

# **AFTER 9/11: TERRORISM AND CRIME IN A GLOBALISED WORLD**

Edited by

**David A. Charters & Graham F. Walker**

The Centre for Conflict Studies   The Centre for Foreign Policy Studies





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# PREFACE

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**T**he attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 were an event of monumental importance in human history, if only for their apocalyptic and ‘cinematic’ magnitudes of destruction. But beyond the ‘shock and awe’ of the events themselves and their organisational implications for security services, the 9/11 assault against humanity is of tremendous significance for several other fundamental reasons: they were carried out on live television and hence instantaneously seen around the world, generating a shared ‘human’ experience; the consequences of the attacks were immediately felt throughout every aspect of daily life and human interaction, from the streets of New York City to the foothills of Afghanistan; and the target of the attacks were neither military nor strategic components of the so-called ‘American Empire Lite’ but rather symbolic ‘pillars’ of the Western liberal-democratic system which has come to be embodied in the process known as ‘globalisation.’

However, in the truly dialectic fashion, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 are also significant because of the dramatic and expansive *responses* which the attacks have drawn from the world’s ‘democratic’ governments, and for the structural effects those responses have imposed upon the international system which democratic governments dominate. Looking at the consequences of 9/11 in terms of their intent in addition to their location therefore indicates that the attacks of the ‘Jihadists’ were launched not so much against the U.S.A. specifically as many still believe, but rather against the international order which the United States represents, propagates, funds and administers as the world’s foremost democratic template. It is the consequences of the 9/11 attacks, viewed from the perspective of ‘purpose’ in targeting democratic principles in addition to the nature of democracies’ responses (thereby shaping the international environment in which we live and the nature of interactions within that system) that has influenced the undertaking and design of this volume.

As with all tragedy, along with the devastation and anguish the events of that day caused, September 11 has also demonstrated the imperative requirement for each of us, and by consequence as citizens of democracies also the very governments which represent us, to re-evaluate our world and our roles within it. For the leaders of ‘our’ governments and the officials who implement governmental policies in our name, the attacks generated the urgent demand for accurate, empirical and ‘operable’ policy choices along with the need for quickly and comprehensively formulated new frameworks of analysis upon which to construct more nuanced avenues of progress for the future. Today, as we approach the fourth anniversary of the tragedy of 9/11, the need for such analysis and insight has not receded but in fact become all the more desperately acute. The March 2004 attacks in Spain for example, undertaken just hours prior to that democracy’s elections, proved once and for all that the 9/11 attacks were not undertaken against the unpopular policies of a hegemonic ‘hyperpower’ but against a system of government, and more importantly the values and beliefs which that system encompasses. The contempt and hatred for those values and beliefs was indelibly underscored by the gruesome attacks in Beslan, Russia during September 2004, where in an almost satanic fashion children and innocents were deliberately targeted for sacrifice in the attempt to gain political advantage.

The implications of these subsequent outrages to September 11<sup>th</sup> is that not only is a rigorous response to this threat necessary, but an informed and universally comprehensive one is also absolutely essential if our democratic way of life, and the international system which it now facilitates, is to survive

with its principles and values intact. This demands moving away from the atomistic specialisations and multiplying sub-fields that has come to characterise the social sciences of recent decades and adopting a more holistic perspective to the challenges which face us. This means examining not only the attacks of 9/11 but also the means by which such attacks are facilitated, and evaluating collectively the forces and actors which threaten our liberal-democratic principles and values. It is precisely for this reason that both international terrorism *and* transnational organised crime are examined in this monograph together; transnational organised crime represents an equivalent challenge to liberal democratic values and provides many of the capabilities necessary for terrorists to launch their apocalyptic strikes. Such a comprehensive perspective for generating responses, particularly within a democracy, is the responsibility of every citizen collectively and not just the chore of those who lead us or man our security apparatuses. This volume represents the attempt to fulfil that democratic responsibility, and in a way that is both scholarly and accessible to policy makers, policy practitioners, policy analysts and those who must abide by the rules and consequences of our policies.

In early 2002, the *Centre for Foreign Policy Studies* of Dalhousie University began undertaking arrangements to facilitate its contribution to fulfilling the pressing analytical requirements of the 'new security environment.' The CFPS did this by initiating a research agenda to examine the multifaceted relationship between the concepts of 'security' and the now well-recognised if frequently misunderstood process of 'globalisation,' and the effects of post-modern threats such as terrorism and transnational organised crime upon both. The CFPS' ongoing "Globalisation, Terrorism and Proliferation Project" seeks to define the causal mechanisms through which globalisation enhances or impedes security in relation to threat actors like terrorists, how these affects may be different or similar across the various levels of the international system and their corresponding spheres of security, and how policies such as 'pre-emption' and the doctrines incorporated into the new national security strategies of Canada and the U.S.A. enhance or impede the evolution of these concepts. In beginning to evaluate these dynamic variables, it quickly became apparent that not only were the primary actors driving the globalisation process democracies, or at least non-state actors residing within the democratic sphere, but that many of the key issues and challenges surrounding the triumvirate of globalisation, terrorism/transnational crime and security were questions concerning democratic governance and institutions. Issues such as: in whose name were globalisational and security structures being implemented; who were the actors implementing these structures and to whom were they accountable; how was 'authoritative' control and direction to be instituted over such structures; and by what means would dissent, protest and resistance be considered 'legitimate' and acceptable?

Researching such complex and interrelated questions very quickly brought the CFPS to the now longstanding and well-recognised research programme on unconventional warfare being undertaken by the *Centre for Conflict Studies* of the University of New Brunswick. For over two decades, long before the attacks of 9/11 propelled these issues to become the topics of immediacy they are today, the CCS has been researching the continually evolving nature of international terrorism and the responses of democratic governments to this security challenge, along with issues of insurgency and subversion, intelligence operations, asymmetric warfare and the implications of these phenomena upon democratic governance and principles. As all empirical theorists conducting 'traditionalist' research must begin with observed behaviour, ideally supplied through the compilation and analysis of case studies accumulated from across the spectrum of social inquiry, the ongoing research agenda at the CCS provided the CFPS with a rich and insightful contemporary database to scrutinise. Ranging from past research such as that represented in *Democratic Responses to International Terrorism* published in 1991, to the annual conference events held at the CCS every fall examining these very issues from a multi-disciplinary and multi-national perspective, the evidence and analysis compiled by the CCS continues to provide theorists and practitioners alike with the essential elements of understanding they need for crafting policy prescriptions that adhere to the delicate values and principles of democratic governance.

The result of this pioneering collaboration between Security and Defence Forum centres is this volume, *After 9/11: Terrorism and Crime in a Globalised World*, the proceedings of the 2002 and 2003 annual conferences conducted by the CCS. The volume's underlying premise is that well-researched and comprehensive analysis of our social environment is more than aesthetically necessary but is in fact the fundamental first step towards shaping that environment and moulding it in a way that is more suitable to our polity's values, beliefs and the common welfare of all. Shallow or reactionary, populist or ill-conceived analysis leads to the formulation of 'bad' government policy, which in turn can at best only waste finite resources and leave essential attributes unprotected. At worst, misguided policy can serve to initiate an even more problematic milieu in which greater and self-perpetuating crimes and injustices are fomented, or bring about a systemic climate in which the structures and institutions that civilise us are put in peril of disintegration. By creating and implementing policy to address processes which we do not fully understand, policy makers and practitioners run the risk of generating unintended consequences for the public, consequences which all too often make conditions worse rather than better and generate significantly larger challenges to be addressed in the future which the polity may not be equipped to resolve. It is with the notion of improving our understanding of the current security environment that this volume is intended, so as to facilitate the formulation of well-considered policy and the dissemination of hard-learned best practices.

*After 9/11: Terrorism and Crime in a Globalised World* examines the challenges to democracies from threat actors, and the responses from democracies towards threat actors through an evaluation of the consequences stemming from the analytical benchmark of the 9/11 attacks. It does this so as to shed light on the dynamic interrelationship between the concepts of security and globalisation, and the influences threat actors exert on this relationship through legitimate structures. In doing so, the volume speaks to themes such as the new security environment, convergence theory and democratic principles in addition to highlighting the debates that surround each of them as it strives to answer fundamental and 'policy relevant' questions about the 'events and problems' of our contemporary world. The volume does this from the perspective of looking at what the potential consequences of our actions may be for the units of the international system and for that system itself in terms of the preservation of the values and principles by which liberal democracies exist. By inference, the volume also represents a discussion concerning how our subjective perceptions of these threats shape our reactions to them through the vehicle of government policy.

Each of the two parts to this monograph follows the format of beginning with an examination of contemporary thought and theory regarding how we 'do' and 'should' perceive these threats, and accordingly what the nature of our responses *ought* to be. These conceptual discussions are followed by detailed case studies which both demonstrate these ideas and perceptions as they are in 'the real world,' in addition to illustrating how these perceptions can be utilised for improving understanding and crafting policy for the future. In other words, contemporary theoretical debates and new frameworks of analysis are suggested and then compared against case studies which demonstrate the variables and processes of these suggested theories 'in action.' This structure is implemented purposefully with the broader intention of stimulating further analysis and evaluation of the hypotheses suggested herein.

For the research agenda, this format of conceptualisation followed by case study provides the analyst with three principal advantages. The first of these is 'process tracing,' which allows for the predictions and hypotheses of theories and frameworks to be evaluated against empirical events, and for the researcher, the ability to identify any deviations between theory and events that may be significant. In addressing the new security environment, where concepts such as democracy, security and globalisation transcend the traditionally accepted 'levels-of-analysis' in social science research, the second advantage of this format is that it provides for the systematic comparison of processes that may relate to one another in a specific way at the systemic level but relate to one another in a different way on the domestic or organisational levels. In the globalised world of the new security environment, these processes may also



relate to one another differently again across these differing levels, such as between the tactical and the strategic for example, or transversely between the macro/micro levels. This comparison of processes across the levels of analysis provides the researcher or policy analyst with the final advantage of flexibility with which to utilise both explanatory and confirmatory analysis while using the same database of evidence. For the theorist, this flexibility provides the empirical opportunity for falsification of hypotheses, as the case studies provide both evidence 'for' and 'against' the various theoretical assertions made throughout the volume. While the case studies selected create a data-set obviously biased in favour of those presentations made during the 2002 and 2003 conferences, this in no way subtracts from their relevance or utility for analysis as the case studies represent not only current events worldwide but also illustrate contemporary debates between very different frameworks of analysis about the new security environment and its actors. From the methodological standpoint, this makes the structure of the volume deductive but the abstract processes of evaluation contained therein inductive. This mirrors the normative and empirical considerations contained throughout the monograph as the case studies provide an empirical evaluation of what 'is,' while the application of democratic considerations (undeniably subjective values) to this milieu allows for normative considerations of what should be to contribute to the dialogue regarding how to move forward with effective policy.

The results of this collaborative undertaking are multidimensional. As this monograph represents the research agendas of two distinct Security and Defence Forum centres in Canada, the production of this monograph provides a tangible and 'policy relevant' return for the government's continued funding of these institutions from which it may draw insights to generate successful public policy and non-partisan analysis. In terms of scholarship and enquiry, the volume represents an outstanding multidisciplinary undertaking into researching and advising on an issue of immediate and dramatically significant importance. Conceptually, the volume is a concrete illustration of both what the current state of affairs is in the new security environment as well as a discussion of what is being done about this reality, thereby placing these variables into their larger empirical and inevitably normative contexts. This provides not only an academic examination of what has changed since 9/11 but an operable and informative re-evaluation of the policy directions we are currently travelling in, so as to better inform the policy directions we should be travelling towards. Such knowledge, and the process of its accumulation is the foundation upon which all democratic societies draw their strength in the face of challenges. Both the editors and contributors of this volume hope that those who read it will find it informative and useful, as they themselves seek to fulfil their democratic responsibilities as informed citizens.