5	80
Atlantic Region	-	-	-	-	1	1
North Region	-	-	-	1	-	1

Figure 4: Frequency of Issue Terrorism Incidents Involving the ALF by Region in the United States. 1977-2001. (n=746)
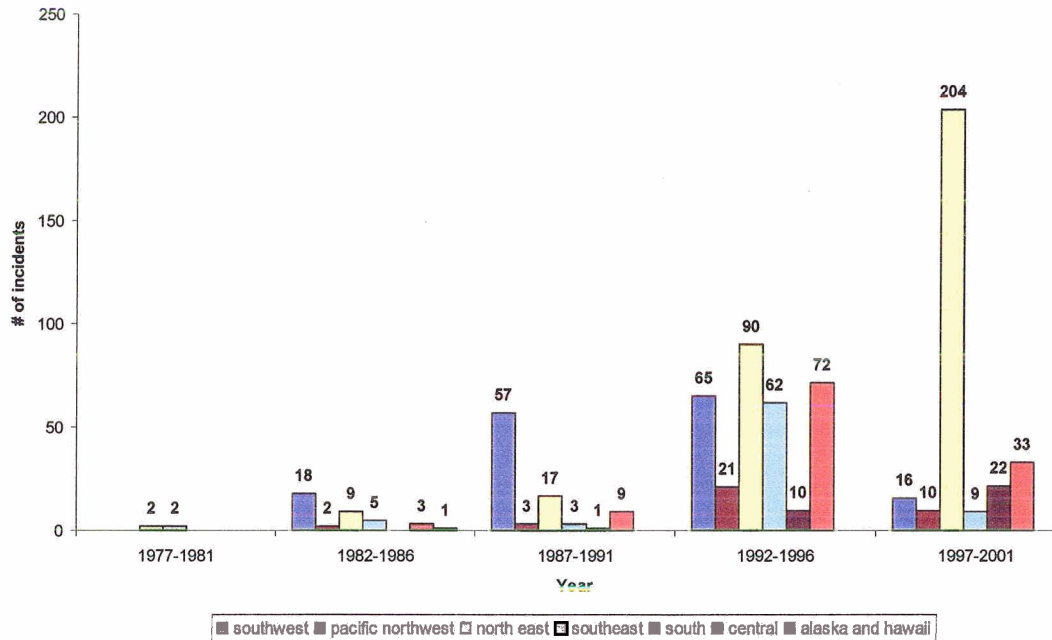
Targets

Given the above profiles and discussions of the issue terrorist incidents in Canada and the U.S., it is expected that the specific targets would be industries or businesses involved with environmental and/or animals either for food, hunting, or research. These industries include: energy, oil and gas industry; forestry and logging; urban development and housing; genetic engineering; various types of research; abortion services; and hunting, fur, and animal retail, and food distribution industries. It was possible to identify targets for 1061 incidents and to classify them as either: the state; a private corporation; a university; a financial institution; or a non-profit/non-governmental organization (see Table 11).

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Table 12: Specific Type of Target

	Canada					
Target	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
State	1	6	-	2	1	10
Private Corporation	-	29	84	40	20	173
University	-	7	4	3	2	16
Financial Institution	-	-	-	-	-	-
NPO/NGO	-	-	2	4	-	6
	United States					
Target	1977-1981	1982-1986	1987-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001	Total
State	-	1	2	3	13	19
Private Corporation	1	16	72	339	315	743
University	1	18	13	8	13	53
Financial Institution	-	-	-	1	7	8
NPO/NGO	-	4	14	7	5	30

A majority of the total incidents (63.6%) were directed at private companies. Since some of the most visible damage to the environment has resulted from the "clear-cutting" of old growth forests, it was not surprising that 24 incidents involved the forestry industry. Most of these incidents (87.5%) occurred primarily between 1997 and 2001 and in the U.S. As expected, the ELF was identified with 58.3% of these incidents, and the ALF was identified with 20.8% of these incidents. While relatively few in number, the damage was considerable estimated at $4,199,000. Surprisingly, there were few (3) incidents in

Canada with little damage ($100,000). These incidents were separated by nearly a decade since one occurred in 1993 and the remaining two in 2001.

U.S urban development industries involved in large scale residential, commercial, and leisure related development projects also were targeted in 18 incidents, mainly by the ELF (12). Though relatively few in number, these incidents caused approximately three million dollars in damages. In contrast, research targets (50), mainly universities (36) in the U.S., were more common. However, the damages were very limited ($111,600). Slightly more incidents involved the hunting industry (57) primarily in the U.S (44) which were claimed by the ALF. The damages, however, were extensive at approximately $1,619,130. As expected, the fur industry, both suppliers and retailers, were a major target (340 incidents) in the U.S and in Canada (57 incidents). Most of the incidents involved the ALF (251) and resulted in approximately one million dollars in damages in the U.S and far less in Canada ($64,500). In contrast, the ALF and other groups were identified with 23 incidents against food retailers in Canada which caused $2,729,000 in damages, whereas the 123 U.S incidents cost $1,825,800.

In terms of annual sales and profits, all of the above damage estimates are likely insignificant either to the industries or to the general public. However, the symbolic importance of them could be more substantial if such issue terrorist incidents occurred on a more sustained basis. Given the enormous size of all of the above industries, it appears that issue terrorist incidents simply have not reached the levels of cost damages that could provoke a major reaction from these industries and the respective governments in Canada and the U.S. Yet, the publicity that does result from all of the above incidents can be seen to be far in excess of the actual damages except when individuals are targeted. In the latter situations, personal injuries and death do raise the public profile of issue terrorists on a sustained basis and brings about an intense

police/criminal justice system response. Still, it is somewhat surprising that so few incidents and so little damage are evident in Canada, despite the often widespread media attention accorded to environmental and animal rights issue terrorists, especially in Canada.

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this thesis is to describe the key dimensions of the relatively new concept of issue terrorism. Overwhelmingly, the theoretical and empirical literature has been concerned with ideological and ethnic-nationalist terrorism utilized both by state regimes and anti-state organizations. Issue terrorism has only received scholarly attention towards the end of the 20th century when broad social movements arose to challenge many Western liberal democracies' policies, including controversial themes such as the environment, animal rights, globalisation, and taxes. Typically, social movements related to these topics resorted to traditional organizations and strategies to change laws and policies within the state's appropriate political forums. Interest groups were created to influence the media in favourably promoting specific policy positions concerning abortion, the environment, and animal rights. As well, these interest groups exercised political influence by providing campaign funds to candidates running for offices and political parties at all levels of government and multi-national political institutions, such as the European Parliament. Environmental protection interest groups often went further by creating the Green Political Parties that have gained substantial presences in several countries in Europe. The Green Party is the most successful example since it joined a coalition with the Socialist Party in Germany to form two successive governments.

With few exceptions, most citizens in Western liberal democracies resort to traditional means to express their views on controversial social issues. However, during the last quarter century, a small number of individuals have turned to terrorism to force changes in laws and policies in these democracies. Like other forms of political terrorism, issue terrorists and their respective organizations can be best understood by examining the specific policy goals that motivate individuals to commit crimes that are

meant to terrorize other citizens, the different tactics employed to create fear, and the specific targets of the violence. Given the inherent clandestine nature of all terrorist organizations, it is extremely difficult to describe the membership and exact organizational structures that characterize the various types of issue terrorist groups. However, there is sufficient publicly available information to allow a partial description of the above dimensions of issue terrorist groups.

Since government anti-terrorist agencies are reluctant to disclose information, it was necessary to rely on information made public by certain terrorist organizations that openly publicized their responsibility for terrorist incidents. These limited data sources raise fundamental validity issues about generalizing findings and making inferences about issue terrorist groups. As discussed in the previous two chapters, it is particularly problematic to make valid inferences about the geographic distribution of issue terrorist incidents. Nonetheless, it is possible to begin to understand basic conceptual and dimensional differences among the major types of issue terrorist organizations. It is also possible to observe issue terrorist incident trends during the latter part of the 20th century, even though the yearly figures are only basic estimates of the actual number of incidents. Again, the assumption is that issue terrorist groups want to publicize each incident in order to enhance the overall impact of their violent and destructive actions. In effect, although governments and/or corporate institutions targeted in each incident might try to minimize public awareness, it is very likely that the issue terrorist groups contact various media to alert them of their actions.

With these methodological limitations in mind, it is not surprising that issue terrorism incidents in Canada and the U.S increased substantially during the 1990's. Theoretically, it is possible that issue terrorism emerges from within broader non-violent social movements only after these movements fail in achieving the appropriate policy

changes. As discussed above, the major controversial social issues arose in the 1980s as Canada and the U.S made the full transition from an industrial society to a post-industrial capitalist, service-based economy. Corrado (Stohl, 1983) and Cohen (2001) assert that this broad macro-economic restructuring of societies has a direct impact on all forms of political terrorism. Corrado maintains that while traditional ethnic-nationalist and ideological terrorism declines, new forms of terrorism emerge. According to this perspective, issue terrorism increased dramatically in the 1990s as the focus of political controversies switched from century long concerns with ideological and ethnic-nationalist issues to lifestyle and moral concerns, such as the environment and abortion. Ronald Inglehart (1999) has demonstrated, through his euro-barometer survey research, that many citizens in Western European countries expressed the primacy of these concerns establishing the basis for the increase in political support for 'Green' political parties.

Since the main purpose of this thesis is not to create a theoretical model, but a conceptual model of issue terrorism, the main research findings included the distribution of incidents among the different types of issue terrorist organizations. The predominance of animal rights terrorist incidents likely reflects the goals, tactics, and targets of its organizational members. The goal of more humane treatment of animals appears to have broad appeal in Canada and the U.S, especially among urban, middle-income, university educated, politically liberal individuals. The tactics, while destructive, rarely target individuals, therefore, injury or loss of life as the result of these incidents is rare. In contrast, anti-abortion issue terrorists represent a minority view on abortion and the bombings of abortion clinics and assassinations of medical personnel typically results in a severe negative public reaction. This public response, in turn, even appears to antagonize members of the non-violent social movement organizations, such as the

Roman Catholic Church. In effect, anti-abortion terrorist tactics and targets simply are too extreme for most anti-abortion supporters.

Given the enormous publicity that has been generated by issue terrorism, it is somewhat surprising that the estimates of financial damages and the number of injuries or deaths attributed to it are not substantially higher. These findings, nonetheless, are important because they can be interpreted as part of the explanation for why individuals resort to terrorism. In effect, a disproportionate amount of publicity or intense media profiling of an issue can be generated by a small number of individuals and a relatively low intensity amount of terrorism. The impression, for example, that environmental issue terrorism has become pervasive and very costly to related industries is not supported in this thesis. Similarly, the few violent issue terrorist incidents in Canada, arguably, do not reflect the media generated impression that such incidents are common place, especially in the Canadian western region with its concentration of forestry and gas related industries. Again, it appears that a few highly publicized issue terrorist incidents, such as those identified with the bombings of natural gas wells and equipment in Alberta in the 1990's by Weibo Ludwig, are sensationalized with the media reporting of on-going police investigations and trials.

The ALF and ELF can be considered prototypes for environmental and animal-rights issue terrorist organizations. Unlike the traditional ideological and ethnic-nationalist anti-state organizational types, the ALF and ELF are structured largely through the unprecedented communication abilities provided by the information technology revolution of the past several decades, especially the internet. This technology has facilitated the virtual cell structure organizational model whereby issue terrorists can communicate essentially in an anonymous manner. Without describing the commonly understood use of internet identities, it is obvious that clandestine

communications occur with maximum efficiency and minimal costs. The social movements that generated the ELF and ALF typically attract younger and well educated individuals who are becoming more and more adept with internet technology. Interestingly, a significant amount of the success of the other more recent political terrorism movement, exemplified in Al-Qaeda, is attributed to its use of the internet and other information technologies, such as satellite phones. These technologies drastically reduce the need for face-to-face group meetings which increase the likelihood for detection and infiltration by police and counterterrorist security agencies. As well, information can be encoded or embedded relatively easily, again, minimizing the ability of any simple intervention of communications between ALF and/or ELF members by the police. Information can be transacted with equal speed within a city or across the planet. Similarly, these organizations utilize the internet to publicize their terrorist incidents, thus mitigating the ability of governments to control information destined for the media or directly to the public. In effect, it is possible to argue that one of the reasons that these organizations have not been stopped by traditional anti-terrorist police techniques is the virtual cell structure.

From a research perspective, however, the virtual structure makes it extremely difficult to describe the extent of specific organizations and related organizational dimensions, such as membership composition, leadership and command structure, and internal political dynamics. Compounding this problem is the understandable reluctance of police and related security agencies to make information about groups, such as the ALF and ELF, available to researchers. Not only might it jeopardize on-going investigations, but making this information public could allow issue terrorist groups to adjust sufficiently to avoid future detection. These limitations effectively preclude a fundamental understanding of what has occurred with groups such as the ALF and ELF

over the period of this research. In turn, it is equally difficult to empirically assess hypotheses about why there are fluctuations and trends in issue terrorist incidents. The absence of this hypothesis testing might partly explain why there has been so little theory development with this form of terrorism.

Despite the few empirical studies and the paucity of theorizing on issue terrorism, future research can build on the foundations of theoretical models based on social movements and traditional political terrorist movements. The anti-abortion issue terrorist organizations, for example, appear to be a reaction both to medical technology, which makes abortion accessible and safe, and cultural norms that emphasize the right of women to control their own bodies. Corrado (Stohl, 1983) maintains that certain right-wing ideological movements are similarly based on a reaction to modernizing macro-economic changes that have the effect of altering basic social units, such as the family. In other words, there is the likelihood that longstanding theories of traditional political terrorism can be utilized to explain, at least, certain types of issue terrorism.

APPENDIX·A: ETHICS APPROVAL

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ETHICS

BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA V5A 1S6
Telephone: 604-291-3447
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November 21, 2003

Mr. Jesse L. Cale
Graduate Student
School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University

Dear Mr. Cale:

Re: "Issue Terrorism: An Analysis of Trends in North America"

The above-titled ethics application has been granted approval by the
Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board, in accordance with Policy R 20.01,
"Ethics Review of Research Involving Human Subjects".

Sincerely,

Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director
Office of Research Ethics

For inclusion in thesis/dissertation/extended essays/research project report, as submitted to the university library in fulfillment of final requirements for graduation. Note: correct page number required.

APPENDIX B: PROFILE OF SELECTED ISSUE TERRORIST GROUPS

ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT (ALF)

ALF Mission Statement

The ALF's short-term aim is to "save as many animals as possible and directly disrupt the practice of animal abuse". Their long-term aim is to "end all animal suffering by forcing animal abuse companies out of business".

History

- The ALF was founded in 1976 by Ronnie Lee after previously forming a local *Hunt Saboteurs* group in 1971, and then the *Band of Mercy* in 1972 after deciding that "a more violent form of protest" was needed.
- Around 1976, Lee was arrested and sent to prison for a related offence. By the time he was released, "he had obtained the status of a Martyr... encouraged by this recognition he formed the Animal Liberation Front" (Lutherer & Simon, 1992).

Activities

- "*Direct action* against animal abuse in the form of rescuing animals and causing financial loss to animal exploiters, usually through the damage and destruction of property".
- "This includes actions from the smashing windows of butchers' shops to the sustained campaign of arson attacks against department stores that sold furs".
- The more extreme members belonging to the branches ARM and the Justice Department have gone for far as to injure and even torture people (These acts have been primarily restricted to locations in Europe).

Targets

- "Fur industry, vivisection practices (for research of medical reasons, product testing, etc), meat industry (retail stores, slaughterhouses, etc)".

Membership and Structure

- "Due to the illegal nature of ALF activities, activists work anonymously and there is no formal organization to the ALF. There is no office, no leaders, no newsletter, and no official membership." (ALF Primer, 3ed, found on www.animalliberationfront.org).
- "The Animal Liberation Front consists of small autonomous groups of people all over the world (known as 'cells') ... *who are vegetarians or vegans and who carry out actions according to ALF guidelines have the right to regard themselves as part of the ALF* " (found on www.animalliberationfront.org)"

- "People from all walks of life and social backgrounds, of all ages, of all beliefs and of none... make up the ALF" (Webb, 2002)

Group Statistics

- 10 years after the birth of ALF, membership was at approx 1500 and annual damage caused by them was about 6 million pounds (Lutherer and Simon, 1992)

Animal Liberation Front Guidelines

1. "To liberate animals from places of abuse, i.e. fur farms, laboratories, factory farms, etc. and place them in good homes where they may live out their natural lives free from suffering".
2. "To inflict economic damage to those who profit from the misery and exploitation of animals".
3. "To reveal the horror and atrocities committed against animals behind locked doors by performing non-violent direct actions and liberations".
4. "To take all necessary precautions against hurting any animal, human and non-human".

EARTH LIBERATION FRONT (ELF)

ELF Mission Statement

- "ELF is an international underground organization that uses direct action in the form of economic sabotage to stop the exploitation and destruction of the natural environment".
- The ELF believes it is "not an ecoterrorist organization or any sort of terrorist organization but rather one that is working to protect all life on planet earth".

History

- It is rumoured "that the group was founded in the early 1990's as an offshoot of Earth First! in England".
- ELF came to North America in the mid 1990's.
- "Recognises that the popular environmental movement has failed miserably in its attempts to bring about the protection needed to stop the killing of life on the planet".
- "The ELF ideology considers the various social and political problems facing the world today to be mere symptoms caused by a larger overall problem ... Capitalism and the mindset that allows it to exist".

Activities

- "By inflicting as much economic damage as possible, the ELF can allow a given entity to decide it is in their best economic interest to stop destroying life for the sake of profit".

Targets

- "...It is not enough to work solely on single, individual environmental issues but in addition the capitalist state and its symbols of propaganda must also be targeted".
- Issues targeted include: "deforestation (for development of roadways, for luxurious living and/or recreation areas, for profit by selling or using trees, etc), urban sprawl, genetic engineering, natural habitat and ecosystem destruction, the use of slave labour by corporations and more".

Membership and Structure

- "ELF has no centralized location; no hierarchy or leadership; and is organized into autonomous cells which operate independently and anonymously from one another and the general public".
- "To become active in the ELF one needs only believe in the ideology, follow the guidelines and create your own close knit cell".
- There is no "physical membership list or meetings you can attend to become involved".

(earthliberationfront.com, 2003)

The ELF Guidelines are:

1. To cause as much economic damage as possible to a given entity that is profiting off the destruction of the natural environment and life for selfish greed and profit.
2. To educate the public on the atrocities committed against the environment and life.
3. To take all necessary precautions against harming life.

APPENDIX C: DATA SOURCES

SOURCE 1:   **The Animal Liberation Front (# of Incidents: 1170)**

Web sites:
www.animalliberation.net
www.naiaonline.org
www.angelfire.com/pa/veganresist/doa.html
www.animallibertationfront.com/Alfront/alf-NJ.htm

SOURCE 2:   **The Earth Liberation Front (# of Incidents: 31)**

Web sites:
www.earthliberationfront.com

SOURCE 3:   **The National Abortion Federation (# of Incidents: 10)**

www.prochoice.org/Violence/History/Chron_Murder.asp

SOURCE 4:   **Micro Soft Network Broadcasting Corporation (MSNBC)**
(# of Incidents: 174)

http://msnbc.com/modules/clinics/default.asp

SOURCE 5:   **The Feminist Majority Foundation (# of Incidents: 55)**

http://www.feminist.org/rrights/antialert.html

APPENDIX D: SECTIONS OF THE CODING SCHEME AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Section Number	Description of Variables
Section 1: Demographic Incident Information	• Incident ID Number; Year; Month; Day; Country; State/province; City
Section 2: Data Sources	• Source Identification Number
Section 3: Oil and Gas Industry	• Oil/gas company; Oil/gas well(s) ; Oil/gas pipelines; Other facilities of an oil/gas company
Section 4: Abortion Service Providers	• Abortion clinic; Doctor office; Birth control clinic; Medical centre; Family planning clinic; Pregnancy clinic; Abortion association; Women's association; Specific individual
Section 5: Forestry Industry	• Logging company; Lumber company; Tree lots; Logging
Section 6: Genetic Engineering Industry	• Research conducted at a public institution; Research conducted at private institutions; Type of research; Research equipment
Section 7: Urban Development Projects	• Luxury homes; Condominiums; Highway construction; Golf courses; Other development
Section 8: Animal use	• Animal Research; Food production and distribution; Manufacturing; Whole/retail sale; Farm; Type of farm; Meat producer/distributor; Department store; Fur store; Other organizations
Section 9: Specific Target	• Building; House; Development sites; Machinery; Equipment; Records, files, or information; Universities; Medical agencies;

Section Number	Description of Variables
	Non-governmental, and/or non-profit organizations; Private agencies and/or corporations; Government agencies; Individual people; Retail, and/or whole sale stores; Restaurants; Research lab; Green houses; Vehicles; Agricultural facilities; Auto dealerships; Sports utility vehicles; Construction vehicles; Bridges; Billboards and/or train cars
	• Number of individuals targeted; Affiliation of the individual; Number of stores; Number of restaurants; Name of store; Name of restaurant; Name of agency and/or organization; Number of vehicles; Specific details; Reason for the attack
Section 10: Tactics	• Removing survey stakes and/or markers; Sending business reply mail; Blocking roads; Smoke bombs; Stink bombs; Propaganda schemes; Media alerts; Property vandalism; Tree spiking; Road spiking; Theft of animals; Theft; Personal harassment and intimidation; Destruction of computer software and hardware; Malicious computer hacking; Bomb hoaxes; Attempted bombings; Bombings; Firebombing; Death threats; Arson; Spraying of noxious substances; Violence against individuals; Assaults; Shootings; Stabbings
Section 11: Incident Outcomes	• Human deaths; Number of deaths; Circumstances of the death; Human injuries; Number injured; Type of injuries; Monetary damage; Other damage
Section 12: Individual	• Claimed by an individual;

Section Number	Description of Variables
Terrorist Characteristics and Organizational Affiliation	Claimed by a group; Group name; Incident was unclaimed; Age; Gender; Arrests made; Number of arrests; Charges were laid; Charges

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