

WAVES OF MODERN TERRORISM: EXAMINING THE PAST AND PREDICTING  
THE FUTURE

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# WAVES OF MODERN TERRORISM: EXAMINING THE PAST AND PREDICTING THE FUTURE

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## ABSTRACT

David C. Rapoport's "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," is one of the most influential and widely debated theories in the field of terrorism studies. Following the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, Rapoport created his theoretical framework for modern terrorism by grouping previously indistinguishable patterns of political violence into four distinct waves, each lasting a generation and inspired by ideologies derived from anarchism, anti-colonialism, socialism, and religious fundamentalism. Since 1979 the world has existed within the fourth "Religious" wave that will dissipate by 2025 if the generational life cycle remains constant.

Rapoport's model will serve as the foundational source for this thesis. It will discuss the importance of the wave model and how it can be useful in counterterrorism efforts. Rapoport argues that academics and governments unduly focus on specific organizations and contemporary events, which make us less sensitive to generational patterns. Individual terrorist organizations will have specific defining features but understanding overarching global and generational patterns in real time can help shape thinking on the most effective ways to combat terrorism. This thesis will address ethical challenges stemming from the efforts made by governments trying to find an appropriate balance between preventing terrorism and protecting privacy and free speech.

Some terrorism studies experts and political theorists suggest the unusual strength of the Religious wave will allow it to survive longer than its predecessors. This thesis will analyze Rapoport's four waves, examine whether the current Religious wave will extend beyond 2025, and address current tensions in society including technological, political, economic, and ideological factors that will either extend the life of the Religious wave or encourage a new fifth wave to emerge. It will also analyze three existing fifth wave theories and propose an alternative suggestion. In conclusion, this thesis will answer the question of whether the Religious wave will continue indefinitely or if a new fifth wave will emerge.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

David C. Rapoport's 2004 essay "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," is one of the most influential and widely debated theories in the field of terrorism studies. In his essay, Professor Rapoport outlines a wave system which maps the history of modern terrorism since the late 19th century; more importantly for our purposes, it attempts to take the "complex phenomenon of terrorism and put it in a historical context that not only explained different periods of international terrorism, but also sets forth theories and concepts that may be used to attempt to anticipate the future of terrorism."<sup>1</sup> Previously indistinguishable patterns of political violence are grouped into four distinct waves, each lasting around 40 years or roughly the span of a generation, that have been inspired by ideologies derived from anarchism, anti-colonialism, socialism, and religious fundamentalism.<sup>2</sup>

This thesis will provide an overview of the four waves created by Rapoport and examine whether the current fourth wave, the Religious wave, will extend beyond the predicted expiration date of 2025. Some political theorists and terrorism studies experts argue that the unusual strength of the Religious wave will carry it past 2025, thereby deviating from the generational model Rapoport constructed for the previous waves. This

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<sup>1</sup> Jeffrey D. Simon, "Technological and Lone Operator Terrorism: Prospects for a Fifth Wave of Global Terrorism," in *Terrorism, Identity and Legitimacy*, ed. Jean E. Rosenfeld (New York: Routledge, 2011), 44.

<sup>2</sup> Dipak K. Gupta, "Waves of International Terrorism: An Explanation of the Process by which Ideas Flood the World," in *Terrorism, Identity and Legitimacy*, ed. Jean E. Rosenfeld (New York: Routledge, 2011), 30.

paper will explore the technological, political, economic, and religious factors that may extended the life of the Religious wave and discuss whether those factors are powerful enough to carry it beyond 2025. It will also assess whether a new fifth wave is likely to materialize, and the implications of these possible changes for key values concerns related to public security and fundamental civil liberties.

Throughout his model, Rapoport cautions that terrorists regularly invent new ways to conduct their activities, and argues that even if the fourth wave mimics the pattern of the preceding waves, inspiration for a new type of terrorism is likely to emerge as unexpectedly as it has in the past.<sup>3</sup> There are already three existing theories that have been proposed for a fifth wave, each including a full analysis of the energy, tactics, and objectives. This thesis will explore those existing theories and propose an alternative suggestion for what a new fifth wave. In doing so, it will examine the current tensions in society that could cause the Religious wave to dissipate and inspire a new generation of terrorist activity. In conclusion, this thesis will attempt to answer whether the fourth wave will extend past 2025 or if a new fifth wave will emerge and take over in the next decade and how these alternative futures will pose ethical challenges for lawmakers and policy officials in trying to balance public safety and freedom.

The wave theory approach is a unique attempt to examine the modern history of non-state violent actors and place their actions in greater context, shifting emphasis away from the conventional model of conflict between nations and state-based tensions.

Rapoport's creation of a well-defined, coherent framework helps simplify our ability to

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<sup>3</sup> David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11," in *Anthropoetics* 8, no.1 (Spring/Summer 2002): 14.



understand the frustratingly complex phenomenon of terrorism. His “application of an orderly, evidence-based understanding of terrorism, national identity, and political legitimacy may be the most effective weapon we could employ in any ‘war on terrorism’ now or in the future.”<sup>4</sup>

Each wave is viewed as a metaphor to show the connectivity between international terrorist groups of a certain era<sup>5</sup> and is defined by three characteristics: a cycle of activity in a given time period showing expansion and contraction phases, international character, and a predominant energy that drives and shapes the group characteristics and relationships.<sup>6</sup> Rapoport’s wave model theory is considered to be the most comprehensive and unique analysis of the historical evolution of modern terrorism;<sup>7</sup> it has inspired diverse critiques and subsequent theoretical models that attempt to establish a sense of order within the global phenomenon of terrorism and political violence.

In response to the unprecedented terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Rapoport developed his framework to explain how modern terrorist motivations, tactics, and ideologies have succeeded and evolved over time. His groundbreaking effort was one

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<sup>4</sup> Jean E. Rosenfeld, “Introduction: The Meaning of Political Violence,” in *Terrorism, Identity and Legitimacy: The Four Waves theory and Political Violence*, ed. Jean E. Rosenfeld (New York: Routledge, 2011), 9.

<sup>5</sup> Karen Rasler and William R. Thompson, “Looking for Waves of Terrorism,” in *Terrorism, Identity and Legitimacy*, ed. Jean E. Rosenfeld (New York: Routledge, 2011), 13.

<sup>6</sup> Gupta, *Waves of International Terrorism: An Explanation of the Process by which Ideas Flood the World*, 30.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Bach Jensen, “The First Global Wave of Terrorism and International Counter-Terrorism, 1905-14,” in *An International History of Terrorism: Western and Non-Western Experiences*, ed. Jussi M. Hanhimaki and Bernhard Blumenau (New York: Routledge, 2013), 16.

of the first attempts to reflect on more than a century of international terrorist activity so that an acquaintance with the history of terrorism will make the world more sensitive to the difficulties of trying to understand it and prevent it.<sup>8</sup> Prior to publishing his wave model theory, Professor Rapoport had already established himself as a respected thought leader in the field of terrorism studies. His deep understanding of political violence spans decades of researching and writing, and he was one of the first scholars to teach a course on non-state terrorism.<sup>9</sup>

In the days following the attacks on September 11, the American response to al Qaeda's actions was framed as a war that "would not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated."<sup>10</sup> This declaration was not the first attempt by the United States to mobilize the international community and rid the world of terrorism. Exactly one hundred years earlier in September 1901, the United States experienced another tragic event when President William McKinley was shot during the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. The attempt on President McKinley's life was carried out by Leon Czolgosz, a known supporter of the anarchist movement, which prompted law enforcement officials to round up political radicals and others suspected of being associated with anarchist groups in the United States.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11*, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Rosenfeld, *Introduction: The Meaning of Political Violence*, 1.

<sup>10</sup> David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, ed. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 47.

<sup>11</sup> History, "The Assassination of President William McKinley," accessed November 2, 2016, <http://www.history.com/news/the-assassination-of-president-william-mckinley>.

Prior to the attempt on President McKinley's life the United States had not been embroiled in the fight against anarchist attacks which had plagued Europe's political leaders for more than a decade.<sup>12</sup> When McKinley eventually succumbed to his wounds, America's complacency towards anarchism was shattered and the newly installed President, Theodore Roosevelt, implored the international community to galvanize their efforts to eradicate anarchist terrorist organizations across the globe.<sup>13</sup> Anarchist groups, emboldened by previous successful assassinations of high value political targets and government leaders, had been gaining strength in Russia and Europe for approximately three decades before the historic attack on President McKinley. Roosevelt called for international treaties among allies to make anarchism a global crime, and empowered the U.S. government to treat anarchism as one of the most serious threats against its citizens.<sup>14</sup>

Prior to September 11, al Qaeda successfully attacked the World Trade Center in New York in 1993, but the group had been directing most of its efforts against the United States towards overseas equities, including bombings of American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and an attack on the U.S. naval ship *USS Cole* in Yemen in 2000. The simultaneous attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center will forever be one of the most deadly and horrific terrorist events of all time. Al Qaeda spent approximately \$250,000 for operational costs and lost 19 operatives during the attacks; in the U.S.

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<sup>12</sup> Richard Bach Jensen, "The United States, International Policing and the War Against Anarchist Terrorism, 1900-1914," in *Terrorism and Political Violence* 13, no. 1 (London: Frank Cass, 2001): 15.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 16.

nearly 3,000 people lost their lives while thousands of others were injured, in addition to suffering billions of dollars in infrastructure damage and trillions of dollars in economic losses.<sup>15</sup> It was without a doubt the most violent and destructive day in modern history that triggered an aggressive resolve in America and abroad to end international terrorism.<sup>16</sup>

Early in his essay Rapoport compares the similarities between the events in 1901 and 2001 and ponders whether the most recent campaign to exterminate terrorism will be more successful than its predecessors. He believes the first international effort to deal with terrorism failed because competing state interests that pulled countries in different directions prevented a unified approach that would appease everyone.<sup>17</sup> Combined international efforts are notoriously difficult to sustain over long periods of time<sup>18</sup> but Rapoport argues the world can more fully appreciate the challenges of combating terrorism by examining historical features of non-state terror. By doing so, we can see how deeply terrorism is implanted in our culture, observe useful parallels, and gain a new perspective for understanding the circumstances surrounding September 11 and how it has influenced international responses to modern terrorism.<sup>19</sup> Rapoport's theory underscores how much September 11 affected the perception and understanding of

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<sup>15</sup> David C. Rapoport, "Terrorism," in *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, ed. Lester R. Kurtz (Elsevier Science & Technology, 2008).

<sup>16</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11*, 14.

<sup>17</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 52.

<sup>18</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11*, 14.

<sup>19</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 46.

terrorist threats, something he suggests needs more discussion than it has received,<sup>20</sup> and argues in favor of a history-based approach to studying terrorism to help avoid feelings of novelty that are often associated with terrorist attacks. By turning to the past we will gain a better understanding of what is happening today and explore what strategies have proven successful, or unsuccessful, in mitigating terrorist threats.<sup>21</sup>

Rapoport's argument advocating in favor of a history-based approach to terrorism has gained support from other scholars who recognize the lack of effort that has been given towards understanding the complete timetable of how modern terror has evolved. Terrorism, as an academic subject and global phenomenon, has very little history. Despite the increased numbers of academics, policymakers, and others who have joined the field of terrorism studies since September 11, there has not been overwhelming interest devoted to studying the evolution of terrorism.<sup>22</sup> While the history of terrorism is still somewhat overlooked, Professor Rapoport's work has generally elevated the importance of terrorism studies in academia, a field that now occupies a unique platform in many esteemed academic institutions.<sup>23</sup> With the evolution of terrorism studies as an academic field, researchers have been able to place critical issues in a broader, long-term perspective, and frequently provide impartial policy advice to governments, diplomatic

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>21</sup> Mikkel Thorup, "Introduction: To Terrorize and to Theorize," in *An Intellectual History of Terror: War, Violence and the State* (Routledge: New York, 2010), 2.

<sup>22</sup> Simon, *Technological and Lone Operator Terrorism: Prospects for a Fifth Wave of Global Terrorism*, 44.

<sup>23</sup> Magnus Ranstorp, "Introduction: Mapping Terrorism Research - Challenges and Priorities," in *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps and Future Direction*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp (New York: Routledge, 2007), 10.

audiences, military, and law enforcement communities.<sup>24</sup> Terrorism research generally lacks a predictive ability to foresee future attacks although it has served a critical function by educating policy makers, the public, and the international counterterrorism community about terrorism in a more useful and strategic context.<sup>25</sup>

A cornerstone of the Rapoport thesis is that the international community needs a broader and deeper understanding of the confluence between the social, economic, and psychological motivations behind terrorist ideologies and actions. The wave model precipitated debate over whether understanding generational trends and global patterns of terrorist activity will help produce more effective strategies to prevent political violence and terrorism, more so than only using reactive responses to specific organizations, events, or ideologies to produce countermeasures and comprehensive national security strategies. Society is generally inundated with instantaneous access to news and analyses of current affairs, dampening our desire to pay attention to the past, as we are frequently overloaded with information about what is happening in real time.<sup>26</sup>

Some scholars have criticized the United States over its lack of understanding terrorist threats before September 11, arguing the government was overly accustomed to engaging in interstate conflicts and with legitimate military forces during times of war.<sup>27</sup> In comparison to traditional state based threats, terrorists were often considered to be atypical actors, clusters of poorly organized and underfunded cells motivated by

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Simon, *Technological and Lone Operator Terrorism: Prospects for a Fifth Wave of Global Terrorism*, 44.

<sup>27</sup> Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," in *International Security* 27, no. 3 (Winter 2002/03): 31.

extremist ideas, that seemed unimportant in comparison to state based military powers.<sup>28</sup> Modern terrorist groups that emerged towards the end of the 19th century disrupted the traditional conflict model and forced governments to react without a comprehensive strategy to new unpredictable threats from violent non-state actors. Even though the war against terrorism has dominated the geopolitical landscape since September 11, state-centric threats have not disappeared, and may further be exacerbated by competing political, cultural, and ideological concerns of terrorist groups.<sup>29</sup>

A new paradigm is needed to understand the evolution of modern terrorist organizations and help predict what future threats may look like.<sup>30</sup> By using defined categories to identify trends, groups, and ideologies, we can begin to work from a more orderly field that is easier to study. Different motivations and group dynamics lead to different types of behavior, and it is necessary to understand the full spectrum of how terrorists interact within each organization and in the outside world.<sup>31</sup> Formulating coherent models specific to certain eras will help make sense of different types of international terrorist groups at any given point in time, leading to greater insight into the most likely patterns of their evolution and manifestations of violence.<sup>32</sup>

Post September 11, many previously held assumptions about terrorism were dismissed, and a flood of research began to understand al Qaeda and other extremist

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

threats. The United States had been relying on an international deterrence strategy, developed to help mitigate the threat of states developing weapons of mass destruction, but recalibrated to a more aggressive pre-emptive stance to eradicate al Qaeda and prevent future attacks.<sup>33</sup> Terrorism engenders fear and anger, and can undermine a society's moral conventions<sup>34</sup> if countermeasures are overly reactive and infringe on civil liberties. Even with an increased understanding about the history of terrorism, governments must use caution as they get further away from the traditional conflict model and are forced to adapt new methods to undermine terrorists. The dangers of violating state sovereignty, abusing surveillance techniques, and restricting citizen's personal freedoms are all legitimate ongoing concerns as the international community continues to fight terrorism. As a new wave of terrorism is set to emerge in the coming years, we must continue to balance the techniques we use to protect citizens against the need to get ahead of threats.

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<sup>33</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 67.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE FOUR WAVES OF MODERN TERRORISM

Modern terrorism began near the end of the 18th century following the French Revolution. The term *terror* was first used in France in 1795 to describe the actions of the new French republic government to suppress counterrevolutionaries.<sup>1</sup> *Terrorism* came to describe the illegitimate use of politically motivated violence by non-state actors, who by definition in a state-centric era only had illegitimate purpose.<sup>2</sup> Even though the term gained formal use in the aftermath of the French Revolution, terrorism and terrorist activities have existed as far back as the first century B.C. The Zealots – Sicarri are the first documented group to have used violence to instigate political change and were described as “terrorists dedicated to inciting a revolt against Roman rule in Judea.”<sup>3</sup> The Zealots - Sicarri boldly murdered both Jewish and Roman citizens of Jerusalem in broad daylight, eventually creating enough anxiety and panic among the population to generate a mass insurrection.<sup>4</sup>

Terrorism is notoriously difficult to define but is generally regarded as “the use (or threatened use) of violence in order to achieve psychological effects in a particular target audience.”<sup>5</sup> Terrorism as a tactic and strategy is an ambiguous concept with

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<sup>1</sup> Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Mikkel Thorup, “Terror as Policy: The Concept of Terror During the French Revolution,” in *An Intellectual History of Terror* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 95.

<sup>3</sup> Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*, 34.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Bruce Hoffman, “Change and Continuity in Terrorism,” in *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 24, no. 5 (2001): 420.

different interpretations. Government agencies within the United States have several working definitions, each dependent upon their different responsibilities and scope of their mission. The U.S. Department of Defense defines terrorism as "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological."<sup>6</sup> Definitions may vary but intended targets of terrorist violence are always far reaching. The effects are not only felt by "the victims who are killed or maimed in an attack, but rather the governments, publics, or constituents among whom the terrorists hope to engender a reaction – such as fear, repulsion, intimidation, overreaction, or radicalization."<sup>7</sup> Terrorism is a subjective phenomenon; groups using targeted violence to instigate political change consider their actions as worthy and effective while the general public views terrorist organizations as unjust criminals carrying out senseless acts.

Even without a clear definition of what terrorism is, or isn't, there are three consistent aspects considered fundamental to the overall concept. First, terrorism is about someone's perception of justice<sup>8</sup> and always has a political nature involving actions designed to garner widespread public attention and precipitate political change. Second, terrorists are distinguished by their non-state character. Even when organizations receive material support such as weapons and funding from state sources, they remain rogue

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<sup>6</sup> Terrorism Research, "What is Terrorism?" accessed March 1, 2017. <http://www.terrorism-research.com>.

<sup>7</sup> Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*, 32.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

actors operating under their own auspices and carrying out their own agendas. Third, terrorists deliberately target innocent civilians by using surprise attacks that do not adhere to international norms and accepted standards for use of force. All of these characteristics are intentionally and strategically employed to achieve maximum psychological effects to intimidate and instill fear in the public domain.<sup>9</sup>

Prior to Rapoport's model, categorizing and mapping terrorist activity had been an unfamiliar notion attributed to what he believes has been an overemphasis on current events and lack of focus on long-term trends. "Academics focus on organizations, and there are good reasons for this orientation. Organizations launch terror campaigns, and governments are always primarily concerned to disable those organizations,"<sup>10</sup> says Rapoport, while "Students of terrorism also focus unduly on contemporary events, which makes us less sensitive to waves because the life cycle of a wave lasts at least a generation."<sup>11</sup> By dividing more than 125 years of terrorist activity into neatly defined categories, Professor Rapoport eschews previous misconceptions that terrorism has historically been random acts of unstructured violence. His introduction of the wave model to explain international terrorism trends identifies "a distinct pattern in the seemingly chaotic data on terrorist activity"<sup>12</sup> that provides "an important step toward understanding and eventually managing the risks of terrorism."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 47.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Gupta, *Waves of International Terrorism: An Explanation of the Process by which Ideas Flood the World*, 39.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

Rapoport's construction of clearly defined historical phases suggests that terrorism has always operated along a continuum, representing ongoing power struggles and long-term tensions between groups within nations.<sup>14</sup> He defines a *wave* of terrorism as follows:

...a cycle of activity in a given time period – a cycle characterized by expansion and contraction phases. A crucial feature is its international character; similar activities occur in several countries, driven by a common predominant energy that shapes participating groups' characteristics and mutual relationships.<sup>15</sup>

His model depicts four succeeding waves of anarchism, nationalism, leftist/Marxism, and religious fundamentalism, each with a name that reflects the dominant feature but not its only characteristic.<sup>16</sup> Each wave has a distinct life cycle, including initial expansion and contraction phases, and is influenced by the number of terrorist organizations during a specific time period and the intensity of their attacks.<sup>17</sup> Rapoport states:

The “Anarchist wave” was the first global or truly international experience in history; three similar, consecutive, and overlapping expressions followed. The “anticolonial wave” began in the 1920s and lasted about forty years. Then came the “New Left wave,” which diminished greatly as the twentieth century closed, leaving only a few groups still active today in Nepal, Spain, the United Kingdom, Peru, and Columbia. In 1979 a “religious wave” emerged; if the pattern of its three predecessors is relevant it could disappear by 2025, at which time a new wave might emerge.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*, 35.

<sup>15</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 46.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>17</sup> Rasler and Thompson, *Looking for Waves of Terrorism*, 17.

<sup>18</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 47.

With the exception of the New Left wave, each has lasted around forty years, or roughly the equivalent of “a human life cycle pattern,”<sup>19</sup> suggesting that the inheritors of a particular revolution do not hold the same value for it as the creators. New generations find it much easier to discard the struggles of their elders, or as Rapoport argues, “dreams that inspire fathers lose their attractiveness for the sons.”<sup>20</sup>

The waves all have a unique character, tactics for creating fear, and represent popular political and religious themes reflecting the culture of an era that distinguishes “the ethos of one generation from another.”<sup>21</sup> The start of each wave is closely connected to a specific catalyst, usually in the form of an unexpected international event, creating a turning point that exposes government vulnerabilities and defines new issues or gives older ones “greater salience.”<sup>22</sup> All waves share this one important feature; they all need a catalyst in the form of a grand event to help galvanize supporters to launch a movement intending to change the political order.<sup>23</sup>

Terrorist organizations within each wave have different life cycles, and many groups fade out before the initial wave associated with them starts to dissipate.<sup>24</sup> “When a wave’s energy cannot inspire new organizations, the wave disappears,” Rapoport explains, “Resistance, political concessions, and changes in the perceptions of

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>20</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11*, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 48.

<sup>22</sup> Rapoport, *Terrorism*.

<sup>23</sup> Simon, *Technological and Lone Operator Terrorism: Prospects for a Fifth Wave of Global Terrorism*, 45.

<sup>24</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 48.

generations are critical factors in explaining the disappearance.”<sup>25</sup> A few organizations have been able to successfully carry over and flourish in successive waves by adopting characteristics, strategies, and tactics of the new wave while still maintaining their core objectives. Examples of this longevity are best represented by the decades long campaigns of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

The IRA is considered the oldest modern terrorist organization that began during the Anticolonial wave in the 1920s, while the PLO was founded during the New Left wave in the 1960s.<sup>26</sup> Over time they eventually shifted away from violence and engaged in negotiations for peace agreements in their respective regions. Both groups were removed from the U.S. Department of State’s official list of terrorist organizations in the 1990s although factions of the former IRA still remain on the list. The PLO eventually morphed into the Palestinian Authority after the Oslo Accords in the early 1990s.<sup>27</sup>

Terrorist organizations vary in what they hope to achieve but *revolution* is the overriding aim in every wave,<sup>28</sup> even though it is understood and manifested in different ways. Revolutionaries seek new forms of political legitimacy and strive to be recognized by governments and the public, or they may seek “radical reconstruction of authority to

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Michael Moran, “Terrorist Groups and Political Legitimacy,” The Council on Foreign Relations, March 16, 2006, accessed October 10, 2016, <http://www.cfr.org/terrorism/terrorist-groups-political-legitimacy/p10159>.

<sup>28</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 49.

eliminate all forms of equality.”<sup>29</sup> Non-state actors carry out their desire for revolution by directing violence at states and populations deemed to be antagonistic of their aims.<sup>30</sup> According to Rapoport, most terrorist organizations understood revolution as secession, or a desire for national self-determination and allowing the people govern themselves, a principle bequeathed to them from the history of the American and French Revolutions.<sup>31</sup> The definition of what constitutes a *people* is not fixed and has varied between populations within legitimate states, also within ethnic and religious groups. The different interpretations provide a foundation for terrorist groups to engage in conflict over group identity, self-determination, and political legitimization.

Professor Rapoport’s begins the history of modern terror in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, almost a century after the idea of terrorism evolved from the French Revolution. The starting point was influenced by two critical factors during this time period. The first was the evolution in communication and transportation patterns. These advancements helped open up the world by reducing the time and distance required for people and information to travel.<sup>32</sup> The invention of the telegraph, daily mass newspapers, and transcontinental railroad transportation, all flourished during the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and helped shape the new global dimension to modern terror. People were able to travel in more sophisticated ways at a much faster pace; news of events that took place in one country could rapidly spread beyond national borders within a day. Revolutionaries seeking

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>30</sup> Rasler and Thompson, *Looking for Waves of Terrorism*, 17.

<sup>31</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11*, 2.

<sup>32</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 49.

support for their causes could travel extensively, spreading their message to large audiences and inspiring likeminded individuals in other countries. New forms of mass transportation made large-scale emigration possible and created “diaspora communities”<sup>33</sup> whose members engaged in the politics of their current and former countries.<sup>34</sup>

Rapoport refers to the second critical factor as doctrine or culture. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Russian authors began formulating written strategies for revolution to be spread as propaganda and used as templates for future anarchist leaders to build upon. Sergey Nechayev was a leading figure in the Russian anarchist movement and produced one of the most radical documents of the time, *Catechism of a Revolutionary*. Written in 1869, *Catechism* was Nechayev’s manifesto and a manual for creating secret anarchist societies. It provided guidance on total devotion to the revolutionary lifestyle by articulating the duties of the revolutionary to himself, his comrades, and society.<sup>35</sup> Nechayev advocated an extreme unwavering devotion to the revolutionary cause, arguing that the only success in life is the success of the revolution, and in order to achieve that success, one must suppress all other desires and forgo social norms. All revolutionaries must focus on “merciless destruction,”<sup>36</sup> says Nechayev, and “destroy with his own hands everything that stands in the path of the revolution.”<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Sergey Nechayev, “The Revolutionary Catechism,” 1869, accessed November 15, 2016, <https://www.marxists.org/subject/anarchism/nechayev/catechism.htm>.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.



The communication and transportation technology spreading through Russia and Europe allowed Nechayev's brand of extreme propaganda to travel quickly to mass audiences. Traditional revolutionaries no longer had to rely on distributing pamphlets to local populations to publicize their cause. Manifestos such as *Catechism* were used as a tool to energize existing supporters and lure in new recruits. Nechayev and other revolutionaries believed this new form of communication would command greater respect by outlining specific actions for rebels, often involving serious personal risk that signified their deep commitment to the cause.<sup>38</sup> The manifesto strategy was used to "raise the consciousness of the masses"<sup>39</sup> and alter the perception that revolutionaries once considered "idle word spillers"<sup>40</sup> would now be seen carrying out "propaganda of the deed"<sup>41</sup> to support their cause.

All four waves unfolded within the specific contexts of unique social and political tensions at various points in time. Rapoport focuses his analysis on these tensions, the major events precipitating each wave, their international character, and the goals and tactics of the participating groups. In doing so, he examines the interactions between five key factors: terrorist organizations, diaspora communities, states, sympathetic foreigners, and supranational organizations.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 50.

<sup>39</sup> Rapoport, *Terrorism*.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 50.

Table 1 summarizes each wave and identifies the catalysts, goals, targets, tactics, and reasons for decline:

**Table 1: Defining Characteristics of the Four Waves of Modern Terrorism**

<b>Wave</b>	<b>Catalyst</b>	<b>Goals</b>	<b>Targets</b>	<b>Tactics</b>	<b>Reasons for Decline</b>
<b>Anarchist 1870s – 1910s</b>	Slow political reform, declining legitimacies of monarchies	Revolution, eliminate government oppression	Heads of state	Assassinations using dynamite, bank robberies	Aggressive state opposition, beginning of World War I
<b>Nationalist 1920s – 1960s</b>	Versailles Peace Treaty, increased desire for self-determination	Eliminate colonial rule, create new states	Police and military	Guerilla style hit and run attacks	Achieved goals, colonial rulers withdrew from territories
<b>New Left 1960s – 1980s</b>	Vietnam War, Cold War tensions	Eliminate the capitalist system	Governments, increased focus on U.S.	Hijackings, kidnappings, assassinations	End of Cold War
<b>Religious 1979 – 2020s (predicted)</b>	Iranian Revolution, new Islamic century, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan	Creation of global Islamic Caliphate	U.S., Israel, Europe, mass transportation systems, public venues	Suicide bombings, aircrafts and vehicles as weapons	Unknown

*Source:* Author’s chart based on information presented in David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism,” 2004.

### **First Wave: The “Anarchist” Wave**

Rapoport’s first wave of modern terrorism started in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with the anarchist movement in Russia that eventually spread throughout Europe and into the Balkan states. In 1861, Czar Alexander II implemented a series of massive reforms to

bring Russia more in line with Western standards by establishing limited local self-government, abolishing capital punishment, and freeing the serfs (one-third of Russia's population), with the intention of giving them funds to buy their land.<sup>43</sup> The Czar's promises and social reforms were not fulfilled quickly enough for the public, and with insufficient funds to pay the serfs, the hope for change turned to anger and a yearning to be freed from society's "conventions."<sup>44</sup> The anarchists "conceptualized the idea and tactics for a strategy of overthrowing political systems by conducting serial attacks on public conventions,"<sup>45</sup> and aimed to reconstruct Russia by doing away with conventions "society devised to muffle and diffuse antagonisms."<sup>46</sup> Anarchists believed that their attacks "once declared immoral would be hailed by later generations as noble efforts to liberate humanity,"<sup>47</sup> and using terror was the quickest and most effective means to destroy the conventions suppressing society.<sup>48</sup> Narodnaya Volya ("The People's Will) is the first known nationalist rebel organization of the Anarchist wave that used deliberate and methodical violence against Russian government officials.<sup>49</sup>

The catalyst sparking the onset of a wave is usually an international event but for the Anarchist wave, the trigger was a widely publicized domestic political attack. In

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<sup>43</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 51.

<sup>44</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11*, 4.

<sup>45</sup> Rasler and Thompson, *Looking for Waves of Terrorism*, 15.

<sup>46</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 50.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> William F. Shughart II, "An Analytical History of Terrorism, 1945-2000," in *Public Choice* 128, no. 1 (2006): 14.

1878, anarchist Vera Zasulich publicly wounded a Russian police commander known to be abusing political prisoners. Upon her apprehension she threw her weapon to the ground and proclaimed “she was a ‘terrorist, *not* a killer,’”<sup>50</sup> The focus of her trial quickly turned to the actions of the police chief, and when the court freed Zasulich, she was met by cheering crowds.<sup>51</sup> The acquittal of Zasulich gave hope to other anarchists and demonstrators at her trial that a revolution in Russia was imminent.<sup>52</sup> From that point on, a successful revolutionary campaign entailed learning how to fight and attack while “the most admirable death occurred as a result of a court trial in which one accepted responsibility and used the occasion to indict the regime.”<sup>53</sup>

The dominant strategy in the Anarchist wave centered on the assassination of high value political targets that could affect public attitudes, ushering in the “Golden Age of Assassination”<sup>54</sup> during the 1890s. Systematic strikes and assassinations were carried out on prominent European officials including monarchs, prime ministers, and Czar Alexander II in retaliation for his failure to quickly deliver on the changes he promised. The attacks were frequently financed through bank robberies and executed using dynamite, a recent invention of the time that became the weapon of choice for anarchists since it often caused the assailant to lose their life.<sup>55</sup> As the anarchist movement gained

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<sup>50</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 50.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Simon, *Technological and Lone Operator Terrorism: Prospects for a Fifth Wave of Global Terrorism*, 46.

<sup>53</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 51.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>55</sup> Rasler and Thompson, *Looking for Waves of Terrorism*, 15.

strength, Russian rebels encouraged and promoted their tactics, training other organizations in the art of assassination, including Armenian and Polish nationalist groups. Advanced transportation technology allowed assassins to move easily across international borders; they could conduct their training in Russia and carry out their activities elsewhere throughout Europe. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century after years of government pressure, many Russian anarchists fled their homeland seeking refuge in sympathetic diaspora communities that were also hostile towards the czarist regime.

The assassination of U.S. President McKinley in 1901 strengthened international efforts to end anarchist groups in America and abroad. European nations signed an anti-anarchist protocol in 1904 that called for enhanced international police cooperation and information sharing.<sup>56</sup> This and other efforts kept significant pressure on anarchist organizations, forcing the wave to lose the necessary momentum to continue their crusade and carry out attacks. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914 and the start of World War I redirected Europe's political priorities and eventually depressed the Anarchist wave.

### **Second Wave: The “Anticolonial” Wave**

As the anarchist movement lost momentum during the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the conclusion of World War I and subsequent Versailles Peace Treaty were the cataclysmic international events that precipitated the second Anticolonial wave. The victors of World War I used the principle of national self-determination to break up the empires of the defeated states, mostly in Europe, and establish new territories for

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<sup>56</sup> Jensen, *The First Global Wave of Terrorism and International Counter-Terrorism, 1905-14*, 15.

independence. The non-European areas were deemed not ready for independence and became League of Nations “mandates”<sup>57</sup> ultimately destined for independence, to be administered directly by the victorious countries until the territories were considered ready to govern themselves.<sup>58</sup>

Terrorist campaigns of the Anticolonial wave were waged in territories with existing divisions between local populations about how they sought to be ruled, making withdrawal of European powers in certain overseas territories a less attractive option than independence.<sup>59</sup> In some instances, colonial powers believed they could not relinquish control without creating serious problems within the territories. Examples of these tensions include the Jewish and Arab populations in Palestine that had “dramatically conflicting versions”<sup>60</sup> of what the end of the British rule would mean for the area. Elsewhere, the European population in Algeria did not want Paris to abandon its governance while a majority of citizens in Northern Ireland wanted to remain under British authority.<sup>61</sup>

The desired outcomes varied between the second wave groups. Colonial dissolution was a common goal but most terrorist organizations born from these territorial conflicts only received portions of what they wanted. The Irgun, a Zionist paramilitary group operating in Palestine, were forced to settle for a partition of the Palestine mandate

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<sup>57</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 53.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

to avoid a civil war against the Jewish population. The IRA eventually gained an Irish state but always believed their cause was incomplete without control of the entire island. The Front de Liberation Nationale, Algeria (FLN) promised a continued home for the European population and a democratic state; neither objective was achieved, due in part to increased destabilization caused by the mass exodus of the Europeans.<sup>62</sup>

Terrorist tactics changed during the Anticolonial wave. The new organizations believed the first wave strategy of eliminating prominent government officials was ineffective and devised a more complicated system by expanding targets and strategically sequencing their assaults. The second wave strategy sought to eliminate the police as “a government’s eyes and ears”<sup>63</sup> by assassinating officers and their families. Terrorists reasoned that military units replacing the police would wind up using violence against the public, producing counter-atrocities and creating more social support for their issues.<sup>64</sup> Second wave terrorist groups used guerrilla-like tactics against troops, employing hit and run style attacks by assailants using stealth to conceal their weapons and identities.

Anticolonial organizations wanted a new way to describe themselves; the term *terrorist* had accumulated too many negative connotations in the previous decades during the height of the anarchist movement.<sup>65</sup> The Irgun leader in Palestine referred to his people as freedom fighters battling in the struggle against political liabilities.<sup>66</sup> The

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11*, 5.

<sup>66</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 54.

change in terminology appealed to subsequent terrorist groups who believed their struggles were greater and more legitimate than the anarchists in the first wave. Diaspora communities were much more active during the Anticolonial wave. Sympathetic populations began contributing money to terrorist groups, eliminating the need to rely on bank robberies to fund activities, and supplied extra weapons and volunteers to help the causes.

As the end of World War II disintegrated the remaining European empires, terrorist groups supporting anticolonial goals tapered off. A few second wave groups like the IRA remained active, but the overarching goal of eliminating colonial rulers had been successful.

### **Third Wave: The “New Left” Wave**

The Vietnam War was the major event international triggering the third New Left wave. During the 1960s, terrorist groups focused on using ideas aligned with the Marxist socialist revolution to try and bring down the existing capitalist system. The effectiveness of the Viet Cong against American troops inspired radical hopes that the oppressive Western system was vulnerable to change. Third wave terrorist groups began developing throughout the West, including the American Weather Underground, the Italian Red Brigades, the West German Red Army Faction, the French Action Directorate, and the PLO after the Vietnam War ended in 1975.<sup>67</sup>

The revolutionary ethos of the New Left wave transcended national borders and created bonds between new terrorist groups that had formed independent of each other.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 56.



Like the Russian anarchists of the first wave, the PLO re-institutionalized training terrorists from different groups and set up camps in Lebanon with support from neighboring Arab states and the Soviet Union.<sup>68</sup> Some New Left groups carried out attacks on their own national soil, seeking targets with international significance and associations with the United States. Others sought to operate abroad and conduct operations using teams of people comprised of different nationalities, including the attacks on the Munich Olympics in 1972 and the kidnapping of OPEC ministers from Vienna in 1975.<sup>69</sup> The collaboration of resources helped revive the term “international terrorism,”<sup>70</sup> that used to describe a new operational style and distinguish collaborative groups from the earlier 20<sup>th</sup> century terrorists.

Kidnappings, hijackings, and hostage taking became the primary tactics to achieve third wave objectives. Similar to the Anarchist wave, New Left terrorists chose large, high profile targets, replacing military and police targets favored during the Anticolonial wave. Airline hijackings were frequently used to capture hostages for negotiations. Kidnapping began as a way to gain political leverage against governments but quickly became a lucrative undertaking when companies began insuring their high-value executives.<sup>71</sup> More than seven hundred international hijackings occurred during the first three decades of the New Left wave.<sup>72</sup> This style of attack could occur on any

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>70</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11*, 6.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 57.

foreign landing field and was guaranteed to generate massive publicity and swift international response.

The first wave tactic of assassinating heads of state was revived by New Left terrorist organizations. The most memorable incident involved the 1979 kidnapping of Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro, who was eventually murdered by the Red Brigades when his government refused to enter into negotiations to meet their demands. Other prominent targets included the British Ambassador to Ireland, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and Jordan's King Hussein. Rapoport notes the first and third wave assassinations took place for different reasons; first wave victims were targeted because they held a particular public office while third wave assassinations were carried out as punishments for acts deemed antagonistic to a group's cause.<sup>73</sup>

The New Left wave started to ebb during the 1980s with the end of the Cold War. The effectiveness of participating terrorist groups was weakened by their inability to negotiate conflicting demands imposed by the various international elements operating together. Working through the competing needs of different groups resulted in neglect of their domestic bases.<sup>74</sup> The international community's steadfast resistance to terrorist demands and reluctance to negotiate led to the eventual dissipation of New Left movements.

#### **Fourth Wave: The "Religious" Wave**

The world has been in the throes of the fourth Religious wave since the end of the 1970s. This wave differs from its predecessors for many reasons and for the first time the

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 58.

energy motivating participating groups is based on religious beliefs rather than political goals. Rapoport's model gives the first three waves a life cycle of approximately 40 years, but that alone does not provide sufficient proof that the current Religious wave will follow the same pattern. If we are in the midst of the fourth wave of religious extremism, when will it end and what will replace it?

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE FOURTH “RELIGIOUS” WAVE**

The fourth wave of modern terrorism deserves special recognition. When David Rapoport published his theory in 2004, it was uncertain how long the Religious wave would last. He cautioned that the “life cycle of its predecessors may mislead us”<sup>1</sup> and suggested the durability of religious communities may cause this wave to hold on longer than the first three.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent analyses of Rapoport’s theory have acknowledged the unprecedented strength and unique properties of the Religious wave. The origins of al Qaeda and the more recent rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) during the fourth wave suggest violence motivated by religious fundamentalism is not losing momentum, and could continue to be the dominating force behind international terrorism for some time. This chapter will focus on the development of religious terrorist groups, their goals, techniques, and other notable differences that seem to make them stronger than earlier secular terrorist organizations, and explore whether the fourth wave has the durability to carry on past 2025.

#### **Defining Characteristics of the “Religious” Wave**

The Religious wave was precipitated by three major events in the Islamic world. The Iranian Revolution, the beginning of a new Islamic century, and the Soviet Union’s invasion of Afghanistan all paved the way for religious fundamentalism to gain momentum and eclipse secular and political beliefs that motivated previous waves of

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<sup>1</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

terrorism.<sup>3</sup> In 1979, after almost two years of civil unrest and demonstrations, the Iranian Revolution unfolded, culminating in the overthrow and exile of the Shah of Iran and replacing the secular state with an Islamic Republic. The new Ayatollah Khomeini regime in Iran encouraged ways to export their revolution, and inspired terrorist activity in neighboring states with large Muslim populations including Iraq, Lebanon, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia.<sup>4</sup> To outside observers, the Iranian Revolution was unexpected but many Muslims believed 1979 would hold significant meaning for them; the date marked the start of a new Islamic century.<sup>5</sup> They believed a “redeemer”<sup>6</sup> would appear, a tradition that “sparked uprisings at the turn of earlier Muslim centuries.”<sup>7</sup> Militant Islamists stormed the Grand Mosque in Mecca at the start of the new year, protesting the Saudi government who they believed had abandoned Islamic principles.<sup>8</sup>

Shortly after the Ayatollah’s forces removed the Shah from power, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, starting a decade long conflict. The invasion mobilized Muslim forces in Afghanistan and surrounding Arab nations to strengthen their resistance and “wage a holy war against the infidels.”<sup>9</sup> With financial support from the U.S. and thousands of additional Sunni volunteer fighters from neighboring Arab countries, the

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<sup>3</sup> Gupta, *Waves of International Terrorism: An Explanation of the Process by which Ideas Flood the World*, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Simon, *Technological and Lone Operator Terrorism: Prospects for a Fifth Wave of Global Terrorism*, 46.

<sup>5</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 62.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Rasler and Thompson, *Looking for Waves of Terrorism*, 31.

Soviets were eventually forced out of Afghanistan in 1989. Veterans of this conflict who had joined the fight from other parts of the Islamic world were now fully trained jihadists and able to attack their weak governments back home.<sup>10</sup> The Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan was critical to the eventual dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Parts of the former Soviet Union with large Muslim populations, including Azerbaijan, Chechnya, and Uzbekistan, became important havens and recruitment sites for future militant Islamic rebels.<sup>11</sup>

The rise of the Ayatollah and defeat of the Soviets proved that religion had the ability to “eliminate a secular superpower,”<sup>12</sup> an astonishing turn of events that stunned the United States and other foreign nations. The disintegration of the Shah’s secular state gave hope to the Ayatollah’s supporters that religion now had more political appeal than prevailing secular motivations, including the Marxist revolutionary ethos of the third wave. Religion, rather than democracy, socialism or communism, was now being used to justify organizing principles for a state.<sup>13</sup>

Violent militant Islamist groups are at the heart of the Religious wave, and have conducted the most significant and deadly international attacks since the 1990s, but they are not the only religious terrorist organizations using violence to achieve their goals. Groups like Boko Haram, al Qaeda and its affiliates, Hezbollah, and ISIS have received the most international attention since the start of the Religious wave, but other terrorist

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<sup>10</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11*, 9.

<sup>11</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 62.

<sup>12</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11*, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 61.

organizations have also used faith to justify their violent actions. Jewish terrorists have used targeted violence in Israel, including numerous attacks on Muslims and the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995.<sup>14</sup> Other notable fourth wave groups include the Lord's Resistance Army, a rebel group and Christian cult operating in Africa known for murdering entire villages and kidnapping children to be used as soldiers, and Aum Shinrikyo, the Buddhist/Hindu Japanese cult that injured thousands of people during a sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway in 1995.<sup>15</sup>

Christian terrorism in the United States, based on what Rapoport describes as "racist interpretations of the Bible,"<sup>16</sup> is manifested in white supremacy groups and the Christian Identity movement, who adhere to an apocalyptic doctrine and has inspired armed communities to withdraw from society in anticipation of a racial war.<sup>17</sup> Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh has been categorized as a white supremacist with strong anti-government views. His motivation to carry out the deadly attack in 1995 can be traced back to the armed confrontations between the U.S. government and separatists at Ruby Ridge, Idaho as well as the stand off with the religious cult, the Branch Davidians, in Waco, Texas.

Fourth wave terrorists distanced themselves from popular third wave tactics like kidnappings and hijackings and have turned to suicide bombings as their preferred attack

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Isabelle Duyvesteyn, "The Role of History and Continuity in Terrorism Research," in *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps and Future Direction*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp (New York: Routledge, 2007), 65.

<sup>16</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 61.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

method. This tactical innovation is an extremely lethal technique, one that can be carried out on land, in the air, or by sea, and almost always produces mass casualties and significant structural damage to surrounding areas. Suicide bombing reasserted the “martyrdom theme”<sup>18</sup> that was employed by the anarchists of the first wave. Anarchist propaganda claimed that a revolutionary’s death during an attack was noble, and self-sacrifice was the ultimate way to show total devotion to the cause. Although the “conventional wisdom that only a vision of rewards in paradise could inspire such acts,”<sup>19</sup> suicide attacks have also been used by secular groups, including the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka. During a thirteen-year period, the LTTE used suicide bombers 171 times<sup>20</sup>, injuring thousands of people and killing hundreds of civilians and soldiers, including the assassinations of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 and Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa in 1993. The LTTE are also credited with inventing the suicide belt and pioneering the use of women for suicide attacks.<sup>21</sup>

The number of terrorist organizations has dramatically declined during the fourth wave. According to Rapoport, approximately 200 different groups were active during the 1980s but participation fell to around 40 groups over the course of a decade, something he attributes to the change in audience (nation versus religion).<sup>22</sup> Statistics provided by the RAND-St. Andrews University Chronology of International Terrorism show that

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<sup>18</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11*, 9.

<sup>19</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 62.

<sup>20</sup> Ehud Spriznak, “Rational Fanatics,” *Foreign Policy*, November 2009, accessed February 5, 2017, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/11/20/rational-fanatics>.

<sup>21</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 62.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.



none of the existing international terrorist groups could be classified as “religious” in 1968, in 1980 there were 2 (out of 64) and by 1995 there were 25 (out of 58).<sup>23</sup>

Major religious communities have a membership base much larger than any nationalist organization, giving extremist factions more options for recruiting. Secular terrorist groups largely come from Christian countries, but the Christian faith has more divisions and different branches than most religions, resulting in a somewhat weaker base and a fractured belief system. With the exception of the Oklahoma City bombing, Christian violence has been minimal throughout the fourth wave. Terrorist activities inspired by all religions, except Islamist extremism, have peaked and virtually disappeared since the attacks by al Qaeda on September 11. In the first two decades of the fourth wave, states with majority Muslim populations experienced the most terrorist attacks.<sup>24</sup> In the second half of the fourth wave, non-Muslim majority countries including the United States and European nations saw an increase of plots and attacks inside their borders.

The United States continues to be the prime target and chief antagonist for fourth wave Islamist terrorist groups, a trend that began during the third wave with targeted attacks on American interests abroad. After the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan, America became more than a place to attack; it was now considered something to destroy. The 1993 World Trade Center bombing in New York was the first

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<sup>23</sup> Bruce Hoffman and Donna K. Hoffman, *The RAND-St. Andrews Chronology of International Terrorist Incidents, 1995*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1998. <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reprints/RP666.html>. Cited in Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism,” in *International Security* 27, no. 3 (Winter 2002/03): 42.

<sup>24</sup> Rapoport, *Terrorism*.

successful attack by foreign terrorists on American soil. In addition to striking the homeland, al Qaeda wanted American troops out of the Middle East, viewing their presence as an insult to the holy lands and an impediment to unifying the Muslim world. During the 1990s, al Qaeda attacked U.S. military and civilian installations in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen,<sup>25</sup> forcing American troops to either withdraw and abandon their mission, or retaliate with force to fend off the strikes. In 1998 American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed, and the first terrorist strike against a military vessel occurred in 2000 when the USS *Cole* was bombed during a refueling stop in Yemen.<sup>26</sup> None of these events prepared the world for the massive attacks in the U.S. on September 11, the cataclysmic event that launched an international war against terror.

### **Unique Strength of the Fourth Wave**

There is much curiosity about whether the fourth wave will last longer than its predecessors. As we approach the predicted expiration date, it is natural to analyze and question Rapoport's theory to see if his model will hold up in the future. Since the September 11 attacks, the world has witnessed a more mature phase of terrorist activity, "the jihad era,"<sup>27</sup> stemming from the Iranian Revolution and Soviet defeat in Afghanistan. Religious and spiritual movements have overshadowed earlier leftist revolutionary and nationalist ideologies, and are now the driving force behind modern day terrorist groups.<sup>28</sup> Religious terrorism is not a new phenomenon; rather it is the continuation of

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<sup>25</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 63.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*, 38.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

ongoing conflicts within the international system, reflecting the struggle for populations to maintain their group identity in the face of increased globalization. Religious identity resonates deep with in human psyche<sup>29</sup> and individuals with strong religious ideologies have an easier time passing their beliefs down to their children. Political motivations are more difficult to promulgate and tend to lose interest with new generations.

In the post-September 11 era, scholars and political analysts have struggled to assess whether the root causes of religious-based terrorism, specifically violent Islamism, are more powerful than secular motivations of earlier terrorist groups. Groups like al Qaeda oppose authoritarian secular rule in Muslim majority countries, and believe secular governments have been corrupted by Western influences that threaten Islamic traditions. They cannot express this anger in any meaningful way to bring about change in their own countries, so they misdirect their hatred towards the United States and other Western countries.<sup>30</sup> The rise of violent Islamism in the Middle East has created fear and prejudice against Muslim communities in secular states. Immigrants in Western countries often face unfair discrimination and alienation from their communities; many are not legal residents in their new countries and exist outside the formal state structures that afford certain rights and protections,<sup>31</sup> enhancing the feeling of marginalization and exclusion. Terrorists frequently attempt to exploit Western Muslim diaspora communities and manipulate the tensions experienced by immigrant populations in Western countries.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Karin von Hippel, "Responding to the Roots of Terror," in *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps and Future Direction*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp (New York: Routledge, 2007), 102.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

All terrorist organizations have violent histories but fourth wave religious groups have by far been the most lethal. Religious extremist groups have caused more mass casualties than earlier secular groups, exhibit an increased willingness to withdraw and violate social norms while alienating themselves from existing social systems and laws governing secular societies. Certain Islamist extremist groups seek to destroy and replace post-Westphalia state systems with a Caliphate free from secular Western influences.<sup>32</sup> Religious terrorists believe they are engaged in an ongoing power struggle of good versus evil, “implying an open-ended set of human targets”<sup>33</sup> in a never-ending war. These groups are able to dehumanize their targets and victims, making it easier to strike, because they consider non-members of their religion, and Muslims who denounce their methods, to be infidels.<sup>34</sup>

The emotional disconnect between their actions and their victims allows violent religious extremists to be less constrained in their behavior because they are unconcerned with human reactions and seek to carry out the commands of a deity. They believe religion gives “moral sanction to violence”<sup>35</sup> and by equating their struggle to a good versus evil narrative, “political actors are able to avail themselves of a way of thinking that justifies the use of violent means.”<sup>36</sup> Non-state actors who want moral sanction for their use of violence, find it helpful to use a higher source to justify their actions, using

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<sup>32</sup> Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*, 41.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Mark Juergensmeyer, “The Logic of Religious Violence,” in *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, ed. David Rapoport (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 182.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

“the meta-mortality that religion provides”<sup>37</sup> allowing them to “bypass the moral restrictions on killing”<sup>38</sup> that are only acceptable when used by states for purposes of military defense or police protection.

### **Origins of al Qaeda**

Dozens of active terrorist organizations use religion to justify their violent actions, but during the last three decades al Qaeda has inflicted the most damage and continues to view the United States its sworn enemy and most important target. Rapoport’s fourth wave analysis references other Islamic-based terror groups and Christian fundamentalist groups, but al Qaeda has been the prime antagonist throughout this wave. After the September 11 attacks, intense focus was directed at destroying al Qaeda and understanding its operational structure and chain of command. The debate over the life cycle of the fourth wave is based heavily on the unique strength of al Qaeda, including its goals, tactics, recruitment, and financing.

After 10 years of supporting Afghan fighters against the Soviet occupation, a group of “Afghan Arabs”<sup>39</sup> gathered in Peshawar, Pakistan to form an organization that would begin a worldwide jihad after the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan.<sup>40</sup> This meeting in August 1998 of a dozen or so elite members of the Muslim world marks the birth of al Qaeda, “the base,” that was comprised of upper-middle-class, educated

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> von Hippel, *Responding to the Roots of Terror*, 98.

<sup>40</sup> Marc Sageman, “Ripples in the Waves: Fantasies and Fashions,” in *Terrorism, Identity and Legitimacy*, ed. Jean E. Rosenfeld (New York: Routledge, 2011), 87.

Muslims from prominent Saudi and Egyptian families, including Osama bin Laden, whom the group took as their leader and could help finance operations using his personal wealth.<sup>41</sup> The al Qaeda core ideology was to defend the collective Muslim nation<sup>42</sup> and achieve a utopian dream predicated on the idea that “Islam is the Answer”<sup>43</sup> to fix declining stability and weak nationalism in Arab states.

The core leadership of al Qaeda was joined by two “ripples” of new members. The first ripple consisted of middle managers that trained recruits.<sup>44</sup> Most were Middle Eastern expatriates educated in the West, yet blamed Western influences for the grievances against their home governments.<sup>45</sup> Many were raised in middle-class families, had wives and children, and sought companionship through relationships at local mosques. Most of these members were not fundamentalists or had any strong religious upbringing, but they sought camaraderie at places of worship where they could freely discuss politics, something often publicly forbidden in their home countries. Many felt excluded from Western society, and created bonds with members of Muslim communities, that eventually lead their political discussions to be “couched in a religious frame, which encouraged their subsequent turn to religion.”<sup>46</sup> These relationships “activated a collective identity based on what they had in common, namely being Muslim

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

rather than identifying with their country of origin”<sup>47</sup> and generated such loyalty that they became willing to join the cause and sacrifice themselves if necessary.

The second ripple of members had little or no religious affiliation and came from more modest backgrounds than the core group of al Qaeda leadership. Many in this group were angered by the allied invasion of Iraq and aspired to join the jihad movement but lacked the resources to link up with “al Qaeda Central”<sup>48</sup> which went underground during the invasion of Afghanistan following the September 11 attacks.<sup>49</sup> These members traveled to Iraq to carry out attacks in the hopes of becoming heroes by “replacing their dim life prospects with a sense of greater meaning of being part of a global vanguard.”<sup>50</sup> The al Qaeda founding members were older and more educated than the second ripple members, who were mostly young men without families or educations, often in their teens and early twenties with criminal backgrounds. Their youthful boredom created temptation to join the clandestine al Qaeda network, even though many were unsuccessful in linking up with the central leadership and ultimately relied on creating informal networks that were “self-financed and self-trained.”<sup>51</sup> The second ripple of members was more like a group of young gang members, rather than experienced associates of a sophisticated criminal network. They previously exhibited signs of

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

aggressive behavior before becoming part of the jihad, causing them to be more liberal with their violence than their predecessors.

In the early 1990s, Osama bin Laden moved al Qaeda's base of operations from Sudan to the mountains of Afghanistan where the group could run training camps and were afforded protection by the local Taliban. Al Qaeda's early success can be traced back to this tactical decision to find sanctuary and receive secondary material support in remote areas of the world that were untouched by the political and economic benefits of globalization.<sup>52</sup> Al Qaeda training camps, located mainly in Afghanistan but also in the Philippines and Yemen, were well organized and tightly controlled by bin Laden's top lieutenants and closest aides. Volunteers moved through progressive stages, starting with basic military training and then graduating on to more specialized skills, including bomb making and using poisons.<sup>53</sup>

The new trainees were instructed by highly trained war savvy fighters<sup>54</sup> many who were experienced mujahedeen fighters. The volunteers were tightly organized and chosen for specific assignments based on their skills, connections, and nationality. All participants were given a several thousand-page manual, the *Encyclopedia of Jihad*, containing Western military instructions blended with original chapters written by ex-mujahedeen.<sup>55</sup> After the extensive training, some members stayed in the area to help

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<sup>52</sup> Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*, 38.

<sup>53</sup> Philippe Migaux, "Al Qaeda," in *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*, ed. Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 325.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 326.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*



prepare and train new recruits, others were dispatched to countries where fighting was underway giving them immediate opportunity to carry out missions.

Many trained al Qaeda operatives were sent back to their homelands to form sleeper cells and await instructions to make preparations for attacks.<sup>56</sup> Throughout the 1990s, al Qaeda dispatched many of its fighters to non-Arab countries in Europe to set up networks with four principal objectives: increase recruiting efforts; purchase computers, communication equipment, and other supplies for militant groups carrying out jihad; secure financial resources; and provide logistical support to operatives in transit through Europe.<sup>57</sup> The goal was to expand operations throughout Europe and establish a network that could assist with the long-term objective, to attack America in the homeland and strike at targets that were representative of its power. The plans for September 11 were masterminded by Osama bin Laden from his base of operations in Afghanistan but he relied on specific effective and discreet cells in Asia, Europe, and North America to implement various stages of their mission.<sup>58</sup>

### **Effects of Globalization on the Fourth Wave**

Advances in technology since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century have helped shape many of the defining characteristics of Rapoport's waves of terrorism. Technology has had the greatest impact during the fourth wave and heavily contributes to its overwhelming international character. The current Religious wave of international terrorism is "not a

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 328.

reaction to globalization but is facilitated by it.”<sup>59</sup> All forms of globalization, including secularism, capitalism, and democratization represent “an onslaught to less privileged people in conservative cultures repelled by the fundamental changes these forces bring.”<sup>60</sup> Populations feeling negative effects of globalization often blame the U.S. and other Western nations for their disadvantaged position.

Since the start of the fourth wave global communities have seen the rapid evolution of information technologies such as mobile phones, computers, and the Internet. These tools have extended the reach of terrorist organizations and enhanced the capabilities and efficiency of their activities, making it easier to coordinate operations, attract sympathizers, and recruit members.<sup>61</sup> The Internet is a critical tool for terrorists who use its vast resources openly and secretly. Fourth wave terrorist organizations like al Qaeda have designed sophisticated communications strategies through their websites by soliciting donations, distributing propaganda, and posting videos of leadership speaking directly to their members and claiming responsibility for their attacks. Terrorists have also been able to manipulate the Internet for more clandestine measures including encrypted messaging, hacking, sending death threats, and embedding codes in their messages to conceal their communications and evade detection.<sup>62</sup> Popular social media

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<sup>59</sup> Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*, 30.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>61</sup> Paul R. Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2001): 47, in Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism,” in *International Security* 27, no. 3 (Winter 2002/03): 47.

<sup>62</sup> Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*, 48.

platforms like Facebook and Twitter are frequently used to post messages and videos in an attempt to maximize outreach and speak directly to their followers.

Having an appropriate medium like the Internet to spread information does not guarantee that messages will resonate with intended audiences. In order for a message to stick, the language must be simple, concrete, credible, and have unexpected content with emotional appeal that follows a compelling storyline.<sup>63</sup> Osama bin Laden was an articulate master of this strategy. His messages had a reoccurring theme, Islam was under attack by the West and it was the religious duty of every Muslim to join the fight against those threatening Islam. Osama bin Laden cultivated fear in his followers knowing it would elicit strong emotional reactions, and preyed on their anxieties over the looming threat of a destroyed Islamic state thereby placing responsibility on all Muslims to act against the infidels of the West.<sup>64</sup>

Globalization has created a highly permeable international system<sup>65</sup> that allows people, finances, and goods and services to travel across borders with greater ease. Terrorists frequently move between countries, either to carry out attacks or to evade authorities, making their eventual capture and prosecution more complicated with varying extradition laws between states.<sup>66</sup> Reduced barriers to trade through the North American Free Trade Agreement and other agreements with the European Union have

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<sup>63</sup> Gupta, *Waves of International Terrorism: An Explanation of the Process by which Ideas Flood the World*, 36.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>65</sup> Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*, 49.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

broadened the scope of international financial transactions,<sup>67</sup> encouraging some terrorist organizations to establish legitimate international businesses to funnel funds to their illegal activities.

The increased permeability of the international financial system influences the way fourth wave terrorist groups can receive funding for their activities. Earlier waves received financial support from states, individual donors, diaspora communities, and through criminal activities such as bank robberies and ransoms. Al Qaeda has financed their operations through a sophisticated network of international organized crime rings, including credit-card fraud, counterfeiting and trafficking in forged documents, and drug smuggling.<sup>68</sup> They have received funding from additional sources, legal and illegal, including contributions from Islamic charities and non-profit organizations supporting radical agendas, and legitimate companies willing to divert some of their funding to illicit causes.<sup>69</sup> Terrorist groups also deal in non-traditional forms of payment, such gold and diamonds, and use informal banking systems like the *hawala* to receive support, making it more difficult to track terrorist assets and financial transactions.<sup>70</sup>

There has been a dramatic increase in attention directed towards terrorist financing since September 11. After the U.S. Government learned that al Qaeda had used the American financial system to facilitate the attacks, an unprecedented effort was launched to expand the tracking, monitoring, and analysis of financial data within the

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>68</sup> Migaux, *Al Qaeda*, 326.

<sup>69</sup> Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*, 49.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 50.

U.S. and overseas.<sup>71</sup> During the last two decades, the U.S. has passed a series of laws that authorize sanctions and make it illegal to provide material support and financial services to foreign terrorist organizations.<sup>72</sup> Many countries have stepped up their efforts to target the financial foundations of terrorist networks, attempting to prevent money laundering and break ties that connect and finance international cells. Since the 1990s there have been a series of international laws, United Nations resolutions, and other initiatives to address terrorist financing and establish anti-money laundering programs that freeze assets of people and organizations that directly or indirectly use funds to finance terrorist activities.<sup>73</sup> In order to follow through on these directives, massive amounts of data must be collected on financial transactions of individuals, private business, and other entities, creating a challenge for governments to strike the proper balance between respecting the privacy of citizens and upholding their obligation to identify and thwart illicit activity.<sup>74</sup>

The deep emotional resonance created by extreme religious ideology, coupled with advances in technology and other effects of globalization, has made the Religious wave of terrorism the most durable and difficult to contain. Rapoport warns that what makes the wave pattern so interesting, and frightening, is that issues emerge unexpectedly to inspire terrorism, and there is no way to predict what they may be.<sup>75</sup> Terrorist groups

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<sup>71</sup> Paul J. Smith, *The Terrorism Ahead: Confronting Transnational Violence in the Twenty-first Century* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2008), 149.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>75</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 66.

are extremely adaptive and will continue to thrive in the face of ideological, technological, and operational changes.

It is difficult to provide certainty over whether there is a religious exception that will cause this current wave of terrorism to extend past 2025. Several years after publishing the wave theory, Rapoport stated, “In 2004, we said that the fourth wave would be over by 2025, and we have no reason yet to change our mind.”<sup>76</sup> At the time of his essay, al Qaeda had already suffered serious leadership losses resulting from the invasions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Throughout the last decade, a weakened al Qaeda has maintained its ability to carry out attacks and instill fear, despite the death of Osama bin Laden in 2011. The persistence of al Qaeda and the more recent rise of ISIS since 2014 give pause to the suggestion that violent religious extremism is beginning to decline. It may also be about to peak, indicating that signs of a new fifth wave will be seen in the coming years.

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<sup>76</sup> David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Modern Terror: International Dimensions and Consequences,” in *An International History of Terrorism: Western and Non-Western Experiences*, ed. Jussi M. Hanhimaki and Bernhard Blumenau (New York: Routledge, 2013), 300.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### FIFTH WAVE THEORIES

How can we know when one wave is declining and a new wave is emerging? Rapoport's theory states when a wave's energy can no longer influence the formation of new groups, the wave will start to disappear, however a small number of powerful groups can influence a wave's life cycle,<sup>1</sup> and the endurance of al Qaeda and other violent Islamist extremist groups during the current Religious wave has prompted debate over whether it will outlast its predecessors. This current wave may have more staying power, due in part to the "non-bargainable nature"<sup>2</sup> of its core motivations. Most issues creating political conflict are, in theory, open to debate and compromise with potentially achievable results. Religious conflict involves the will of a higher power that is non-negotiable, and states cannot satisfy the demands of religiously motivated terrorists on a mission to carry out the "Word of God."<sup>3</sup>

The fourth wave's endurance may also be attributed to the psychological impact violent religious extremism has inflicted on the public. Intense focus by governments and mass media has caused heightened vigilance and increased public safety awareness, particularly in Western countries that incur a small percentage of the overall number of terrorist attacks. From 2000-2014, 2.6 percent of all terrorism-related deaths were in

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<sup>1</sup> Simon, *Technological and Lone Operator Terrorism: Prospects for a Fifth Wave of Global Terrorism*, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Fox, "The Future of Religion and Domestic Conflict," in *Religion, International Relations and Development Cooperation*, ed. Berma Klein Goldewijk (Wageningen: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2007), 149.

<sup>3</sup> Jeffrey Kaplan, "Terrorism and Religious Violence," in *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 26.

Western countries, most of those resulting from the September 11 attacks,<sup>4</sup> while the total number of world wide terrorist attacks and fatalities dropped in 2015.<sup>5</sup> These statistics are not intended to downplay the serious nature of the ongoing threat from terrorism. The numbers are meant to show that even when terrorism statistics are low in a particular region or begin to trend downward, the public continues to be bombarded with information about potential security threats at home and abroad, creating anxiety and uncertainty about when the next attack will occur and supporting the perception that terrorist violence is in no way declining.

It is impossible to pinpoint exactly when one wave is ending and another is beginning. It can take years for ideologies to crystallize and group patterns to emerge, making it likely there will be an “emergence of a Fifth Wave of terrorism whose characteristics belong in the realm of speculation and as a result beyond the capacity to discern.”<sup>6</sup> Anticipating an end to the fourth wave sometime between 2020 and 2025 has opened up debate about what a new fifth wave will look like. Considering the scope, lethality, and longevity of the extremist organizations in the fourth wave,<sup>7</sup> some analyses of Rapoport’s theoretical framework suggest the Religious wave will continue indefinitely.

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<sup>4</sup> Institute for Economics and Peace, “Global Terrorism Index 2015: Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism,” accessed March 6, 2017, <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2015.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> United States Department of State, “Annex of Statistical Information: Country Reports on Terrorism 2015,” June 2016, accessed February 28, 2017, <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/257738.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> Leonard Weinberg and William Eubank, “An End to the Fourth Wave of Terrorism?” in *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33, no. 7 (2010): 601.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 598.



There are three existing fifth wave theories deserving attention and analysis. Jeffrey Kaplan and Jeffrey Simon offer very different suggestions on the energy and ideology driving a new fifth wave, arguing the participants and tactics are already observable even though the fourth wave has shown few signs of abating. Anthony Celso expands on Kaplan's theory using his essential characteristics for a fifth wave and applies them to existing fourth wave groups he believes will carry over. This chapter will examine the defining characteristics, goals, and tactics of the existing theories.

### **Kaplan's Fifth Wave Theory: New Tribalism**

Jeffrey Kaplan supports Rapoport's framework but critiques the model for being too static compared to the dynamic nature of terrorism.<sup>8</sup> Some terrorist groups may evolve and persevere past their original wave, a somewhat rare occurrence that isn't accounted for in Rapoport's four wave model, although he does point out the IRA and PLO as earlier exceptions. These organizations will have flourished during an earlier era before disengaging and withdrawing from their pre-existing wave, turning inward and cutting ties with contemporary groups sharing the same ideology. The break from the modern world will be in search of a utopian vision to create a perfected society in their local regions.<sup>9</sup> The goal of fifth wave groups will be to create a new ethnicity or tribal society, reconstructed from a lost model or by establishing an entirely new world order.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism*, 46.

<sup>9</sup> Jeffrey Kaplan, "Terrorism's Fifth Wave: A Theory, a Conundrum and a Dilemma," in *Perspectives on Terrorism* 2, no. 2 (January 2008): 12.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

Their utopian vision can only be achieved using genocide to wipe out existing ethnic and religious minorities deemed undesirable in their new world.<sup>11</sup>

A key feature of Rapoport's model is the reliance on a specific catalyst, usually an international event or events, to launch the start of a new wave. Kaplan's theory excludes this critical factor because fifth wave groups already exist and therefore share the triggering events from the earlier wave in which they were born.<sup>12</sup> There is no new global catalyzing event for fifth wave groups, and the success of existing fifth wave groups will inspire new groups with similar defining characteristics in other countries.<sup>13</sup>

Kaplan's "New Tribalism" wave was formulated through analyses of the Khmer Rouge, what he identifies as the precursor fifth wave group, and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), the first full-fledged fifth wave terrorist organization.<sup>14</sup> These groups are paradigmatic cases examined by Kaplan against a newly defined set of characteristics he deems essential to fifth wave groups. Formed during earlier waves, the second and fourth respectively, both groups possess the critical characteristics Kaplan believes will distinguish fifth wave groups, and serve as models for future fifth wave groups.

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<sup>11</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism*, 47.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorism's Fifth Wave: A Theory, a Conundrum and a Dilemma*, 13.

Kaplan's ideal fifth wave groups include all of the following characteristics:<sup>15</sup>

1. Devolution from an earlier wave of terrorism with shared beliefs but radicalized and broke away
2. Born of hope expressed at the extremes, either because hope is lost or realized
3. Radicalization and withdrawal from similar groups leads to physical separation from family and society
4. Establishment of a new calendar beginning with the year zero
5. Believe the old world is contaminated and destruction of human life is necessary to further a pure society
6. Highly prone to schisms, compromise is not possible, leading to internal conflict and violence
7. Believe in human perfectibility, goal is to create new men and women within a single generation
8. Quest for a new society leads to killing with impunity and genocide
9. Violence is so pervasive that their underlying message becomes lost
10. Subjugation of women, emphasis on women to create a new human race
11. Male children recruited as soldiers, females forced to become child brides
12. Rape is the signature terror tactic
13. Violating cultural norms prevents a return to families and mainstream society
14. Localistic with a focus on nationalism, ethnocentrism, and racial purity
15. Pragmatic reliance on foreign allies if necessary to further goals
16. Highly authoritarian with charismatic leadership
17. Chiliastic in nature, support an apocalyptic dream

Kaplan believes the Khmer Rouge functioned as the precursor group of the fifth wave before they seized power in Cambodia. This group emerged during the second Anti-Colonial wave that was characterized by strong nationalist goals. The Khmer People's Revolutionary Party, established in Cambodia in 1951, was born from the struggle against French colonization and fueled by the First Indochina War from 1946-1954. Tensions with the West were further deepened during the Vietnam War when the U.S. military used Cambodia as a regrouping zone and bombed parts of the country suspected

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<sup>15</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism*, 48.

of harboring Viet Cong fighters.<sup>16</sup> The Khmer Rouge evolved into an official party in 1968 and took control of the Cambodian government in 1975.

Once in power, they sought to implement the ideals of the Chinese Cultural Revolution and re-establish Cambodia as a rural classless society. The Khmer Rouge shipped thousands of affluent and educated citizens, as well as groups of ethnic and religious minorities, to labor camps where they were starved, tortured, and put to death once they confessed to their alleged crimes or could no longer endure harsh manual labor. The Khmer Rouge set up sites that came to be known as *killing fields*, where prisoners were executed and buried en masse. Over a four-year period, it is estimated that nearly 1.7 million people died at the hands of the Khmer Rouge regime.<sup>17</sup>

The evolution, goals, and tactics of the Khmer Rouge are closely aligned with the key characteristics Kaplan uses to define fifth wave terrorist groups. The group was founded during an earlier wave but its hope for a new society came to fruition much later when it seized power of the Cambodian government and began using genocide to reform the social order. Pol Pot, the brutal authoritarian leader of the Khmer Rouge, declared 1976 to be “Year Zero,” marking their beginning of a new society free from undesirable ethnic and social groups. Heavy emphasis was placed on the use of women and children as combatants, women were particularly exploited for their reproductive capabilities,

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<sup>16</sup> United to End Genocide, “The Cambodian Genocide,” accessed February 27, 2017, <http://endgenocide.org/learn/past-genocides/the-cambodian-genocide>.

<sup>17</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism*, 61.

often through rape and forced marriages, since creation of children was essential to furthering the goal of a new society.<sup>18</sup>

Kaplan established 1963 as the precise genesis of the fifth wave, the year that the Cambodian Communist Party was banned and splintered into a radical faction of foreign-educated intellectuals.<sup>19</sup> After the capture of Phnom Penh in 1975, the Khmer Rouge transitioned from existing as an oppositional terrorist group into a practitioner of regime terror through their genocidal campaign, before being defeated by the Vietnamese in 1979.<sup>20</sup> Nearly two decades elapsed between the disappearance of the Khmer Rouge, Kaplan's early avatar of the New Tribalism wave, and the appearance of the LRA.<sup>21</sup>

Kaplan's first full-fledged fifth wave group, the Lord's Resistance Army, formed in northern Uganda during the late 1980s. The LRA was the successor organization to the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM), a civil resistance group formed in response to attacks on northern ethnic groups by the government's military forces based in the south. The HSM leader, Alice Auma, was considered to be a prophet who received messages for her followers directly from the Holy Spirit. Joseph Kony, a former Ugandan soldier and eventual leader of the LRA, petitioned Auma to join the HSM but was denied membership.<sup>22</sup> Despite being rebuffed, Kony anointed himself as a spiritual leader and prophet, believing he was sent to purify the people of Uganda. Once the HSM was

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>19</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorism's Fifth Wave: A Theory, a Conundrum and a Dilemma*, 13.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism*, 52.

eventually defeated by Uganda's government forces, Kony rejected efforts to integrate peacefully into the government's army and splintered off with his remaining followers.

Kaplan's analysis of the LRA shows the group, like the Khmer Rouge, meets most of his essential fifth wave criteria. The LRA began during the fourth wave as a successor to a non-violent spiritual movement to protect the Ugandan Acholi tribe whose soldiers were fighting in the name of God. The Acholi population rejected Joseph Kony's leadership after the HSM was defeated, forcing his supporters to withdraw and become more violent and radical. For almost three decades, the LRA has used rape, murder, and abduction as their signature tactics. LRA leaders have wiped out entire villages in northern Uganda, killing the elders and abducting male children to be repurposed as soldiers.<sup>23</sup> Like the Khmer Rouge, the LRA emphasizes the utilitarian role of women to advance the group goals, forcing young abducted females to become child brides and mothers and using older women for manual labor.<sup>24</sup> Since its inception, nearly 2 million people in Uganda and neighboring countries have been displaced due to LRA violence, in addition to the 200,000 people who have been killed or abducted, half of which are children.<sup>25</sup> The LRA has faced heavy resistance from the Ugandan government and other African countries, forcing them to spread into South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo in search of safety and additional soldiers. The whereabouts of its leader, Joseph Kony, are unknown although it is suspected he remains at large in Africa.

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<sup>23</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorism's Fifth Wave: A Theory, a Conundrum and a Dilemma*, 14.

<sup>24</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism*, 65.

<sup>25</sup> The Resolve LRA Crisis Initiative, accessed March 4, 2017, <http://www.theresolve.org/the-lra-crisis/key-statistics>.

## Celso's Fifth Wave: Jihadist Terror Groups

Kaplan's fifth wave model does not include existing jihadist groups, but Anthony Celso argues that *takfiri* jihadist groups like Boko Haram and ISIS have tendencies consistent with Kaplan's fifth wave criteria.<sup>26</sup> Kaplan excludes Islamist extremist groups from his theory based on their internationalization,<sup>27</sup> which goes against his proposed fifth wave tendencies to be localized self-sustaining entities. He acknowledges the racial and tribal mysticism that exists within their belief system but argues it is not strong enough to inspire genocidal violence that is a hallmark of the fifth wave.<sup>28</sup> An overarching desire for isolation from society could account for their inclusion in Celso's fifth wave; separation from the modern world and destruction of Western influences is necessary to achieve their prime objective of establishing a Caliphate.<sup>29</sup>

The millenarian and extremist beliefs held by jihadist groups are deeply pronounced in groups like Boko Haram and ISIS that are using *takfir* to ex-communicate and legitimize violence against other Muslims. Groups that reject intra-Muslim fighting have become targets of the Boko Haram and ISIS radical *takfiri* agenda that further isolates them from the larger Islamist community. ISIS has been predatory towards other

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<sup>26</sup> Celso, *The Islamic State and Boko Haram: Fifth Wave Jihadist Terror Groups*, in *Orbis* 59, no. 2 (2015): 250, accessed June 5, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2015.02.010>.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>28</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism*, 72.

<sup>29</sup> Celso, *The Islamic State and Boko Haram: Fifth Wave Jihadist Terror Groups*, 252.

jihadist groups in Syria in their attempt to acquire more territory for a Caliphate, placing them at odds with al Qaeda and its affiliates.<sup>30</sup>

The Boko Haram and ISIS terrorist agendas are aligned with many of Kaplan's fifth wave hallmarks. Both organizations reject the existing political and social order in search of recreating a mythic past, and establishing a new Islamic state.<sup>31</sup> Their recruitment strategy relies on kidnapping male children to be used as soldiers, and many group members are economically marginalized young adult males, while women and children are enslaved through kidnappings and forced marriages.<sup>32</sup> Unrestrained violence is employed for sectarian and ethnic cleansing to wipe out Christian villages, attack Muslim minority mosques, and eliminate clerics who reject their ideology. The charismatic leaders of Boko Haram and ISIS share a fanatical vision, to annihilate all infidels in modern society and create a united Caliphate.<sup>33</sup>

Studies of terrorist groups are typically done against rational analytic models that may no longer be applicable to Islamist extremist groups.<sup>34</sup> In the short term, these groups have rational operational plans but their long-term objectives and ultimate desire to create a new utopian society are irrational and unachievable. Celso argues that

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 253.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 259.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 257.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 258.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 249.



Kaplan's fifth wave theoretical framework fills the void left by rational models that cannot appropriately explain terrorist organizations with irrational millenarian goals.<sup>35</sup>

### **Simon's Fifth Wave Theory: Technological Wave**

Jeffrey Simon also supports the idea of a theoretical wave model but presents a fifth wave theory that deviates significantly from Rapoport's earlier waves. Simon argues there will be no single type of terrorist ideology dominating the fifth wave in the same way anarchism, anti-colonialism, new left/Marxism, and religious fundamentalism dominated the preceding four waves.<sup>36</sup> Rapoport's theory is centered on era specific ideologies, but going forward Simon believes "the influential role of technology will be the defining characteristic of the Fifth Wave."<sup>37</sup> Simon calls his fifth wave the "Technological Wave," and establishes the Internet as the necessary precondition, similar to dynamite being the precondition for modern terrorism and the start of the Anarchist wave.<sup>38</sup> Simon points out that "no one type of terrorist movement has a monopoly on the use of technology,"<sup>39</sup> and competing ideologies among terrorist groups will create a more even playing field<sup>40</sup> to allow technology to take over as the defining characteristic of his fifth wave model.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 250.

<sup>36</sup> Simon, *Technological and Lone Operator Terrorism: Prospects for a Fifth Wave of Global Terrorism*, 48.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 49.

According to Simon, “a wave is over or in decline when there is no longer the same degree of attention and reaction given to it by governments, societies, and the media,”<sup>41</sup> although activity associated with a wave may continue; he suggests “if something else in the world of terrorism is creating fear and reaction in many parts of the world, then we may have the emergence of a new wave.”<sup>42</sup> Simon concedes the Religious wave may continue for some time even if the number of terrorist incidents or formation of new religious extremist groups start to decline. The prolonged international focus on religious extremism since September 11 has de-emphasized other types of terrorist groups that continue to be a threat. Ethnic nationalists, separatist movements, narco-terrorism, and single-issue terror groups are active but have been overshadowed by intense media focus and international efforts to suppress violent Islamist extremist groups.<sup>43</sup> Excluding the casualties resulting from the Oklahoma City bombing and September 11 attacks, far-right extremists have killed twice as many people in the United States as Islamist extremists from 1990-2016.<sup>44</sup>

In order for Simon’s fifth wave theory to work, we must expand Rapoport’s vision of a wave to “include the entire spectrum of terrorism and counterterrorism activities; then it becomes clear that we are on the brink of, and probably already in, the

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>44</sup> National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, “Islamist and Far-Right Homicides in the United States,” February 2017, accessed March 3, 2017, [https://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/START\\_ECDB\\_IslamistFarRightHomicidesUS\\_Infographic\\_Feb2017.pdf](https://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/START_ECDB_IslamistFarRightHomicidesUS_Infographic_Feb2017.pdf)

Technological Wave.”<sup>45</sup> Expanding the wave to include counterterrorism activities formally sanctioned by states allows us to factor in technology used by governments and militaries to conduct surveillance, detect weapons, and carry out covert operations, giving us a better sense of how much technology has become part of the overall phenomenon.<sup>46</sup>

The key players in Simon’s fifth wave model include states and non-state actors, but he places particular emphasis on lone operators, the type of terrorist that was frequently ignored or overlooked when assessing threats in earlier waves.<sup>47</sup> Lone operators are often radicalized in an unstructured virtual environment, supporting a new brand of “leaderless jihad,”<sup>48</sup> one that lacks a formal command and control structure and receives guidance from the Internet. Lone operators have an advantage of working without the constraints of a hierarchical leadership structure of a formal terrorist organization, and have the ability to plan and execute attacks at their will rather than waiting to carry out someone else’s orders. Working alone almost guarantees there will be no evidence of communications between other group members, eliminating a digital footprint that could be tracked or intercepted by law enforcement or intelligence agencies prior to an attack.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Simon, *Technological and Lone Operator Terrorism: Prospects for a Fifth Wave of Global Terrorism*, 51.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>48</sup> Sageman, *Ripples in the Waves: Fantasies and Fashions*, 90.

<sup>49</sup> Simon, *Technological and Lone Operator Terrorism: Prospects for a Fifth Wave of Global Terrorism*, 56.

There is little difference between the types of threats and violent actions that can be carried out by individuals or well-organized groups. Lone operators have perpetrated mass shootings, used improvised explosive devices, and conducted suicide attacks against military and civilian populations in the same way larger groups have executed coordinated attacks. The motivations for their actions cut across the ideological spectrum, including white supremacy, anti-abortion, anti-government, and Islamist extremist beliefs.<sup>50</sup> Lone operators continue to be a persistent threat, one that is difficult to detect in advance, and requires heightened vigilance from the public and law enforcement.

Simon outlines two major tactics that will develop during the Technological Wave. Terrorist organizations already exploit the Internet to recruit members and spread propaganda, but fifth wave groups will use it as a resource for more dangerous activities. The Internet provides vast amounts of information and technical instruction on how to develop and use weapons, increasing the likelihood that terrorist groups will seek out knowledge on how to successfully attack with chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear weapons (CBRN).<sup>51</sup> Simon believes a lethal CBRN attack is highly likely during the fifth wave, due to the availability of technical information that can assist in carrying out this type of attack. The failure of Aum Shinryko to cause a large number of deaths when it released sarin nerve gas on the Tokyo subway in 1995 was due to its ineffective delivery system. Simon predicts that terrorist groups and individual operators will learn from this mistake and begin to experiment with dispersal techniques for chemical

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 55.

weapons.<sup>52</sup> Access to maps, blueprints, and other critical technical information on potential targets via the Internet could also provide valuable insight on how to create a maximum amount of casualties in a CBRN attack.

The second tactic involves successful cyber-terrorism attacks intending to sabotage critical infrastructure, disrupt governments and businesses, and manipulate international financial systems.<sup>53</sup> Attacks in cyberspace may be carried out by a lone operator, acting independently, or by formal groups operating under direction from their leadership. The next generation of terrorists has grown up in a digital world, and their level of technical knowledge related to hacking is greater than their predecessors. They know how to penetrate sophisticated systems and bypass computer security defenses, allowing them to safely and anonymously launch attacks from anywhere in the world, while quickly adjusting their tactics in response to counterterrorism and enhanced security measures.

As the world becomes more digitally interconnected and dependent on technology, the threat of attacks in cyberspace will continue to rise.<sup>54</sup> Simon's Technological wave is not associated with one major cataclysmic attack because he believes it is already unfolding and is evidenced by the proliferation of technology in our everyday lives.<sup>55</sup> By not identifying a dominant ideology as the driving force behind his theory, Simon takes the future of terrorism in a new direction. Ideology is still the driving

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

force behind Kaplan's New Tribalism model as well as Celso's complementary Jihadist wave theory that strengthens Kaplan's New Tribalism framework. According to Kaplan, the heart of fifth wave activity will be in Africa, whose population continues to flee conflict zones in search of a safer and more secure economic future. Elite citizens across the continent fight to acquire natural resources and other sources of wealth like oil and diamonds, perpetuating ongoing internal clashes for control of valuable commodities.<sup>56</sup> Kaplan, Celso, and Simon present vastly different theories and if we combine specific elements from each, we may be able to create the most comprehensive model to date. That will be the task of Chapter Five.

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<sup>56</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism*, 72.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ANTI-GLOBALIZATION FIFTH WAVE THEORY

Jeffrey Kaplan, Anthony Celso, and Jeffrey Simon present compelling arguments in support of their fifth wave theories. All have merit but Kaplan and Simon formulated their theories prior to 2011, the year in which several major international events in the Middle East helped sustain the Religious wave and stirred a latent ideology that may influence the future of terrorism. This chapter will assess aspects of the Kaplan, Celso, and Simon theories, highlighting areas of agreement and points of contention. Taking into consideration these existing theories, the current state of global affairs, and patterns of terrorist activity since 2011, I have created an alternative Anti-Globalization fifth wave model. This new model blends pieces from the earlier fifth wave theories and identifies key components from Rapoport's earlier waves, including catalysts, groups, goals, and tactics.

There is no reliable way to predict human behavior but when we attempt to hypothesize about the future we cannot ignore contemporary social and political movements stirring the masses. Rapoport accomplished this task in his wave model, identifying unifying global *zeitgeists* that linked international terrorist organizations, many which had never made contact with one another.<sup>1</sup> In modern times, populist political and social movements have been rising in the West, particularly far right political groups in Europe that have slowly been siphoning votes away from traditional centrist parties. Since the 1960s far right candidates have gained more than twice as many

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<sup>1</sup> Jeffrey Kaplan, *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism: Terrorism's Fifth Wave*, 47.

votes in national and parliamentary elections, an increase from 5.1% to 13.2% of the total vote.<sup>2</sup> The United States has recently experienced a similar subtle political shift in response to long-term grievances caused by out of touch elected officials, increased immigration, an expanded multicultural society, and slow economic growth after the massive financial crisis in 2008.

A majority of U.S. political candidates still identify themselves within the traditional Democrat and Republican two-party system, even though the Republican agenda in the 2016 presidential election called for ethics, immigration, and economic reforms that echoed the populist ideals of the Reform Party,<sup>3</sup> which currently has no formal representation in either chamber of the U.S. Congress. The demand for systemic change urged by anti-establishment candidates in Europe and the U.S. is gaining popularity among middle-class citizens that are increasingly affected by rising income disparity and loss of sector specific jobs due to globalization. The rise in populism cannot be ignored, but how does it fit in to the future of terrorism?

Terrorism is a dynamic phenomenon, and any descriptive or predictive theoretical frameworks should have a degree of flexibility to allow for unexpected outliers that arise and deviate from an established set of criteria. Kaplan argues his fifth wave theory inserts a much-needed element of dynamism into the original Rapoport model by including pre-existing groups that have carried over and by bringing more attention to local conditions

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<sup>2</sup> Holder Döring and Philip Manow, *Parliaments and Governments Database* 'Elections' dataset, 2016, <http://www.parlgov.org>, cited in Ronald F. Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash," Faculty Research Working Paper Series, Harvard Kennedy School, John F. Kennedy School of Government (August 2016), 2, accessed March 17, 2017, <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2818659>.

<sup>3</sup> "Reform Party National Committee," accessed March 29, 2017, <http://www.reformparty.org>.



that nurture a fledgling group.<sup>4</sup> Celso's fifth wave theory including takfiri jihadist groups also supports a more dynamic model with exception for existing groups. He predicts fourth wave groups Boko Haram and ISIS will carry over into his Jihadist wave<sup>5</sup> and continue their violent campaigns to acquire territory for a new Caliphate.

If we establish that existing groups can carry over into a fifth wave, several questions arise that must be considered. How do these groups adapt and evolve without becoming anachronisms<sup>6</sup> in a new dimension of international terrorism? What, if anything, has changed about the groups, and are their causes still relevant in the contemporary world? For terrorist organizations born during the Religious wave, have their goals taken on a new, more dominant political dimension? Under Kaplan's model, New Tribalism represents an end goal more than a particular ideology. Will religious based terrorist groups formerly motivated by their spiritual beliefs, be re-defined by their goals in Kaplan's fifth wave?

Political terrorism can sometimes work within the tropes of religion, making the distinction between types of motivations unclear at times.<sup>7</sup> In the New Tribalism model, Kaplan separates political terrorists by their desire to change an existing system as a step toward their creation of a new race, whereas religious terrorists seek to perfect the world and allow their faithful adherents to enjoy a reconstructed paradise.<sup>8</sup> Religious and

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<sup>4</sup> Kaplan, *The Fifth Wave: The New Tribalism?* 46.

<sup>5</sup> Celso, *The Islamic State and Boko Haram: Fifth Wave Jihadist Terror Groups*, 249.

<sup>6</sup> Kaplan, *The Fifth Wave: The New Tribalism?* 47.

<sup>7</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism: Terrorism's Fifth Wave*, 25.

<sup>8</sup> Kaplan, *Terrorism and Religious Violence*, 24.

political terrorists also vary in their reliance on authoritative texts to sanction violence. Political terrorists do not use established higher authorities for legitimization<sup>9</sup> and have messages that appeal to multi-faith, multi-national audiences that cultivate a global network of supporters. Religious terrorists are more limited in their appeal, they target audiences already aligned with their core beliefs but must sell their overarching goals for reform. Political terrorists have compromised to reach accord with nation-states because their demands have often been achievable even when they were somewhat chiliastic, like creating a classless state for Marxists, or abolishing oppressive “structures” for the Anarchists.<sup>10</sup> The demand of jihadist terrorists, operating under the word of God, to produce a unified global Islamic community,<sup>11</sup> is unachievable in the modern world. Their vision has little appeal to powerful Muslim majority nation-states unwilling to their cede power and break up defined territories to reconstitute a decentralized empire governed by Islamic law and free of Western influences.<sup>12</sup>

If Kaplan’s New Tribalism model proves to be accurate in the future, how many terrorist organizations will participate as true fifth wave groups? Ignoring the rationality factor, creating a utopian society through genocide is a lengthy and violent process, evidenced by the decades-long campaigns waged by Boko Haram and the LRA, both whom have yet to achieve their goals. The U.S. Department of State formally identifies

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>10</sup> Kaplan, *The Fifth Wave: The New Tribalism?* 25.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

61 designated foreign terrorist organizations;<sup>13</sup> even if a handful of these have fifth wave tendencies and can carry over, how likely is it that a majority will develop genocidal agendas and desire to create a new society? Will non-religious anti-government separatist movements also be empowered to break from society and start their own communities? Given the likely unachievable goal, the number of operational groups in the fifth wave would drop dramatically.

I do not agree that New Tribalism will be the next wave of terrorism, although there will be some groups operating in the fifth wave with millenarian tendencies seeking separation from the modern world. First, it is unlikely that an unknown number of genocidal terrorist groups would share a common goal to create new utopian societies, and operate independently and simultaneously on a global scale. Organizations like Boko Haram and the LRA may continue their campaigns in the foreseeable future but will eventually lose momentum against sustained international pressure as they fail to hold on to territory and attain their goal.

Second, New Tribalism does not account for lone operator attacks, a hallmark of Jeffrey Simon's Technological wave and significant component of terrorism in the West. Between 2006-2014, 70 percent of terrorism deaths in the West were caused by an individual or small group of individuals operating in support of an ideology or organization.<sup>14</sup> I agree with Simon's prediction that technology will play a major role in the future of terrorism, but it will not serve as a substitute for an overarching ideology.

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<sup>13</sup> U.S. Department of State, "Foreign Terrorist Organizations," accessed March 17, 2017, <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>.

<sup>14</sup> The Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Terrorism Trends 2015*, 45.

Ideas, and the hope for change, will remain at the forefront of a new fifth wave. What that hope may be is still in question, but the rise in Western far right populism could be an early warning sign that the effects of globalization are coming under attack. Going forward, there may be an overwhelming desire to minimize the perceived negative influences of transcontinental and supranational organizations and return to stronger, more autonomous individual nation-states.

## **Background**

Kaplan and Simon published their theories prior to the revolutionary protests of the Arab Spring in 2011, a movement inspired by rejection of authoritarian leadership and government corruption, culminating in regime changes in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Libya.<sup>15</sup> The domino like effect of the Arab Spring eventually spread across the region into Syria, where the government's initial attempt to suppress peaceful protests has turned into a confusing and violent civil war between the Shia minority government, moderate Sunni rebels, and extremist groups that include al Qaeda affiliates and ISIS.

ISIS grew out of al Qaeda in Iraq, the affiliate cell that formed after the U.S.-led invasion in Iraq in 2003.<sup>16</sup> The Arab Spring uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East cleared a path for ISIS to spread into Syria in 2012, where they sought refuge and joined the rebellion against President Bashar al-Assad. ISIS capitalized on the country's instability and recruited enough members to splinter off from al Qaeda to which they had formerly pledged their allegiance. After al Qaeda disassociated from ISIS and denounced

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<sup>15</sup> Gerard Chaliand, "Jihadism in the Age of ISIS," in *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*, ed. Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 438.

<sup>16</sup> BBC, "Islamic State and the Crisis in Iraq and Syria in Maps," January 20, 2017, accessed March 1, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27838034>.

their tactics, ISIS began seizing territory in Syria and spread into Iraq where they overtook Mosul and proclaimed creation of their Caliphate.

What began in Syria as an internal conflict between the government and protestors has turned into one of the world's worst humanitarian crises, destabilizing an entire region and causing millions of people to be forcibly displaced from their homes. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, more than a million Syrians were forced to flee the country in 2015.<sup>17</sup> Approximately 11 million Syrians have fled since the start of the conflict in 2011, 4.8 million have sought refuge in neighboring countries and 6.6 million are displaced within the country.<sup>18</sup> The proliferation of ISIS throughout Iraq and subsequent countermeasures by Iraqi Special Forces to reclaim territories has resulted in an additional 2.9 million displaced persons in the region since 2014.<sup>19</sup>

The Shia-Sunni sectarian fighting in Syria, coupled with attempts by ISIS to establish a Caliphate in Iraq and Syria, has revitalized and helped sustain the Religious wave of terrorism since Kaplan and Simon published their fifth wave theories. The threat from al Qaeda still exists, and the fighting in Iraq and Syria is providing ISIS supporters valuable training which can then be exported and used to recruit new members and attack

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<sup>17</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "UNHCR Global Trends: Forced Displacements 2015," accessed March 2, 2017, <http://www.unhcr.org/576408cd7.pdf>.

<sup>18</sup> "The Syrian Refugee Crisis and its Repercussions for the EU," accessed March 2, 2017, <http://syrianrefugees.eu>.

<sup>19</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "UNHCR Iraq Fact Sheet January 2017," accessed March 2, 2017, <http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/UNHCR%20Iraq%20Factsheet%20-%20January%202017.pdf>.

other countries.<sup>20</sup> Foreign engagement in Syria, backed by the U.S. led coalition of forces, provides ISIS an opportunity to call out Western infidels invading the region, alleging the West is at war with Islam and continuing the “us versus them” message originated by al Qaeda. The situation in Syria is ideal for extremists looking for a new cause to support and searching for a place to train and fight, particularly many well-educated yet economically disadvantaged European youths who have already traveled to the region to link up with ISIS in the hope of returning home to carry out attacks on behalf of the Caliphate.<sup>21</sup>

Millions of Syrian refugees have crossed into neighboring states, including Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq; others are traveling north by sea hoping to find safety in European countries. The ongoing conflict in Syria has a direct impact on the number of refugees arriving in Europe; between 2011 and 2015 the numbers in Europe increased from 1,560,000 to 4,390,000.<sup>22</sup> In 2015, 1,321,560 people claimed asylum in Europe, with more than 476,000 of those just in Germany.<sup>23</sup> While the European Union and other governments have attempted to work through this unprecedented crisis, there has been tremendous international backlash on how best to accommodate the influx of people and provide appropriate rehabilitation and humanitarian services. The absence of a comprehensive plan to handle the current migration challenge leaves millions of

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<sup>20</sup> Erika Brady, “An Analysis of Patterns of Change Arising from the Syrian Conflict: Islamic Terrorism, Refugee Flows and Political Destabilization in Europe,” in *Journal of Terrorism Research* 8, no. 1 (February 2017): 55, <http://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.1298>.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 59.

disadvantaged people stuck in limbo as nations sort through the legal and moral implications of sheltering hundreds of thousands of additional refugees.

Extended displacements and limited access to social and economic resources can foster feelings of hopelessness and isolation, leading to “a new generation of young disenfranchised people who have grown up in refugee camps and completely alienated from the societies in which they are based.”<sup>24</sup> Facing animosity from host countries and lacking a coherent way to integrate into a new society creates exclusion and discrimination, factors known to increase the risk of radicalization, perhaps an attractive option for displaced persons seeking connections and trying to survive in refugee camps or diaspora communities.<sup>25</sup> Terrorist groups are most likely to form if grievances against a state are high and the opportunity cost of participating in rebellion is low for the potential members.

The origins of modern terrorist groups can be traced back to local levels, and in order to understand their genesis, it is important to reference the prior history of the state, or states, where they came from.<sup>26</sup> A wide range of societal conditions influence terrorist behavior, and if we assume the causalities remain the same, we must recognize how rapidly the conditions could change when making prognostications about terrorism.<sup>27</sup> A basic condition for participation in civil violence, of which terrorism is a part, is

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Institute for Economics and Peace, “Global Terrorism Index 2016,” accessed March 24, 2017, <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2016.2.pdf>.

<sup>26</sup> Mark Sedgwick, “Inspiration and the Origins of Global Waves of Terrorism,” in *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 97.

<sup>27</sup> Lia, *Globalisation and the Future of Terrorism: Patterns and Predictions*, 4.

deprivation and inequality among specific groups. Poverty, insurgencies, weak states, democratic transitions, and rapid modernization are just a few of the conditions that make societies much more vulnerable to conflict.<sup>28</sup> Terrorism is contagious, and frequent occurrences in one weakened area often create more terrorist activity in neighboring countries.

David Rapoport cautions that the next wave of terrorism may show itself unexpectedly in reaction to an unforeseen political issue, making it difficult to predict with certainty what a new wave will look like or when it will emerge. A key feature of modern terrorism is the international connectivity between political and ideological concepts creating tension at local levels. If we focus on specific local and regional societal conditions likely to affect patterns of terrorism, and study how the conditions are changing and proliferating, it is possible to offer a forecast on the future of terrorism.<sup>29</sup>

### **Characteristics**

A new fifth wave of terrorism will begin to emerge in the next decade, driven by far right populist ideology and groups that embrace strict nationalist views. In an effort to counter the perceived negative aspects of globalization, future terrorist groups will fight against the increasingly liberal world order led by U.S. hegemony. Opposition to the interconnectedness and interdependence caused by globalization is generating a backlash against the evolving liberal economic and social global order. Traditional nation-states are increasingly being challenged by non-state actor influences, and are experiencing

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 5.



shifts in economic and political activity towards transcontinental and regional spheres of influence, in addition to meeting obligations inside their territorial boundaries.

Far right populist movements in Europe have gained momentum in response to the hyper-nationalism influenced by globalization and religious terrorism. This contemporary populism is viewed as “a kind of democratic corrective, which gives voice to groups that do not feel represented by the elites, who in turn are obligated to react and change the political agenda.”<sup>30</sup> Political polarization increases after major systemic financial crises and is followed by changes in voter behavior that have historically benefitted political parties on the far right.<sup>31</sup> After a massive financial crash, far right parties have increased their vote shares by “about 30% relative to their pre-crisis level in the five years following a systemic financial crisis,”<sup>32</sup> luring in voters attracted to the nationalistic political rhetoric and xenophobic tendencies of the far right.

These groups are finding success in the West by tapping into public frustrations over slow economic growth and unemployment, and blame too many cultural influences for eroding local culture. They shun political elitism, oppose the influx of immigrants, and question the value of remaining in the European Union. Contemporary populists in Europe have been able to “exploit antiestablishment sentiments, claiming that the necessary public support for the realization and expansion of the European project is

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<sup>30</sup> Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser, “Explaining the Emergence of Populism in Europe and the Americas,” in *The Promise and Perils of Populism: Global Perspectives*, ed. Carlos de la Torre (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 189.

<sup>31</sup> Manuel Funke, Moritz Schularick, and Christoph Trebesch, “Going to Extremes: Politics after Financial Crises, 1870–2014,” in *European Economic Review*, (June 2016), 228, accessed March 24, 2017, <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0014292116300587>.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

missing.”<sup>33</sup> Many populist leaders argue in favor of European nations returning to their pre-E.U. status, functioning as a group of strong independent states rather than continuing as an integrated commonwealth with a shared currency, shared culture, and open borders.

The enhanced populist movement is an unintended consequence of the Syrian civil war, which is forcing millions of displaced people into Europe and inflaming immigration tensions and Islamist extremist views against the West. Nationalist sentiments have been proliferating throughout Europe and the U.S. for the last several years, evidenced by the electoral success of far right political parties in Europe, and recent attempts by the U.S. government to re-evaluate international engagement strategies and restrict acceptance of migrants and refugees, many of whom are victims of terrorism or other forms of violence. A few far right European parties have openly been associated with racism and xenophobia, including the anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant Party for Freedom in the Netherlands and the Alternative for Germany party. As ISIS continues to carry out violent attacks in Europe, most recently in Paris, Brussels, and Nice, anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant sentiments are not waning. For many countries, the debate on immigration has turned into a question of national security.

The refugee crisis in Europe is no longer considered separate from the threat of terrorism. Migrants are seen as potential terrorists hiding among other migrants, while terrorists could be potential migrants waiting to move into Europe to carry out attacks.<sup>34</sup> Ineffective border security and migrant surges were blamed for the 2015 terrorist attacks

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<sup>33</sup> Kaltwasser, *Explaining the Emergence of Populism in Europe and the Americas*, 206.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Nail, “A Tale of Two Crises: Migration and Terrorism after the Paris Attacks,” in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 16, no. 1 (April 2016): 158.

in Paris, despite the fact they were perpetrated by European citizens.<sup>35</sup> This new “migration-terrorism nexus”<sup>36</sup> equates the two phenomenon, and evokes public and government hostility towards migrants resulting in xenophobia, border closings, and deportations that perpetuate ongoing displacements. Migration control policies may reduce the risk of terrorism but “an effective response to security threats cannot be based on measures that restrict the movement of refugees and migrants and breach their rights.”<sup>37</sup> Western states have been resisting the idea of universal equality demanded by global immigrants,<sup>38</sup> and are using immigration policies and rhetoric that is often discriminatory, exclusionary, and punitive. This ongoing tension from the migration-terrorism nexus will help drive the anti-globalization wave forward as Western democracies try to establish a balance between inclusion and safety.

### **Catalyst**

Two major political events in 2016 will be considered catalysts for the fifth wave: The United Kingdom’s referendum to leave the European Union (“Brexit”) and the United States Presidential election. In both cases, the British and U.S. electorates defied expectations of political leaders, foreign allies, and financial markets by voting to withdraw from the European Union and selecting Republican candidate Donald Trump to

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Colette G. Mazzucelli, Anna Visvizi, and Ronald Bee, “Secular States in a ‘Secure Community’: The Migration-Terrorism Nexus?” in *Journal of Strategic Security* 9, no. 3 (Fall 2016): 21, accessed March 1, 2017, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.9.3.1545>.

<sup>37</sup> United Nations General Assembly, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms While Countering Terrorism,” September 13, 2016, accessed March 1, 2017, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N16/285/61/PDF/N1628561.pdf>.

<sup>38</sup> Nail, *A Tale of Two Crises: Migration and Terrorism after the Paris Attacks*, 160.

be President of the United States. By voting to leave, a majority of the British electorate signaled that political and economic integration with the rest of Europe was no longer in their national interest. By leveraging the results of the U.K. referendum, the Trump campaign furthered the issue of whether global alliances were beneficial to the nationalist ideals of “America First,” questioning the usefulness of the North American Treaty Organization (NATO) and suggesting the U.S. pull back from its international commitments. A hallmark of contemporary populism is the idea that “new forms of global governance and the influence of foreign powers are undermining the principle of political self-determination.”<sup>39</sup> Radical right party members believe they are defending the integrity of the nation-state<sup>40</sup> and reassert national values in reaction to “ceding sovereignty to supranational bodies”<sup>41</sup> like the European Union and NATO. Recent electoral behavior in Europe and the U.S. is signaling that interests of Western nation-states may no longer be bound by the strategic alliances of the established global order during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## **Groups**

Globalization accelerates rapid changes in ideas and discourse, creating fluidity and subtle variances in extremist ideologies.<sup>42</sup> As we move deeper into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, extremist groups will borrow and tailor their ideologies, some of which may arise from the electronic information-age, representing shifts in identity and loyalty between global

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<sup>39</sup> Kaltwasser, *Explaining the Emergence of Populism in Europe and the Americas*, 206.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Lia, *Globalisation and the Future of Terrorism: Patterns and Predictions*, 167.

societies and traditional nation-states.<sup>43</sup> I have created six general groupings of terrorist affiliations, mainly categorized by their source of motivation with potential for overlap.<sup>44</sup> For example, groups like al Qaeda and ISIS do not neatly fit into one category: they have elements of religious, international, and separatist groups.

**Domestic:** These terrorists are local and homegrown. They operate within and against their country and focus their efforts on domestic social and political issues. They are most often motivated by anti-government sentiments, anarchy, nationalism, separatism, racism or bigotry.

**Ethnocentric/Social:** Ethnocentric groups use race as the defining characteristic and basis of cohesion in society. They consider a particular group superior because of their racial characteristics. Social groups are often considered single-issue terrorists, inspired by contentious social issues including abortion, animal rights, and the environment.

**International/Transnational:** International groups have a specific base and geographic focus for their activities but operate in multiple countries. Transnational groups operate internationally, but are not tied to a particular country and are based out of multiple countries simultaneously. These groups target states with different ethnic groups, religions, national interests, and political systems.

**Nationalist/Separatist:** Nationalists have strong loyalty to a particular nation, and place their national culture and interests above all others. There can be a desire to create a new nation, or splinter off to join an existing state with a shared national identity. Separatist groups aspire to separate from existing entities in search of independence, religious

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Terrorism Research, "Categories of Terrorist Groups," accessed March 23, 2017. <http://www.terrorism-research.com/groups/categories.php>.

freedom, and political autonomy. Separatists subscribe to social justice, anti-imperialism, and resist occupation by a foreign power.

**Political/Revolutionary:** Political groups focus on the organization and structure of governments and communities. Revolutionary groups are dedicated to the overthrow of an established order and replacing it with a new political or social structure.

**Religious:** Terrorists motivated by religion view their mission as a holy directive, making their goals irrefutable and non-negotiable. All major world religions have extremists that have used violence to further their perceived religious goals but Islamist terrorist organizations have been the most active and are currently the greatest threat.

Based on these groupings, the anti-globalization wave will see the most terrorist activity from domestic, ethnocentric, nationalist, separatist, international, transnational, political, and religious groups. All groups vary in their ideologies but share common nationalist desires, to seek greater autonomy from government institutions, strengthen an existing state, or create a new, more perfected society free of undesirable influences. Rapoport claims that nationalism has cut across all four previous waves, and depending on the era, nationalist objectives been couched in the language of different ideologies and will continue to do so in the future.<sup>45</sup>

I agree with Celso and Kaplan's added element of dynamism in that a handful of existing fourth wave jihadist terrorist groups will carry over, inspired by any lingering anti-Muslim sentiments in the public discourse. ISIS, Boko Haram, the Taliban, and al

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<sup>45</sup> Weinberg and Eubank, *An End to the Fourth Wave of Terrorism?* 596.

Qaeda were responsible for 74 percent of all deaths from terrorism in 2015.<sup>46</sup> These terrorist groups will likely continue in the foreseeable future but may eventually fade out during the fifth wave, either through loss of key leadership or lack of internal support resulting from a generational shift in their membership. Far right political parties with xenophobic tendencies and anti-Muslim rhetoric will perpetuate the al Qaeda and ISIS anti-Western “us vs. them” narrative, giving them inspiration to continue global attacks with particular emphasis in the West. Non-Islamist extremist groups will also be perpetrators of fifth wave violence if they believe their religious or nationalist beliefs are under attack by outside influences. There are approximately 54 recognized extremist organizations operating across the U.S., including racial, religious, and anti-government coalitions.<sup>47</sup>

Lone operators, either inspired by or receiving direct assistance from larger terrorist groups, will play an important role in the anti-globalization wave. Since 2006, 98 percent of all fatalities from terrorism in the U.S. have resulted from attacks carried out by lone actors, resulting in 156 deaths.<sup>48</sup> In 2015, lone assailants were responsible for 22% of terrorist related deaths in countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.<sup>49</sup> In the absence of direct contact, fifth wave terrorist groups will continue to target and inspire individuals to act on their own in order to

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<sup>46</sup> Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2016*, 49.

<sup>47</sup> Southern Poverty Law Center, “Extremist Groups,” accessed March 21, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/groups>.

<sup>48</sup> Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2016*, 35.

<sup>49</sup> Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2015*, 45.

maximize their operational reach. During 2015 and the first half of 2016, half of all plots with an ISIS connection were carried out by people who showed sympathy to ISIS but had no direct contact with their operatives.<sup>50</sup>

## **Goals**

Fifth wave groups will use dramatic action to further polarize societies and force governments to address the perceived negative impacts of globalization among certain populations. Governments favoring ongoing global integration will face the most resistance from groups seeking to act on their nationalist agendas and protect their indigenous culture. Fifth wave groups will seek to assert their identities within a larger global society, and will resist efforts by governments and minority ethnic and religious populations to become further amalgamated. Some domestic terror groups will likely desire stricter immigration and seek greater autonomy from transnational governing bodies by designing targeted violence campaigns to weaken the institutional weight of the world's largest international organizations like the EU, UN, NATO, and World Trade Organization.<sup>51</sup>

The tension created by the migration-terrorism nexus will cause some international groups to attack Western nations with increasing populist ideals that are developing xenophobic and discriminatory agendas targeting specific religious and minority populations. These affected groups will react to feeling threatened and will use violence as a way to intimidate governments to push for reforms to help integrate them into society.

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<sup>50</sup> Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2016*, 43.

<sup>51</sup> Lia, *Globalisation and the Future of Terrorism: Patterns and Predictions*, 19.



## Tactics

Explosive devices will continue to be a popular tactic among fifth wave terrorist group. Suicide attacks, vehicular bombs, and improvised explosive devices can create the maximum amount of casualties during an attack and will likely be used on soft targets and in large crowded settings. Between 2013-2015, 80% of weapons used in ISIS attacks were explosives, including bombs, dynamite, and suicide attacks.<sup>52</sup> Social distance affects the likelihood of “mass-casualty terrorism” against targets in different parts of the world.<sup>53</sup> Adversaries operating in different physical planes or belonging to different socio-economic groups are more likely to engage in highly destructive acts rather than less deadly forms of terrorism like assassinations or guerilla warfare.<sup>54</sup> Symbolic targets will continue to be attacked in an effort to spur changes in policy. Groups frustrated with globalization or migration may attack European Union facilities in Brussels, multi-national corporations, or target migrants and refugee camps throughout Europe. Other Western targets representing economic frustrations may also be attractive to terrorist groups.

Tactics from earlier waves will still be used, but as Jeffrey Simon points out, advanced technology will be the new weapon. As terrorists become more computer literate their activities in cyberspace will include sophisticated and covert methods of internal and external communications, propaganda, recruiting, fund-raising, intelligence

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<sup>52</sup> National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, “Patterns of Islamic State-Related Terrorism, 2002-2015,” August 2016, accessed March 16, 2017, [http://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/START\\_IslamicStateTerrorismPatterns\\_BackgroundReport\\_Aug2016.pdf](http://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/START_IslamicStateTerrorismPatterns_BackgroundReport_Aug2016.pdf).

<sup>53</sup> Lia, *Globalisation and the Future of Terrorism: Patterns and Predictions*, 22.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

gathering, and information warfare.<sup>55</sup> Terrorists are also increasing their clandestine methods to conceal communications, including reliance on encryption technology that prevents law enforcement from intercepting messages while in transit or accessing electronic devices obtained from attackers post incident. A growing number of technology companies are making encryption a default feature on their products while the source code behind encryption is widely available online, allowing terrorists to create and customize their own encryption software.<sup>56</sup> A U.S. government mandate to require legal “exceptional access” on devices would only cover a portion of what is available in the marketplace, foreign vendors subject to different laws and regulations provide approximately two-thirds of all encrypted products available to consumers.<sup>57</sup>

The anti-censorship culture in democratic societies, which in most cases protects free speech even when the content is violent or discriminatory, allows terrorists and extremist organizations to freely spread propaganda and operate websites with little resistance. Extremist groups use carefully designed tools to psychologically manipulate target audiences, many have tailored websites with specific appealing content for women children, and frequently embed links in their sites to refer users from one extremist

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<sup>55</sup> Andrew Silke, “The Internet & Terrorist Radicalization: The Psychological Dimension,” in *Terrorism and the Internet: Threats, Target Groups, Deradicalisation Strategies*, ed. Hans-Liudger Dienel, Yair Sharan, Christian Rapp, and Niv Ahituv (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2010), 28.

<sup>56</sup> Combating Terrorism Center, “How Terrorists Use Encryption,” June 16, 2016, accessed March 30, 2017, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/how-terrorists-use-encryption>.

<sup>57</sup> U.S. House of Representatives Homeland Security Committee Majority Staff Report, “Going Dark, Going Forward: A Primer on the Encryption Debate,” June 2016, accessed June 30, 2016, <https://homeland.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Staff-Report-Going-Dark-Going-Forward.pdf>.

website to another.<sup>58</sup> Efforts by governments and private technology companies operating social media sites to shut down accounts affiliated with terrorist activity often find mirror sites opening up in different countries with different regulations so that no one government can police or censor the content terrorist groups are posting online.<sup>59</sup>

These new public facing attention-seeking methods represent a fundamental shift in how terrorist organizations are operating in a digital world. Before the creation of the Internet, terrorists spent most of their time working in the shadows, clandestinely recruiting members and keeping their objectives hidden from governments. Propaganda is not a new tool, in the earliest days of modern terrorism the Anarchists relied on pamphlets and manifestos to recruit sympathizers and instruct members on how to carry out attacks. In modern times we can expect on-line engagement to have a greater influence than real world propaganda. A recent study showed that during observations of participants who visited websites for legal and legitimate purposes, more than half the group ended up viewing illegal and deviant material, suggesting that “the anonymous nature of internet use encouraged people to engage in behavior and view material which they would normally avoid in the real world,”<sup>60</sup> In the absence of international regulations to mitigate and prevent terrorist activity online, Internet trends that started in the fourth wave will carry on and continue to have significant effect during the fifth wave.

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<sup>58</sup> Eli Hacoen, “Digital Hate: Terror, Anti-Semitism and Racism on the Internet,” in *Terrorism and the Internet: Threats, Target Groups, Deradicalisation Strategies*, ed. Hans-Liudger Dienel, Yair Sharan, Christian Rapp, and Niv Ahituv (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2010), 5.

<sup>59</sup> Silke, *The Internet & Terrorist Radicalization: The Psychological Dimension*, 29.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 33.

There are already several instances of state-sponsored cyber attacks on governments, private corporations, and critical infrastructure that are likely to encourage rogue organizations to follow suit. In 2013, hackers associated with the Iranian government attacked U.S. infrastructure by infiltrating the control systems of a small dam in New York State, in conjunction with a larger plot that successfully breached 46 of the nation's largest financial institutions by taking their websites offline and blocking hundreds of thousands of customers from accessing their accounts.<sup>61</sup> The following year, Sony Pictures was hacked by a group allegedly sponsored by North Korea, which leaked sensitive and personal information about Sony employees, and the United States Office of Personnel Management and Budget was breached when hackers stole sensitive personal information on millions of current and former government employees. Attacks in cyberspace may not cause direct physical harm, but will always create fear and panic if essential systems are compromised or corrupted.

Terrorists are likely to emulate these earlier cyber disruptions and design similar attempts to compromise critical infrastructure, financial markets, and military systems. As new technology becomes available to consumers, terrorists will be more likely to find ways to exploit the features for their purposes. Small unmanned aerial vehicles are rapidly appearing in many private industries including land-surveying, film making, and delivery services, but these small commercial drones have also become a popular weapon for ISIS soldiers that modify the devices to drop bombs on Iraqi and U.S. forces fighting in Mosul. Commercial drones have become relatively inexpensive and easy to obtain but

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<sup>61</sup> Joseph Berger, "A Dam, Small and Unsung, Is Caught Up in an Iranian Hacking Case," *New York Times*, March 25, 2015, accessed April 10, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/26/nyregion/rye-brook-dam-caught-in-computer-hacking-case.html>.

their growing presence in conflict zones and the public domain raises serious safety concerns in regards to their dual use. The development of autonomous cars also poses a dual use challenge. There are sound arguments that eliminating the human factor from driving may reduce vehicular accidents and driving fatalities, but also opens up the possibility that the systems controlling the cars could be hacked and used to cause harm. With every new invention, engineers must anticipate some nefarious use as terrorists and other bad actors increasingly attempt to manipulate technology in their favor.

The fifth wave may give birth new terrorist groups that *only* operate in the technological space, creating elusive networks whose actions will be difficult to predict and prevent. Cyberspace attacks provide a sense of anonymity, often with very low personal risk and financial cost for the attacker, making it an attractive option to act on a political agenda or express extremist views. An increasing number of technology savvy terrorists specializing in digital warfare could attempt to disrupt military grade computer systems, or compromise private systems of multi-national corporations and other entities representing the effects of globalization. Social oppression, whether real or perceived, makes individuals supporting minority groups more willing to use electronic warfare against their home country.<sup>62</sup>

The Anti-Globalization wave theory supports David Rapoport's initial suggestion that the current Religious wave will phase out by 2025, even though some of its groups are likely to carry on. If the sectarian fighting in Syria and Iraq continues, and immigration policies remain stagnant and exclusionary in the face of mass migration

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<sup>62</sup> Thomas J. Holt, Max Kilger, Lichun Chiang, and Chu-Sing Yang, "Exploring the Behavioral and Attitudinal Correlates of Civilian Cyberattacks," in *Social Networks, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism: Radical and Connected*, ed. Martin Bouchard (New York: Routledge, 2015), 146.

patterns, contemporary populism will continue to spread throughout the West and cause Anti-Globalization terrorist groups to coalesce as we head into the third decade of the twenty-first century.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION**

Globalization is causing a massive backlash within Western political establishments. The traditional left and right paradigm for political alignment is being challenged as electorates in Western democratic nations are subtly re-aligning their beliefs either in favor of continued global integration or against the economic and social changes caused by globalization. The confluence of the political, economic, and social tensions arising from the discourse over globalization will foster a new wave of terrorism, in an attempt to return to a global order with stronger borders, enhanced local culture, and less economic disparity within individual nation states.

The Religious wave of terrorism has undoubtedly been the most lethal and tenacious of all four waves presented in Rapoport's model. Islamist extremist groups have directed intense efforts towards attacking the West during the last two decades, and will fight to remain relevant in the future political landscape. Violent religious extremist groups like al Qaeda and ISIS are not likely to disappear in the coming years but their ongoing religious crusades will be overshadowed by the more immediate systemic tensions in the West as governments struggle to adapt to the growing polarization between pro and anti-globalization populations.

The tragedy on September 11 was a turning point in the history of modern terrorism and powerful display of the ability of a non-state actor to alter our perception of international security. Throughout the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the U.S. exercised military and diplomatic pressure against state sponsors of terrorism and relied on international

deterrence strategies to help mitigate the threat of states developing weapons of mass destruction. Post September 11, the U.S. recalibrated towards a more pre-emptive stance and formally declared war against an elusive network of terrorists and its supporters, rather than an individual nation-state or alliance of states.<sup>1</sup> Previously held assumptions about international terrorism were dismissed, and the world scrambled to make sense of a new modern brand of terrorism and extremist threats.

The attacks on September 11 were the culmination of an emerging hatred directed at the West, a society viewed as imperialistic, dominating the free market society, and hypocritical in their foreign policy.<sup>2</sup> The West, particularly the U.S., is considered by smaller nations as the main driver and largest benefactor of globalization, seeking to use its effects to gain advantages in the free market while Third World countries suffer drastic economic consequences. Globalization increases interconnectedness among nations, allowing people, information, and material goods to flow easily across borders, but its disruptive effects also motivate anti-Western, anti-U.S. terrorism in less developed parts of the world.<sup>3</sup> As new and weakened states struggle to survive and find their place within a shifting highly connected global order, they will be increasingly vulnerable to violent internal conflicts and transnational terrorism.

Technology, particularly the Internet, will play an important role in the future of terrorism and fifth wave theories. Jeffrey Simon argues the Internet will be the energy sustaining his Technological wave, while the Anti-Globalization wave theory put forth in

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<sup>1</sup> Lia, *Globalisation and the Future of Terrorism: Patterns and Predictions*, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 188.



this thesis suggests a significant tactic of fifth wave groups will be to use technology in an attempt to antagonize counterterrorism efforts and cause harmful civil disruptions. The dangers of violating privacy, abusing surveillance techniques, and restricting personal freedoms are ongoing concerns as the international community continues to fight sophisticated terrorist organizations in an increasingly interconnected world. As we move deeper into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, governments will continually be challenged to keep citizens safe in the physical and digital worlds.

Advances in technology are intended to provide positive contributions to society, but are frequently exploited by those wanting to cause harm in the public realm.

Terrorists use the latest technology to their benefit and we must now anticipate the harmful use of technology before, during, and after incidents. Encryption technology on electronic devices is intended to shield users from having their communications and personal information accessed by third parties; however, counterterrorism and law enforcement officials have grown increasingly concerned over terrorist organizations using encryption to secure their communications and avoid detection. Public debate on encryption issues surged in 2015 following the terrorist attacks in Paris and San Bernardino, particularly when it became clear the assailants used encrypted communication prior to the attacks. Encryption has increasingly become a standard feature of computers, smartphones, and online messaging apps, and terrorists are finding new ways to exploit the privacy it ensures to recruit members, raise funds, and plan attacks.

Government agencies, private industry, civil liberties advocates, and consumers of technology products have all joined in the vociferous debate over encryption and its

harmful exploitation. Technology companies have responded to the growing demand to protect consumer data by designing products with built-in encryption and password-protected usage, absolving themselves of the ability to access devices, leaving the sole capability in the hands of the device owners. The U.S. intelligence and law enforcement communities argue that their ability to intercept certain communications stored on smartphones has been hindered by companies using technology structures that prevent them from lawfully gaining access.<sup>4</sup> Governments have expressed concern that without access to electronic communications, their ability to detect and prevent future terrorist attacks or thoroughly investigate incidents after the fact will be limited.

The idea of “exceptional access” requiring communications service providers to engineer their products in a way that guarantees law enforcement can access data as long as it obtained legally through a warrant or court order,<sup>5</sup> has alarmed the technology community, privacy advocates, consumers. Many technology experts argue that mandating exceptional access would likely introduce security flaws and vulnerabilities that would weaken the security of products.<sup>6</sup> As long as any third party has access,

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<sup>4</sup>The Berkman Center for Internet & Society at Harvard University, “*Don't Panic. Making Progress In The 'Going Dark' Debate,*” (2016), 1, accessed February 2, 2016, [https://cyber.law.harvard.edu/pubrelease/dont-panic/Dont\\_Panic\\_Making\\_Progress\\_on\\_Going\\_Dark\\_Debate.pdf](https://cyber.law.harvard.edu/pubrelease/dont-panic/Dont_Panic_Making_Progress_on_Going_Dark_Debate.pdf).

<sup>5</sup>Massachusetts Institute of Technology Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence Laboratory Technical Report, *Keys Under Doormats: Mandating Insecurity By Requiring Government Access To All Data And Communications* (Cambridge, MA, 2015).

<sup>6</sup>Terrell McSweeney, "Worried About Your Data Security? How Encryption Can Help Protect Your Personal Information," *The Huffington Post*, last modified 2016, accessed February 2, 2016, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/terrell-mcsweeney/worried-about-your-data-s\\_b\\_8083756.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/terrell-mcsweeney/worried-about-your-data-s_b_8083756.html).

mechanisms to open devices could be compromised or corrupted,<sup>7</sup> and unintentionally allow access to other governments engaging in espionage or hackers seeking to steal information.<sup>8</sup>

Following the Paris and San Bernardino attacks, security experts debated whether allowing governments to have exceptional access to encrypted data would disrupt terrorist activity or create new vulnerabilities in technology that could be exploited by bad actors. Without the encryption keys, technology companies are incapable of gaining access to communications in transit or stored on mobile devices, even if law enforcement has a legal warrant or court order for the service providers to turn over the communications.<sup>9</sup> This phenomenon has been termed “going dark” and characterizes the concern and “widening gap between law enforcement’s legal privilege to intercept electronic communications and its practical ability to actually intercept those communications.”<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that in the case of the San Bernardino attacker, the government eventually found a way into the recovered phone without assistance from the manufacturer.

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<sup>7</sup> Herb Lin, "Reflections On 'It's Not A Technical Issue. It's A Business Model Question' (Comey To Senate Judiciary Committee, 12/19/15)," *LawFare*, accessed January 4, 2016, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/reflections-its-not-technical-issue-its-business-model-question-comey-senate-judiciary-committee>.

<sup>8</sup> Nicole Perlroth, "Tech Giants Urge Obama To Reject Policies That Weaken Encryption," *New York Times*, last modified 2015, accessed February 6, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/20/technology/tech-giants-urge-obama-to-reject-policies-that-weaken-encryption-technology.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Berkman Center for Internet & Society, *Don't Panic*, 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

In the absence of clear legal mandates governing encryption technology, private industry has a moral obligation to fully and lawfully assist the government in the interest of national security, but they face increasing challenges to protect consumers as more terrorist and extremist groups use technology to spread their ideology. The proliferation of terrorist social media accounts has also pulled private industry into the debate surrounding free speech and online terrorist activity. The Internet has revolutionized global communications by providing a universal platform for people all over the world to connect instantaneously. Terrorist organizations use the Internet as a force multiplier to recruit, radicalize, and fundraise, and have created highly sophisticated propaganda machines using social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. People not affiliated with terrorist groups may view their content and either develop sympathy towards their cause or act on the violent philosophies these groups support, creating concern over the influence that online terrorist activity and advocacy may have.<sup>11</sup> By using social media sites, terrorists spread their ideology with relative ease, raising concerns of “whether it would be permissible for the federal government to restrict or prohibit the publication and distribution of speech that advocates the commission of terrorist acts when that speech appears on the Internet.”<sup>12</sup>

Suggesting government restrictions on speech that advocates terrorism and its related activities raises serious First Amendment issues, although some argue that eliminating or restricting terrorist propaganda from the digital environment will reduce

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<sup>11</sup> Kathleen Ann Ruane, “The Advocacy of Terrorism on the Internet: Freedom of Speech Issues and the Material Support Statutes,” *Congressional Research Service*, (September 8, 2016): 1, accessed March 24, 2017, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/R44626.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

the risk of self-radicalization.<sup>13</sup> A growing number of social media companies have policies to remove terrorist content or the accounts of terrorist groups. Facebook and Twitter stipulate in their terms of service that speech advocating violence and terrorism is prohibited on their sites and have increased efforts to shut down accounts associated with terrorist organizations or the advocacy of their ideologies.<sup>14</sup> These efforts have proved challenging given the volume of accounts that are controlled by terrorist organizations. In 2014, it was estimated that ISIS controlled over 30,000 accounts on Twitter,<sup>15</sup> which raises an important question over whether providing a social media account constitutes material support for terrorist organizations. Some have argued that when social media sites issue accounts to terrorist groups, those sites are providing a service that constitutes material support, even if they have no prior knowledge of which users will post violent content or be affiliated with terrorist groups prior to the activating an account.<sup>16</sup> Billions of people use social media and companies operating the sites would be faced with a tremendous burden to perform background checks on every potential account holder, in addition to additional privacy concerns for users.<sup>17</sup>

Electronic communication is a hallmark of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. We rely on mobile electronic devices to talk, send messages, and store personal information. Shortly after September 11, the U.S. government changed surveillance laws in an attempt to bolster

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

counterterrorism efforts and capture foreign communications, but also made it easier to obtain information on American citizens by expanding the government's authority to "monitor phone and email communications, collect bank and credit reporting records, and track the activity of innocent Americans on the Internet."<sup>18</sup> In 2013, former U.S. Government employee Edward Snowden released classified documents to the press revealing that the National Security Agency (NSA) was collecting telephone records and tracking online communications of tens of millions of Americans, while the U.K. Government Communications Headquarters was similarly monitoring communications and sharing its findings with the NSA.<sup>19</sup> Within the same cache of documents provided by Snowden, it was revealed that the NSA had been using electronic surveillance in European Union buildings and embassies, and monitoring the communications and cell phones of world leaders, creating public embarrassment and deep international tension among U.S. allies.

There is a growing need to consider ethical decision making challenges in counterterrorism and similar security related fields. Within these professions, methods to avoid risk may lead to decisions that unnecessarily restrain civil liberties in a way that is disproportionate to the threat environment or likelihood of attacks.<sup>20</sup> There is currently no inventory of proven scientific methods that support ethical decision-making processes in

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<sup>18</sup> American Civil Liberties Union, "Surveillance Under the Patriot Act," accessed March 30, 2017, <https://www.aclu.org/infographic/surveillance-under-patriot-act>.

<sup>19</sup> BBC, "Edward Snowden: Leaks that Exposed US Spy Programme," January 17, 2014, accessed March 30, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-23123964>.

<sup>20</sup> Anaïs Reding, Anke Van Gorp, Kate Robertson, Agnieszka Walczak, Chris Giacomantonio, Stijn Hoorens, "Handling Ethical Problems in Counterterrorism: An Inventory of Methods to Support Ethical Decisionmaking," *RAND Europe*, (2014), 41, accessed April 4, 2017, [http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\\_reports/RR200/RR251/RAND\\_RR251.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR200/RR251/RAND_RR251.pdf).

the counterterrorism field but there are a variety of methods that may prove helpful. Ethical decision-making will always be a part of working in security related fields where broad policy objectives and situation specific decisions may require additional scrutiny over short-term success and long-term implications that affect moral values and human rights.<sup>21</sup>

Ethically sound decisions in the field of counterterrorism must be evaluated against the following criteria: (1) Ensuring the proportionality and legitimacy of actions and interventions; (2) Operational cost-effectiveness; (3) Balancing transparency and exposing sensitive material; and (4) Maintaining integrity in varying situations against different moral values.<sup>22</sup> Decision-making within the field of counterterrorism exhibits certain characteristics including secrecy, time sensitivity in decision-making, the low frequency, high impact nature of attacks, and extensive collaboration within governments and between international partners.<sup>23</sup> The sensitive or classified nature of intelligence information prohibits wide dissemination, thereby allowing a limited number of perspectives on the ethical aspects.<sup>24</sup> Some counterterrorism and national security situations require immediate action on the basis of imperfect or incomplete information, increasing the likelihood of infringing on civil liberties, at least in the short-term, while long-term efforts to eliminate the risk of low frequency, high impact terrorist attacks may also be to the detriment of civil liberties. Counterterrorism requires collaboration within

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

and between governments, which may lead to disagreements and tensions over what is ethical based on the different perspectives of the decision-making parties.<sup>25</sup>

In 2014, RAND Europe released a report outlining methods that counterterrorism and security professionals may draw from to support ethical decision-making. Their report identifies six types of methods that when used in decision-making may reduce the likelihood of violating civil liberties and individual rights.<sup>26</sup> They include: (1) Mitigation methods to reduce ethical problems that may create unethical decision-making; (2) Professional development methods to help identify, evaluate, and respond to ethical conflicts; (3) Guidance methods to serve as a reminder of the laws, policies, and standards of individual institutions; (4) Leadership methods to encourage and reinforce ethical practices at all levels of institutions; (5) Advice methods to provide guidance and direction for professionals in ethical decision-making; and (6) Oversight methods providing independent checks and reviews of decisions in place.<sup>27</sup>

Terrorism and counterterrorism present a host of normative and ethical problems for contemporary societies and their governments in an increasingly interconnected world. Professionals tasked with protecting national security and preventing terrorism are often forced to make critical decisions in real time without the advantage of weighing competing options and analyzing long-term risks. The methods identified in the RAND Europe report are likely to help reinforce the importance of ethical decision-making and foster a more values driven culture within the intelligence, law enforcement, and national

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.



security communities. Before making decisions or implementing policies to counter terrorism, one must consider whether the response is proportionate to the problem at hand, determine whether it is necessary given the nature of the threat, evaluate the legality of the action, and determine the accountability of those carrying out the decision.<sup>28</sup> Through the application of ethical decision-making criteria, governments and private entities must continue to work together within a networked structure to maximize security capabilities and provide a transparent, holistic approach to fighting terrorism.

David Rapoport created his wave theory to offer a unique perspective on the history of modern terrorism and provide a deeper understanding of the motivations behind the September 11 attacks and the resulting global response. Rapoport successfully translated more than a century of political violence into a coherent wave model to explain the catalysts, groups, goals, and tactics of modern terrorist organizations. Even with an increased understanding of the history of terrorism, governments must use caution as they get further away from the traditional inter-state conflict model and are forced to adapt new unconventional methods to defeat violent non-state actors. Terrorism creates panic, anger, and fear, and can undermine a society's moral conventions<sup>29</sup> if countermeasures are overly reactive and infringe on civil liberties. A new wave of terrorism begins to emerge in the coming years we must continue to balance the techniques we use to protect citizens against the need to get ahead of threats.

As we approach the end of the Religious wave of modern terrorism, there may be additional fifth wave theories similar to the existing hypotheses that were analyzed in this

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>29</sup> Rapoport, *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*, 67.

thesis, or new alternative suggestions that have entirely different elements. A looming question is whether David Rapoport will revisit his theory, either to extend the life cycle of the fourth wave or expand the model to include a new fifth wave. In the time since his theory was published, the international ingredients influencing terrorism have undergone massive and rapid changes with assistance from globalization and advances in technology. As the architect of the most comprehensive theoretical model of terrorism, Professor Rapoport's evolving opinion on the future of terrorism would be well received.

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