CHAPTER 9

Emerging Terrorist Environments

Gender-Selective Political Violence and Criminal Dissident Terrorism

OPENING VIEWPOINT: ISIS GENDER-SELECTIVE TERRORISM

When the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) captured large swaths of territory during its 2014 offensive, it summarily executed male prisoners and detained and confined thousands of Christian, Yazidi, and Shi'a girls and women. Female prisoners were systematically processed by ISIS either to become forced "wives" for their fighters or to be enslaved for sexual exploitation and menial work. The terms of enslavement were formally codified under ISIS's self-created legal system.[a]

The ISIS legal system imposed exceptionally harsh constraints and penalties on those residing in its territory. For example, democracy was rejected; killing "nonbelievers" was obligatory; beheading, burning, stoning, and other methods of execution were ritually imposed; training boy soldiers was a "nation-building" practice; and special taxes were imposed on non-Sunnis. ISIS justified its draconian legal edicts by codifying their own interpretations of religious documents and Islamic traditions. Applying these edicts, ISIS routinely killed captured men and enslaved captured women. ISIS also established legal strictures on the treatment of female slaves, regulated slave prices, opened slave markets, normalized sexual exploitation, and legally justified the ownership of slaves.[b]

Yazidis are followers of an ancient religion with roots in Zoroastrianism. ISIS conducted genocidal violence against Yazidis found within its territory. Hundreds of Yazidi men were summarily executed, and thousands of girls and women were enslaved or otherwise given to ISIS fighters as spoils of war. Although Christians and Shi'a were also singled out for repressive exploitation, Yazidis received particularly harsh treatment in an apparent policy of extermination.

The stories of rescued and escaped survivors have been compiled by rights organizations, the media, and other institutions, and human rights organizations documented ISIS abuse of captured girls and women. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch released significant reports documenting specific events, accusing ISIS of committing systematic violence that is specifically directed against "enemy" men, girls, and women.[c]

Governments and human rights agencies consider the ISIS campaign of summary executions and enslavement to be a conscious policy of using sexual assault as a method of repression and subjugation. These practices are considered to be crimes against humanity.[d]

Notes

a. See Banerjee, Brinda. "ISIS Issues Fatwa With Rules on Sexual Slavery." *Newstex Global Business Blogs*, December 29, 2015.

b. For a discussion of ISIS legal justifications, see Kibble, David G. "Beheading, Raping, and Burning: How the Islamic State Justifies Its Actions." *Military Review* (March–April 2016): 28–35.
c. See Amnesty International. *Escape From Hell: Torture and Sexual Slavery in Islamic State Captivity in Iraq*. London: Amnesty International, 2014. See also Human Rights Watch. *Iraq: Women Suffer Under ISIS*. New York: Human Rights Watch, April 5, 2016; and Miller, Michael E. "Islamic State's 'War Crimes' Against Yazidi Women Documented." *Washington Post*, April 16, 2015.
d. See Bever, Lindsey. "Amnesty International: Iraqi Yazidi Women Face Torture, Sexual Slavery and Suicide." *Washington Post*, December 23, 2014.

This chapter is cutting-edge in the sense that it discusses the global community's growing recognition of two emerging terrorist environments: gender-selective political violence and criminal dissident terrorism. Until recently, neither environment received consistent recognition as discernible terrorist environments. However, it may be argued that both environments have identifiable characteristics that pose serious challenges to domestic populations, governments, and the international community. In the case of gender-selective terrorist violence, such behavior was historically subsumed under other events, such as war and rebellion. In the case of criminal dissident terrorism, powerful criminal enterprises rarely engaged in the same quality of violence as began during the late 20th century.

The discussion in this chapter demonstrates that violent extremism is a conceptually dynamic construct. Terrorist typologies presented in prior chapters are certainly at the center of analysis and policy making, but in the modern era the global community must be prepared for the emergence of new or hybrid typologies as well as new challenges to accepted policy-making theory. The foci of this chapter exemplify the challenge of identifying and responding to emerging terrorist environments.

The following attributes characterize the basic qualities of political violence against genders and dissident terrorists who are affiliated with criminal enterprises:

Gender-selective political violence refers to systematic violence directed against men and women that specifically targets them because of their gender. It can occur in a variety of environments, usually as the result of political conflict (including genocide), an enemy male population's perceived status as potential fighters, or perceived deviations from a female population's "proper place" within traditional cultures and belief systems. For example, gender-selective violence against women can be cultural in nature, reflecting violent reactions by mainstream groups (familial or social) against women who violate norms for women's conformity in society (usually as a lower status). Or violence can occur when dissident movements (such as ethnonationalist militias) specifically target the women of an enemy group as a method to terrorize them or destroy the group's cultural identity. Governments may also violently repress identifiably unacceptable behaviors among women.

Criminal dissident terrorism is motivated by sheer profit. This profit can be invested differently, depending on the goals of the criminal enterprise. **Traditional criminal enterprises** (such as Mexican drug cartels and the Italian Mafia) accumulate profits from criminal activity for personal pleasure and aggrandizement; they use violence so that the government will leave them alone. In contrast, **criminal-political enterprises**, such as Sri Lanka's Tamil Tigers and Colombia's Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), accumulate profits from criminal activity to sustain their movement; they use violence to advance their political agendas.

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❖ **Photo 9.1** Mexican soldiers secure a drug smuggling tunnel beneath the border between Tijuana and San Diego. Such tunnels are used to transport tons of illicit drugs into the United States and could theoretically be used by violent extremists.

Table 9.1 presents a model that compares the fundamental characteristics of gender-selective terrorism and criminal dissident terrorism. The discussion in this chapter will review the following:

- Culture and Conflict: Gender-Selected Victims of Terrorist Violence
- Protecting the Enterprise: Criminal Dissident Terrorism
- A Global Problem: Regional Cases of Criminal Dissident Terrorism

❖ Culture and Conflict: Gender-Selected Victims of Terrorist Violence

Gender-selective political violence is the discriminate use of force purposely directed against males or females of a particular group. It is often the product of communal discord, and it can become genocidal in scope. Thus, the degree of violence can range from violence committed by marauding guerrillas or armies to systematic abuse and killings as a matter of policy.

Historically, males and females have been specially selected for violent treatment because of their gender. Men and boys have been massacred en masse, women and girls have been the victims of mass rape, and both genders have suffered under the threat of gender-associated violence during times of war and hostile occupation. These behaviors were traditionally considered to be the unfortunate consequences of war. Recently, however, the United Nations and human rights agencies such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have construed systematic gender-selective violence as more than an unfortunate outcome. As discussed in the following sections, such violence has been redesignated as fundamentally genocidal and terrorist. In essence, gender-selective violence is a specific subset of horrific treatment that should be identified and considered. Common rationales for subjecting men and boys to gender-selective political violence include the following:

- to eliminate potential enemy fighters or soldiers
- massacre of existing fighters or soldiers who have been captured
- to destroy a patriarchal culture

Table 9.1 Characteristics of Gender-Selective and Criminal Dissident Terrorism

The actions of gender-motivated and criminal dissident terrorists can be contrasted in several ways, as can the actions of traditional criminal enterprises and criminal-political enterprises. When the decision has been made by these extremists to engage in terrorism, their activity profiles become very distinguishable.

The following table illustrates differences between these environments in their motives, goals, targets, personnel, and degrees of political agitation.

	Activity Profile				
Environment	***Motives***	***Goals***	***Targets***	***Personnel***	***Political Agitation***
Gender-selective terrorism	Cultural or political	Repression or cultural destruction	Enemy men and women or nonconformist women	Soldiers or militias or civilians	Active and public
Traditional criminal enterprises	Financial	Passive government	Active governments	Criminals	Reactive and anonymous
Criminal-political enterprises	Political	Revolutionary victory	Agents and symbols of oppression	Dissident activists	Active and public

Common rationales for subjecting women and girls to gender-selective political violence include the following:

- broad cultural repression of women and girls to force them to submit to their traditional roles
- taking enemy females as "spoils" of war
- symbolically destroying the "cultural chastity" of an enemy group through mass rape

Gender-Selective Terrorism Against Men

During the 20th century, males were selectively targeted during periods of conflict and unrest. They were typically selected as a way to eliminate potential fighters or during violent communal campaigns against enemy groups. Historical examples of gender-selective political violence against males include the following incidents:

- During the 1915–1917 Armenian Genocide, the Ottoman Empire exterminated most of the male Armenian population.
- During the 1941–1945 German war against the Soviet Union (Operation Barbarossa), an estimated 2.8 million Soviet prisoners of war died.
- During the 1988 Anfal Campaign, the Iraqi army killed thousands of military-age Kurdish males.
- During the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, Hutu militias killed many thousands of Tutsi and moderate Hutu males.
- During and after the ISIS offensive of 2014, Yazidi males were singled out and summarily executed.

Case in Point: Ethnic Cleansing and Males in Bosnia-Herzegovina

The civil wars in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s periodically descended into a three-way conflict between Croats, Bosnians, and Serbs. During the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, about 200,000 Bosnian Muslims died, and more than 2 million were forced from their homes as a result of fighting and ethnic cleansing sweeps. Although ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina began during the initial phase of Serb aggression, and Serbs were responsible for most "cleansing" campaigns, all three sides practiced it to some degree. Paramilitaries were particularly responsible for some of the most infamous incidents of the war. These paramilitaries included the Serb White Eagles, the Bosnian Muslim Patriotic League, and the Croat Defense Forces.

During the early phases of the conflict, regular Yugoslav (in effect, Serb) troops and Bosnian Serb militias rounded up Croat and Bosnian Muslim men for deportation to detention camps. For the first time since World War II, images were broadcast of gaunt men who had been detained in detention camps. In these camps, murder and torture were common. Many other cases exist of killings of males by Bosnian Serb forces during ethnic cleansing sweeps against Bosnian Muslim municipalities.

One case of gender-selective political violence against males in Bosnia-Herzegovina occurred in July 1995, when more than 7,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys were rounded up and killed by Bosnian Serb security forces. The massacre occurred

JOE KLAMAR/AFP/Getty Images

❖ **Photo 9.2** Forensic experts uncover the remains of victims of the 1995 Srebrenica massacre. The bodies had been transferred from an original burial site in an attempt to hide evidence from war crimes investigators.

in the aftermath of the collapse of Muslim defenses inside the besieged United Nations (UN)–protected "safe area" of Srebrenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina. The battle took place during a prolonged genocidal drive by Bosnian Serbs to create an "ethnically pure" Serb state within Bosnia, and the subsequent massacre was the worst mass killing in Europe since the end of World War II.

The selective killings of Bosnian males and many of the atrocities in the camps were prosecuted by the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)** as genocide and crimes against humanity.[1]

Background to Terrorism Against Women: Cultural Repression and Violence

Although extremism is often a precursor to terrorism, not all extremism leads to terrorist violence. The same is true when evaluating the precursors to political violence against women. Even though some cultures engage in patriarchal repression of women, not all gender-based cultural repression results in terrorist violence. Nonetheless, patriarchal repression can be a precursor to political violence against women.

For readers to critically assess the nature of terrorist violence directed against women, it is important to understand that, in many societies, rigorous cultural restrictions exist that relegate women and girls to second-class status. These cultural restrictions may regulate the behavior and dress of females, their independence from men, their access to basic services, the quality of their education, and their employment opportunities. In some ethnonational and religious cultures, traditional customs coercively (on occasion violently) impose significant restrictions on the ability of women and girls to be coequal members of society with men and boys. Many of these restrictions are quite repressive and can be forcefully imposed in the extreme. Gender-related restrictions may be officially enforced by law, and they may also be unofficially enforced in compliance with tribal, clan, or family customs.

Two modern cases in point—Saudi Arabia and Taliban Afghanistan—will facilitate readers' critical assessment of gender-specific cultural restrictions. In the case of Saudi Arabia, gender segregation and male-centered authority are imposed by law and custom. In the case of Taliban Afghanistan, gender segregation and male-centered authority were imposed with revolutionary fervor. In both cases, fundamentalist interpretations of religion form the underlying justification for gender-specific laws and customs.

Case in Point: The Status of Women in Saudi Arabia

Since the founding of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia by the al-Saud dynasty in 1932, Saudi society and government have been predicated on the strict implementation of the Wahhabi[2] interpretation of Islam and Islamic law. In accordance with this theocratic ideology, gender segregation is officially enforced throughout Saudi society. Women live restrictive lives and cannot drive motorized vehicles, attend the cinema, or observe sporting events. These restrictions are rigorously enforced under law. The following is also true in Saudi Arabia:[3]

- Women cannot vote.
- A woman must obtain permission to travel abroad in writing from a significant male, such as her father or husband. Authorities may require that the significant male travel with her.
- By custom, women should not walk in public unless accompanied by a male relative. Should they do so, it is presumed that such women are immoral. The same is true if women are found alone with an unrelated man.[4]
- By custom and law, women must comply with mandated codes of dress.[5]

Religious doctrines are enforced by a religious police force known as the Authority for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice, or the ***Mutaween***. In 2002, the *Mutaween* were the focus of public outcry (including government censure) when 15 girls died in a fire because they tried

to escape the blaze without proper head coverings. Officers from the *Mutaween* had forced them to remain inside the burning building.

Case in Point: Cultural Repression Under the Taliban in Afghanistan[6]

Afghanistan has undergone several regime changes in recent history, almost all of them through force of arms. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (1978–1992) fomented an insurgency that became a *jihad* against the occupation. After the Soviets withdrew, internecine fighting among the *mujahideen* became stalemated between several warlord-led factions. One faction of strict Islamists, the Taliban, gained superiority over the other factions, and it controlled about 90% of the country from 1998 until the U.S.-led invasion in late 2001. The Taliban applied its own interpretation of Islamic law, which mandated the following practices regarding women:

- Women were required to wear the *burka,* which completely covered their bodies from head to toe.
- Women were forbidden to work outside the home, except to provide health care to other women.
- Women were not permitted to be educated.
- Houses with women living inside were required to have windows facing the street covered with black paint so that the women would not be seen.
- Photographs and images of women could not be displayed or framed. For example, images of women in photo frames or on television were forbidden.
- Women's shoes could not make noise.
- Women could not appear at tourist areas or picnics.

Other Cases: Violent Cultural Repression of Women[7]

In the modern era, there exists an array of cultural sanctions—many of them unofficially enforced—directed against women who violate established cultural norms. Historically, these sanctions have varied in degree of severity and include ostracism from the group, public shaming, physical assaults, corporal punishment, maiming, and execution. Such punishments are rationalized as necessary to preserve indispensable values that guard the culture from undesirable change and an erosion of fundamental beliefs. For example, so-called **honor killings** occur with some frequency around the world, and they involve murders of women and girls who are perceived to have dishonored their family, clan, or tribe by their behavior. Members of the victim's family, clan, or tribe mete out such killings.[8]

Violent enforcement of traditional customs occurs in many cultures, so honor killings and other violence against women and girls remain acceptable practices in some societies. For example, culturally accepted violence against women and girls occurs under the following circumstances:

- In China and India, female infanticide continues to be practiced in some areas. The rationale is that boys are more desirable than girls.
- In some tradition-bound areas of the Muslim world, girls who have been sexually assaulted may be forced to marry their assailant to preserve the honor of their family.[9]
- In some traditional southern African societies, new widows are expected to submit to "cleansing" sexual relations with a relative of her deceased husband as a way to exorcise her husband's spirit and thus save her and her village from mental and physical disease.[10]
- In some countries, mainly in traditional Middle Eastern, African, and Asian societies, girls are subjected to ritualized genital mutilation (usually clitorectomies) prior to reaching puberty.[11] Amnesty International reports that approximately 135 million women have undergone the procedure, at a rate of perhaps 6,000 per day;[12] the World Health Organization estimates the number at 200 million girls and women.[13] The procedure is commonly referred to as **female genital mutilation (FGM)**, female genital cutting, or female circumcision. In some nations the rate of FGM is extremely high—in Egypt, an estimated 90% of women have undergone FGM.

An Emerging Recognition: Terrorism Against Women

State Terrorism Against Women

State terrorism is characterized by official government support for policies of violence, repression, and intimidation. Although soldiers or other government security personnel may participate in terrorist violence, surrogates of the state may also be supplied, supported, or otherwise encouraged to engage in terrorism. In effect, governments either directly engage in terrorism or unleash violent proxies to do so.

Most state-mandated terrorism against women is conducted by the armed forces of the state or state-supported proxies such as paramilitaries. Underlying reasons given for such violence include cowing an enemy into submission or the genocidal destruction of a culture. Such violence often accompanies a warlike political environment. Historically, state-mandated violence against women usually has arisen in two circumstances:

- at campaigns of conquest during wartime
- when there exists an overriding threat to the authority of the state from an indigenous ethnonational or religious group—in essence, when a potential uprising or other resistance is sensed

As with any case of state terrorism, the potential magnitude of state-mandated violence against women can be quite extreme. The following discussion explores two examples of large-scale terrorist violence against women (and men) by regular soldiers during wartime.

War of Conquest in East Asia: The "Rape of Nanking."[14] The practice of committing sexual violence against enemy females as a mode of warfare is very ancient. Such violence can occur on a massive scale over a period of time. Throughout the history of warfare, up to the present day, many armies have used rape to brutalize defeated enemies. For example, after heavy fighting in October to December 1937, the Japanese army seized the Chinese capital city of Nanking (modern-day Nanjing). What followed was an intensive campaign of brutalization by the Japanese occupiers, which became known as the **Rape of Nanking**.

Throughout a 6-week campaign, between 200,000 and 300,000 Chinese were killed, many thousands of whom were bayoneted, beheaded, or tortured. Captured Chinese soldiers and military-age males were used for bayonet practice (see Photo 3.4 in Chapter 3) or were beheaded with Samurai swords in accordance with the code of Bushido. An estimated 20,000 to 80,000 Chinese women and girls were raped by Japanese soldiers, and thousands of women and girls either were forced into sexual slavery as **"comfort women"** or were made to perform in perverse sex shows and pose for pornographic photographs as entertainment for Japanese troops. A large number of Chinese women and girls were killed by the Japanese. In the postwar era, Japanese political leaders have repeatedly denied that the Rape of Nanking occurred, or the existence of "comfort women," during the war.[15]

Suppressing Independence in South Asia: The Bangladesh Liberation War.[16] The war for Bangladesh's independence was fought from March to December 1971. It began as an attempt by Pakistan to suppress an independence movement in what was then a territory known as East Pakistan. The war is an example of a national policy of political suppression that included widespread violence against an indigenous female population.

In 1971, approximately 25 years after the partition of the Indian subcontinent into the nations and territories of India, West Pakistan, and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), extensive fighting broke out in East Pakistan when the Pakistani army was sent in to quell an independence movement. The invasion and suppression campaign were conducted with strong elements of religious and ethnonationalist vehemence. Although about 85% of the residents of East Pakistan were Muslims, they were more secular than the West Pakistanis, and most residents were ethnically related to the Bengalis of India. During the 9-month war, Pakistani forces systematically raped or killed hundreds of thousands of Bengali women and girls and executed males of military age. Perhaps 3 million Bengalis died, and the fighting did not end until the Indian army intervened on behalf of Bangladesh.

Dissident Terrorism Against Women

Most dissident terrorism against women is conducted by bands of insurgents or paramilitaries. Underlying reasons given for such violence include ethnic cleansing campaigns to remove an enemy group from a desired region or attacking enemy women as symbols of cultural identity. Such violence often occurs when central government authority is weak or when an insurgency is especially active. For example, as discussed in Chapter 6, Boko Haram insurgents in northeastern Nigeria kidnapped 276 mostly Christian schoolgirls in 2014, avowedly as war booty to be held as slaves and wives. The Nigerian military apparently received 4 hours' warning prior to the incursion but was unable to mobilize troops to prevent the kidnappings.

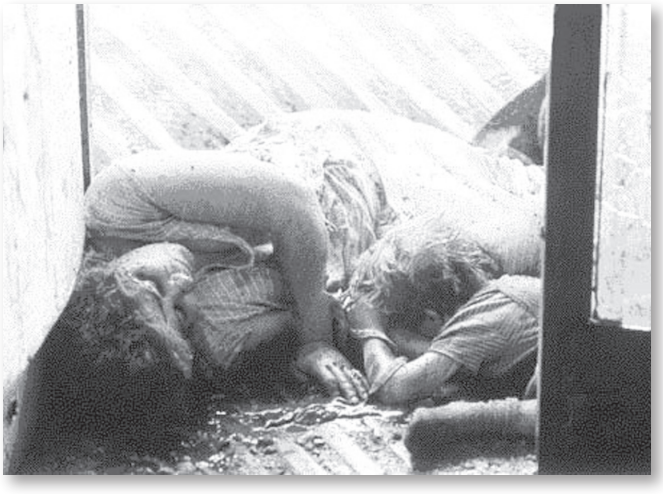
Dissident violence against women often occurs under circumstances that cause such gender-selective violence to be obscured by other circumstances. Many terrorist environments are communal in nature, so entire ethnonational, ideological, or religious groups become participants (and victims) in bloodshed against rival groups. Within these environments, reports of communal violence against women are sometimes overshadowed by reporting on other aspects of the conflict.

The following discussion explores three examples of dissident terrorist violence against women by irregular militias during periods of communal warfare.

Ethnic Cleansing and Violence Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ethnic cleansing sweeps in Bosnia-Herzegovina could be quite violent, and many civilians were killed. During the communal campaign against enemy civilians, paramilitaries and regular forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina specifically targeted the female population, and an estimated 20,000 women and girls were systematically raped during the war, most of them Bosnian Muslims. Investigations identified a particularly notorious practice among Serb paramilitaries of abducting women and imprisoning them in militia bases and "rape camps" and "rape hotels," where they were repeatedly assaulted over long periods of time. Because of the magnitude and official planning of these assaults, in 2001, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia formally held that systematic rape is genocide and can be prosecuted as a war crime. This decision was the first formal and official legal pronouncement on this issue by an international body.[17]

Anarchy in Sierra Leone.[18] The West African nation of Sierra Leone was founded as a British Crown Colony for freed slaves in 1808. A republic was established after independence in 1961, but the country descended into a brutal civil war in 1991. In 1991, the **Revolutionary United Front (RUF)**, led by Foday Sankoh, rebelled against the government. A rival rebel force, the **Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC)**, is typical of several other rebel movements that were organized, thus creating an increasingly anarchic environment.[19] Widespread human rights abuses of civilians occurred as government forces either resisted or allied themselves with rebel factions during several phases of the war. These phases were anarchic and included the following events:

- a military coup in May 1997
- intervention by a West African multinational armed force known as the ECOWAS[20] Cease Fire Observer Group (ECOMOG)
- reinstatement of civilian government
- a peace agreement
- collapse of the peace agreement



U.S. Department of State

❖ **Photo 9.3** A mother and child lie dead after a "cleansing" sweep by paramilitaries in Bosnia.

- intervention by troops under the direction of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMISIL)
- shifting alliances between government and rebel forces

The war caused at least 50,000 deaths and displaced more than 2 million people (out of a population of about 5.5 million).[21] In the countryside, rebels systematically abused civilians in horrific ways, including a notorious policy of chopping off hands, arms, and legs. Thousands of children were kidnapped, as were thousands of women and girls. Females who were abducted were systematically gang-raped or forced into sexual bondage, and many were tortured and killed, especially those who resisted assaults.[22] Rebel fighters regularly took in young women as sexual consorts, known as "bush wives." These atrocities were largely contained in the countryside until January 1999, when RUF forces attacked the capital of Freetown in a major offensive. ECOMOG troops were initially overrun and forced onto the defensive, but they eventually regained RUF-occupied sections of the city after 3 weeks of heavy fighting. During the RUF offensive, rebels systematically maimed, killed, and raped thousands of civilians as "punishment" for their support of the government. As they withdrew, RUF troops kidnapped a large number of young women and girls, thus repeating the pattern of group rape, sexual bondage, torture, and murder.

The Janjaweed Campaign Against "Enemy" Women in Darfur, Sudan. Darfur is a region in western Sudan with a population that is almost entirely Muslim. Although inhabitants are classified as either African or Arab, these distinctions are largely cultural. In practical terms, those classified as Arabs are mostly culturally "Arabized" Africans, and the government of Sudan is dominated by Arabized Sudanese.

In early 2003, two Darfur rebel movements, the Sudanese Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement, attacked government troops stationed in Darfur. Because the government had few soldiers in the region, and because it did not trust those who were there, it organized an alliance of Arab militias known as the **Janjaweed**. The term *Janjaweed* is roughly translated as "men on horses" because the Arabized population are herdsmen and often travel on camels with horses tied behind them. African residents in Darfur tend to be farmers.

From its inception, the war was brutal. With government arms and air support, the Janjaweed embarked on a policy of de facto ethnic cleansing and methodically burned African villages, killed many inhabitants, and drove others off the land.[23] About 2 million Africans were forced from the land, many taking refuge in neighboring Chad. Although both the Janjaweed and their adversaries are Muslims, Janjaweed fighters burned mosques. More than 50,000 people died.

As has occurred in many communal conflicts elsewhere, African women and girls were systematically sexually assaulted by Janjaweed fighters. One purpose of the assaults was to debase the culture of African Muslims by "defiling" their women. Another, more genocidal, purpose was to impregnate the women and thereby create "light" babies, which under local tradition would take on the ethnicity of their fathers.[24]

Governments and human rights agencies declared the Janjaweed campaign of systematic rape to be a conscious policy of using sexual assault as a weapon of war.[25]

Responding to Gender-Selective Political Violence

The international community did not collectively respond to gender-selective political violence until the close of the 20th century. At that time, prosecutions in international courts resulted in guilty verdicts for gender-motivated war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.

In September 1998, the United Nations **International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)** convicted a Hutu former mayor on nine counts of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.[26] Embedded in the ICTR decision were explicit references to sexual violence and rape as acts of genocide.

In February 2001, the ICTY convicted three Bosnian Serb men of war crimes and crimes against humanity.[27] In this case—designated the "Foca" decision after the location of the crimes—the court explicitly held that these crimes included the rape of Bosnian Muslim women and girls, as well as holding several victims in sexual slavery. Prior to these verdicts, most nations had classified wartime rape and other incidents of political violence against women as an unfortunate consequence of war.

During ongoing indictments and prosecutions, the Srebrenica massacre of men and boys and other incidents of violence against males were prosecuted by the ICTY in The Hague as acts of genocide and crimes against humanity.[28]

Private international agencies have also begun to actively investigate, document, and report gender-selective political violence, particularly violence against women and girls. These agencies include international human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, which have been instrumental in investigating and reporting campaigns of systematic terrorism against women in many conflicts. For example, Amnesty International published several reports documenting sexual enslavement by ISIS; its 2014 report *Escape From Hell: Torture and Sexual Slavery in Islamic State Captivity in Iraq* was an important document that brought ISIS abuses to the attention of the world community.[29] Human Rights Watch also published several studies documenting ISIS's enslavement and abuse of girls and women in its occupied territory.[30] Other organizations such as Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders) and Doctors of the World have documented systematic violence against women in the war zones where they carry out humanitarian missions. These organizations also document and report many testimonials by individual female victims of politically motivated rape, torture, and murder.

The work of humanitarian agencies can be hazardous. For example, two members of Médecins Sans Frontières were arrested by the Sudanese government in May 2005 in retaliation for the organization's publication of a document in late March 2005 titled *The Crushing Burden of Rape: Sexual Violence in Darfur [Sudan].* They were charged with publishing false information but were released in late June 2005.

In a remarkable example of widespread international opposition to gender-selective terrorism, the global human rights community focused attention on a 2012 Taliban assassination attempt in Pakistan. Malala Yousafzai was a teenage girl who from a young age engaged in activism on behalf of the education of girls in Afghanistan. She was fairly public in her activities, including writing a blog on behalf of the rights of girls in Pakistan. In October 2012 a gunman attempted to assassinate Yousafzai, shooting her in the face with a .45 caliber firearm. She survived the attack, and the global human rights community presented her case as an example of the plight of women in extreme political environments.

❖ Protecting the Enterprise: Criminal Dissident Terrorism

The modern era has witnessed the growth of a huge system of **transnational organized crime**. Organized crime exhibited minimal transnational characteristics in the past, but it in no way resembled the billion-dollar enterprises of modern arms and drug traffickers. Transnational organized crime has become an intricate web of illegal enterprise that incorporates both large and small criminal organizations that operate across national borders. Organizationally, some illegal enterprises are unsophisticated and gang-like in their operations, whereas others are highly sophisticated and organized as illicit businesses. The latter organizations have joined together from time to time to create international **criminal cartels** that try to regulate "product lines" such as refined cocaine.

Within this transnational web, criminal organizations have engaged in documented cases of terrorist violence, the characteristics of which can be summarized with at least two models:

1. Profit-motivated traditional criminal enterprises
2. Politically motivated criminal-political enterprises

Perhaps the most fundamental distinguishing characteristic between the two models (aside from motive) is that traditional criminal enterprises are illicit businesses whose participants normally desire a minimal amount of public attention for their activities. In contrast, criminal-political enterprises are dissident movements that frequently desire a high public profile for their activities. As previously indicated in Table 9.1, when the decision is made to engage in extremist violence, the activity profiles of traditional criminal enterprises and criminal-political enterprises are distinguishable in their motives, goals, targets, personnel, and degrees of political agitation.

The Criminal and Political Terrorism Nexus

Before proceeding to discuss the threat of terrorism from traditional criminal and criminal-political enterprises, there is another dimension to the modern international environment that poses an inherent danger to security: cooperation and coordination between these groups.

Terrorist groups and criminal enterprises are by their nature secretive, antisocial, and underground. Transnational criminal enterprises are adept at smuggling drugs and weapons to the highest bidder through covert international networks. This black market exists purely for profit and is highly lucrative. Hence, it is acknowledged that transnational criminal enterprises can—and have—covertly provided terrorist groups with arms and other goods.

It is likely that terrorists have solicited criminal groups for "special-order" goods, such as certain types of weapons or chemicals, as have ideologically motivated authoritarian governments. For example, in March 2005, Ukrainian prosecutors reported that members of Ukrainian transnational organized crime smuggled 18 Soviet-era cruise missiles to China and Iran in 2000 and 2001, respectively.[31] The officials further reported that at least 12 of the missiles were capable of carrying a 200-kiloton nuclear warhead. Should a transnational criminal enterprise acquire nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons, it is conceivable that such weapons could be sold on the black market to the highest bidder—all without personal qualms about their use, so long as the price is right. This kind of convergence poses a serious security threat to the global community.

Chapter Perspective 9.1 discusses the case of the Beka'a Valley in Lebanon, which became a prominent example of the nexus between crime and political extremism.

Chapter Perspective 9.1

Lebanon's Beka'a Valley

The Beka'a Valley is located in the east-central region of Lebanon. Beginning in the 1970s, it became a nexus of state-sponsored terrorism, religious revolution, drug production, and counterfeiting.

Syria asserted itself as the predominant political and military force in Lebanon when it deployed thousands of troops to the Beka'a Valley in 1976. Syria's objective was to influence the behavior of its proxies among Lebanese and Palestinian dissident movements. Adding to the revolutionary environment in the Beka'a was Syria's permission for the presence of members of Iran's Revolutionary Guards; their mission was to sponsor and train Hezbollah and various Palestinian groups that were provided safe haven in the Beka'a. Groups that were based in the valley and protected by the Syrian military presence included Hamas, Palestine Islamic Jihad, the Abu Nidal Organization, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command, the Kurdistan Workers' Party, and the Japanese Red Army.

The Beka'a Valley is also a historic center of drug production—primarily hashish and opium. Although its percentage of global drug production has been relatively small, profits from the trade were enough to support the activities of dissident groups in the valley. For example, evidence strongly implicated Hezbollah in the production and sale of drugs to support themselves and to offset reductions in support from Iran.[a] Markets for Lebanese drugs included North Africa, the United States, Israel, and Europe. In an aggressive antidrug campaign, the Lebanese

government greatly reduced drug production to negligible levels during the mid-1990s. There is, however, evidence that recurrent attempts were made to reinvigorate drug-related agriculture.

Sophisticated counterfeiting operations were also conducted in the Beka'a Valley. The industry produced a large quantity of high-grade international U.S. dollars. The decision by the United States to redesign its paper currency during the 1990s was due in part to the excellent quality of dollars produced by the Beka'a Valley's counterfeiting industry.

With the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon in April 2005 after 29 years of military intervention, the Beka'a Valley returned to Lebanese government control.

Note

a. Cilluffo, Frank. "The Challenge We Face as the Battle Lines Blur." Statement before the U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Crime. December 13, 2000.

Traditional Criminal Enterprises

The overriding imperative for traditional criminal enterprises is to profit from their criminal endeavors and protect their illegal enterprise. Because they are motivated by sheer profit, crime-motivated enterprises are political only to the extent that they wish to create a safe environment for their illicit business. In essence, traditional criminal enterprises do not seek to destroy the system; rather, they wish to subvert or otherwise manipulate it for their benefit. They are not necessarily interested in active political participation, other than to subvert or co-opt government officials. They desire a stable environment for their enterprise, so governments that are either too weak to interfere with the enterprise or that lack the motivation to do so are unlikely to be targeted by traditional criminal enterprises. Conversely, some criminal organizations have violently resisted government law enforcement campaigns that interfere with their enterprises. This is by no means a universal reaction, but it is nevertheless one that has occurred repeatedly.

Examples of traditional criminal enterprises include the Chinese Triads, Japanese Yakuza, American La Cosa Nostra, Colombian and Mexican drug cartels, Russian Mafia, Italian organized crime, and Southeast Asian drug lords. Most of these enterprises have been politically passive and have engaged in political violence reactively rather than actively. In essence, the likelihood of antistate violence by these organizations depends on the social and political environments of their national bases of operation.

Criminal-Political Enterprises

Dissident movements have become increasingly involved in transnational organized crime, having concluded out of pragmatic necessity that there is a benefit to be gained from trading arms, drugs, antiquities, or natural resources on the illicit market. Some movements—primarily from Latin America and Asia—have even occupied drug-producing regions as a matter of strategic choice. The reasons for this strategy are uncomplicated: Participation in the drug, arms, or other illicit trades is quite lucrative. A dissident movement can guarantee its financial independence from state sponsorship if it can establish its own niche in an illicit enterprise.

In the modern era, the formerly clear delineation between organized crime, political extremism, and illegal trafficking has become blurred. An overlap between crime and extremist politics has occurred, so some politically motivated movements and individuals actively participate in the international smuggling of arms, drugs, and other commodities. Alliances are forged between exclusively profit-motivated traditional criminal enterprises and politically violent movements.

The following survey of regional cases illustrates the linkages between terrorism, transnational criminal activity, traditional criminal enterprises, and criminal-political enterprises.

Case in Point: The Logic of Narco-terrorism

The drug trade has become particularly prominent in the financing of some extremist movements, and many terrorists and extremist movements have become adept drug traffickers. This is a result of the enormous profits derived from the global underground drug market, to which American drug users contribute $64 billion each year.[32] Having made these observations, the reality is that there is no grand revolutionary conspiracy to control the drug trade; rather, there is a very fluid and intricate web that links profit-motivated traditional criminal enterprises to ideologically motivated criminal-political enterprises.

The term **narco-terrorism** was first used in 1983 by Peruvian president Belaunde Terry when Peruvian drug traffickers waged war against antidrug security forces. The concept describes "the use of drug trafficking to advance the objectives of certain governments and terrorist organizations."[33] Although its original meaning referred to a theorized semimonolithic Marxist (hence, Soviet) control of the trade,[34] narco-terrorism continues to be an important concept in the post–Cold War world.[35] Officially, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) defines a narco-terrorist group as "an organized group that is complicit in the activities of drug trafficking in order to further, or fund, premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets with the intention to influence (that is, influence a government or group of people)."[36] The DEA also differentiates between narco-terrorism and **drug-related violence**, pointing out that the latter is "financially motivated violence perpetrated against those who interfere with or cross the path of a drug trafficking organization."[37] Drug-related violence occurs visibly and every day in major urban areas around the world, whereas narco-terrorism is less visible and not as pervasive.

Among criminal-political enterprises, the logic of narco-terrorism is uncomplicated: Because of the frequent difficulty in obtaining direct state sponsorship, some indigenous terrorist and revolutionary groups have turned to drug trafficking and arms trading to raise money for their movements. Among traditional criminal enterprises, drug traffickers have been especially prone to engage in criminal dissident terrorism because their product must be grown, refined, packaged, and transported from production regions within the borders of sovereign nations. Thus, among transnational criminals, drug traffickers in particular must necessarily establish a political environment that is conducive to their illegal enterprise.

An example of a long campaign of narco-terrorism illustrates its logic. The campaign occurred in Colombia during the 1980s and early 1990s. Drug cartel ***narcotraficantes*** (drug traffickers), based in the city of Medellin and led by Pablo Escobar, were notorious during the 1980s and early 1990s for their violence against police officers, prosecutors, journalists, and judges who attempted to interfere with cocaine production and trafficking. The Medellin Cartel's rival *narcotraficantes* in the city of Cali were also known to react violently when challenged by Colombian officials, though they were more sophisticated in their manipulation of the government through bribery and corruption. Both cartels were eventually dismantled by Colombian law enforcement agencies with the assistance of the United States, but new lower-profile drug gangs rose to prominence in Colombia, as did criminal-political adversaries in Colombia's internecine fighting. For example, in May 2005, more than 13 tons of cocaine were found in underground chambers in Nariño state in Colombia.[38] The cache was apparently owned by leftist rebels and paramilitary fighters, and it was valued at more than $350 million. The Latin American connection is explored further as a regional case study in the next section.

Chapter Perspective 9.2 discusses the case of the Tri-Border Area in South America, a lawless region posing a plausible threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere from organized crime and political extremism.

Chapter Perspective 9.2

The Tri-Border Area of South America

The Tri-Border Area, also known as the Triple Frontier, is a region in central South America straddling the borders of Brazil, Paraguay, and Argentina. It is a remote area in which government authority is weak, and it has become home to an illicit economy specializing in drug trafficking, money laundering, and the transfer of financial resources to the Middle East, including to extremist groups. Much of the smuggling network is coordinated by Lebanon's Hezbollah, an operation that is possible because the Tri-Border Area is home to a diaspora of approximately 25,000 Arab residents whose ancestral homes are largely from the Levant of Lebanon.

The region is known for its thriving illegal smuggling and financial criminal activities. Smugglers regularly cross international borders, and Hezbollah is quite adept at raising money and laundering it to extremist causes. Narcotics trafficking alone generates billions of dollars in profit, and other contraband goods (including cash) add to the lucrative illicit economy.

Ready access to three countries friendly to the United States poses a plausible security risk to the region because extremists could pose as travelers and enter the United States through neighboring countries. Motivated extremists could also travel to Mexico and easily cross the border into the United States. Other countries are also vulnerable to attack, as evidenced by Hezbollah's 1992 bombing of the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires and the July 1994 bombing of the Argentine Israelite Mutual Association in Buenos Aires.

The Tri-Border Area's nexus of weak government control, an organized vibrant criminal economy, and political extremism poses a significant security challenge to the region.

Table 9.2 summarizes the activity profiles of several traditional criminal and criminal-political enterprises.

Table 9.2 Criminal Dissident Terrorism

Criminal dissident terrorism, as defined here, refers to traditional criminal enterprises and criminal-political enterprises. They are differentiated primarily by motive, with traditional criminal enterprises motivated by profit and criminal-political enterprises motivated by a dissident cause.

The following table summarizes the activity profiles of several traditional criminal and criminal-political enterprises.

	Activity Profile		
Group and Type	***Criminal Enterprise***	***Motive***	***Quality of Violence***
Taliban (Afghanistan: Criminal-political)	Opium and heroin production	Consolidate the movement; promote *jihad*	Domestic terrorism; *jihad* against opponents
Islamic State of Syria and the Levant (Syria/Iraq: Criminal-political)	Antiquities trafficking	*Jihad* to establish caliphate	Terrorism, insurgency
Tamil Tigers (Sri Lanka: Criminal-political)	Arms and drug trafficking	National independence	Terrorism, insurgency
Myanmar groups (Traditional criminal)	Opium and heroin production	Profit, regional autonomy	Insurgency

(Continued)

Table 9.2 (Continued)

Group and Type	Activity Profile		
	Criminal Enterprise	***Motive***	***Quality of Violence***
Abu Sayyaf (Philippines: Criminal-political)	Kidnapping, extortion, drug trafficking	*Jihad* against the Filipino government	Terrorism, insurgency
Italian organized crime (Traditional criminal)	Broad variety of activities	Profit	Terrorism, extortion, intimidation
Russian Mafia (Traditional criminal)	Broad variety of activities	Profit	Terrorism, extortion, intimidation
Irish dissidents (Criminal-political)	Drug trade	Republicanism or loyalism	Terrorism
Kosovo Liberation Army/ National Liberation Army (Criminal-political)	Arms and drug trafficking	Albanian nationalism	Terrorism, insurgency
Colombian cartels (Traditional criminal)	Drug trade	Profit	Narco-terrorism
FARC (Colombia: Criminal-political)	Drug trade	Revolution	Terrorism, insurgency
AUC (Colombia: Criminal-political))	Drug trade	Counterinsurgency	Terrorism, counterinsurgency
Shining Path (Peru: Criminal-political))	Drug trade	Revolution	Terrorism
***Mexican* narcotraficantes (Traditional criminal)**	Drug trade	Profit	Narco-terrorism

❖ A Global Problem: Regional Cases of Criminal Dissident Terrorism

Regional Case: Latin America

Criminal terrorism in Latin America is directly linked to the lucrative drug trade, which primarily involves cocaine and marijuana but also includes relatively small quantities of heroin. Traditional criminal enterprises thrive on the drug trade, as do criminal-political enterprises. Latin American drug traffickers are known as *narcotraficantes,* and many traditional criminal enterprises are **drug cartels**. A cartel is "an international syndicate, combine or trust generally formed to regulate prices and output in some field of business."[39] Under this definition, Mexico's and Colombia's traditional criminal enterprises have been classic drug cartels.

Narcotraficantes in Mexico

Criminal gangs in Mexico have historically been involved in banditry and traditional organized criminal activity such as extortion and prostitution. With the rise of the cocaine trade in the 1970s and 1980s, Colombian drug cartels (discussed later) hired Mexican gangs to transship cocaine overland

to the United States. These gangs were subordinate to the cartels and were initially paid in cash. As Mexican gangs became proficient smugglers, they began to demand marijuana and cocaine as payment, which they then sold to their own customers. The gangs eventually became independent and coequal partners with the Colombians, growing into criminal cartels.[40] They also became adept at using narco-terrorism to defend their enterprises.

Several large and lucrative criminal enterprises were organized. By 1999, the most important of these were the Carillo Fuentes organization in Ciudad Juárez, the Caro-Quintero organization in Sonora, and the Arellano-Félix organization in Mexicali and Tijuana. Newer organizations eventually arose, including Los Zetas, Cartel Pacifico Sur, the Gulf Cartel, and La Familia Michoacana. They have prospered as drug traffickers, and the Mexican trade in marijuana and cocaine became a multibillion-dollar industry.

Case in Point: The Arellano-Félix Group. The Arellano-Félix group (also known as the Tijuana Cartel) is an excellent case study of the rise, fall, and rebirth of a transnational criminal enterprise in Mexico because the group was considered for some time to be the most profitable and violent of the Mexican organizations. The cartel operated on the border with and inside the territory of the United States, and its territory centered on the corridor from Mexico to San Diego and Los Angeles. Principally run by brothers Benjamin and Ramón, the **Arellano-Félix Cartel** corrupted some government officials, tried to intimidate those whom it could not corrupt, and killed others.[41] Victims of the group included Mexican police chiefs, prosecutors, police officers, journalists, critics, and children. The targeting of civilians was intentional; in one incident in 1998, the group killed three families from a rival enterprise. As one former American drug agent noted about the Arellano-Félix tactics, "If you are late paying the Arellanos, you won't get a nicely worded letter saying your 30 days were up. . . . But you might get a finger of your child in the mail."[42]

The Arellano-Félix Cartel was severely damaged when its leaders were eliminated. On February 10, 2002, Ramón Arellano-Félix was killed in a shootout. On March 9 of the same year, his brother Benjamin was imprisoned in Mexico's high-security La Palma prison. The near collapse of the cartel was, however, by no means the end of Mexican narco-terrorism or the drug trade. In fact, there were indications that the cartel merged with the so-called Gulf Cartel of Osiel Cardenes in 2004 or 2005 as a way to consolidate the operations of both cartels and to jointly resist other groups who might otherwise seize the Arellano-Félix market.[43] There were also deadly confrontations between factions of the Arellano-Félix Cartel in Tijuana, indicating the resilience of the factions' claims over the lucrative trade.

The Mexican Drug War. Unlike their Colombian colleagues, and except for the apparent Arellano-Félix/Gulf Cartel alliance, the Mexican criminal enterprises tend not to cooperate with one another. Feuding is common, and the demise of one cartel leads to exceptional drug-related violence over its former turf. For example, during 2004, scores of bodies were found in Ciudad Juarez and dozens of others in Tijuana, Mexicali, and Tecate.[44] In the Sinaloa state alone in 2004, about 300 bodies were discovered. At the same time, narco-terrorist activities of the groups continued to include attacks against government officials, journalists, and other critics. Also, from the time when Mexican president Felipe Calderon launched a crackdown on drug traffickers in December 2006, the toll from drug-related violence has been high. By 2017, more than 60,000 Mexicans had been killed by the cartels, and approximately 30,000 were missing. There were more than 15,000 deaths in 2010, approximately 12,000 deaths in 2011, and approximately 11,000 deaths in 2012 alone.

Despite the sheer intensity of the Mexican drug war, the flow of cocaine and other drugs across the border to the United States and elsewhere continues unabated. In fact, profits for traffickers often reach record highs. Because of the cartels' success in transporting drugs despite anarchic violence, it is quite conceivable that dedicated extremists could retain the services of smugglers for their own purposes.

The following incidents are typical examples of Mexican narco-terrorism and violence:

- Since 2000, more than 30 news reporters have disappeared or been killed by *narcotraficantes*.
- In June 2004, an editor for a Tijuana newsweekly was murdered, allegedly by rogue Zeta special antinarcotics troops who worked for the Gulf Cartel.
- In September 2004, several *narcotraficantes* and a state police commander were killed by gunmen in Culiacan. The assailants were allegedly rogue members of an elite antidrug unit of the Mexican military known as **Los Zetas**. Rogue Zetas were implicated in several assassinations conducted on behalf of the Gulf Cartel.
- In December 2004, the brother of a top *narcotraficante* was shot to death in La Palma prison, reputedly Mexico's most secure prison, apparently with the collaboration of corrupt prison officials. He was the third top *narcotraficante* to be killed in La Palma prison, apparently with staff complicity. In October 2004, a trafficker was shot to death in the cafeteria, and in May 2004, another was strangled in a shower. La Palma prison was raided by 750 Mexican troops and police in January 2005.
- In January 2005, two state police officers were assassinated.
- In May 2005, the police chief of Rosarito and the director of Mexicali's Municipal Jail were assassinated.
- In September 2005, the state of Michoacan's chief of security police was assassinated during a birthday dinner by men firing AK-47 assault rifles.
- Eighty-nine soldiers were killed between December 2006 and May 2007 during the first phase of a crackdown against drug traffickers.
- In December 2007, the entire Rosarito police force was disarmed following the attempted assassination of the town's police chief after concerns were raised that the police had been infiltrated by drug traffickers.
- In May 2008, the chief of Mexico's federal police was assassinated in Mexico City.
- In May 2008, a mass grave with 33 bodies was found in Ciudad Juarez, the victims of drug violence.
- From July 5 to July 8, 2008, authorities found the bodies of 11 men at two sites, executed by *narcotraficantes* in Tijuana. This was despite the presence of 3,000 soldiers in the city.
- In August 2010, the bodies of 72 migrants from South and Central America were found on a ranch in Tamaulipas state. They were probably kidnapped by the Los Zetas Cartel and murdered for refusing to traffic drugs.
- In April 2011, mass graves with 177 bodies were found in the same area where 72 bodies were found in 2010.
- In May 2012, authorities found nearly 50 decapitated bodies along a highway in Nuevo Leon state.
- In February 2014, Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman, the head of one of the wealthiest drug cartels, was captured after eluding authorities since his first prison escape in 2001. Guzman again escaped from prison in July 2015 through a tunnel beneath his cell. He was recaptured in January 2016 by Mexican marines, extradited to the United States in January 2017, and placed in U.S. federal custody.

Colombia's Drug Cartels and Gangs

Narcotraficantes in Colombia have historically been highly organized, resilient, and terrorist, and Colombia's first large traditional criminal enterprises were classic drug cartels.

The Cali and Medellin Cartels dominated the worldwide cocaine trade during the 1980s through the mid-1990s. Named for their home cities, they waged a campaign of criminal dissident terrorism against anyone opposed to them, frequently targeting government officials. During the 1980s alone, cartel terrorists killed

- 3,000 soldiers and police officers,
- more than 1,000 public officials,
- 170 judicial employees,
- 50 lower judges,
- dozens of journalists,
- 12 Supreme Court judges,
- three presidential candidates,
- one attorney general, and
- one newspaper publisher.[45]

The cartels were also very adept at co-opting government officials through bribery, extortion, and intimidation. However, partly because of the cartels' high profile, the Colombian government was eventually able to dismantle the big cartels with the assistance of the United States. One interesting twist to the offensive against the cartels was a paramilitary terrorist campaign that was waged against the Medellin Cartel and its leader, Pablo Escobar. The paramilitary, calling itself **People Persecuted by Pablo Escobar ("Pepes")**, assassinated at least 50 cartel members and targeted Escobar's family for assassination.[46] Pepes was apparently a death squad made up of former Medellin operatives and backers with a history of supporting right-wing paramilitaries; they claimed that they acted out of a sense of patriotism and a code of vengeance.[47] Escobar was eventually killed in 1993 during a shoot-out with Colombian troops and police.

A new *narcotraficante* model replaced the old drug cartels—smaller drug gangs in Colombia and new Mexican cartels. After the demise of the Cali and Medellin Cartels, the Colombian drug trade was reconfigured around these smaller criminal enterprises. The new enterprises have kept a lower profile than during the heyday of the cartels and have not engaged in narco-terrorism on the same scale as their predecessors. As a result, drugs have continued to flow into the global drug market, and these gangs continue to send tons of cocaine, marijuana, and other drugs to Europe and the United States.

FARC's Drug Connection

Prior to the successful 2016 peace process, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN) in Colombia partly financed their revolutions with drug money. Both groups used terrorist and guerrilla tactics in their war, and they became self-sufficient largely through the drug trade.

Since the early period of its insurgency, FARC permitted cocaine traffickers to operate without interference so long as the *narcotraficantes* paid a "tax" to the movement.[48] This was a pragmatic arrangement. FARC's pragmatism progressed during the 1990s when the rebels cut out the middlemen and began to deal directly with marijuana and coca farmers, trafficking their produce to the Colombian drug cartels. They also protected the trade in their "liberated zones," promising to liberate and protect peasants from exploitation by the drug lords.

FARC established a kind of law, order, and predictability in its liberated zones that became popular among local peasants and small-time drug traders. Because of this new enterprise, "the changes in FARC . . . [were] significant. As the

Raul Arboleda/Getty 87123077

❖ **Photo 9.4** Colombian soldier patrolling a coca plantation during an eradiation campaign.

revenue from the drug trade . . . expanded, so [did] the power and influence of FARC."[49] For example, some FARC units promoted or managed coca cultivation, cocaine laboratories, trafficking, and bartering drugs-for-weapons arrangements with transnational organized crime groups. Other FARC units were very active in the drug-producing southwestern province of Nariño, where ambushes of government troops were common.[50]

Estimates of FARC's revenues from the cocaine trade were in the hundreds of millions of dollars.[51] There was evidence that the rebel group forged close ties to the Russian Mafia, supplanting the Colombian drug cartels as clients after the large cartels were dismantled and reformed as smaller drug gangs. Airlifted deliveries of arms were made by the Russian Mafia to FARC in exchange for cocaine, which was then flown back to Russia for distribution to the Russian drug market.[52] There was also evidence of a FARC link to the Tijuana Cartel in Mexico.

Colombia's AUC

Colombian landowners and government officials organized regional right-wing paramilitaries to oppose the FARC and ELN insurgency. The United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) was long the most prominent alliance of these paramilitaries. Human rights agencies implicated the AUC in a number of incidents involving death squad attacks, civilian massacres, and political terrorism.[53]

Although the AUC was able to field 11,000 fighters, the paramilitary alliance eventually split into at least five factions in 2002. In June 2003, a classified report on the AUC indicated that the paramilitary had become a primary participant in the drug trade. The report stated that "it is impossible to differentiate between the self-defense groups and narco-trafficking organizations."[54] Like FARC, a large proportion of AUC's funding came from drug trafficking, the report estimating that about 80% of the group's revenues came from drugs. Continuing negotiations on demobilization were somewhat successful—for example, top AUC leaders were arrested by Colombian authorities in 2005—but participation in the drug trade continued. In May 2008, Colombia extradited 14 ranking paramilitary leaders to the United States to stand trial on drug-trafficking charges.[55]

Shining Path in Peru

Peru's Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) regularly engaged in acts of terrorism during its insurgency under the tutelage of Abimael Guzmán, the self-professed Fourth Sword of Marxism. Shining Path's ideology had racial and mystical elements to it, championing the Quechua-speaking Indians and mixed-race *mestizos*. The insurgency gradually withered after Guzmán's capture in 1992, although diehards remained active into the new millennium.

In the mid-1980s, Shining Path aggressively—and violently—vied for a share in Peru's drug trade. During the 1980s, Peru's Upper Huallaga Valley region was the world's richest producer of coca leaf. It was also a top exporter of cocaine paste, which is used to manufacture refined cocaine. Colombian *narcotraficantes* would purchase the coca leaf and cocaine paste for transshipment to Colombia to be refined into cocaine. Shining Path operatives moved into the valley in about 1983, claiming that they were liberating and protecting peasant farmers from exploitation by the Colombian drug cartels and the Peruvian government.[56] In the meantime,

> it is believed that Sendero garnered a minimum of $10 million a year (some estimates range as high as $100 million) between 1987 and 1992 from "taxes" on a large portion of the valley's 80,000 coca growers and from levies of up to $15,000 a flight on the mostly Colombian traffickers as they landed on the scores of clandestine runways in the valley to pick up their cargoes of cocaine paste.[57]

At its height, Shining Path seized control of towns in the Upper Huallaga Valley, expelled government administrators and police, and created its own moralistic model of law and order—which included killing homosexuals and ending prostitution. Before Guzmán's capture, Shining Path had become a self-sufficient terrorist movement, with most of its self-sufficiency derived from the drug

trade. When a fungus ravaged the Upper Huallaga's coca leaf crop in the mid-1990s, the movement received a final blow because its primary financial resource was removed.[58]

Regional Case: Asia

Asian drug production is centered on two regions: Southwest Asia and Southeast Asia. The drug-producing regions of Southwest Asia are referred to as the **Golden Crescent**, and the drug-producing regions of Southeast Asia are referred to as the **Golden Triangle**. Dissident terrorists and extremists in both regions have profited from the drug trade. The Golden Triangle—known for its cultivation of opium poppies and the manufacturing of refined opium and heroin—consists of the countries of Myanmar (Burma), Laos, and Thailand. The Golden Crescent—known for its cultivation of opium poppies and the manufacturing of heroin—consists of the countries of Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Because of the fall of the Soviet Union, the drug production industry in the Golden Crescent has found a lucrative transshipment industry in Central Asia, where organized crime and Islamic extremists have profited from transshipping heroin into the Russian and European drug markets.

Afghanistan and the Opium Trade

Afghanistan has historically been an important producer of opium and heroin and eventually became the world's chief supplier of illegal opiates. It has also historically been a major supplier of hashish. In the modern era, warlords, revolutionaries, and *mujahideen* have all profited enormously from the trade.

During Taliban rule (September 1996 to January 2002), Afghanistan's traditional cultivation of opium flourished to record levels. Although the Taliban government cracked down on drug production in 2000, the movement allegedly earned approximately 80% of its income from the opium poppy and heroin trade. It also produced more than 70% of the world's supply of opium after production fell off in Southeast Asia's Golden Triangle (discussed later). There have been reports that while in Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden approached opium manufacturers in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Taliban's radical interpretation of Islam allowed the cultivation of opium poppies but strictly forbade and severely punished the use of opium or heroin. Citing religious grounds, the Taliban forbade the cultivation of opium poppies in 2000, resulting in the near eradication of Afghanistan's drug trade.

Afghan warlords moved into opium-producing regions after the U.S.-led invasion, and the country again became a premier producer of opium. In a single year (2003 to 2004), cultivation of opium poppies grew from approximately 150,000 acres to about 510,000 acres.[59] In comparison, the Taliban's peak cultivation had been 160,000 acres in 2000.[60] By 2005, Afghanistan was producing record crops of poppies despite Afghanistan president Hamid Karzai's official policy of opposing opium production.[61] In addition, experts estimated that nearly 90% of the world's heroin was produced from Afghan poppies. In the aftermath of the coalition invasion, warlords continued to store large quantities of opium, which could theoretically continue supplying heroin laboratories for years. Taliban insurgents also returned once again to become extensively involved in the drug trade. In essence, opium cultivation steadily increased from the time of the U.S.-led invasion, often significantly each year, and eventually stabilized at relatively high levels of production and cultivation:[62]

- 2012: 4,300 metric tons; 444,789 acres
- 2013: 5,500 metric tons; 489,268 acres
- 2014: 6,300 metric tons; 521,392 acres
- 2015: 4,100 metric tons; 496,681 acres

Peter Jouvenal/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

❖ **Photo 9.5** Drugs that fund the cause. An Afghan fighter sits in a field of ripe opium poppies.

Islamic State of Syria and the Levant (ISIS) and the Eradication of Ancient Artifacts

ISIS's ideology denigrates non-Muslim culture and history. One of its first initiatives after seizing territory in Syria and Iraq during its 2014 offensive was to attempt to eliminate ancient artifacts and historical sites. The group proudly broadcast the destruction of ancient sites and artifacts via the Internet and social networking media. As it advanced with this strategy, ISIS quickly appreciated that it could profit from trafficking in ancient artifacts on the illicit market—essentially profiting from the destruction of "degenerate" culture. Thus, rather than destroy every artifact it acquired, ISIS actively participated in the lucrative black market trade of antiquities, apparently reaping tens of millions of dollars annually. The group invited selected prospectors to search ancient sites for artifacts, taxing them as they exploited these sites.

Sri Lanka's Tamil Tigers

Until their defeat in 2009, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam sustained their movement in part by establishing themselves as middlemen in the illicit arms and drug trades. Evidence suggested that the Tamil Tigers received drugs and arms "on consignment" from traditional criminal enterprises in Myanmar and India.[63] The Tamil Tigers sold the consigned drugs, paid for the weapons, and repeated the cycle as a method to build their arsenals. This was very similar to the arrangement used by Albanian criminals and dissidents in their management of the Balkan Route.

Myanmar (Burma), Center of the Golden Triangle

Until the mid-1990s, Khun Sa, the commander of the Shan United Army, controlled much of the heroin production coming out of the Golden Triangle. Based in Myanmar, Khun Sa claimed to champion the ethnic Shan people, but in reality he was a traditional warlord, and his army was a renegade force. The Shan United Army waged an occasional insurgency against the government as a way to establish regional autonomy from central control, thus ensuring its profits from the heroin trade.

At its height, the Golden Triangle produced 75% of the world's heroin, largely within the operational area of the Shan United Army. When Khun Sa retired in 1996,[64] a vacuum was created in the trade, so the drug flow declined significantly from Myanmar's old heroin-producing regions. Taliban-controlled Afghanistan more than made up for this shortfall on the world market. After the Taliban's late-2000 crackdown on opium cultivation, the Golden Triangle saw a resurgence in production, regaining its prominence as a top producer of opium. Groups such as the United Wa State Army, an old splinter group of the Burmese Communist Party, moved into the Shan United Army's old operational areas in northern Myanmar.

The Philippines

Abu Sayyaf, the southern Filipino Islamic terrorist organization discussed in Chapter 6, was known to engage in criminal enterprise. Although its activities never approximated the scale of other movements, Abu Sayyaf resorted to kidnapping, extortion, and drug trafficking as tactics in its cause of waging a *jihad*. Reports indicated that it moved into southern Filipino marijuana fields to reap the benefits of the marijuana trade, raising revenues for its war against the Filipino government.[65]

Regional Case: Europe

Europe has a highly active criminal underground. The most historically established criminal enterprises are found in Italy. Recently established enterprises are found in the former communist Eastern bloc, mainly in Russia. The incidence of terrorism by criminal enterprises occurs to greater or lesser degrees from country to country, with the most serious incidence found in Italy and Russia.

Italian Organized Crime

The word *mafia* is commonly used to describe organized criminal activity anywhere in the world. However, it originally referred to traditional organized crime societies in southern Italy and Sicily. The derivation of the word is unknown, although there is some speculation that it is Arabic in origin. Regardless, the original mafia groups were secret associations of Sicilian resistance fighters who opposed the occupation of Sicily by the Spanish and French. A tradition grew out of these origins that demanded the following:

- secrecy under a code of silence (*omerta*)
- opposition to, and noncooperation with, security and law enforcement officials and agencies
- a code of honor
- absolute obedience and loyalty toward the respected heads of mafia groups

This concept was adopted throughout southern Italy; in Naples, a Neapolitan secret society was created called the **Camorra**, and in Calabria, the **N'drangheta** was organized. These secret societies have long been criminal enterprises and are best characterized as profit-making traditional organized crime groups. The **Sicilian Mafia**, Camorra, and N'drangheta became entrenched at all levels of southern Italian society, including business and government. One report by Italy's leading trade organization has argued that one business in five has been penetrated by organized crime.[66] Immigrants from these cultures brought these traditions with them to the United States, where **La Cosa Nostra** ("our thing" or "this thing of ours") was organized as "families" in urban areas. La Cosa Nostra has been traditionally associated with the Sicilian Mafia.

The Sicilian Mafia, Camorra, and N'drangheta have used corruption, violence, and extortion to keep opponents not only from interfering with their criminal enterprises, but also from being too public in their criticism. Assassinations, bombings, and other terrorist acts have been committed against politicians, journalists, and law enforcement officials. Examples of this violence include the following:

- In 1971, the Sicilian Mafia assassinated the chief prosecutor in Palermo, Sicily.
- In 1983, the Camorra assassinated a Neapolitan journalist who had written articles criticizing organized crime.
- In July 1992, the Sicilian Mafia assassinated an anti-Mafia judge in dramatic fashion when a bomb exploded outside the judge's mother's home in Sicily, killing him and five bodyguards.
- In 1992, the Sicilian Mafia assassinated the top anti-Mafia prosecutor.
- In 1993, bombs in Florence, Milan, and Rome killed 10 people and wounded 32. One of the bombs damaged the famous Uffizi Gallery in Florence.
- In July 2000, a Calabrian provincial official was assassinated, apparently by the N'drangheta.

The style of these attacks is typical of violence by Italian organized crime. It is usually "surgical," in the sense that specific officials are singled out for intimidation or assassination. However, it has taken a toll in lives. From 1971 to 1991, about 40 judges, law enforcement officers, politicians, and others were assassinated. The death toll has been higher among feuding organized crime groups and civilians. In Sicily alone, an average of 100 people are killed each year by Sicilian Mafia violence.[67] In Calabria, the N'drangheta shifted to drug and weapons trafficking, and its profits run into the billions of dollars annually.[68]

The Russian Mafia

In the aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the **Russian Mafia** has grown into a massive network of criminal enterprise—it is, in fact, the largest organized crime environment in the world. The Russian Ministry of Interior has estimated that as of 1996, the Russian Mafia had 5,000 to

8,000 groups and perhaps 100,000 members.[69] By comparison, the United States has 24 traditional La Cosa Nostra families, with an estimated 2,000 members.[70] The Russian Mafia is not a single organization; rather, it is a loosely organized network of gangs with between 50 and 1,000 members.[71] Some of these gangs are quite large. For example, the **Solntsevskaya Gang**, named after a Moscow suburb, has an estimated 5,000 members.[72] A staggering 40% of private businesses, 60% of state-owned companies, and 80% of banks were estimated to be under Russian Mafia control in 1998.[73] Within the Russian criminal underworld, Georgians and Chechens became disproportionately prominent.

It is important to understand the quality of violence perpetrated by the Russian Mafia and the nature of its criminal enterprises. The scale and types of violence perpetrated by the Russian Mafia are often terrorist in nature. Gangs have regularly killed private businesspeople, journalists, politicians, and others. An estimated 600 murders per year are contract killings, and 95 bankers were assassinated from 1993 to 1998.[74] The enterprises of the Russian Mafia include arms smuggling, drug smuggling, extortion, murder, racketeering, and other illicit activities. Significantly, there have been indications that the Russian Mafia has transferred weapons to violent organizations and terrorists in the developing world. These transfers apparently have been done with the collaboration of former Soviet KGB (secret service) officers. Because of the KGB connection, many fear that if the Russian Mafia obtains weapons of mass destruction, these weapons will be sold to terrorists on the black market.

Irish Dissidents

Allegations have been made that dissident movements in Northern Ireland have been involved in the illicit sale of drugs. Both Catholic and Protestant militant groups apparently traded in drugs to generate revenue for their causes. British and Northern Irish law enforcement agencies implicated extremists in the trade, despite protestations from these groups that they were opposed to drug sales and use. Nevertheless,

> while publicly crusading against the drug trade in Ireland, there is compelling evidence that the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and its radical offshoot, the Real IRA, are involved in an unholy alliance with the Middle Eastern narcotics industry. . . . The IRA is not the only guilty party in the conflict. Protestant paramilitaries are also heavily involved in using the profits from drug sales to finance their organizations.[75]

The Royal Ulster Constabulary assigned increasing numbers of personnel to narcotics duty and seized significant amounts of marijuana and ecstasy.

The "Balkan Route"

The fervor of ethnic Albanian nationalism grew dramatically during the collapse of communism in Albania and Yugoslavia, when ethnic Albanians in the southern Yugoslav regions of Kosovo and Macedonia sought independence from Yugoslavia. Macedonia successfully separated from Yugoslavia and was subsequently pressed by an Albanian rebel force called the National Liberation Army (NLA). Kosovo did not separate from Yugoslavia, but Serb forces were forced by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces to withdraw from the region after prolonged fighting with an Albanian nationalist group called the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Both the NLA and KLA used terrorism in their wars for independence.

Albanian separatists such as the KLA and Macedonia's NLA received arms and financing from drug trafficking via the so-called **Balkan Route**. Arsenals stockpiled prior to the fighting in Kosovo and Macedonia were purchased largely with proceeds from the heroin trade.

The Balkan Route is a drug-trafficking crossroads between the European drug-consuming market and the heroin-producing countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Approximately 80% of Europe's heroin has historically passed through the former Yugoslavia. Prior to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Western Europe's heroin was shipped from Turkey through Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia.[76] Afterward, the Balkan Route shifted through Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic. With the rise of Albanian nationalism, the route again flowed through the former Yugoslavia. European law

enforcement experts universally agree that Albanian organized criminal enterprises became the primary traffickers of heroin in Europe during the 1990s. Estimates suggest that Albanian criminal enterprises controlled 70% of the heroin trade in Germany and Switzerland.[77]

Albanian nationalists and foreign drug traffickers engaged in heroin and weapons exchanges. For example, criminal enterprises in Georgia and Chechnya are known to have supplied weapons and heroin to Albanian traffickers, who sold the heroin in Europe to pay for the arms and then repeated the cycle.[78] This was done in league with traditional criminal enterprises in the West, such as the Italian criminal organizations. This nexus between Albanian nationalism and Albanian organized crime is further illustrated by the example of links between illicit Albanian groups and Macedonia's Albanian nationalist Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP). Top PDP leaders were arrested and prosecuted for crimes that indicated their direct involvement in the smuggling into Macedonia of arms trafficked illegally from Serbia, Albania, Western Europe, and Bulgaria.[79]

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed two emerging terrorist environments: gender-selective political violence and criminal dissident terrorism. Each has distinguishable motivations, characteristics, and goals in the application of terrorist violence.

Gender-selective political violence occurs for a number of reasons. It often occurs during communal conflicts, which obscures the gender-selective nature of many incidents. Men and boys become targets of gender-selective terrorism either because an enemy wishes to eliminate potential fighters or because of a genocidal agenda. Terrorist violence against women has occurred on a massive scale and has been carried out by states during wartime and dissidents during rebellions and communal conflicts. It was not until the late 20th century that the international community began to recognize gender-selective violence as a specific kind of crime against humanity or genocidal violence.

Criminal terrorism is generally motivated by profit. Traditional criminal enterprises have no overarching reason for acquiring profit by illicit means, other than to enjoy the perquisites of accumulated wealth. Newer criminal-political enterprises have an overarching political motivation that guides their behavior. The latter model uses profits derived from illicit enterprises to finance their cause. The goals of traditional criminal enterprises are simply to generate profit and to be left alone in this endeavor. Their terrorist behavior tends to be reactive. The goals of criminal-political enterprises are revolutionary victory and the reconstruction of society. Their terrorist behavior tends to be active and public. A key concept to understand about criminal terrorism is that there is significant convergence between traditional and criminal-political enterprises. This is an intricate and fluid web of transnational cooperation.

In Chapter 10, readers will explore the tactics and targets of terrorists. The discussion centers on terrorist objectives, methods, and targets. The discussion will also ask whether, and to what extent, terrorism is effective.

Key Terms and Concepts

The following topics are discussed in this chapter and can be found in the glossary:

Balkan Route 248
"comfort women" 232
criminal cartels 235
criminal-political enterprises 227
drug cartels 240
drug-related violence 238
female genital mutilation (FGM) 231
gender communal terrorism 250
Golden Crescent 245
Golden Triangle 245
honor killings 231
International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) 230
International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) 234
Mutaween 230
narco-terrorism 238
narcotraficantes 238
Rape of Nanking 232
Russian Mafia 247
Sicilian Mafia 247
traditional criminal enterprises 227
transnational organized crime 235

Prominent Persons and Organizations

The following names and organizations are discussed in this chapter and can be found in Appendix B:

Arellano-Félix Cartel 241

Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) 233

Camorra 247

Janjaweed 234

La Cosa Nostra 247

Los Zetas 242

N'drangheta 247

People Persecuted by Pablo Escobar ("Pepes") 243

Revolutionary United Front (RUF) 233

Solntsevskaya Gang 248

Discussion Box

Political Violence Against Women: Gender Communal Terrorism?

This chapter's Discussion Box explores the hypothesis that mass violence against women is a type of communal terrorism. Communal terrorism, like other terrorist environments, is not static and continues to evolve. As war crimes are redefined to incorporate crimes such as rape conducted by combatants, it is appropriate to consider the inclusion of politically motivated gender-based violence.

Violence against women has been an integral feature of wartime atrocities for centuries. In many conflicts, regular armies, irregular fighters, and politically motivated gangs have routinely selected the women of enemies to be kidnapped, raped, or killed. This type of violence has often been committed as a matter of policy and has been both systematic and methodical. As expressed by some violators, one motive behind systematic rape is to impregnate the women of an enemy group—thus "achieving forced pregnancy and thus poisoning the womb of the enemy."[a]

The question is whether these gender-selective atrocities can be defined as **gender communal terrorism**.

The following are examples of government-initiated violence against women:

- During World War II, Japan provided "comfort women" to its armed forces. These were women from Korea, China, and other conquered territories who were forced into sexual slavery. In December 1937, thousands of Chinese women were raped, humiliated, and killed during the "Rape of Nanking."
- The Taliban regime in Afghanistan repressed women with edicts that forbade them from working, receiving an education, showing any portion of their body, and even wearing certain kinds of shoes. Reports indicate that some Taliban and tribal commanders kidnapped girls and women to serve as sexual concubines and servants for their fighters.[b]

The following are examples of communal gender violence against women:[c]

- During the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia, an estimated 20,000 to 50,000 women were raped as part of ethnic cleansing campaigns. "Rape camps" and "rape hotels" were set up by Serb militia forces, where Muslim women were methodically raped, tortured, or killed.
- Hutu troops and militiamen in Rwanda systematically raped Tutsi women during the 1994 genocide.
- During the mid-1990s, the Armed Islamic Group in Algeria kidnapped and raped hundreds of women and young girls.
- During 1998 rioting and looting of ethnic Chinese neighborhoods in Jakarta, Indonesia, hundreds of ethnic Chinese women were allegedly raped by organized gangs.

During investigations and prosecutions of war crimes committed in the Balkans, the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia—for the first time in the history of war crimes tribunals—officially recognized rape as a war crime.

Discussion Questions

1. Why was systematic violence against women historically defined as something other than terrorism? Does it make sense to define such violence as terrorism in the modern era?
2. At what point does violence against women become an act of terrorism? What are the parameters of terrorism against women?
3. What are the causes of systematic violence against women? Is it likely to occur more often in some socio-political environments than others?
4. How should governments and international organizations respond to gender-selective terrorism against women?
5. What are the long-term implications of the emerging recognition of the existence of terrorism against women?

Source: Crossette, Barbara. "An Old Scourge of War Becomes Its Latest Crime." *New York Times*. June 14, 1998. Used by permission.

Notes

a. Crossette, Barbara. "An Old Scourge of War Becomes Its Latest Crime." *New York Times*. June 14, 1998.
b. In Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan was founded in 1977 to combat abuses against women. They actively opposed the Taliban government and have continued to fight for basic civil liberties. Their website can be accessed at www.rawa.org.
c. For an excellent discussion of the international crime of systematic rape, see Crossette. "An Old Scourge of War Becomes Its Latest Crime."

On Your Own

The open-access Student Study Site at **edge.sagepub.com/martin6e** has a variety of useful study aids, including eFlashcards, quizzes, audio resources, and journal articles. The websites, exercises, and recommended readings listed below are easily accessed on this site as well.

Recommended Websites

The following websites provide links to discussions of gender-selective and criminal terrorism and extremism:

Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA): http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/

Gendercide Watch: http://www.gendercide.org/

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia: http://www.un.org/icty/

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda: http://unictr.unmict.org/

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime: https://www.unodc.org/

Web Exercise

Using this chapter's recommended websites, conduct an online investigation of gender-selective terrorist violence.

1. What recommendations are made by medical human rights agencies to address the problem of gender-selective political violence?
2. Do the medical human rights agencies have enough resources to treat female victims of political violence?
3. Why is gender-selective political violence largely communal in nature?

Using this chapter's recommended websites, conduct an online investigation of criminal terrorism as it pertains to narco-terrorism.

4. How adequately do the DEA and ONDCP websites address the threat from narco-terrorism?
5. Does the DEA discussion of narco-terrorism present a thorough analysis of the problem?
6. Based on the discussion in this chapter, how would you advise these agencies to inform the public online about criminal terrorism?

For an online search of issues pertaining to gender-selective and criminal terrorism, readers should enter the following keywords in the search engine on their Web browser:

"Gendercide" "Narco-terrorism"

Recommended Readings

The following publications discuss the motives, goals, and characteristics of gender-selective and criminal extremism:

Berlatsky, Noah. *Gendercide (Opposing Viewpoints)*. Farmington Hills, MI: Greenhaven Press, 2014.

Ehrenfeld, Rachel. *Narco-Terrorism*. New York: Basic Books, 1990.

Farr, Kathryn. *Sex Trafficking: The Global Market in Women and Children*. New York: Worth, 2004.

Grabosky, Peter, and Michael Stohl. *Crime and Terrorism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2010.

Grayson, George W. *Narco-violence and a Failed State?* Piscataway, NJ: Transaction, 2010.

Holmes, Jennifer S. *Guns, Drugs, and Development*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009.

Jones, Adam, ed. *Gendercide and Genocide*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004.

Kenney, Michael. *From Pablo to Osama: Trafficking and Terrorist Networks, Government Bureaucracies, and Competitive Adaptation*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.

Prunier, Girard. *Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Reichel, Philip, ed. *Handbook of Transnational Crime and Justice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005.

Rittner, Carol, and John K. Roth, eds. *Rape: Weapon of War and Genocide*. St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2012.

Tarazona-Sevillano, Gabriela. *Sendero Luminoso and the Threat of Narcoterrorism*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1990.

Voeten, Teun. *How de Body? One Man's Terrifying Journey Through an African War*. New York: Thomas Dunne, 2002.

Warren, Mary Anne. *Gendercide: The Implications of Sex Selection*. Totowa, NJ: Rowan & Allanheld, 1985.