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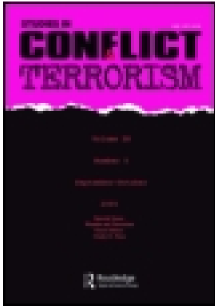

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Terrorism as Transnational Advocacy: An Organizational and Tactical Examination

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Terrorism as Transnational Advocacy: An Organizational and Tactical Examination

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This article attempts to shed light on the dynamics and machinations within terrorist organizations by incorporating a heretofore overlooked literature which is directly applicable, that of transnational advocacy networks (TANs). Terror networks have been described using every possible analogy, from multinational corporations to organized crime to the anthropomorphic classic "cut off the head, and the body will die." In reality, terrorist organizations function in much the same way, and using many of the same techniques, as transnational advocacy networks concerned with issues like the environment or human rights. By describing these characteristics, and comparing TANs and Terror TANs (TTANs), this article aims to offer insight into the tactics and motivations that define modern, as well as the much heralded post-modern, terrorism.

There has been a growing interest in the role that networks play in facilitating terrorist tactical and strategic behavior (Arquilla and Ronfeldt 2001, 3; Tucker 2001; Zanini 1999) but the current literature on terror networks is still in its infancy. Although there has been some examination of how and why terror networks operate and adapt, overwhelmingly the literature related to this topic has been of the historical case study and anecdotal variety. Although this creates a vast body of literature from which to cull information for more theoretical studies, it does little to increase understanding beyond individual historical cases. Some important exceptions to this include the work of John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt (2001), Marc Sageman (2004), and some work that has come out of research and policy institutions like the RAND Corporation (Cragin and Daly 2004).

This article is intended to further integrate one theory of social movement networks, transnational activist networks (TANs) (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 1999) into the study of terrorist networks. This is useful for several reasons. First, the theoretical insights provided can help one to understand the advantages that networks provide terrorists and also to better understand why terrorist networks operate the way they do. Second, by adopting a model of TANS a terrorist organization can be placed into a broader framework of groups that use violence and groups that do not use violence, something that is rarely done. Finally by

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examining terrorist networks through the lenses of TANs the authors hope to raise questions about why some activist networks use terror and others do not. This article will first briefly examine the terrorist network literature then provide an overview of the TAN concept. It then provides six mini case studies, illustrating the ways in which terrorist networks share almost all behavioral attributes with nonviolent TANs—except the propensity to use terror. Finally, it addresses some of the issues raised by this comparison and points out key questions that need to be addressed by further research.

Terror Networks

Before 11 September 2001 very little attention was focused on what Arquilla and Ronfeldt called Netwar (1996). The attack on the United States illustrated the dangerous capacity held by tactical and strategic networks exploiting modern technology to use violence destructively (Arquilla and Ronfeldt 2002). Arquilla and Ronfeldt were leaders in arguing the advantages that network organization offer violent groups. Arquilla and Ronfeldt identified Netwar as a societal level counterpart to cyberwar, a state of affairs in which combatants rely on networked organization and certain specific techniques and tactics, like swarming. Swarming, or the temporary massing of resources and people for operational purposes, is a new and functional approach to examining terrorist actions (2001, 12). Whereas much of the research has focused on the tactical importance of networks (Krebs 2004) there has also been work illustrating the importance of networks at the strategic level, networks where they allow for the collaboration of different groups for terrorist purposes (Galeotti 2002; Jones, Smith, and Weeding 2003; Sageman 2004). Raab and Milward (2003) have pointed out that "Dark Networks" can solve various management and resiliency problems for illicit groups in the same way that social network theorists have shown they help governments.

One of the most important works looking at terrorist networks is by Marc Sageman (2004) who takes a psychological approach by beginning with the question of why someone would join a terror network; Sageman attempts to reverse engineer the network from the bottom up. His argument is that, contrary to the common conception, terror networks often form in a sort of organic way from friendship and other relationships, rather than as a result of a "top down" and heavily controlled approach (Sageman 2004).

Important work has also been done in the examination and interpretation of terror networks at some of the policy think tanks that examine terrorism. The two-part Aptitude for Destruction series from the RAND Corporation offers a novel approach to examining terrorism, by incorporating the concept of organizational learning (Jackson et al. 2005). By using a number of theoretical approaches brought in from organizational studies and management, the authors were able to illustrate in new ways the adaptability and resilience of terror networks. RAND also provided a unique rubric for examining terror networks in Assessing the Dynamic Terrorist Threat. R. Kim Cragin and Sara Daly (2004), the authors, provide a new way in which to analyze terror networks. The typology they propose places terror networks on two axes, one measuring their operational capabilities and the second their intent or motivation to attack the United States. Although this study is not broadly geographically applicable, and not concerned necessarily with the internal dynamics of these networks, it does offer an interesting approach to dissecting them.

Although some have identified the commonality of terrorist networks and transnational activist networks (Adamson 2005; Arquilla and Ronfeldt 2002) this has been rare. This

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article focuses specifically on the theory of TANs as laid out by Keck and Sikkink (1998, 1999) and shows how the same dynamic can be seen in both nonviolent and terrorist TANS can be observed—and explained.

Transnational Advocacy Networks

Keck and Sikkink (1998) offer up the approach of studying international movements and organizations in terms of Transnational Advocacy Networks. These networks are groups that work across borders to advocate for causes, issues, or people. They tend to be made up of many types of actors, including nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), foundations, political entrepreneurs, and individuals. These networks can also sometimes include sympathetic government officials or agencies. They are networks because they fit the definition of being "characterized by voluntary, reciprocal and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange" (Keck and Sikkink 1999, 91).

The conception of a Transnational Advocacy Group (TAN) is a very useful and tangible one. Useful in that it gives an analytic framework to examine international politics beyond merely state concerns, and tangible in that it offers a more concrete approach than some of the more ethereal conceptions like "global civil society" (Brysk 2005) or "transnational community" (Evangelista 1995).

One unique characteristic of TANs is the coalition of local and national groups to form larger regional or international umbrella organizations. These larger groupings can range from very informal to much more structured. An oft-cited example of this is the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), in which many local groups in countries that had been plagued by conflict and the dispersal of mines came together under the aegis of the ICBL to create international pressure to discontinue the use of landmines (Price 1998, 620).

Several other tactics, approaches, and organizational attributes also distinguish TANs from more abstract descriptions of globalized civil society. One trait that is common to most TANs is the employment of the Boomerang Effect (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 12–13). This is when a domestic challenger uses a TAN in order to influence either other powerful states or International Organizations in an attempt to bring pressure back on their own government. An example would be the 20 December 2000 demonstration in London, in which 45 Kurdish protestors seized the London Eye Ferris Wheel in order to protest the treatment of Kurdish prisoners in Turkey (Peacock 2000). This circular path to domestic reform is a distinctive feature of Transnational Advocacy Networks. Keck and Sikkink call this kind of exercise of influence using outside pressure leverage politics.

They also reference three other types of politics that concern transnational advocacy networks. Information politics involves the exchange of information between nodes within the network, and also from the network to the broader public. This exchange of information, in the form testimonials and facts, allows the TAN to frame issues in the terms that they choose. This is instrumental in their power to persuade both internally and externally.

Symbolic politics is the idea that through the interpretation of symbolic events, TANs can further frame the issues, which they wish to address. By "identifying and providing convincing explanations" for important events, TANs acquire the ability to shape the discussion and debate. Finally, TANs engage in accountability politics. This is when TANs, usually by way of their local and regional affiliates, monitor the situation in a locality and publicize any deviations from what is considered acceptable according to international norms. This publicity is used to shame states into action (Cameron 1999, 92).

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Other traits specifically associated with TANs include rapid and effective transnational information sharing, a focus on symbolic political statements and the presence of conferences, workshops, or other events in which members of various geographically separated organizations come together to meet and create bonds or relationships. Together these characteristics create an organization that is both international in scope and local in operation. This macro/micro dichotomy is perhaps the key element of TANs both in their operations and in their effectiveness.

Although still a relatively new concept, the study of TANs has multiplied quickly. This literature takes several approaches to TANs, all of which lead to a deeper understanding of what they are, and how they operate. Some authors have examined TANs within the broader context of globalization and transnational civil society (Keck and Sikkink 1999; Hudson 2001; Price 2003; Karkkainen 2004). Other authors have decided to focus more narrowly on the mechanisms by which TANs operate (Thomas 2002). Many more have taken the TAN framework and applied it to historical case studies ranging from indigenous rights to sexual harassment (Brysk 1996; Sikkink 1993; Price 1998; Stillerman 2003; Armbruster-Sandoval 2003; Zippel 2004).

Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) contributed to a great many positive changes in recent decades including decreasing the use of anti-personnel landmines (Price 1998), the saving of acres upon acres of rainforest (Rodrigues 2005), and serving to monitor human rights violations throughout the globe (Sikkink 1993; Burgerman 1998). They have contributed to all these things by combining international networking with local knowledge, exploiting communication technologies, using international pressure, and focusing on symbolic political action. Nonviolent TANs, however, are not the only political actors who have used these techniques with increasing frequency in recent years. Unfortunately, the same logistical and strategic approaches that have allowed TANs to become increasingly effective, have also allowed terrorist networks to operate with far fewer restrictions. The efficacy of transnational advocacy has risen along the same trajectory as transnational terrorism. This similarity is no coincidence. The reality is that terrorist networks share a great many characteristics with TANs.

It seems that there would be a substantial benefit to addressing at least some terror organizations as violent transnational advocacy networks. This is because the operational logic is so remarkably similar between nonviolent TANs and violent terrorist networks. Terror networks seem to have, in many ways, evolved away from rigid hierarchical structures, making the TAN approach increasingly applicable. Gilles Kepel claims that older terror networks "were well known and each had an understandable structure." He contrasts this traditional structure with the newer networks which must be understood in different terms. These innovative networks he argues are "new and largely unknown," characterized by a "loose system" of "cells and networks that are scattered all over the world" (Wright 2004). This description could well have been culled from a description of most any transnational advocacy network.

Like TANs, as they are traditionally conceived, terrorist networks have adopted the embrace of local organizations, information technology, international pressure for political leverage, and symbolic political action. They too have benefited from the on-the-ground knowledge provided by ideologically parallel "franchise" networks. Like TANs, terrorists have embraced information technology, like the Internet, to coordinate action, foster ideological and tactical information exchange, and to serve as a virtual space for the creation of a politically charged community. Like humanitarian or environmental networks, terror groups are increasingly reliant on international public opinion and the use of international political pressure for leverage. Finally, terrorists too have focused on symbolic politics as

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a useful tool for exerting political pressure. It is in these increasingly apparent parallels that the existing study of Transnational Advocacy will offer an important lens for the examination of terrorist phenomena.

Terrorists, organized crime, and violent insurgent movements have all profited from the shift to transnational relations and the logistical advantages that it provides (Arquilla and Ronfeldt 2001). Increasing technology and communication have enabled new methods for transporting arms (Laurance 2002), laundering money (Basile 2004), setting up covert logistical networks (Cronin 2002/03), and information sharing (Thomas 2002). These changing avenues facilitate new models for violent and criminal organizations. Although international crime and terrorism are not new, they are increasingly common and often harder to combat. There has been much discussion of the changes that globalization has fostered or enabled amongst these violent groups, or what Bartosz Stanislawski calls "Transnational Bads" (Stanislawski 2004). Numerous scholars have explored transnational violent and criminal groups in some depth (Stanislawski 2004; Hudson 2003; Sanderson 2004).

In many ways, the recent literature regarding transnational civil society mirrors the literature regarding transnational crime and terrorism. Increases in technology and communication, and the subsequent ease with which knowledge and goods can be exchanged, are one way in which both the "good" and "bad" sides of globalization seem to have benefited. An increasing reliance on networks for both communication and organizational structure is another way in which changes in civil society are similar to those in the criminal and militant spheres (Arquilla and Ronfeldt 2001). Despite the clear similarities, few scholars have directly made the connection, or even drawn parallels, between globalizing civil society and violent actors.

Certainly not all aspects of the knowledge base surrounding globalizing civil society will be relevant to the study of terrorism; however, some will offer greater understanding of how terror networks form, adapt, and behave. The attempt to find ways in which the existing literature on civil society can inform the debate on terrorism is a valuable one.

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Bringing Together the Study of TANs and Terror Networks

Relatively little work has synthesized the study of transnational advocacy and that of terror networks, which is odd considering how much overlap there appears to be in some of the organizational and technical dynamics (two important exceptions are Adamson 2005; Arquilla and Ronfeldt 2001). Most of what has been written has been general, focusing not on TANs per se, but rather on the globalizing or transnational nature of terrorism (Cronin 2002/3; Scruton 2002; Schweitzer and Shay 2003).

One sub-genre of this literature compares global terror networks to another set of transnational actors, criminal syndicates. Some authors take a broad approach, examining how globalization, communications technology, and increased networking affect all illicit or "dark" organizations (Angjeli 2003; Sanderson 2004; Stanislawski 2004). On the other hand, some authors draw specific analogies between terror networks and individual criminal enterprises like the Mafia or drug cartels (Schneider and Schneider 2002; Dishman 2005). As a whole, this literature is useful in examining how various types of networks attempt to avoid detection, transfer funds, and operate in response to law enforcement.

Another important place where the study of terrorism has come close to looking at them as TANs is in the study of how charities and other nongovernmental organizations have

supported terrorism. In this case, the NGOs or TANs examined have tended to facilitate terrorism by providing fund raising or other logistical support. Escobar's study of the Al Rashid Trust Corporation, Anatomy of a Terrorist NGO illustrates the ways in which an NGO can exist almost solely to assist terror networks (Escobar 2001). Attanassoff has argued that the increased level of activity by Islamic TANs in the Balkans has the potential to increase the support base for terrorism (Attanassoff 2005).

Perhaps the most interesting work regarding terror networks and NGOs comes from a small section of Jessica Stern's *Terror in the Name of God* (2003). In that book she makes an analogy that terror networks operate in much the same way that nongovernmental organizations or businesses do. She describes today's terror networks as being similar to many humanitarian groups in their day-to-day operations, which include advertising their mission and successes, meeting with potential donors, and competing for their place in the market (Stern 2003).

The only work that directly compares the ways in which terrorist networks operate to those of TANs is Arquilla and Ronfeldt's Networks and Netwars. Even then, however, the comparison is oblique, not explicit, and is part of a larger focus on networking and its outcomes for politically motivated groups. Arquilla and Ronfeldt explore Netwar and how the concept applies to both TANs like the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, as well as to terror groups like Al Qaeda.

The TAN concepts allows two usefully theoretical things. First, it will allow the application of the concepts, particularly the boomerang effect, that have been so successful in looking at transnational NGOs to transnational terror networks to help understand them better. Second, it will allow comparison of violent and nonviolent TANs, increasing variance and allowing researchers to ask why some TANs turn to violence and others do not. A comparison of both nonviolent transnational advocacy networks and violent Terrorist Transnational Advocacy Networks (TTANs) across all their constituent characteristics should enable their similarities to show through, while also drawing into relief their differences. In order to synthesize the literature between TANs and Terrorist Networks, it is important to examine them in similar terms. The rest of this article looks at six different transnational movements, three nonviolent and three violent and explores them within the context of TAN theory. The same dynamics that shape the behavior and strategies of nonviolent TANS are doing the same for Terrorist Activist Networks with one critical exception—the Terror TANS kill people. The authors first look at the Human Rights TAN and Al Qaeda, both broad-based TANS with many facets and very varied agendas across a global arena and find that the same techniques used by the components of the Human Rights movement are being used by Al Qaeda. They then look at four more TANS, The Anti-Deforestation Movement, The International Campaign to Ban Landmines, Hezbollah, and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. Strategically these groups use similar means with the exception that the latter two have added violence to their repertoires.

Human Rights Campaigns

There are many facets to the human rights movement in the same way that there are in many transnational movements. Like the environmental movement, the human rights movement is not about a narrowly defined issue but rather a broad and diverse group of individuals and organizations that share certain philosophical and tactical tenets. Using these shared elements, these groups are able to create and maintain an international advocacy community.

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Some groups have local or regional focus, and others focus on specific issues like torture, political freedom, or indigenous rights (Sikkink 1993).

In the case of the anti–capital punishment movement, there was a distinct international approach that incorporated not just traditional human rights NGOs, but also other institutions like the Catholic Church. Human rights advocacy groups such as Amnesty International, The Holy See, the World Council of Churches, and the Mennonite Central Committee utilized the popular international network structure to develop their human rights agenda, rather effectively for the abolition of the death penalty (Ferrari 2003, 29). In an attempt to affect policy change, a network of NGOs in Europe, Australia, and North America have created strong communications channels and information flows to create a viable international community with a united goal to end capital punishment.

This international cooperation is vital to the success of human rights TANs. Documentation and information-gathering skills increased with the new resources the contacts with these international communities provided. In the Mexican case this was achieved by groups like the Americas Watch and Amnesty International (AI), with the cooperation of political opponents of the PRI (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 113).

Others have used this approach, attempting to influence government action through the use of transnational information flows. The Red Cross successfully utilized this tactic with the Chilean government after the military coup through the utilization of strong information politics. With the Red Cross effectively and freely operating in Chile to monitor the detainment of individuals, the world community and the United States became convinced that the government was acting in the interests of Human Rights. Through the influence of the Red Cross and the presence in the country, the human rights situation became improved through indirect action (Forsythe 1976, 618–619).

Using a political approach to frame a specific issue is another tactic of human rights TANs. The primary goal of the abolition of capital punishment movement was to engage policy actors by framing the issue to showing that convicted felons were a vulnerable population under the state, and draw the connection that capital punishment is therefore a violation of basic human rights. Through the utilization of transnational information flows, the movement has had difficulty in reforming policy in nations such as the United States, but has made progress in shifting public attitudes on the issue of the death penalty, a necessary first step in any wide-sweeping policy reform (Ferrari 2003, 30).

By rapidly utilizing transnational information flows AI successfully informed the world community, and brought pressure and eventually a change in policy on the Argentine government. By publishing a regular report AI showed that disappearances had led to interrogations and even killings of political prisoners. Not only did this lead to a Nobel Prize and international recognition, but also to intense pressure for European nations and the Carter administration to change their policy toward the Argentine government (Sikkink 1993, 424).

Boomeranging a targeted entity through the involvement of international organizations or larger powers has proved to be the central tactic of TANs. This combination of leverage and information politics can be very effective in changing policy. This was the case with Argentina in the 1970s. The more intense the pressure from the international community, the more likely the Argentine government was to change its policies. U.S. pressure in the region was vital to eventually ending the human rights violations by the Argentine government; and the primary source of information available to the U.S. was from Amnesty International. The domestic human rights organizations began to swiftly develop external contacts to enhance the dissemination of information. Through these networks, members got information out to

the media and partnership organizations in Europe and North America (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 105).

The increased awareness of the public at large, and the support in policymaking circles would begin to bring the boomerang effect into effect for the broader international human rights coalition. The transnational efforts came to play a significant role in the 1976 U.S. presidential elections. The Carter campaign quickly seized on the growing popularity of the human rights movement and led to a weakening of the political base of the Ford campaign as it took a more conservative approach to this international movement (Thomas 2002, 32–34).

With the change in stance on human rights with the new administration the network successfully continued its efforts to inform policymakers on the human rights situations throughout the world in an attempt to make human rights a priority policy concern. This brought about U.S. spearheading the engagement of specific human rights issues throughout the world. This included influencing the U.S.'s appointment of its ambassador to different international conferences where human rights would be an issue, and even caused the United States to turn its attention for the first time to human rights violations taking place in Eastern European countries under the influential sphere of the communist bloc (Thomas 2002, 29–31).

Al Qaeda

Al Qaeda has in many ways become the prototypical transnational terrorist organization. Although many terror networks operate regionally or even globally in their logistical and fund-raising efforts, relatively few possess anything approaching a global operational capability. However, in a very real way, Al Qaeda maintains cells and individuals capable of mounting serious and catastrophic terrorist attacks throughout the world. This ability to act globally has stemmed directly from the organization's unique history and its birth in the late 1980s.

Al Qaeda (translated as "the base") grew out of the Afghan resistance to Soviet occupation following the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan. The Soviet Union encountered strong opposition to their invasion, much of it in the form of foreign Muslims who came to Afghanistan to be involved in what they saw as the defense of an Islamic country from a godless superpower. Many were in fact also fleeing government persecution in their home countries, because of their involvement in such Muslim fundamentalist groups as the Muslim Brotherhood (Baer 91–105). Originally Al Qaeda's precursor group was a network designed to help families throughout the Islamic world keep track of their loved ones who had traveled to Afghanistan to participate in the anti-Soviet jihad, or holy war (Smith 2002, 2). It grew into the Makhtab al Khidmat (MAK) or "services office," a worldwide jihad recruiting and fund-raising organization (Mannes 2004, 33). It is this unique origin that gives Al Qaeda its distinctive international character. Because the mujahideen came from Islamic communities throughout the globe, Al Qaeda was from the very beginning distinctively global.

With the end of the Soviet occupation many of these war-hardened Muslim fundamentalist soldiers were left without a cause for which to fight. Although some stayed in Afghanistan and prospered under the subsequent Taliban regime, many returned to their own nations, creating a Diaspora of trained jihadi warriors.

Under the stewardship of Osama bin Laden, this collection of operatives spread throughout the world was to become what is currently known as Al Qaeda. Beginning

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in the 1990s, Al Qaeda embarked on an increasingly ambitious series of terrorist attacks. These attacks included the U.S. embassy bombings in East Africa, the attack on the U.S.S. *Cole*, and culminating in the massive logistical and operational undertaking that was the 9/11 attack. Subsequent attacks by Al Qaeda or their affiliated groups included the Bali nightclub bombing, Jakarta Marriott bombing, and Madrid subway attack (Mannes 2004).

Al Qaeda as a Transnational Advocacy Network

Al Qaeda has been described and approached in many ways. Peter Bergen describes it in business terms, comparing Al Qaeda to a multinational corporation of jihad or Holy War Inc. (Bergen 2001). Others have used analogies varying from Al Qaeda being an Afghan resistance alumni association (Engel 2001), to a computer network (Deibert 2002), to the biologically based descriptions of the group as either a living organism (Desker and Ramakrishna 2002) or a virus (Smith 2002). Although each of these comparisons illustrates something about the nature of Al Qaeda, perhaps a more useful framework through which to view Al Qaeda is that of TANs. In fact, Marc Sageman has implicitly suggested as much "Al Qaeda is not a hierarchical organization, and never was. . . . It was always a social movement" (Wright 2004).

Like the human rights movement, Al Qaeda is actually not one cohesive and rigidly hierarchical group, but rather a number of affiliated groups sharing ideological tenets and members to create a highly adaptable and complex network. Its affiliate groups among others include a veritable roll call of Islamist terror groups: Al-Jihad and Gamaah-Islamayyah in Egypt, Jemaah Islamayah in Indonesia, Group Islamique Armée and the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat in Algeria, Abu Sayyaf and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front in the Phillipines, as well as numerous groups in the Kashmir region of Pakistan (Mannes 2004, 3–99). All these groups operate with varying degrees of input and coordination from Al Qaeda's leadership, while maintaining much operational and logistical independence. Al Qaeda has also cooperated with groups that are not constituents, and even have very different aims; for example, the Shi'ite Muslim group Hezbollah (Mannes 2004, 162–163). Finally, Al Qaeda throughout its existence has benefited from the help of governments ranging from the directly supportive, the Taliban in Afghanistan and the Sudan, to more indirect support from sympathetic elements within the Pakistani intelligence service ISI (Bergen 2001, 220).

Al Qaeda, like the human rights movement, is quite sophisticated in its approach, using transnational information flows and financial resources to advance its agenda. Similar to Amnesty International, Al Qaeda has made humanitarian appeals, collecting funds through Islamic charities (Comras 2005). It has in addition collected funds through front businesses, wealthy individuals, and involvement in organized crime (Comras 2005). This money has been covertly collected, distributed, and otherwise manipulated using international banks, precious commodities like diamonds and gold, and exploitation of the Hawala system (Comras 2005). Hawala is an informal fund transferring system, often used by Muslim Diasporas to remit funds, which is based on personal connections and often leaves little paper trail.

Communication technology, allowing for the easy spread of information, has been an undeniable boon to Al Qaeda as it has been for the human rights movement. They have proven very adept at using the Internet and other technological break-throughs to create a virtual space in which they are able to communicate. Al Qaeda members have been in

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touch using e-mail, chat rooms, websites, satellite phones, and have even used commercially available encryption software to protect their communications (Mannes 2004, 33).

Keck and Sikkink's different types of politics as used by the human rights movement are also quite evident in Al Qaeda's operations and rhetoric. Information politics is evident in the widespread use of the Internet to communicate within the group, but also to distribute manifestos and videotapes to the wider public. To this end, Al Qaeda has also used certain news outlets, like the Al-Jazeera television network, in its attempts to spread its ideas.

Symbolic politics is pervasive in the Al Qaeda case. The "symbolic interpretation" that Keck and Sikkink find so important for network formation and cohesiveness is one of bin Laden's key strategies. Taking several American foreign policies, including the U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia and continued mutual antagonism with Iraq, bin Laden offered the interpretation "these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on Allah, his messenger, and Muslims" (Foundation of American Scientists). This symbolic interpretation is one of the key planks of the Al Qaeda platform as it were.

Leverage politics is another omnipresent tactic employed by Al Qaeda. Ultimately, Al Qaeda has several goals including creating a Pan-Islamic caliphate, over-throwing apostate regimes, and expelling Westerners from Muslim nations (Bergen 2001). Although these goals are rather wide ranging, they are centered in the Muslim world, yet Al Qaeda has carried out deadly operations in North America and Europe. These attacks are aimed at getting Western, specifically American, troops out of the Middle East and lowering the levels of Western support for the indigenous "apostate" regimes (Johnson 2005). This dynamic is often discussed in terms of the concepts of the "near enemy," or local Islamic governments seen as corrupt, and the "far enemy," the West in general and America in particular (Johnson 2005; Henzel 2005; Sageman 2005).

The Al Qaeda view of these apostate regimes is seen in bin Laden's 1996 comments about the Saudi Regime in an interview with Nida'ul Islam magazine "the regime does not cease to cry in the open over the matters effecting the Muslims without making any serious effort to serve the interests of the Muslim community apart from small efforts in order to confuse people and throw some dust into their eyes" (fas.org). He goes on to say that attacks on America serve to illustrate that "people today feel that the Americans have exceeded their limits both politically and economically, the (Saudi) regime now knows that the public are aware that their sovereignty is shared . . ." and that the "most important goal would be to change the current regime, with the permission of Allah" (fas.org).

As with the human rights movement in its targeting of Argentina, Al Qaeda seeks to "influence American and Western opinion to demand abandonment of . . . US/Western support of existing Islamic governments" (Clarke 2004, 11). This use of the boomerang effect is classic leverage politics. Al Qaeda has grievances, real or imagined, against the West; however, it seems that their attacks on Western targets are often in large part meant to change conditions domestically by removing Western troops and as such removing support for the current regimes in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and other nations.

The Anti-Deforestation Movement

The international deforestation movement grew out of activities in response to local situations such as the Rondonia environmental movement in Brazil against the Polonoreste

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development project (Rodrigues 2005), or the local environmental group Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM) in Sarawak, Malaysia in response to industrial lumbering and deforestation activities (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 131). One example was in the Brazilian province of Rondonia, where the massive development project known as Polonoreste began intense lumbering that lead to deforestation. Despite the varied and apolitical nature of the indigenous peoples in the Rondonia region, efforts to halt the Polonoreste lumbering project began to take shape (Rodrigues 2005). Concerned individuals and groups began to form coalitions in an effort to preserve the forests and curtail the massive industrial and political obstacles leading to the degradation of the environment (Keck and Sikkink 1998). The international environmental movement initially interested in supporting these local groups was the environmental nongovernmental organization (ENGO), the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF). Along with other ENGOs, EDF began to become involved in the local situation and worked to create a network that what would be termed the Rondonia Forum. This Forum helped to develop the environmental movement as a unique international community through the establishment of flows of information. As the TAN of environmental activists became a cohesive network working together, pressure was applied on banks financing the endeavor and the Brazilian government (Rodrigues 2005).

As the environmental situations in Sarawak Malaysia and Brazil began to gain international attention, the global environmental movement began to emerge. Many groups with different environmental causes joined forces with ENGOs. In a process similar to that of Al Qaeda, environmentalists motivated by the need to confront large corporations and nation-states, these groups shared the commonality of being individually ineffective in making achievements in the face of their much larger opponents. To circumvent this problem these groups came together and established effective flows of information and a global network emerged (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 156–159). By placing the local problems in an international context, essentially re-framing the depletion of the world’s tropical forests, these groups allowed for a more salient message to be brought to world powers and international organizations.

The ENGOs have also engaged the WTO, IMF, and World Bank to develop more environmental friendly procedures in their regular activities. They did this by using leverage and information politics. Due to the weighed voting system of these institutions based on monetary support ENGOs have particularly targeted the states with most influence and funding to these institutions, specifically nations like the U.S. and Germany, who in turn influence the policies of the WTO, IMF, and the World Bank. By influencing these states, and subsequently the larger institutions to develop environmental safeguards the ENGOs are continually utilizing leverage politics to get large international actors to make specific environmental considerations (Mason 2004).

Hezbollah

Since its foundation, Hezbollah, or the “Party of God,” has been closely intertwined institutionally with the leadership of the religious elite of Iran. Hezbollah’s command leadership and the clergy of Iran were natural allies in creation of the Party of God; it was this initial coordination of like-minded entities that would eventually grow to reach global proportions (Ranstorp 1994). Similar to the deforestation movement’s targeting of supportive groups outside of the problem countries, Hezbollah party operatives began to coordinate with sympathetic Lebanese businessmen, who would conduct and coordinate

illegal fund-raising activities. These activities quickly found great vitality and success among the strong Lebanese Diasporas sympathetic to the radical positions of Hezbollah. Eventually the movement spread to adopt more fanatical extremist Islamic supporters (Meehan 2004, 10–11).

The primary goals since its conception have been the establishment of an Islamist State in Lebanon, the destruction of Israel, and the recapture of Jerusalem. In addition to this many Hezbollah leaders felt that the real enemy, especially recently, has been the United States (Mannes 2004, 147–153).

Hezbollah has carried out the tactic of suicide/vehicle bombings successfully throughout the world, and is considered the innovator of the tactic among terrorist organizations. This was the case in 1983 in Beirut when a bombing at the U.S. Marine Barracks eventually lead to a U.S. withdrawal of forces in 1984 (Mannes 2004, 147). In 1992 Hezbollah was involved in the bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, as well as the Argentine–Israeli Community Center in 1994. This was all part of its transnational approach to achieve the goal of defeating the government of Israel and the United States. Soon after investigating the attacks, it became evident that Hezbollah was involved with other extremist Islamic groups in the area conducting numerous criminal activities in the TBA to fund these operations here abroad (Hudson 2003, 12–23).

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Hezbollah as a Transnational Advocacy Network

Similar to the international deforestation movement, Hezbollah is not a unitary actor, but rather a network of smaller networks, organizations, and individuals. As Magnus Ranstorp describes Hezbollah: "... Hezbollah is not a monolithic body with total subservience to Iran but rather a coalition of Lebanese Shiite clerics, who each have their own views and networks of followers as well as ties to Iran's clerical establishment" (Ranstorp 1994). This structure is indicative of the way in which many terror networks take on the same organizational dynamics as advocacy networks.

Hezbollah has thrived through branching out and connecting with local groups, and these groups have become vital to Hezbollah's existence. Organizational integration has not, however, been limited to local and like-minded groups. In fact, Hezbollah has had important interaction with many other terrorist groups and networks from around the world. One clear example of this is the fact that Hezbollah camps have trained operatives from such disparate groups as the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), the Basque Fatherland and Freedom (ETA), and Italy's Red Brigades (Goldberg 2002).

Given Hezbollah's global ideology, various communities have proved to hold religious goals that are in line with Hezbollah's own strategic goals (Meehan 2004). Due to its high Shi'ite population and various communities of the Lebanese Diaspora, an African continent plagued by ineffective governments and local law enforcement entities has been a key fund-raising and logistical support base. Hezbollah has found tremendous financial and political support abroad. Israeli intelligence reporting predicts that Hezbollah fundraising activities raise hundreds of thousands of dollars (U.S.) annually from the region, specifically from the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Benin, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Africa (Levitt 2004a).

In addition to Iran, Africa, and North America one of the fastest and most vital regions of the world to the transnational efforts of Hezbollah is the Tri Border Area (TBA) in South America of Brazil-Argentina-Paraguay. Due to limited government capability and investigation by the local governments, exact details of Hezbollah's activities there are

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not known; but according to Paraguayan officials, Arab communities in the TBA have contributed remittances of between $50 and $500 million (U.S.) between 1998 and 2001 to Islamic terror groups in the Middle East, Hezbollah being one of the primary recipients (Meehan 2004, 32).

Following the attacks of 11 September, the U.S. put increased pressure on the government of Paraguay to crack down on criminal actions linked to terrorist group activity in the TBA. Very soon after the attacks, 16 Lebanese nationals were arrested on immigration violations. Other arrests of suspected terrorists leaders soon followed, which yielded evidence of periodic payments to Hezbollah of amounts ranging from $25000 to $50000 and literature intended to increase recruitment into terrorist organizations linked to Hezbollah (Madani 2002).

Hezbollah utilizes modern communications to conduct terrorist activities and even has television network, Al-Manar, or "The Beacon." In conjunction with the American telethon format Hezbollah has raised substantial cash donations with its 24-hour televisions station, many of the proceeds of which were funneled to Palestinian efforts in Israel (Mannes 2004, 160). These funds are then channeled to several Lebanese-based banks that are immune to having their assets frozen or confiscated by the government; these banks in turn have connections with many large U.S. banks, which prove useful in the channeling of funds abroad for terrorists' activities. These banks include such high profiles banks as Bank of New York, Wachovia, and JP Morgan Chase (Jorisch 2003).

Much like the international deforestation movement, which made links to other environmental organizations, Hezbollah has branched out culturally as much as it has geographically. It has efforts to pool its resources with Sunni groups, most prominently Al Qaeda and its affiliates such as Egypt's Al-Jihad and Algeria's Armed Islamic Group. Some of Hezbollah's founding members were even associated with the Fatah/Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) elite unit Force 17 (Mannes 2004, 161–165).

In terms of symbolic interpretation of the kind associated with TAN behavior, there have been two key successes for Hezbollah. Hezbollah has interpreted its terrorist tactics as successful, and many argue that they indeed were, in two key historical cases (Goldberg 2002). The first case was the U.S. and French withdrawal of peacekeepers after Hezbollah's 1983 bombings of the U.S. embassy, a U.S. Marine Barracks, and a compound housing French peacekeeping troops (MIPT). The second case, perhaps less prestigious but certainly more closely related to Hezbollah's raison d'etre, was the decision in the year 2000 of Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak to remove Israeli troops from Southern Lebanon. This retreat had left Hezbollah as the only terror or guerilla group with the demonstrated ability to force Israel to engage in troop withdrawals (Goldberg 2002), although others have taken credit for the recent withdrawal of settlers from the Gaza Strip.

By targeting their enemy (primarily Israel) throughout the globe, they have forced the world community to take notice. This increased global attention leads to sympathetic groups emerging elsewhere and completes the boomerang tactic employed by Hezbollah in its effort to achieve its objective (Ranstorp 1994). Although Hezbollah's immediate and concrete goals all involve the domestic politics in Israel and Lebanon, they have carried out attacks on a Kuwaiti airline in Thailand, a U.S. airline in Denmark, and hijacked a TWA flight from Athens to Rome (MIPT). None of these actions had an instrumental effect of changing policies in Israel or Lebanon, rather using the boomerang effect and leverage politics, they were designed to accomplish goals by putting international pressure on Hezbollah's side. This same kind of pressure was used by the international deforestation movement targeting Western states and international governmental organizations to use the boomerang effect on Malaysia and Brazil.

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) is an umbrella organization that coordinates and facilitates for its myriad local affiliate groups. Although these local groups may have parochial aims, they have joined together with similar groups, creating one of the most impressive transnational advocacy networks ever assembled. At the close of the Cold War small civil conflicts became increasingly common, and problematically, increasingly likely to involve huge numbers of antipersonnel (AP) landmines. The proliferation and widespread use of AP landmines, which do not distinguish between civilians and combatants, began to raise the ire of many in the international community.

AP Landmines, because they are weapons of attrition, often simply (and purposely) maim their victims, thereby creating a strain on the resources of the opposing force. However, communities that had previously suffered through conflict and were attempting to create or recreate a functioning society were increasingly feeling this burden. As this became more and more common, disparate nongovernmental organizations began calling for a ban on AP landmines. Beginning in 1991 a number of human rights groups came out in favor of a ban, including Asia Watch, Physicians for Human Rights, the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, and Medico International (Price 1998, 633, 642).

This momentum continued, and within a year, the NGO community had created a steering committee of six NGOs to address the issue of AP landmines. As high profile groups like Handicap International and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) began to pressure the world's most powerful nations for moratoriums on AP landmine exports and use, the efforts began to snowball. In 1993 the ICRC held a conference in Switzerland devoted to the problems of AP landmines, which brought together NGOs, medical practitioners, military experts, de-mining groups, and various media. After 1993, the disparate NGOs and local anti-landmine groups would operate under the aegis of the ICBL (Price 1998).

The ICBL would go on to make great progress in their attempts to mitigate the harmful effects of AP landmine usage. Eventually it would encompass over 1,400 local NGOs and organizations in over 90 countries (ICBL.org). The ICBL ultimately facilitated the creation of a mine ban treaty signed in 1997 by 122 governments worldwide. Although 122 does seem like a very large number, it is important to note that nonsignatory states include the United States, China, India, and Russia (ICBL.org). Further, in 1997, the ICBL and its coordinator Jody Williams were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to eliminate AP mines (Rutherford 2000).

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ICBL as a Transnational Advocacy Network

The Campaign to Ban Landmines is an archetypical TAN. Similar to the way Al Qaeda formed, the ICBL was a natural outgrowth of numerous local NGOs doing similar tasks and confronting similar challenges in different geographical locales. Because of increased interaction between these NGOs, both in real and virtual space, the ICBL emerged. In fact it was from this interaction that understanding that there existed an AP landmine problem arose, and was subsequently politicized. After the issue was identified, the ICBL became a clearinghouse for information, statistics, and rhetorical approaches (Deibert 2003). This coordination function for local organizations is a key aspect of the transnational advocacy network approach.

Another important facet of TANs is that they have transnational information and resource flows. Although resources indeed cross borders, one of the most important aspects

of what ICBL did was to collect and distribute information like statistics that contextualized the problems associated with AP landmines for an audience that had not previously known there was a problem. These information flows, especially utilizing the Internet after 1995 (Deibert 2003) were so extensive that Arquilla and Ronfeldt describe the ICBL as a "seminal case of worldwide netwar" (Arquilla and Ronfeldt 2001, 5). Along with using the Internet or virtual space to forge connections between local groups worldwide, the holding of conferences like those in Montreux, Switzerland and Vienna, Austria also create a real world forum for interaction and network consolidation (Price 1998).

The ICBL also used textbook examples of Keck and Sikkink's different types of politics. Information politics, or sharing and making available information, led to the emergence of the issue on the global scene as well as to increased understanding of the scope of the problem (Price 1998). Leverage politics were also key to the ICBL strategy. The ICBL routinely published lists of the worst AP landmine offenders and their policies used to pressure nations to reform (Cameron 1999, 91). This strategy, what Cameron calls "mobilizing shame" is a classic TAN technique. In trying to mobilize the Muslim world Al Qaeda has used the same method. Symbolic politics, what Keck and Sikkink describe as framing issues by "identifying and providing convincing explanations" for events, was also an important tactic used by the ICBL (Keck and Sikkink 1998). For years AP landmines had been seen simply as one of many disarmament problems; however, the ICBL was able to recast the issue in far graver terms; framing it in the perspective of both human rights and its role as a stumbling block to economic and human development (Cameron 1999, 87). Finally, the idea of accountability politics is where the ICBL is currently doing the bulk of its work. There are over 100 researchers in 90 countries that monitor the progress and compliance of various states in regards to AP landmines (ICBL.org/lm).

The boomerang effect is also evident in the activities of the ICBL. One of the most common forms of protest that the ICBL used was what was termed shoe piles or shoe pyramids. These mounds of donated shoes were designed to represent the limbs lost to AP landmines throughout the world (Price 1998). The shame mobilization was not, however, used only in countries plagued by landmines, or even in Landmine Ban nonsignatory states; shoe piles were also employed in states that were sympathetic to the ban, like France (calm.org.nz) and those that vigorously worked for the ban, like Canada (Minesactioncanada.com). In this case, these protests were not intended to change the policy of the state they occurred in, but rather to help pressure these governments to exert influence over other states.

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The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

Among the most dangerous and well-organized terrorist organizations in the world is the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), who have been waging war on the Sri Lankan government since 1983. The group, whose principal aim is to create a self-governing homeland for the Tamil minority within the island nation of Sri Lanka, has proven itself innovative, effective, and deadly. They claim that the majority Sinhalese oppress and repress the Tamil population, which is concentrated in the north of the island. The Tigers have at times controlled large portions of northern Sri Lanka, specifically the Jaffna Peninsula (MIPT). The group is led by Vellupillai Prabakharan, who has focused violent attacks not just on Sri Lankan officials and civilians, but also against those Tamils who would compete with him or the Tigers (Van de Voorde 2005, 183, 185).

Their attacks have ranged from individual assassinations, to large-scale assaults that mirror those by conventional military forces (Byman et al. 2001). The Tigers are so effective that they are the only terrorist network that has been responsible for the assassinations of two heads of state, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lankan leader Ranasinghe Premadsa (Chalk 2000).

The Tigers are deadly for several reasons, not least of which is their large-scale use of suicide bombing. This tactic has been one of the most important in their arsenal, with the LTTE having an entire wing or unit (The Black Tigers) devoted to suicide attacks (U.S. State Deptartment). The Black Tigers had conducted well over 100 suicide attacks using innovative bomb technology, and even incorporating training with gliders and micro-light aircraft (Chalk 2000). One of the most interesting aspects of the Tigers is the extent to which they have diversified their operations beyond suicide and car bombings. In fact, their military wing has naval and airborne sections, capabilities virtually unheard of among even the most developed terror networks (Chalk 2000).

The operational history of the Tigers illustrates a group that is extremely capable, and incredibly vicious. The 1996 bombing of the Central Bank in Colombo killed 96 people and injured over 1,400. Although that was the largest single attack, it does not seem particularly un-representative of the tactics and results of the Tigers. A 1987 railway blast in Madras killed 25 and injured 100, and a bus bomb in Maradana killed 32 and injured over 250 in 1998 (MIPT). An examination of these attacks quickly shows how effective the Tigers are operationally, and the extent to which bloodshed seems not to bother them.

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The LTTE as a Transnational Advocacy Network

The LTTE may not, at first glance, seem particularly well suited to the TAN analogy. They are a terror group that is relatively narrowly focused on a nationalist struggle, and whose attacks have been confined to only two countries: Sri Lanka and India. This group might seem to lack the international operational character of Al Qaeda or Hezbollah. In this case however, looks are deceiving. Although the attacks of the LTTE have been geographically concentrated, the support network and logistical base that enables them is anything but. The violence may be parochial, but it relies on a massive global network of NGOs, charities, and individuals connected by information technology (Van de Voorde 2005, 191). India, Canada, the United States, Britain, Continental Europe, Singapore, and Malaysia are just a sample of the many places that support streams to the LTTE front (Wayland 2004, 418–419).

The network that supports the LTTE is vast, and generally agreed to be divided into three major roles: publicity, fund-raising, and weapons procurement (Byman 2001; Chalk 2000). Each of these roles is undertaken by a related network of individual members of the Tamil Diaspora, small Tamil interest NGOs, and larger umbrella organizations that help to coordinate these many disparate groups into a TAN to support the LTTE. For example, the publicity role is in large part conducted by organizations of smaller Tamil interest groups throughout the world. A mere sampling of these groups is purported to include the United Tamil Organization in Britain, the Federal Association of Canadian Tamils, the Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations out of Australia, and the French Federation of Tamil Associations (Byman et al. 2001). These groups coordinate with the LTTE leadership in bases of operation like the Eelam House in London, which, exploiting relatively liberal Western laws and multiculturalism, has served openly as by the de facto headquarters of

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the LTTE outside of Sri Lanka (Byman et al. 2001). This worldwide information-sharing network plays the same role in educating constituencies around the world that Amnesty International and similar organizations did for the human rights movement.

The fund-raising operations take on a similar character as the publicity machine. Using the Tamil Diaspora and the charities and NGOs that it supports, the LTTE has managed to create a massive worldwide financial pipeline. In fact, some estimates are that they bring in as much as 80 million dollars per year (Wayland 2004, 421). The funding sources are as diverse as wealthy individuals, skimming money from legitimate charities, and involvement in organized crime. An example of the wealthy individuals is Shan Sunder a "medical practitioner" living in California who has contributed almost four million dollars to the Tigers (Byman et al. 2001). This "entrepreneur" as Keck and Sikkink would refer to him is representative of one type of funding opportunity that is presented to the LTTE.

Another major source of funds is the confiscation of money out of legitimate charities that claim to be doing social and humanitarian work for Tamils in Sri Lanka (Chalk 2000). This method of funding is in no way unique to the LTTE, but in fact is seen in areas of conflict around the world (Raphaeli 2003). Organized crime has also played prominently into the LTTE's finances. They have been involved in drug running (Chalk 2000), human trafficking, and extortion of members of the Tamil Diaspora (Byman et al. 2001).

The Tigers have also embraced information technology both in terms of communication and coordination, as well as a way in which to broadcast its message and perspective to the rest of the world (Wayland 2004, 419–420). The Tigers have established a strong Internet presence using not only websites but also news groups, and extensive use of e-mail (Byman et al. 2001). They also maintain their own homepage, which offers updates, news, and propaganda (www.eelam.com). Finally they have even embraced the Internet as a forum for further terrorism. In 1996 the Tigers' engaged in a cyberterror attack on the computers of several Sri Lankan embassies. By sending massive numbers of e-mails to the consulate's computer systems, the Tigers were able to create a "virtual blockade" (Zanini and Edwards 2001). The Internet, however, is only the beginning of the Tigers' embrace of information technology. They have their own radio shows and telephone hotlines (Byman et al. 2001) as well as their own television station (BBC 2005).

The LTTE also engage in much of Keck and Sikkink's typology of politics. Information politics is the realm of the publicity arm, which by way of its various web portals and other media attempt to spread a multitiered message (Wayland 2004, 418). This message focuses on one hand on the discrimination against and oppression of Tamils in Sri Lanka and on the need for a homeland, but on the other hand it embraces the "legitimacy" of armed resistance (Eelam). This attempt to frame the debate in terms of human rights violations and self-determination, as opposed to in terms of terrorism or insurgency is key to the Tigers achieving the level of international acceptance that they have. The use of framing is the same as that being used by the land mines and deforestation movements.

Tied in with information politics is the conception of leverage politics. This idea, using international pressure to reform the host or local government is clearly present in the Tigers case. The aforementioned information politics have been used to confer an unusual status on the LTTE. In the international community the Tigers and the Tamil struggle for a homeland has been supported by several major NGOs including the World Council of Churches, International Federation of Journalists, the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights, and the International Human Rights Law Group (Chalk 2000). This attempt to gain legitimacy and international support is a sort of indirect attempt to utilize the boomerang effect.

What We Can Learn from the TAN Analogy

What is most striking when looking at the cases is that despite the stark relief offered by the distinction between violent and nonviolent tactics, there remains so much similarity. Indeed, some of the nonviolent networks differ more from each other than they do from the terrorist networks. Even so, the organizational dynamics, tactics, and avenues for communication and coordination are in many ways exactly the same. The same organizational and technical changes that have enabled an increasing level of international vigilance against human rights violations have also enabled the exponential increase in the danger posed by groups like Al Qaeda and Hezbollah. As seen in Table 1, when it comes to the key components of TANs all of the miniature case studies share the key characteristics of TANs. These organizations are Transnational Activist Networks and seeing them as such helps to understand them better.

TANs operate the way they do because they provide particular advantages to nongovernmental organizations facing stronger actors. It's clear that Arquilla and Ronfeldt understood this when they observed: "Ethno-nationalists, criminals, and terrorists—all have found new power in networking. But so too have emerging global civil society actors . . ." (Arquilla and Ronfeldt 2001, 20). TANS allow for the adoption of boomerang and leverage strategies. Whether it is the International Campaign to Ban Landmines organizing shoe pile protests in Paris or Al Qaeda organizing the bombing of the Madrid subway, organizations are able to operate more effectively using a coalition of international coordinating groups, local affiliates, and entrepreneurial individuals. These symbolic acts were done to motivate policy change about places thousands of miles away—classic boomerang politics. Both were successful.

The boomerang pattern is not alone in being a tactic that crosses the violence divide between TANs and TTANs. Information politics is as important to the environmental movement as it is to the Tamil Tigers. Greenpeace must make others aware of its successes, failures, and what problems remain; so too must the Tigers keep their constituents abreast of their successes and failures, as well as bringing news of the cause to the outside world. That is why both groups maintain websites devoted to informing the public and mobilizing the supporters (www.greenpeace.org, www.eelam.com).

Leverage politics is also clearly evident across the spectrum from TANs to TTANs. The boomerang effect, attempting to manipulate international attitudes to apply pressure to domestic or local authorities, is readily apparent in both terror networks and issue-based advocacy groups. The more than 15 attacks on Germany in 1995 by the Kurdish Workers Party had far less to do with influencing the treatment of Kurds in Germany (MIPT), than it did with influencing their treatment in Turkey. In the same way, the groups supporting Planafloro and their lobbying effort before the U.S. Congress had virtually nothing to do with instrumentally affecting American domestic policy; rather it had to do with bringing the U.S.'s considerable international power to bear, in the form of political pressure, on the domestic situation in Brazil.

Symbolic politics too crosses the boundary between advocacy and terror. Symbolic interpretation of the type Keck and Sikkink discuss has been useful not just to advocacy groups, but to groups of all stripes. For example, terrorist use of symbolic politics is very clear in the emergence of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade during the recent intifada in Palestine, which resulted from the visit of Ariel Sharon to the Al Aqsa Mosque in September of 2000 (Council on Foreign Relations 2005).

Finally, even accountability politics, which may seem, of the four, the least suited to TTANs is in some ways evident in terror networks. Although it is clear that Amnesty

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Table 1
Comparing TANs and terrorist TANs

Networks/characteristic	Human Rights Campaigns	The Anti-Deforestation Movement	The International Campaign to Ban Landmines	Al Qaeda	Hezbollah	The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
Characterized by voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cooperation between actors from different countries	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sharing of information integral to the network	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Use of leverage, symbolic and accountability politics	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Use of the boomerang effect	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Level of structure	Varies	Medium	High	Low	High	High
Use of violence	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

International's reports on Human Rights violations are an attempt to hold nations accountable for their actions, in a similar yet distorted way the *fatwa* encouraging attacks on American civilians issued by Osama bin Laden is an attempt to do the same. Both are essentially proclamations, which attempt to hold a nation accountable for a real or perceived grievance. The difference is that one endeavors to do so using international norms and shame, whereas the other relies on the threat of force.

One can better understand the strategies of transnational terrorist groups by understanding that they are following a set of repertories that has been proved useful by many other nongovernmental organizations. Terrorists adopt the TAN model because it is one that brings with it a new range of repertoires, boomerang, leverage, symbolic and accountability politics, that often work. By understanding terrorist transnational networks as violent nongovernmental movements that are pursuing a strategy similar to that of other transnational nongovernmental an understanding is gained of why terrorist transnational networks behave the way they do. For example, international terrorism can be thought of as a violent boomerang effect motivating disengaged or unsupportive actors to take the Terrorist TANs seriously and to put pressure on the governments of interest to change their ways. The rise of international terrorism and international human rights movements and other world culture movements (Meyer et al. 1997) at the same time makes sense—they are part of the same phenomena except that some TANs choose to use indiscriminate violence and others do not.

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Implications and Conclusions

There is a growing need to understand how terrorist networks function and the strategies and tactics they use to achieve their goals. This article argued that the theoretical framework of TANs is a useful one for thinking about terrorist transnational networks and can help frame them in such a way that they fit into the larger theoretical effort to understand international relations.

Of equal importance in identifying transnational terrorist networks as TANs begins to help one understand why such networks arose when and where they did. The enabling role of information technology, for example, offers an important explanation of how the former *mujahideen* leaving Afghanistan, and returning to their native countries were able to stay in touch creating perhaps the first truly global terror network in Al Qaeda.

This analogy also offers us some explanatory power in terms of why these networks behave the way they do and select the targets that they do. The Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) may not have had instrumental goals in its bombings in Western Europe; however, the importance of the boomerang effect and international leverage offer valuable insight into why instrumental goals are not sufficient for explaining much terrorist action.

Finally, by identifying terrorist transnational networks as TANs one can begin to look at terrorist networks as something other than a sui generis phenomenon and start to explore questions such as some groups turn to terrorism and why others do not while comparing the same units of analysis. This is important so as to remove the all too common view of the terrorist as crazed lunatic or irrational hate monger. Rather, the TAN analogy shows that terrorists operate in the same manner as other non-state actors attempting to affect change in the international system. By exploiting the same technologies and power dynamics, terrorists show clearly that they cannot be discounted as unique and perverse political actors, but rather must be viewed contextually as part of a spectrum of international political action.

This brief look at six TANS, three violent and three not, suggests that different kinds of ideologies may lead to different uses of violence by TANS. TANS that embrace norms that are inclusive in a World Culture (Meyer et al. 1997) sense may be less prone to violence whereas older religious and nationalist norms may use the framework of TANS but have less hesitancy to marry them to the tool of violence. However, this assertion is not without qualification. There exist many nonviolent religious advocacy networks, and there have in fact been many groups that have embraced terrorism as a tactic for traditional TAN goals like environmental advocacy or to bring attention to human rights violations. It may, however, be worth noting that the goals expounded by both terror TANs and traditional TANs are, whether stopping acid rain or reestablishing the divine kingdom on earth, couched in terms of changing the world for the better. There are good norms and bad norms, violent and nonviolent movements, and understanding how TANs can help either advance will shed light on all of them.

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