

International Terrorism in a Secondary Activity Area the Case of Canada, 1973-2005

TRACK D: PUBLIC DISCOURSE AND POLITICS (Benoît Gagnon; benoit.gagnon@gmail.com)

Main interrogation:

Is the discourse held by organizations responsible for national security in Canada, the United States and the Great-Britain, aligned on the discourse held by members of the al Qaeda constellation?

Hypothesis:

- We believe that the official discourse held by the security authorities of those three states and that of representatives of al Qaeda tend to be alike and to speak about the same themes in the same manner.
- It is therefore possible to see a discursive similitude between terrorism and antiterrorism having for consequence the creation of a "mirror effect".

Theoretical Framework:

Will adopt a post-positivist posture, like the one present in works done by Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and James Der Derian

Methodology:

Essentially consist of a discursive deconstruction. We are currently documenting speeches, official releases and various media accounts of political discourse from state actors, as well as statements of al Qaeda representatives on radio and television networks and on the internet.

Major themes:

- The historical foundations of terrorism and counterterrorism; for instance, we will make comparisons between our main subject and the history of PIRA in the UK.
- The role of the leadership and the ideology.
- Organisational behaviour.
- Relationship of terrorist networks and security institutions to information technologies.

The "mirror effect":

- The concept of "mirror effect", was first introduced by Peter K. Manning in his book *The Narc's Game: Organizational and Informational Limits on Drug Law Enforcement*.
- He develops the argument that security agencies responses go hand in hand with the perception of the threat that they create.
- At the other end of the spectrum, the terrorists' threats will align themselves with the responses elaborated by the security authorities.
- We therefore find ourselves in a "security blockade" situation, where both discourses are feeding and co-constructing each other.

BANNED GROUPS ACTIVE IN CANADA

(Grégory Gomez del Prado; gregory.gomez.del.prado@umontreal.ca)

Al-Qaeda, Arabic:

The base, a.k.a. Usama Bin Ladin Organization

Listed in Canada as a terrorist organization since July 23, 2002. Also listed by the US State Department and the United Nations.

- Name given to a worldwide network of militant Islamist groups rather than to a single and powerful organization. The term Al Qaeda was originally introduced by the American government to describe a movement that originated in Afghanistan, throughout the mujahideen resistance.
- Under the ostensible guidance of Usama Bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri, the network seeks to defend Islamic causes worldwide through the use of military and terrorist tactics.
- Although it is the most talked about terrorist organization and it is seen as the most powerful, Al-Qaeda's true size and organizational structure remains unknown.

- Its religious aspiration comes from the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood and is based on Salafism. It seems nowadays that Islamic terrorism is somewhat always linked to Al-Qaeda. A reality that serves not only its leaders but also the political agendas of many countries.
- There are many speculations as to the existence of Al Qaeda itself. Many see it as a label rather than an organization. Others consider that that it doesn't even exist and that it is a symbolic umbrella classification.

- Mujahedeh-E-Khalq (MEK), a.k.a. The National Liberation Army of Iran, The People's Mujahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI), National Council of Resistance (NCR), The National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI), Muslim's Iranian Student's Society

Listed as a terrorist organization since May 24, 2005. Also listed by the US State Department, the European Union and the United Nations.

- Iranian group whose ideology is based on a combination of Islamic and Marxist principles. Founded in 1965 by three students at Teheran's University, it fought at the beginning against the pro-US dictatorship of the Shah. Following the revolution, MEK continued its battle against the theocratic regime of Ayatollah Khomeini.
- The group was deemed a terrorist organization by the United States to improve foreign relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran. Nevertheless, the group enjoys many supporters throughout Western countries because of its appeal for true democratic changes in Iran.
- The political wing of MEK, the National Council of Resistance of Iran, is the most active and important Iranian opposition movement. Its military wing, the National Liberation Army, has enjoyed many successes as it often targets key economical structures.

Babbar Khalsa (BK) / Babbar Khalsa International (BK)

Listed in Canada as a terrorist organization since June 18, 2003. Also listed by the European Union and the United Nations.

- BK is a Sikh separatist movement aiming to establish an independent state in India called Khalistan (land of the pure).
- Dated as far as the colonial period but in its modern form since the 70's. Founded by Shaheed Bhai Sukhdev Singh Babbar (operations in India) and Shaheed Bhai Talwinder Singh Parmar (outside India under Babbar Khalsa International).

- The organization conducts assassinations, bombings and kidnappings against the Indian government and its representatives which in turn are accused by Amnesty International of Human rights abuses against Sikh combatants.
- Group is responsible for the second most murderous attack in the history of terrorism (after 9-11), the bombing of Air India planes in Canada in 1985.
- The "Air India Trial" was the most expensive in Canadian judicial history. Two of the three accused were acquitted in 2005. Nevertheless, this trial has shed light on CSIS (Canadian Security Intelligence Service) involvement in Sikh terrorist groups.

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Listed in Canada as a terrorist organization since December 11, 2002. Also listed by the US State Department and the United Nations.

- Shia radical movement founded in Lebanon in 1983, aiming at the creation of an Islamic state based on the Iranian model.
- Until 1986, it relied on the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) to conduct its operations.
- In addition to its political and military wing, it maintains a civilian arm which provides social, educational and healthcare services.
- In May 2000, Israel's was forced to withdraw from south Lebanon, partly due to Hezbollah's military wing. Since then, the movement has served as an inspiration to the Palestinian cause.
- Considered by many in the Arab and Muslim world as a legitimate political party while others, especially Israel and western countries, see it as an Islamic terrorist organization.
- Canada's decision to consider Hezbollah as a terrorist entity has come following pressure and formal complaints from Jewish associations in Canada. It has irritated the Lebanese ambassador in Ottawa and provoked a vivid reaction by Hezbollah's leaders.

Arabic: Party of God, a.k.a. Islamic Jihad, Islamic Resistance, Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, Ansar al-Allah

Listed in Canada as a terrorist organization since December 11, 2002. Also listed by the US State Department and the United Nations.

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TRACK C: INTELLIGENCE AND POLICING

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The Maher Arar case: information sharing and "extraordinary renditions"

Main interrogations:

How do Canadian national security agencies share information with their US counterparts? How does that affect the security of Canadians?

Hypothesis

Some weaknesses in the mechanisms for information sharing between Canadian and US agencies may jeopardize the security of Canadians.

Main themes

- Cooperation between the RCMP and the FBI, between CSIS, DFAIT and the RCMP; how information collected in Canada eventually ends up in US agencies
- Rules regarding the collection of information on "targets" and other individuals they come in contact with
- Rules regarding the disclosure of private information to third parties
- Differences between criminal investigations and national security investigations
- The nature and definition of "national security information"
- "Extraordinary rendition" as a US matter and as a Canadian responsibility: extraordinary renditions are the extraction of non-US citizens by US agencies to foreign countries where torture is practised to obtain information.

Methodology

We are analysing the Arar case because of the availability of information created by the official federal commission of inquiry into this matter. We are running thematic and discursive analysis of documents generated by the Commission's work, of media reports and of all submissions made during the hearings, with special focus on security agencies.

Other cases will be used to run comparative analyses, where possible: William Sampson, Khaled el Masri, Djamel Beghal, Mamdouh Habib, Abu Oma, Abdullian Alnaki, Ahmad Abou el-Maati, Muayyed, Nurreddin. Some of these cases may be included in the Commission's work at a later date.

CHRONOLOGY

(Benoît Gagnon)

7 July 2005: Simultaneous explosions on rush hour trains in London kill 56 people.

11 March 2004: Simultaneous explosions on rush hour trains in Madrid kill 150 people.

19 March 2003: First U.S. bombs dropped on Baghdad, Iraq. Canada does not participate in subsequent invasion

7 October 2001: International invasion of Afghanistan. Canada participates.

7 August 1998: Bombing of the United States embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya kills 224 people and injures over 4,500. The bombings were linked to Osama Bin Laden.

23 February 1998: Osama bin Laden publishes *fatwa* declaring *jihad* against all Jews and Crusaders.

27 September 1996: In Afghanistan, the Taliban capture capital city Kabul after driving out President Burhanuddin Rabbani and executing former leader Mohammad Najibullah.

11 January 1994: Irish government announces the end of a 15-year broadcasting ban on PIRA and its political arm Sinn Fein.

31 August 1994: Irish Republican Army announces a "complete cessation of military operations" from midnight.

26 February 1993: In New York City, a van bomb parked below the North Tower of the World Trade Center goes off, killing 6 and injuring over a thousand.

17 January 1991: Operation Desert Storm begins.

14 February 1989: Iranian leader Ruhollah Khomeini encourages Muslims to kill the author of *The Satanic Verses*, Salman Rushdie.

8 December 1987: First Intifada begins.

31 October 1984: Indira Gandhi is assassinated by two Sikh security guards.

5 June 1984: Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi orders attacks on Golden Temple and other Sikh shrines.

19 November 1977: The Indian High Commission in Ottawa was firebombed, possibly by members of the Universal Proulist Revolutionary Front (UPRF), a group thought to be linked with the Indian Ananda Marg religious movement.

29 August, 1977: A bomb exploded in a Toronto garage, killing 3 Serbian nationals. The attack, committed by pro-Tito Yugoslavs, was meant to avenge the death of Dragisa Kasikovich, who was publishing a pro-communist journal (Liberty) in Chicago.

1 December, 1976: A fire is set at the offices of a Yugoslav weekly newspaper published in Scarborough. The fire was probably deliberately set and is attributed it to extremists opposed to the Yugoslav government.

18 April, 1975: The National Defence headquarters (NDHQ) located in Ottawa is the target of a leftist American group called "Weather Underground" who planted a bomb in the NDHQ facilities.

24 January 1973: Letter-bombs were sent to Israeli Consulates in Canada, Chile and Australia. Black September was alleged to be responsible.

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TRACK A: CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE PROTECTION (TCRG)

Critical infrastructures include water and energy production and distribution facilities and networks, telecommunications, computer networks, fundamental chemical industries, food distribution, public transportation and certain government institutions and services. /

- All infrastructures are interrelated and vulnerabilities in one sector may impact others
- All infrastructures are controlled and monitored through a meta-network of computers
- Infrastructures are typical terrorist targets, especially public transportation, power lines, pipelines and government.
- Even though it is generally considered as a matter of national security, the protection of infrastructures is, for the most part, the responsibility of private contractors.

Main interrogation:

- We are interested in infrastructure protection against terrorism especially as a laboratory for public-private relations in the production of security.
- We are looking in particular at the human and technological interfaces aimed at the exchange of information between intelligence agencies, police organisations, private security firms and the corporate entities at the base of the structure.
- We are also interested in the ways in which technological and other physical networks influence the structure of human security networks.

Secondary objectives:

- Draw a map of sociological networks for the production or infrastructure security
- Identify the impact of terrorism on the network and on the ways in which agents think of their mission and the strategies they are adopting
- Analyse the official and unofficial rules governing information exchange and other forms of cooperation between agents in the network.

Theoretical framework

- Our research connects to recent work on the nature and modalities of the impact of information on policing and on the production of security in general
- We will also explore theories on the relationship of public and private entities in the production of security
- We will use concepts from Foucault's work on "governmentality" as well as Beck's "risk society."

Methodology

We have created partnerships with key agencies in the transportation and power production. We are conducting interviews with actors at different levels of the networks. We are also collecting a wide range of documents.

Recent work by TCRG members

Brodeur, Jean-Paul (2005), « Cops and Spooks : the Uneasy Partnership », T. Newburn, *Policing - Key Readings*, Cullompton (UK), Willan.

Brodeur, Jean-Paul (2003), *Les visages de la police*, Montréal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

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Leman-Langlois, Stéphane (2005) « Theft in the Information Age : Music, Technology, Crime and Claims-Making », *Knowledge, Technology and Policy*, 17 (3-4), 140-163.

Leman-Langlois, Stéphane (2003) « The Myopic Panopticon: the Social Consequences of Policing Through the Lens », *Policing and Society*, 13 (1), 43-58.

Leman-Langlois, Stéphane (2003b) « Rationalité pénale et terrorisme », D. Casoni et L. Brunet, *Comprendre l'acte terroriste*, Montréal : Presses de l'Université du Québec, 113-119.

Leman-Langlois, Stéphane et Jean-Paul Brodeur (2005), « Les technologies de l'identification » *Revue internationale de criminologie et de police technique et scientifique*, 2005 (1), 69-82.

Leman-Langlois, Stéphane et Jean-Paul Brodeur (2005b), « Terrorism Old and New », *Police Practice and Research*, 6 (2), 121-140.

Leman-Langlois, Stéphane, Benoît Gagnon et Valéry Thibeault (sous presse), « The Insecurity Regime - Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada : Risk, Security and Image Management »

Monjardet, Dominique et Jean-Paul Brodeur (2003), « Sécurité intérieure et sécurité extérieure, recompositions et métamorphoses », *Les cahiers de la sécurité intérieure*, Paris, la Documentation française n°53, 167-169.

Wood, Jennifer et Michael Kempa (sous presse), « Understanding Global Trends in Policing: Explanatory and Normative Dimensions », J. Sheptycki and A. Wardak, *Transnational and Comparative Criminology in a Global Context*, Londres, Cavendish.

12 March, 1985: Three gunmen, self-identified as "Armenian Revolutionary Army" members, smashed through the gates of the Turkish embassy in a rented truck, then blasted their way into the embassy and seized 11 hostages.

3 September, 1984: Thomas Bernard Brigham, from Rochester (New York), bombed Montreal's Central Station, killing 3 and wounding in excess of 30 people. The bomber was supposedly unhappy about the incoming visit of the Pope Jean-Paul II in Canada.

30 May, 1982: Three Armenians are arrested after they planted a bomb in an Air Canada terminal in the Los Angeles Airport. They wanted to avenge the earlier capture of an Armenian suspected to be linked to the ASALA in Canada.

18 May, 1982: In a case of extortion a Canadian-Armenian businessman had his home and 2 cars firebombed in Toronto.

7 May, 1982: Bomb explodes near the Swiss Air office in Montreal. ASALA claimed responsibility for the act, in retaliation for the earlier arrest of an Armenian in Switzerland, on charges of murder.

5 January, 1982: An improvised explosive device detonated in a Globe and Mail newspaper vending box. The bomb was claimed by ASALA.

22 December, 1980: A small dynamite bomb caused damage to the Montreal's Cuban consulate. The attack was claimed by a man identifying himself as a Cuban expatriate living in Canada on behalf of the "Alliance of Cuban Revolutionary Organizations."

14 January, 1980: A small bomb, described by police as "very amateurish", exploded near the front door of the Cuban consulate located in Montreal.

19 November 1977: The Indian High Commission in Ottawa was firebombed, possibly by members of the Universal Proulist Revolutionary Front (UPRF), a group thought to be linked with the Indian Ananda Marg religious movement.

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TRACK B: FEAR AND INSECURITY

(Valéry Thibeault; valery.thibeault@umontreal.ca)

Insecurity and mass transit

Main interrogation

To understand the constitutive elements of the feeling of insecurity of mass transit users in Montreal, especially their perception of their risk of falling victim to a terrorist attack.

Objectives

- Evaluate mass transit users' degree of preoccupation with the risk of a terrorist attacks.
- Understand the impact of media coverage on mass transit users' perception of terrorism as a risk to their security.
- Understand the phenomena of identification to victims of terrorist acts around the world and how it affects people's personal risk evaluation
- Evaluate the impact of official governmental discourse (from politicians, civil servants, as well as governmental institutions and agencies) on individual perception of the risk of terrorist attacks
- Identify the actors considered to be responsible for security by mass transit users (police, intelligence agencies, private security, or the users themselves)

Hypotheses

We believe that the fear of falling victim to a terrorist attack is not the same as the fear of conventional criminal victimization. The fear of terrorism is what Figgie (*The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime*, 1980) would call "formless" fear (fear without a specific object, an abstract fear). By contrast, fear of criminal victimization is more likely to be "concrete" fear (with a specific object).

Theoretical Framework

We adopt a constructivist approach in order to identify the underlying elements of the public's feeling of insecurity. This approach has been used by, among others, Robert et Faugeron (*La Justice et son public*, 1978).

Methodology

This study will be based on a quantitative approach. Data will be collected through a 10 minute survey conducted with users of the Montreal subway. Data collection will take place in the system's main hub (Berri-UQAM).

Major themes

- Insecurity: causes and impacts
- The Media as main source of information. Media have a dominant role in the public's understanding of their social environment (direct or indirect)
- The process of identification to victims of terrorism in foreign countries following violent events

- Moral panic: stages preceding the appearance of a moral panic. Special attention will be given to the concept of "folk devil" (Cohen, 1980, *Folk Devils of Moral Panics*), who symbolizes dangerousness and stands at the heart of power relations between individuals, the state and the threats being faced.

WORLD EVENTS

CANADIAN INCIDENTS

TCRG is funded by the *Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada* Principal Investigator : Jean-Paul Brodeur (ICCC)

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