

ON EVILDOERS:
A FOUCAULTIAN ANALYSIS OF THE DISCURSIVE
STRUCTURING OF CONTEMPORARY TERRORISM

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27 January 2012

I was saying before that I wanted, in any case, to very vaguely trace possible tracks other than those which seemed to have been up till now most willingly cleared.

– Michel Foucault

Dedicated to Marty Barr

Without you the end would not have come, nor would new beginnings.

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Abstract

On Evildoers: A Foucaultian Analysis of the Discursive Structuring of Contemporary Terrorism

Azra Naseem

Terrorism is routinely portrayed in the twenty first century as an evil perpetrated by Arab/Muslim barbarians—Evildoers—waging a holy war against the Western civilisation. This study challenges not just this present understanding of terrorism, but the very existence of a *ding an sich* of terrorism. Using a combination of Foucault's archaeological and genealogical methods it provides an alternative history of the phenomenon in the form of a history of its discursive structuring: the regimes of practices that governed what could and could not be thought of, identified, defined, known, judged and punished as 'terrorism' during particular epochs, and particular places.

It asserts that the conceptual anchor point of the present Evildoer-terrorist is the rebel who opposes established order, and identifies the first such figure in modern Western history as the Devil who rebelled against God and came to play a significant politico-religious role in Western societies of the Middle Ages. The discourse of 'terrorism' emerged from the epistemic spaces created from the separation of religion and politics in the eighteenth century, from when onwards rebellion was no longer a sin but a crime. Since then, various other rebels have been brought under the domain of terrorism during different epochs, the latest of whom is the Evildoer. This is not to say that the Devil remained a blatant constant in the forefront of Western terrorism discourse, but that the various rebels share a conceptual history that made it possible for the contemporary terrorist to be the Evildoer that he is.

How the rebels came to be known as terrorists during various epochs and the various mechanisms implemented to defend societies against them, it is argued, are irrevocably linked: one could not exist without the other. The contemporary terrorist cannot be known as an Evildoer without the War on Terror; at the same time, the War on Terror cannot be waged without the knowledge of the terrorist as an Evildoer. To demonstrate this power/knowledge dyad at work, this study analyses what was said and done about terrorism by the United States and the United Kingdom, the foremost allies in the War on Terror, during its first ten years. In the differences in their discourses emerges not just the ontological uncertainty of terrorism but also how these mechanisms for establishing the 'truth' of terrorism function as mechanisms of power. It is asserted that the Evildoer has made possible, and was made possible by, some of the most significant changes in how power is exercised in Western societies since the separation of religion and politics in the eighteenth century.

Introduction

Terrorism became evil in the twenty-first century. Acts of terrorism, as it came to be widely accepted during this period, were acts of violence threatened or carried out against the Western civilisation by Evildoers—Arab/Muslim barbarians who were fanatical in their belief in Islam and hatred of liberal norms. The degree of truth that this knowledge of terrorism attained in the first decade of the twenty-first century was such that it became nigh on impossible for Western societies to *think otherwise*: not only was the terrorist nothing but an Evildoer, but only an Evildoer could be a terrorist.

Just how *true* this truth about terrorism is at present became evident on 22 July 2011 when Anders Behring Breivik, a 32-year-old Norwegian man, detonated a bomb at government buildings in Oslo, killing eight people and injuring many others. Breivik then proceeded to kill sixty-nine more people, mostly teenagers, at a political gathering on the island of Utøya. Despite the clearly stated political motives¹ behind Breivik's destructive violence, the terror that it engendered, and the Norwegian (and international) laws that defined Breivik's actions as 'terrorism', Norway—and Western societies at large—struggled to name, speak of, judge and punish Breivik as a terrorist once his identity began to emerge—'blonde, tall', 'Nordic looking', 'native Norwegian'. Not an Evildoer.

How this present truth about terrorism—acts of violence threatened or committed by Evildoers against the Western civilisation—came to be, and the mechanisms of power that constituted and were constituted by this truth, are the subjects of this enquiry. It proceeds on the basis that the present truth about terrorism is not a truth *discovered* but a truth *constructed*. It is asserted that terrorism is not a metaphysical entity existing as an immutable abstract, the

¹ Andreas Breivik, '2083: A Declaration of European Independence' (2011). Full text accessed at: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/60849766/Anders-Behring-Breivik-Manifesto-2083---A-European-Declaration-of-Independence-By-Andrew-Berwick> on 25 September 2011

hidden truth of which awaits exposure. This is, of course, not to deny that acts of violence are committed in the pursuit of particular political goals. They are. What is argued is that terrorism does not exist outside of its discourse, that is, 'all that was said in the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, traced its developments, indicated its various correlations, judged it, and possibly gave it speech by articulating, in its name, discourses that were to be taken as its own'².

Approaching terrorism as a discourse means abandoning the ontological certainty that underpins it, not a step commonly taken in the field of Terrorism Studies. Although a new sub-field of Critical Terrorism Studies has recently been established with the aim of introducing some much needed uncertainty into the *given* of terrorism, the overwhelming majority of work produced in the field and related disciplines remains uncritically accepting of the idea that somehow, somewhere, something called 'terrorism' exists outside of the definitions they produce, apply, or analyse. Most enquiries into the origins of terrorism, for instance, are based on the assumption that someday, sometime in the past, terrorism emerged fully formed and recognisable as such from the annals of history. All that remained was for the historian to correctly identify in the past the first time an act occurred that most closely resembles the present given of terrorism, and trace its progress from then to now. This very same conviction is present in the attempts to know 'the terrorist'—a seemingly metaphysical being studied, analysed and understood as different from other humans by their very nature or nurture.

Is it not possible that this complacent conformity of conviction forestalls other ways of knowing terrorism, and thus other ways of responding to its said threats? Abandoning ontological certainty does not make a subsequent analysis easy—after all, without epistemological certainty how can it be said for certain that the world is and should be ordered a given way? But, to what extent has this order been established precisely for the purpose of precluding thinking otherwise? Approaching terrorism as a discourse opens up the possibility for asking a different set of questions—if terrorism did not begin with the first act

² Michel Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1972),

now known as terrorism, then how did it begin? If there is no given truth of terrorism, how did we come to know what we now know as the truth about terrorism? What made such knowledge possible? What are its relations to power? Leaving aside the ontological certainty of terrorism thus means asking a different set of questions than are asked by those convinced of its epistemic realism. It entails asking not whether 'terrorism' is defined properly in existing literature but whether 'terrorism' exists outside of the literature that defines it. It asks not who the original 'terrorist' was, but traces the history of the concept of 'terrorism'. It asks not if existing 'terrorism' knowledge is independent of power, but whether knowledge of 'terrorism' is at all possible without power. It asks not whether Western civilisation can survive without the 'new kind' of responses against the 'new terrorist' but whether the 'new terrorist' can survive without civilisation's defences against him.

Why such an analysis of terrorism? Foucault's histories were motivated by 'his judgement that certain current social circumstances—an institution, a discipline, a social practice—[was] "intolerable"'³. And so it is with this work. The War on Terror, said to have been made *necessary* by wholly new and unprecedented dangers posed to Western civilisation by the 'new terrorist'—the Evildoer—is now in its eleventh year. By some reliable estimates the War and its related violence has already claimed a million casualties. Roughly 250,000 people—civilian and military—have been killed. The military campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq led by the United States are still continuing, and many new such operations are being launched in other parts of the world. International rules of warfare, judgement and punishment have been deemed inadequate and cast aside to deal with the unprecedented new dangers the Evildoer is said to pose. The prisons in Guantánamo Bay, specially constructed for the Evildoer, where hundreds were held captive and tortured without access to justice, remain open. The presence of the Dangerous Muslim, a variation of the Evildoer resident within societies of the civilised West has, at the same time, apparently *necessitated* a vast array of new mechanisms for monitoring and surveillance of populations.

³ Andre Glucksmann, "Michel Foucault's Nihilism," in *Michel Foucault: Philosopher*, ed. Timothy J. Armstrong (New York: Routledge, 1992), 336-339.

All these practices, and the Evildoer that is said to have made them necessary, present themselves as without an alternative, inevitable: How can the Western civilisation defend itself except by waging a war against such an evil? How can the world be made safer except by killing the Evildoers, or at least by removing them from the boundaries of civilisation? How can civilised Western societies survive its infiltration by the Evildoer except by monitoring the Dangerous Muslims—potential Evildoers—that live among their populations? This study aims to remove this air of necessity from present day terrorism by showing that the past ordered things quite differently and that the processes leading to these practices of the present were by no means inevitable, thereby opening up space to *think otherwise*.

To accomplish this purpose, this study uses a combination of Foucault's archaeological and genealogical methods. In his early archaeological analyses⁴, Foucault distinguishes between discursive formations and non-discursive practices, and pays relatively little attention to the latter.⁵ Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow have suggested that Foucault abandoned the archaeological method altogether in favour of the genealogical method⁶. While to some extent this is true, both methods contain elements of the other. As Thomas Flynn asserted in a critique of Foucault's approaches to history, the power/knowledge dyad that Foucault brought into focus with his genealogical method 'merely elaborates' the juridicative and veridicative functions of 'practice' he outlined in the archaeological method as 'that which establish and apply norms, and at the same time, render true/false discourse possible.'⁷ Foucault's own reflections support this argument. In a 1977 interview, for example, he said he was aware that he had 'scarcely used' the word 'power' in his earlier works. But, he said, 'When I think back now, I ask myself what else it was that I was talking about, in *Madness and Civilisation* or *The Birth of the Clinic*,

⁴ *The History of Madness, The Birth of the Clinic, The Order of Things, and The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

⁵ Thomas Flynn, "Foucault's mapping of history," in *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*, edited by Gary Gutting, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 31.

⁶ Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: beyond structuralism and hermeneutics* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1982)

⁷ Thomas Flynn, "Foucault's mapping of history," in *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*, edited by Gary Gutting, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 32.

but power?’⁸ If distinctions were to be made between the two methods, Foucault explained, ‘then ‘archaeology’ would be the appropriate methodology of this analysis of local discursivities, and ‘genealogy’ would be the tactics whereby, on the basis of the descriptions of these local discursivities, the subjected knowledges which were thus released would be brought into play.’⁹

Organisation and structure

Chapter One examines the various ways in which terrorism has been known in the West since it became a subject of study in the social sciences in the 1960s. It explores the treatment of terrorism in this literature, and the role that certain ways of knowing terrorism played in the emergence of the ‘new terrorist’—the Evildoer—of the present. The purpose of the chapter is not to establish whether the knowledge of terrorism contained in the literature is right or wrong, or true or false. Rather, it is to question the ontological certainty that underpins the literature and to explore how this certainty has prevented other ways of knowing terrorism. It proposes that the history of terrorism does not necessarily have to be the history of its theories or its linguistic transformations; rather, it argues, that the history of modern terrorism begins with the concept of the rebel who opposes the established order perceived to be good. It thus proposes that the history of today’s terrorism, with the Arab/Muslim Evildoer as its main protagonist, begins with the Devil, the original rebel in Western thought who by opposing God rebelled against all that was good.

Chapter Two explores relations between the concepts of evil, terror, knowledge and political power in medieval Western societies, and proposes that it is in these societies and the mechanisms of control that arose around the figure of the Devil that the historical *a priori* of today’s Evildoer is found. The presence of the Devil created the conditions of possibility in which rebellion could be conceived of as a sin, allowing the establishment of the Church as the most coherent socio-political authority of the time, and also the creation of political power in the form of divinely ordained monarchies. It is during this period,

⁸ Michel Foucault *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews & other writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 115.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

when the Church, God and Devil dominated Western thought that Islam first takes hold in Western thought as a Christian heresy. It is also during this period, the Reformation era, that the depiction of Mohammed, the Muslim prophet, as the Devil or the Anti-Christ also gains currency in Western thought.

Chapter Three focuses on the transformations that took place in Western society with the separation of religion from political power, and proposes that it is from the new epistemic spaces created by this separation that the discourse of 'terrorism' first emerges. With radical enlightenment thinkers questioning the existence of God, the idea of the Devil as His grand cosmic antagonist fails to hold as much traction in Western thought as it did during earlier times, creating the conditions of possibility in which the very concept of evil changes from one intertwined with God to one embedded within the social contract itself. Following on from the first secular rebel who emerged during the French Revolution who came to be known as the 'terrorist', this *Chapter* identifies three distinctive epochs in which disparate rebels have emerged in Western history only to be forcibly brought into the domain of terrorism, and constituted as different types of 'terrorists'.

These epochs are identified as the period between the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, when various revolutionaries were constituted as terrorists; the period between the industrial revolution and the mid 1900s when the radical proletarian fighting against the perceived injustices of industrialisation were known as terrorists; and late 1960s onwards when those rebelling against colonialism and perceived injustices of the global system were brought into the domain of terrorism. Towards the end of the millennium, as Western social and political thought turned towards Armageddon and apocalyptic discourses took hold, the foremost rebel became the Arab/Muslim barbarian fighting against Israel's occupation of Palestine. The *Chapter* does not assert that the Devil was a blatant constant throughout these transformations in how Western societies came to know the various rebels during these epochs, but that he formed the historical *a priori*, the common conceptual point, of these disparate figures who would have remained separate had they not been brought under the same system of regularities called 'terrorism'.

Chapter Four brings the focus back to the present of terrorism, and the figure of the Evildoer. From here onward the method of analysis becomes overtly genealogical rather than archaeological. That is to say, the focus from this *Chapter* onwards is on exploring the mechanisms that make it possible for such disparate figures as the Devil, the proletarian radical, the freedom fighter and the Arab/Muslim barbarian to be brought together to form the figure of the Evildoer, and the domain of evil terrorism. This *Chapter* focuses on what the then President of the United States, George W. Bush, said about terrorism in the first few years of the War on Terror. President Bush was the foremost authority, or the chief enunciative figure, in the discourse of terrorism for a period of about seven years (2001-2008). For this purpose, every thing that President Bush officially said about terrorism from September 2001 to September 2004 is examined not to uncover 'what was being said in what was said' nor to judge its standards of grammar and oratory but to identify the connections, if any, between the present knowledge of terrorism as an evil and its historical *a priori*, and then to identify the conditions that made it possible to say what was said. This *Chapter* also highlights what was said about terrorism so its connection to what was done about terrorism can also be examined, as is necessary in a Foucaultian discourse analysis.

Chapter Five focuses on the links between these official discursive practices and more general such practices during the same period. To do so, it analyses the body of 'popular literature' on the subject of terrorism published in the United States in the first ten years of the War on Terror, using the concept of the will to truth as discussed in Foucault's *The Order of Discourse*¹⁰. Through these

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," in *Untying the text: a poststructuralist reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 48-78. The first English Language translation of this text, a lecture given by Foucault at the Collège de France on December 2, 1970, appeared in April 1971 as Robert Swyer, trans., "Orders of Discourse," in *Social Science Information* 10, no. 2 (1971). It was later pointed out, however, by Meaghan Morris and Paul Patton, eds., *Michel Foucault: Power, Truth, Strategy* (Sydney: Feral Publications, 1979), 102-5 in that the version contained several mistranslations. The most frequently used version of the essay is the 1971 "The Discourse on Language" included as an annex in Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972). This study uses Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," in *Untying the text: a poststructuralist reader*, ed. Robert Young

explorations, it is demonstrated how existing narratives in Western thought—which can be traced back to the medieval concept of the Devil—are reanimated as the domains of religion and political power re-connect around the figure of the ‘new’ religious terrorist—the Evildoer. The analysis of this literature also allows a demonstration of the unspoken but rigid body of societal rules that govern a given discourse during a particular period of time, including certain utterances as legitimate while excluding others as false on the basis of a spurious division between truth and falsity or madness and folly.

Chapter Six (along with *Chapter Seven*) is an exploration of the links between what was said about terrorism during the present epoch and what was done about it during this same period. It is asserted in this study that particular types of subjects of knowledge, orders of truth, or domains of knowledge cannot exist ‘except on the basis of political conditions that are the very ground on which the subject, the domains of knowledge, and the relations with truth are formed.’¹¹ It is not that political conditions mask the truth or are an obstacle to getting to the truth – they are the means by which subjects of knowledge, and hence the truth, are formed. *Chapter Six* explores these power/knowledge relations by examining the United States’ treatment of suspected Evildoer-terrorists in its custody, especially in Guàntanamo Bay, where the ‘worst of the worst’ prisoners were held.¹² By focusing on this specific point of the application of power, this *Chapter* shows how on the one hand power/knowledge relations establish and apply norms, controls and exclusions while on the other hand they render true/false discourse possible. The *Chapter* demonstrates how the treatment of the prisoners and the knowledge that the United States produced of the Evildoer are irrevocably linked, and that one could not have existed without the other.

(Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), which is written in much clearer English, while the meaning remains true to what is found in “The Discourse on Language”.

¹¹ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential works of Michel Foucault*, ed. James D. Faubion, vol. 3, 1954-1984 (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 15.

¹² Sue Anne Pressley, “At Guàntanamo Bay, a peaceful night,” *The Washington Post*, January 13, 2002.

Chapter Seven provides further support for the assertion in this study that terrorism is an ontological uncertainty, and also reinforces the argument that knowledge and power are constitutive of each other by asking: how does a society, which upholds the same liberal values as does the United States, but does not have the same knowledge of the Evildoer, treat individuals it regards as terrorists? Are actions the same when orations are different? Is knowledge of a subject the same when it is acted upon differently? For answers, this *Chapter* compares the counter-terrorism mechanisms of the United States with that of the United Kingdom. In the immediate aftermath of 11 September 2001 almost the entire world stood in solidarity with the United States¹³. Yet, by the time the United States led the invasion of Iraq in 2003, differences over what to say and do about terrorism had led to one of the greatest rifts in the history of transatlantic relations.¹⁴ The United Kingdom government, however, stood 'shoulder to shoulder' with the United States, and promised that it, too, 'will not rest until this evil is driven from our world.'¹⁵

This *Chapter* which focuses on the counterterrorism strategy of the United Kingdom (Contest) shows that despite being closely allied with the United

¹³ "UN Security Council Condemns Terrorist Attacks on U.S.," The Columbia International Affairs Online, September 12, 2001, accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.ciaonet.org/cbr/cbr00/video/cbr_ctd/cbr_ctd_02.html; "North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) Charter," North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17120.htm.; "EU Presidency Statement - September 11 attacks in the US," European Union, accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.eu-un.europa.eu/articles/en/article_56_en.htm; "We are all Americans now", *Le Monde*, September 13, 2001, accessed July 22, 2011, http://www.lemonde.fr/cgi-bin/ACHATS/acheter.cgi?offre=ARCHIVES&type_item=ART_ARCH_30J&objet_id=721875.

¹⁴ As stated in the *New York Post*, see "For a paper's view on Iraq, just ask the owner," *The Guardian*, February 26, 2003, accessed July 22, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2003/feb/16/comment.iraqandthedia>; "Between cheese-eating surrender monkeys and fire-eating war junkies," *The Guardian*, July 6, 2006, accessed July 22, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/jul/06/comment.july71>; First proposed in Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, June/July 2002; later expanded into a book: Robert Kagan, *Of paradise and power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003).

¹⁵ Tony Blair, "Blair's statement in full," *BBC News*, September 11, 2001, accessed July 22, 2011, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/1538551.stm.

States in its military operations abroad, there were stark differences in how the two states dealt with suspected terrorists: the United States excluded Evildoers by either imprisoning them or killing them while the United Kingdom included them through mechanisms of normalisation. This *Chapter* asserts that these differences are due to differences in how the two sides *knew* terrorism—the social and political conditions in which their respective knowledges of terrorism were grounded were different, producing different ways of knowing the ‘same enemy’. It is argued that the rules governing discursive formations and the ordering of a discourse means that not only is it possible that what is considered as valid and legitimate during a particular epoch may be rejected partially and/or entirely as illegitimate during another period of time; but also in another geographic location *during the same period of time*.

The history and analyses of what is known as terrorism today in this study is also a social critique, and an exploration of how power is exercised in Western societies today. It is argued that despite the widely held belief that the War on Terror is a ‘new kind of response’ to a ‘new kind of terrorist’, the two models of control that the United States and the United Kingdom implemented to defend against the ‘new enemy’ are as old as the Evildoer himself. The United States excluded the Evildoer from civilization by banishing him from human society. The United Kingdom neutered the threat from the potential Evildoer, the *dangerous Muslim*, by normalizing him. Both models of exercising power are not only *old*, having been in place since the Middle Ages, but are the only two major models for control of individuals to have existed in the West¹⁶.

Foucault has argued that one of the main problems with contemporary analyses of power is that political thought and theory remain unwilling to detach themselves from the concept of sovereignty. He suggests that for a comprehensive analysis of how power functions in modern liberal democracies, what is needed is ‘a political philosophy that isn’t erected around the problem of sovereignty, not therefore around the problems of law and prohibition.’¹⁷ It was his argument that the models of exclusion were *replaced* by methods of

¹⁶ Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: lectures at the Collège de France 1974-1975* (London: Verso, 2003), 44.

¹⁷ Michel Foucault, “Truth and Power,” in *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews & other writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 121.

inclusion in the eighteenth century, which appears to suggest that normalisation or governmentality *replaced* sovereign power as the main form of power in Western societies. This perception is strengthened by the emphasis he placed on the need for political analysts and theorists to ‘cut off the King’s head’¹⁸ in order to fully comprehend the mechanisms of power in modern society. It would be a mistake, however, to understand these calls to cut off the King’s head as a suggestion by Foucault that sovereign power no longer exists, or that he asserted ‘the State isn’t important.’¹⁹ Foucault maintained throughout that ‘sovereignty and disciplinary mechanisms are two absolutely integral constituents of the general mechanisms of power in our society,’²⁰ and that ‘they are the two things that constitute—in an absolute sense—the general mechanisms of power in our society.’²¹

What he was not able to foresee from his vantage point, Judith Butler has argued, is what form the co-existence of sovereignty and governmentality would take in the present circumstances. She asserts that as the present historical condition is marked by governmentality, implying the loss of sovereignty to some degree, that loss is compensated through the resurgence of sovereignty within the field of governmentality²². As shall become evident, the mechanisms of control and defence implemented in the ‘new’ defences against the ‘new’ terrorism in the United States invested its President with the unilateral and ultimate power to decide when, how and where the Evildoers would be entitled to a trial of any sort²³. The moment this happens, Butler asserts, ‘it is as if we have returned to a historical time in which sovereignty was indivisible, before the separation of powers has initiated itself as a

¹⁸ Michel Foucault, *The history of sexuality, vol. 1, An introduction* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 88.

¹⁹ Michel Foucault, “Truth and Power,” in *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews & other writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 122.

²⁰ Michel Foucault, “Truth and Power,” in *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews & other writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 108.

²¹ Michel Foucault, *Society must be defended* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 37.

²² *Ibid*, 56.

²³ John Yoo, “Memorandum for William J Haynes, Jr. General Counsel, Department of Defense: Application of Treaties and Laws to al Qaeda and Taliban detainees [Draft],” January 9, 2002, accessed June 8, 2010,

<http://www.torturingdemocracy.org/documents/20020109.pdf>, 34.

precondition of political modernity.²⁴ Butler does not explain how the past turns out to structure the contemporary field in this anachronistic manner, however. This study does so by showing how the progress of terrorism's past into terrorism's present was made possible by the re-animation of the old concept of the Devil in a modern context, reactivating not just the discursive practices of the old, but also methods of establishing the truth, knowledge production and models of control constructed around the figure of the Devil. It is the Evildoer that was both constituted by and made it possible for both exclusion and inclusion to work together in tandem, and in their intermingling introduced a new power that is at the same time the oldest form of power that the world has known.

²⁴ Judith Butler, *Precarious Life* (London: Verso, 2004), 54.

1. The discourse of terrorism

It is true, there could be a metaphysical world; the absolute possibility of it is hardly to be disputed. We behold all things through the human head and cannot cut off this head; while the question nonetheless remains what of the world would still be there if one had it cut off.

Friedrich Nietzsche, *Human, All Too Human*

Terrorism, predicted the 1936 *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, would soon become a subject of interest ‘only to antiquarians’²⁵. The opposite has been true—just six decades later, terrorism has become one of the most studied subjects in the human sciences in the twenty-first century. Interest in terrorism as an academic subject began in the late 1960s, when ‘international terrorism’ is also said to have begun. Research into the subject ‘took off’ in the 1970s, expanded in the 1980s and 1990s²⁶, and exploded in the twenty-first century following the 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States²⁷. Not surprisingly, a large body of knowledge now exists on terrorism, its causes, methods, effects, the mindset of the terrorist, and the best defences against it.

This chapter comprises a genealogical critique of this body of knowledge, and poses the questions: What does this knowledge tell us terrorism is? Does this knowledge occlude or clarify the origins and history of terrorism? How independent is this knowledge from power? Is this the *only* way to know terrorism? Critical analyses of existing terrorism knowledge have increased in recent years, especially in the newly established subfield of Critical Terrorism Studies. Ruth Blakely²⁸ and Jeroen Gunning²⁹, among others, have traced direct

²⁵ J. B. S. Hardman, “Terrorism,” in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 14 (1936), edited by E. R. Seligman, 575-579.

²⁶ Edna O. F. Reid, “Evolution of a body of knowledge: an analysis of terrorism research,” *Information Processing and Management* 33, no. 1 (1997).

²⁷ Avishag Gordon, “Terrorism and knowledge growth: a database and Internet analysis,” in *Research on Terrorism: trends, achievements and failures*, ed. Andrew Silke (New York: Frank Cass, 2004), 119-137; Avishag Gordon, “Terrorism as an academic subject after 9/11: searching the Internet reveals a Stockholm Syndrome trend,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28 (2005).

²⁸ Ruth Blakeley, “Bringing the state back into terrorism studies,” *European Consortium for Political Research* 6 no. 3 (2007).

links between political power and the body of terrorism knowledge that burgeoned during the ‘take-off’ period of terrorism knowledge in the 1970s and 1980s. Pioneers in the *Critical Terrorism Studies* field identified four separate weaknesses in what has been called ‘traditional terrorism studies’ or ‘orthodox terrorism studies’: ‘embarrassing methodological weaknesses’; having its theoretical and institutional origins in orthodox security and counter-insurgency studies which leads analysts to adopt state-centric priorities and perspectives that reproduce a limited set of assumptions and narratives; direct links between terrorism experts/scholars and state institutions/sources of power; and its problem-solving theory which ‘takes the world as it finds it’ and thus fails to question the extent to which the status quo is implicated in the ‘problem’ of terrorism³⁰. The analysis of terrorism knowledge in this chapter probes deeper than these obvious links between political power and ‘embedded’ or ‘generic’ terrorism experts identified, and rightly so, in *Critical Terrorism Studies*. The analysis contained herein is based on Foucault’s assertion that knowledge is simply not possible without political power—one cannot exist without the other.

Terrorism: the known knowns

The problem of the problem of definition

Despite the diverse—often disparate—content of the literature on terrorism, much of it shares a single premise: a seemingly unshakeable conviction that terrorism is an ontological certainty. Nowhere is this more evident than in the wide-ranging debate, discussion and disagreement over what terrorism *really* is. International attempts to identify the ‘true’ meaning of terrorism date back to the 1920s and have so far resulted in thirteen international and seven regional treaties³¹. None of them define terrorism. In the twenty-first century itself, with

²⁹ Jeroen Gunning, “Babies and bathwaters: reflecting on the pitfalls of critical terrorism studies,” *European Political Science* 6 (2007).

³⁰ Richard Jackson, “Introduction: the case for critical terrorism studies,” *European Political Science* 6 (2007).

³¹ For a list of international and regional treaties on ‘terrorism’, see “United Nations Conventions deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations,” United Nations

each significant act it regarded as terrorism, the United Nations has passed a new resolution condemning the act, and renewed the call to find a universal definition of 'terrorism'³². So far all such efforts have been in vain.

What makes terrorism so difficult to define? It is a question, like the pursuit of the 'right' definition of terrorism itself, which has occupied analysts since the 1980s. A large share of the literature on terrorism suggests that the problem lies within the nature of the term: emotive, laden with ideological connotations, irreconcilable antagonisms, pejorative inferences, moral, social and value judgements, as well as being inherently imbued with semantic instability. As such, many regard terrorism as an 'essentially contested concept', doomed by its very nature to endless disputes about its proper uses on the part of its users³³.

There are a variety of different conceptualisations of terrorism in the existing literature. Predominant among them are conceptualisations of terrorism as a crime, a form of politics, a form of warfare, a method of communication, and a

Treaty Collection, accessed August 31, 2010,

http://treaties.un.org/Pages/DB.aspx?path=DB/studies/page2_en.xml&menu=MTDSC.

³² The incidents after which the United Nations called for a universal definition of "terrorism" or passed a new resolution regarding the need for counter-terrorism include: Resolution No. 1368 passed the day after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States and Resolution 1373 adopted on November 28, 2001; Resolution 1535 adopted on March 26, 2004 following the attacks on the transport system of Madrid on March 11, 2004; Resolution 1566 adopted on October 8, 2004 after the attacks on a school in Beslan the previous month; and Resolution 1624 passed on September 14, 2005 following the July 7, 2005 attacks on the London transport system. See Javier Rupérez, "The UN's fight against terrorism: five years after 9/11, ARI 83/2006," United Nations Articles, UN Action to Counter Terrorism, September 6, 2006, accessed August 31, 2010, <http://www.un.org/terrorism/additionalresources.shtml>. See also "UN seeks definition of terrorism," BBC News, July 26, 2005, accessed 31 August 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/4716957.stm> for news of the United Nations call for a universal definition of "terrorism" following the July 7, 2005 London bombings.

³³ William E. Connolly, *The Terms of Political Discourse*, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003). 'Essentially contested concepts' was a term put forward by Walter B. Gallie in *The Importance of language*, ed. Max Black (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969), 121-146.

religious act³⁴. As a crime, terrorism is either '*mala prohibita*' (wrong because it is prohibited by statute) or '*mala per se*' (wrong in itself). When viewed as political, 'terrorism' is a rational choice strategy employed by individuals or groups in the pursuit of particular goals.³⁵ Within this framework, the terrorist - like *Homo economicus* - evaluates the personal benefits and costs before choosing terrorism as a strategy. Analysts who view terrorism from a war paradigm point to the tendency among terrorists to define themselves as warriors, or they explain terrorism as a war *crime* rather than an act of just war³⁶. From a communication perspective, terrorism is either a form of propaganda or theatre³⁷. Conceptualised in terms of religion, terrorism is triggered by divine motivation that makes the terrorist and his actions more nihilistic, apocalyptic and, therefore, more lethal³⁸.

³⁴ Alex P. Schmid, "Frameworks for conceptualizing terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16, no. 2 (2004).

³⁵ Martha Crenshaw, "The logic of terrorism: terrorist behavior as a product of choice," *Terrorism and Counter Terrorism* 2, no. 1 (1998); William M. Landes, "An economic study of U.S. aircraft hijackings 1961-1976," *Journal of Law and Economics* 21, no. 1 (1978); Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, "The effectiveness of anti-terrorism policies: a vector-autoaggression-intervention analyses," *American Political Science Review* 87, no. 4 (1993).

³⁶ David C. Rapoport, "The Politics of Atrocity," in *Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Yonah Alexander and Seymour M. Finger (New York: John Jay Press, 1977); Ariel Merari, *Encyclopaedia of Human Behaviour*, vol. 4 (San Diego: Academic Press, 1994), 401.

³⁷ Brian M. Jenkins, "International terrorism: a new mode of conflict," in *International terrorism and world security*, ed. David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf (London: Croom Helm, 1975); Geoffrey Jackson, "Terrorism and the News Media," *Terrorism and political violence* 2, no. 4 (1990); Ralph E. Dowling, "Terrorism and the media: a rhetorical genre," *Journal of Communication* 36, no. 1 (1986); Alex P. Schmid and Janny de Graaf, *Violence as communication: insurgent terrorism and the western news* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1982); Paul Wilkinson, "The media and terrorism: a reassessment," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9, no. 2 (1997); Gabriel Weimann and Conrad Winn, *The theater of terror: mass media and international terrorism* (New York: Longman, 1994).

³⁸ Ian O. Lesser et al., *Countering the new terrorism* (Santa Monica: Rand, 1999); Walter Laqueur, "Postmodern terrorism: new rules for an old game," *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 5 (1996); Walter Laqueur, *The new terrorism: fanaticism and the arms of mass destruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (London: St Andrews University Press, 2006); Harvey W. Kushner, *The future of terrorism: violence in the new millennium* (London: Sage Publications, 1998); Ashton Carter, John Deutch and Philip Zelikow, "Catastrophic terrorism: tackling the new danger," *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 6 (1999); Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the mind of God: the global rise of religious violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

The differences in conceptualising terrorism accompany different understandings of it: for some it is a 'weapon of the weak' while for others it is 'propaganda of the deed'. For some it is a form of globalised informal violence³⁹ and for others theatre⁴⁰; a logical political strategy⁴¹; the manifestation of a particular psychological condition⁴²; ideologically based rebellion⁴³; a 'political phenomenon par excellence'⁴⁴; violence driven and justified in theological terms⁴⁵; a tactic of war⁴⁶; the result of political ambitions and designs of expansionist states⁴⁷; a new mode of conflict⁴⁸; or most recently, a 'global Jihad' by 'radicalised' Muslims⁴⁹ and therefore an evil threatening civilisation itself.

For many analysts, the 'problem of the problem of definition'⁵⁰ is both a source of frustration and worry. Research by Schmid and Jongman in the 1980s that solicited the opinion of some two hundred members of the terrorism research

³⁹ Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and interdependence* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2001).

⁴⁰ Brian M. Jenkins, "International terrorism: a new mode of conflict," in *International terrorism and world security*, ed. David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf (London: Croom Helm, 1975); Gabriel Weimann and Conrad Winn, *The theater of terror: mass media and international terrorism* (New York: Longman, 1994).

⁴¹ Martha Crenshaw, "The logic of terrorism: terrorist behavior as a product of choice," *Terrorism and Counter Terrorism* 2, no. 1 (1998).

⁴² Jerrold M. Post, "Terrorist psycho-logic: terrorist behaviour as a product of psychological forces," in *Origins of terrorism: psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind*, ed. Walter Reich (Washington, D. C.: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 1998), 25-40.

⁴³ Konrad Kellen, "Ideology and rebellion: terrorism in West Germany," in *ibid*, 43-58.

⁴⁴ Ehud Sprinzak, "The psychopolitical formation of extreme left terrorism in a democracy: the case of the Weathermen," in *ibid*, 78.

⁴⁵ David C. Rapoport, "Sacred terror: a contemporary example from Islam," in *ibid*, 103-130.

⁴⁶ N. Fotion, Boris N. Kashnikov and Joanne K. Lekea, *Terrorism: the new world disorder* (London: Continuum, 2007).

⁴⁷ Binyamin Netanyahu, *Terrorism: How the west can win* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1986), 7.

⁴⁸ Brian M. Jenkins, "International terrorism: a new mode of conflict," in *International terrorism and world security*, ed. David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf (London: Croom Helm, 1975).

⁴⁹ Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Quintan Wiktorowicz, *Radical Islam rising: Muslim extremism in the West* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005).

⁵⁰ H. H. A. Cooper, "Terrorism: the problems of definition revisited," *American Behavioral Scientist* 44, no. 6 (2001): 881-882.

community found most analysts shared the view that definitions of terrorism were ‘confused, irrelevant’ or ‘hopeless’.⁵¹ Many were uncertain as to ‘the *right* way to think about the problem’ [emphasis added] and appeared fatigued by the need to continue solving basic conceptual problems.⁵²

Central to the ‘problem of definition’ discussed in the literature is the question: is it possible to identify terrorism, much less judge and punish it, without first defining it? Opinion is divided. Walter Laqueur, one of the most prominent and prolific contributors to the field, thinks it is ‘manifestly absurd’ to assume that terrorism cannot be studied without a definition. According to Laqueur, we know terrorism when we see it⁵³. Jack Gibbs countered that it is ‘no less “manifestly absurd” to pretend to study terrorism without at least some kind of definition’⁵⁴. Without the right definition, this argument goes, it is impossible to say whether terrorism is a threat at all, what its nature is, or even if there could be a theory of terrorism⁵⁵. It is argued further that unless the right definition of terrorism is found, states will remain free to ‘unilaterally and subjectively determine what constitutes terrorist activity’;⁵⁶ and the term will stay open to subjective interpretation and opportunistic appropriation by self-interested forms of power.⁵⁷

The above arguments and recurrent disputes over what terrorism *really* is, the *right* way to think about terrorism, and the warnings about the gravity of potential consequences of failing either task are all founded on the conviction that terrorism is an ontological certainty. They assume that if only the term ‘terrorism’ can be shed of much of the semantic, political and emotional baggage that it has been identified as carrying, analysts can uncover its inherent

⁵¹ Alex P. Schmid and A. J. Jongman, *Political terrorism: a new guide to actors, authors, concepts, data bases, theories, and literature* (Amsterdam: Transaction Books, 1988), 61.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵³ Walter Laqueur, *Terrorism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), 5.

⁵⁴ Jack P. Gibbs, “Conceptualisation of terrorism,” *American Sociological Review* 54, no. 3 (1989): 329.

⁵⁵ Grant Wardlaw, *Political terrorism: theory, tactics and counter-measures* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 3.

⁵⁶ Ben Saul, *Defining terrorism in international law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

truth. They also assume that if analysts can all work together towards identifying the right way to think about terrorism, its true form will come into sharp focus, revealing it for what it *really* is. Once the truth about terrorism is known, self-interested forms of power can no longer appropriate it to their circumstances and advantage.

Psychologising Terrorism

These very same efforts, frustrations and convictions underpin analysts' efforts to identify who 'the terrorist' *really* is. What type of person turns to terrorism? What makes someone commit acts of terrorist violence? Since the 1960s, analysts from a variety of disciplines within the human sciences—chief among them psychiatry, psychology, criminology, political science and sociology—have attempted to scientifically order, tabulate and illustrate characteristics that distinguish 'the terrorist' from other human beings.

A rich tapestry of theories—from the Freudian view of aggression as an innate and instinctive human trait; ethology; the frustration-aggression theory which links the frustration of being prevented from attaining a goal or engaging in particular behaviour with aggression; social learning theory which regards aggression as learned; to cognitive theory based on the notion that people interact with their environment based on how they perceive and interpret it; and even biological or physiological variables such as an individual's serotonin levels, hormones, psychophysiological and neurophysiological factors and their relationship with an individual's behaviour—have all been applied to available data in order to identify the nature of 'the terrorist'⁵⁸. Statistical models that apply 'risk factors' identified by 'literally hundreds of studies in psychology, criminology, sociology and other behavioural sciences' as contributors to general violence have also been developed and applied in efforts to illustrate the psychological anatomy of 'the terrorist'⁵⁹.

The results have been as varied as the conceptualisations, the definitions, and the theories. Early psychiatric studies identified the 'terrorist personality' as one

⁵⁸ Randy Borum, *Psychology of Terrorism* (Tampa: University of South Florida, 2004), 11-15.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

shaped by hostility towards parents, driven towards committing acts of 'terrorism' as a result of early abuse and maltreatment⁶⁰. Pathological narcissism was identified in the 1970s, for example, as having a strong link with the development of a 'terrorist personality'⁶¹, a connection which has since been regularly explored by psychiatric analyses of 'terrorism'.⁶² By the 1980s, when Schmid and Jongman undertook their analysis of 'terrorism studies' discussed above, a body of literature existed that identified 'the terrorist personality' as spoilt, disturbed, cold and calculating, perverse, excited by violence, psychotic, maniac, irrational and fanatical⁶³.

Some analyses proffer descriptions of 'the terrorist' in even greater detail—an individual reared by a violent father (often alcoholic) and a religious mother (often a zealot), sexually shy, timid and passive; his first sexual encounter would often be with women two to twenty years older than himself. He would be over-protective towards his younger sisters; would have achieved little and would possess limited potential to earn more⁶⁴. Another 'profiled' the 'terrorist' as depressed, an-hedonic, lacking the ability to form any interpersonal

⁶⁰ Lewis G. Feuer, *The conflict of generations* (New York: Basic Books, 1969).

⁶¹ Gustav Morf, *Terror in Quebec* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1970).

⁶² Christopher Lasch, *The culture of narcissism: American life in the age of diminishing expectations* (New York: Norton, 1979); John W. Crayton, "Terrorism and the psychology of the self," in *Perspectives on Terrorism*, ed. Lawrence Z. Freedman and Yonah Alexander (Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1983); André Haynal, Miklós Molnár and Gérard de Puymége, *Fanaticism: a historical and psychoanalytical study* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983); Jerrold M. Post, "Notes on a Psychodynamic Theory of Terrorist Behavior," *Terrorism: An International Journal* 7, no. 3 (1984); Jerrold M. Post, "Hostilité, Conformité, Fraternité: The Group Dynamics of Terrorist Behavior," *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy* 36, no. 2 (1986); Jerrold M. Post, "Current Understanding of Terrorist Motivation and Psychology: Implications for a Differentiated Antiterrorist Policy," *Terrorism* 13, no. 1 (1990); Richard M. Pearlstein, *The Mind of the Political Terrorist* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1991).

⁶³ Alex P. Schmid and A. J. Jongman, *Political terrorism: a new guide to actors, authors, concepts, data bases, theories, and literature* (Amsterdam: Transaction Books, 1988), 7-98.

⁶⁴ David G. Hubbard, *Winning Back the Sky: A Tactical Analysis of Terrorism* (San Francisco: Saybrook, 1986).

relationships, cruel, wanton, and recklessly indifferent to the value of human life⁶⁵.

The psychological makeup of individuals, according to this literature, also determined which particular type of 'terrorism' such a typical 'terrorist' would gravitate towards. Right-wing terrorists, for example, were said to be more likely than their left-wing counterparts to be individualistic and to possess basic psychological traits that reflect an authoritarian-extremist personality.⁶⁶ The pathological nature of the 'terrorist' identified by such literature strongly advises that any policies seeking to defend society from the enemy should 'energetically enter the market for men's minds'⁶⁷. By the end of the 1990s, the pathology of the 'terrorist' had been determined to the extent that certain individuals were seen as psychologically *compelled* to commit acts of 'terrorism'⁶⁸. 'Terrorists' did not resort to violence as a wilful choice. Acts of 'terrorism' were not 'an intentional choice selected from a range of perceived alternatives'⁶⁹. In other words, terrorists could not help but be 'terrorists'; he could only exist as a 'terrorist' and nothing else: 'I bomb therefore I am'⁷⁰.

Psychological analyses of terrorists, like other approaches to understanding terrorism, have its many critics. Walter Laqueur argued, for example, that although 'most terrorists have been young, some very young', and 'the vast majority have been male', 'terrorists' are not bound by a common thread of

⁶⁵ Robert A. Friedlander, "The Psychology of Terrorism: Contemporary Views," in *Managing Terrorism: Strategies for the Corporate Executive*, ed. Patrick J. Montana and George S. Roukis (Westport, Connecticut: Quorum, 1983).

⁶⁶ Risto Freid, "The Psychology of the Terrorist," in *Terrorism and Beyond: An International Conference on Terrorism and Low-Level Conflict*, ed. Brian M. Jenkins (Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1982), 119-24.

⁶⁷ Jeanne N. Knutson, "Toward a United States Policy on Terrorism," *Political Psychology* 5, no. 2 (1984).

⁶⁸ Jerrold M. Post, "'It's us against them': The group dynamics of political terrorism," *Terrorism* 10 (1987).

⁶⁹ Jerrold M. Post, "Terrorist psycho-logic: terrorist behaviour as a product of psychological forces," in *Origins of terrorism: psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind*, ed. Walter Reich, (Washington, D. C.: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 1998), 25.

⁷⁰ Ian O. Lesser et al., *Countering the new terrorism* (Santa Monica: Rand, 1999), 39.

psycho-sociological factors⁷¹. There are no 'genetic factors, psychological difficulties in early childhood, a disturbed family life, or identification with the underclass' that create a typical 'terrorist'. Attempting to create a profile of 'the typical terrorist' was a thankless task as 'there never was such a person'.⁷² Psychological profiling of the 'typical terrorist', according to critics of the practise, is not just empirically unsound, but also de-politicises 'terrorism'⁷³. Based on the premise that the psychology of 'terrorism' could not be considered separate from political, historical, familial and group dynamic as well as organic and 'accidental, coincidental factors'⁷⁴, some analysts began to take a more nuanced approach to the 'psychology of a terrorist'. John Horgan and Max Taylor, for example, suggested that becoming a 'terrorist' was a slow process involving a variety of different factors that influenced an individual at three distinct stages—becoming a terrorist, remaining one, and leaving 'terrorism'⁷⁵. Building on the explanations of 'terrorism' as a political strategy rather than a pathological condition, such analyses argued that for a proper understanding of the psychology of 'terrorism' it is essential to consider an individual's motives and vulnerability to a given environment. The quest for such an understanding, Horgan argued, 'should not be confused with a search for the 'terrorist personality'⁷⁶

The hunt for the 'terrorist personality', however, has continued unabated, each new analysis building on earlier findings to validate their truth. Following 11

⁷¹ Walter Laqueur, *The new terrorism: fanaticism and the arms of mass destruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 80.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Raymond R. Corrado, "A critique of the mental disorder perspective of political terrorism," *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, vol. 4 (1981); Risto Freid, "The Psychology of the Terrorist," in *Terrorism and Beyond: An International Conference on Terrorism and Low-Level Conflict*, ed. Brian M. Jenkins (Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1982), 119-24.

⁷⁴ Risto Freid, "The Psychology of the Terrorist," in *Terrorism and Beyond: An International Conference on Terrorism and Low-Level Conflict*, ed. Brian M. Jenkins (Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1982), 119-24.

⁷⁵ John Horgan and Max Taylor, "The making of a terrorist," *Jane's Intelligence Review* 13, no. 12 (2001).

⁷⁶ John Horgan, "The search for a terrorist personality," in *Terrorist, victims, and society: psychological perspectives on terrorism and its consequences*, ed. Andrew Silke (London: John Wiley and Sons, 2003), 3-27.

September 2001, for example, the Arab/Muslim became a separate object of this body of knowledge as research findings showed that 'traumatic' gender segregation in Islamic societies leads to fundamentalism and violent political activity. 'Suicide bombing is one result of hating one's sexual impulses.'⁷⁷ Muslim men, it is suggested, turn to terrorism out of sexual frustration, as their sexual appetites—unduly titillated by the West—remain unfulfilled in the repressed Islamic world. These young men, unable to cope with the sexual frustration festering in the clash between their world and the West, turn to violence, which is directed towards the West as the symbolic creator of their sexual frustrations.⁷⁸ Previous psychiatric analyses had learned from the writings of terrorists themselves that 'the explosion of the bomb has come to be regarded as something of an ersatz orgasm.'⁷⁹

Historicising Terrorism

Clearly evident from the literature is the underlying conviction that there is a metaphysical entity called a 'terrorist', a figure that is by nature different from other human beings. With this certainty, several analysts have traced the beginnings of terrorism and the emergence of the 'original terrorist'. When did the first act of terrorism occur? Who was the first person in history to have committed an act of terrorism? Various answers have been offered. Most often identified as the first known terrorists are the Thugs of India from 2,500 years ago, the Sicarii of Judea from 66-73 CE, and the Assassins of the eleventh century.⁸⁰ The French Revolution is another commonly cited 'beginning' of

⁷⁷ Elaine Hoffman Baruch, "Psychoanalysis and Terrorism: The Need for a Global Talking Cure," *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 20, no. 4 (2003).

⁷⁸ Stuart J. Kaufman, "Social Identity and the Roots of Future Conflict," Department of Political Science, University of Kentucky (October, 2003).

⁷⁹ Walter Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism*, 2nd ed. (New Jersey: Transaction Publications, 2001), 167.

⁸⁰ The Sicarii were 'a radical anti-Roman religious movement' whose members used short swords to attack people, seemingly randomly, in broad daylight in crowded places to 'demonstrate the state's impotence and to strike fear beyond their immediate targets'. The Assassins were a Shia Muslim group that operated from 1090 to 1275, and the Thugs were an Indian secret society taking its inspiration from the Hindu religion, who are believed to have first appeared over 2,500 years ago. They are said to have lasted for over 600 years, 'possibly killing as many as 500,000 people'. The Assassins 'used only the dagger at close range, by this

modern terrorism. Yet another date frequently pinpointed as the date on which modern terrorism started is July 22, 1968, when a Palestinian group hijacked an El Al Israeli Airlines flight from Rome to Tel Aviv⁸¹. With the beginning of the War on Terror, historical analyses of terrorism have been taken further and further back into the past in pursuit of the original terrorist. One publication in 2002, for example points to the assassin of Roman Emperor Julius Caesar as the first terrorist. According to the narrative, since then 'the terrorist' has become progressively more dangerous from ancient Rome to twenty-first century New York: 'From the murder of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. to the atrocious airplane attacks of September 11, 2001, terrorists have been the cause of many of the monumental events of human experience'⁸².

The totalising nature of such historical narratives does not exclude the transformations in terrorism. On the contrary, there is a vast amount of literature that traces, identifies and explains changes in terrorism and their causes. A widely accepted explanation, first proposed in 2003 by David C. Rapoport, and built on by himself and others later⁸³, is that terrorism comes in waves—each wave lasts forty to forty five years before receding. Terrorism's first wave rose in the 1880s as the Anarchist Wave, and lasted forty years. It was followed by the Anti-Colonial Wave that began in the 1920s and had faded by the 1960s. The third, the New Left Wave, began in the late 1960s and had dissipated by the 1990s. The fourth, or the Religious Wave, began in 1979 and

mode of attack both accentuating the terror inflicted and revealing a willingness to die in pursuit of their mission.' See John Gearson, "The Nature of Modern Terrorism" in *Superterrorism – Policy Responses* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 14.

⁸¹ This is the exact date referred to as the beginning of 'international terrorism' in the official counterterrorism strategy of the United Kingdom, Contest. See also Cindy D. Ness, "In the Name of the Cause: Women's Work in Secular and Religious Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28, no. 5 (2005): 368; Home Ministry, "The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism," Parliamentary Official Documents, March 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7547/7547.pdf>, 23; Bruce Hoffman, *Inside terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 63.

⁸² Pamela L. Griset and Sue G. Mahan, *Terrorism in perspective* (California: Sage Publications, 2002).

⁸³ Mark Sedgwick, "Inspiration and the Origins of Global Waves of Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30, no. 2 (2007).

will last for another twenty years or so⁸⁴. Terrorism is thus an inevitable, almost natural, phenomenon imbued with inherent mechanisms of survival: 'The pattern suggests a human lifecycle pattern, where dreams that inspire fathers lose their attractiveness for sons.'⁸⁵

Rapid modernisation, lack of democracy, too much democracy, the industrial revolution, the manufacture of dynamite, the airline industry, the communications revolution, the Internet, poverty, global inequality, globalisation, American expansionism, Islamic fanaticism, and a worldwide return to an increased degree of piety have all been identified in the literature as causes of changes in terrorism. Common to this vast literature that discusses the many transformations and changes in terrorism throughout history is the conviction that change cannot ever signify a complete break with its past: terrorists' methods, targets, beliefs, ideologies, consequences—everything about terrorism, in fact—can change but that *thing* called terrorism, that metaphysical thing, it remains the same. Changes in the world cause inevitable and necessary changes in terrorism, but in the end it will always remain true to its own secret self.

On 'old' terrorism versus 'new' terrorism

This given of a metaphysical terrorism is also at the heart of one of the most intense debates about and of terrorism in the twenty-first century: was the terrorism of 11 September 2001 really so new and different as to warrant as distinct a departure from orthodox counterterrorism as the War on Terror? Opinion is divided. Opponents of the 'new terrorism' theory argue that terrorism can only be new if it is viewed 'without properly consulting history'⁸⁶, replete as it is with examples of terrorism.

⁸⁴ David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," *Anthropoetics* 8, no. 1 (2002).

⁸⁵ David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in *Attacking terrorism: Elements of a grand strategy*, ed. Audrey K. Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 46–73.

⁸⁶ Isabelle Duyvesteyn, "The role of history and continuity in terrorism research," in *Mapping terrorism research: state of the art, gaps and future direction*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2007), 52.

Such critics of the 'new' terrorist or terrorism theory are somewhat justified in saying that 'terrorism seems to be a subject with almost no history.'⁸⁷ Research shows that prior to the 11 September 2001 attacks only 3.9 per cent of academic articles analysing terrorism had a historical focus⁸⁸. Of these, only half looked at the phenomenon before the 1960s⁸⁹. It is not, however, correct to say that proponents of the 'new' terrorism theory ignored history to arrive at the conclusion that the twenty first century is seeing a new terrorism and a new terrorist. As far back as the 1970s, Walter Laqueur pointed to the Thugs of India from 2,500 years ago, the Sicarii of Judea in 66-73 CE, and the Assassins of the eleventh century as being among the 'earliest known examples' of terrorism.⁹⁰ As the twentieth century drew to a close, it was commonplace among proponents of the 'new' terrorism theory to point to the three groups in history to show how very 'new' terrorism had become at the turn of the century and to warn just how much more newer and dangerous it could become in the new millennium.⁹¹

In the immediate aftermath of the 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States whatever historical focus previously seen in analyses of terrorism

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Andrew Silke, "The Impact of 9/11 on research on terrorism," in *Mapping terrorism research: state of the art, gaps and future direction*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp (New York: Routledge, 2007), 76-93. The research findings are based on a review of the published output of two major academic journals *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* in the three years (2002-2004) following the attacks of 11 September 2001. The research also compares the results with a previous review of the output from the same journals carried out in an earlier review covering the period between 1990-2001. See Andrew Silke, ed., "The devil you know: continuing problems with research on terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 13, no. 4 (2001): 1-14.

⁸⁹ Andrew Silke, "The Impact of 9/11 on research on terrorism," in *Mapping terrorism research: state of the art, gaps and future direction*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp (New York: Routledge, 2007), 89.

⁹⁰ Walter Laqueur, *Terrorism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).

⁹¹ Rex A. Hudson, *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?* (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, 1999), 10; David C. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in three religious traditions," *The American Political Science Review* 78, no. 3 (1984); Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (London: St Andrews Press, 1998), 88; Ian O. Lesser et al., *Countering the new terrorism* (Santa Monica: Rand, 1999), 69; Walter Laqueur, *The new terrorism: fanaticism and the arms of mass destruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

'effectively collapsed' falling from the meagre 3.9 per cent to just 1.7 per cent between 2002 and 2004⁹². When historical focus did make a revival in the following years, an interesting change had occurred in analysts' treatment of the three 'early examples of modern terrorism' - the Thugs, the Sicarri and the Assassins. They were now most often cited not by proponents of the 'new' terrorism theory as evidence of how *new* terrorism was in the twenty first century, but by critics of the 'new' terrorism theory as evidence of how very *old* it is.⁹³ For proponents of the 'new terrorism' theory, examples from history provide ample empirical evidence to support their thesis that 'old' terrorism had mutated into something 'new' and dangerous. For critics of the theory, however, the presence of the three groups provides evidence that nothing 'except time and place, distinguishes the objectives (or methods)' of some ancient terrorist from those of the 'new' terrorists.⁹⁴ The Assassins 'appear in many ways to be forerunners of today's jihadists,'⁹⁵ 'their willingness to die in pursuit of their missions echoed by today's suicide bombers.'⁹⁶

How is it more correct to seek a continuous line that connects the dagger wielding Assassin of the tenth century with the suicide bomber of the second millennium than it is to declare the existence of a 'new' terrorism every time a

⁹² Andrew Silke, "The Impact of 9/11 on research on terrorism," in *Mapping terrorism research: state of the art, gaps and future direction*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp (New York: Routledge, 2007), 76-93. The research findings are based on a review of the published output of two major academic journals *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* in the three years (2002-2004) following the attacks of 11 September 2001. See also Andrew Silke, "Contemporary terrorism studies: issues in research," in *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, ed. Richard Jackson, Marie Smyth and Jeroen Gunning (New York: Routledge, 2009), 35-48, for an updated survey of the same output expanded to include the years 2005-7.

⁹³ Alex P. Schmid, "Frameworks for conceptualizing terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16, no. 2 (2004): 210; Doron Zimmermann, "Terrorism Transformed: The 'New Terrorism', Impact Scalability, and the Dynamic of Reciprocal Threat Perception," *The Quarterly Journal* 3, no. 1 (2004): 19; Bergesen and Han: 2005: 136; Sedgwick 2004:798; Bernholz 2004: 321.

⁹⁴ Doron Zimmermann, "The transformation of terrorism: the 'new terrorism', impact scalability, and the dynamic of reciprocal threat perception," Centre for Security Studies, Zurich, accessed November 5, 2009, <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?id=57&lng=en>, 49.

⁹⁵ Randall David Law, *Terrorism: a history* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 40.

⁹⁶ John Gearson, "The Nature of Modern Terrorism," in *Superterrorism – Policy Responses*, ed. Lawrence Freedman (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 14.

significant change occurs in the motives and methods of those labelled terrorists? The contradictory treatment of the aforementioned three groups lauded as 'historical examples of modern terrorists' in analyses of research on terrorism is not a singular occurrence, but reflects a seemingly ingrained habit among analysts who turn to history for explanations of contemporary terrorism. In the small collection of historical analyses of terrorism available, it is commonplace to find that 'history is (ab)-used to suit the predetermined needs of experts' and that 'historical themes do not seem to be grounded in pure historical studies, but are chosen more on what are perhaps preconceived ideas about important developments in terrorism.'⁹⁷ Such methods facilitate use of the same groups from history as evidence to support two diametrically opposed arguments and contribute substantially to 'a problematic state of affairs in terrorism studies.'⁹⁸

Whether or not it is factually correct to assert that 'new terrorism's' proponents ignored history to advance their argument, the disagreement raises an important question: would an increased focus on history provide a more comprehensive understanding of terrorism today? Both sides are in agreement that it would. David C. Rapoport asserted in 1984, for example, that it was 'simply wrong' for his colleagues to 'analyse contemporary experiences as though the statement declaring them *sui generis* is itself clear and at the same time provides the only evidence needed to establish the case!'⁹⁹. He proposed the 'wave theory' instead. Andrew Silke made the very same observation in 2009. While it was natural to focus on the immediate after an attack as destructive as those of 11 September 2001, he said; such a strong focus on contemporary issues ran 'the real risk of losing an understanding of the broader context of terrorist conflicts, patterns, and trends and without such awareness

⁹⁷ Isabelle Duyvesteyn, "The role of history and continuity in terrorism research," in *Mapping terrorism research: state of the art, gaps and future direction*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2007), 55.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ David C. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in three religious traditions," *The American Political Science Review* 78, no. 3 (1984): 659.

important lessons can be missed¹⁰⁰. Silke was ‘thankful’ when research showed historical focus in terrorism analyses had increased from 1.7 per cent between 2002–4 to 2.8 per cent in 2005–07.¹⁰¹

Is the increased focus on history something to celebrate? Does it provide us with a better knowledge of how terrorism began? Or does it, with its assumption of terrorism’s ontological certainty, obfuscate rather than illuminate how terrorism began, and how it has come to be understood today? Histories of terrorism that are based on the ontological certainty of ‘terrorism’ find it possible to make clear relations between Osama bin Laden who masterminded the attacks of 11 September 2001 and the ‘terrorist’ who murdered Julius Caesar¹⁰² and to see ‘today’s jihadists’ in the Assassins of the tenth century CE¹⁰³ precisely because they are written on the basis of such a certainty. They assume that throughout the vast expanses of time that are included in the analyses, ‘words had kept their meaning, [...] desires still pointed in a single direction, and [...] ideas still retained their logic.’¹⁰⁴ With ‘terrorism’ as a given, what remains for the historian to do is to identify in the past individuals, groups or actions with similar characteristics to those of ‘terrorism’ or ‘the terrorist’ at the present, and simply order the position of each of them in relation to each other, and to the given of ‘terrorism’. Various disparate phenomena are in this manner brought in line and arranged around a single centre: ‘terrorism’. Thus, history could provide examples of religious terrorism, political terrorism, revolutionary terrorism, ethno-nationalist terrorism, or however many different categories of terrorism that are said to exist in the present—all with traceable relations and

¹⁰⁰ Andrew Silke, “The Impact of 9/11 on research on terrorism,” in *Mapping terrorism research: state of the art, gaps and future direction*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp (New York: Routledge, 2007), 76–93.

¹⁰¹ Andrew Silke, “Contemporary terrorism studies: issues in research,” in *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, ed. Richard Jackson, Marie Smyth and Jeroen Gunning (New York: Routledge, 2009), 46.

¹⁰² Pamela L. Griset and Sue G. Mahan, *Terrorism in perspective* (California: Sage Publications, 2002), 1.

¹⁰³ Randall David Law, *Terrorism: a history* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 40.

¹⁰⁴ Michel Foucault and Paul Rabinow, *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 76.

connections to each other and to the seemingly clear ontological horizon of 'terrorism'.

In this manner, readers are provided with a ready-made synthesis of a unitary, singular phenomena of 'terrorism' making it possible to 'group a succession of dispersed events, to link them to one and the same organising principle [...] to discover, already at work with each beginning, a principle of coherence and the outline of a future unity.'¹⁰⁵ Such an ordering of the past is made possible by the belief that there exists among all these disparate individuals and groups from specific spatial and temporal epochs 'a system of homogenous relations: a network of causality' through which can be derived 'relations of analogy that show how they symbolise one another, or how they all express one and the same core.'¹⁰⁶ It is only by denying these different groups 'the difference proper to every beginning'¹⁰⁷, and by applying 'a retrospective hypothesis'¹⁰⁸ that it becomes possible to describe these disparate groups collectively as 'terrorists'. These analyses also assume that the specific social, economic, cultural and political structures and practices of the various epochs in which these groups existed and operated were all subject to the same type of transformation, and that contained in their history is 'a kernel of the present' that has 'progressed such that it now defines our condition.'¹⁰⁹

What happens when the ontological certainty of terrorism is abandoned? For one thing, it releases the analyst from the constraint of having to seek a totalising history of the phenomenon, and from the need to regard discontinuity as a 'stigma of temporal dislocation' that is her prime task to remove at all costs.¹¹⁰ It becomes possible, in other words, to show that the history of terrorism is not one that is 'wholly and entirely that of its progressive

¹⁰⁵ Michel Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1972), 24.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁰⁹ David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States foreign policy and the politics of identity*, rev. ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

¹¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1972), 9.

refinement, its continuously increasing rationality, its abstraction gradient' but one which is made up of its 'various fields of constitution and validity, that of its successive rules of use, that of the many theoretical contexts in which it developed and matured.'¹¹¹ The history of 'terrorism' then becomes a history of its discourse.

Foucault, discourse, and terrorism

As defined by Foucault, discourse extends beyond simply the language used for speaking about, analysing or classifying the phenomenon of 'terrorism', or the 'terrorist'. It includes the social, political and cultural structures and practices that exist in specific periods of time that create the 'grids of intelligibility' according to which the 'terrorist' and 'terrorism' can be thought about, spoken of and acted towards. All instances where this study refers to the term discourse, it should be understood as referring to Foucault's definition of the term; that is:

all that was said in the statements that named it [terrorism, in this study], divided it up, described it, traced its developments, indicated its various correlations, judged it, and possibly gave it speech by articulating, in its name, discourses that were to be taken as its own'¹¹².

Although this definition of discourse was provided at the very beginning of this study, it has been repeated here to assert the importance of refraining from reading discourse as referring to language alone; an increasingly common practice in terrorism studies. This is especially true, unfortunately, within the newly formed field of *Critical Terrorism Studies*.¹¹³ Foucault was clear on the place of language in discourse:

¹¹¹ Ibid., 5.

¹¹² Michel Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1972), 35.

¹¹³ Richard Jackson, *Writing the war on terrorism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 2, 25.

Of course, discourses are composed of signs: but they do more than use these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that renders them irreducible to the language and to the speech. It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe¹¹⁴.

While discourse is a problem of formations of language and concepts, it is also one of extra-discursive structures and practices specific to a particular period that make it possible to think what is thought, to say what is said, and do what is done during that period. Instead of particular actors using language and words intentionally to manipulate discourse to further their own purposes, what they say and what they do are determined by a large extent by discourse. As shall become clear from this study, terrorism discourse is not simply the words used to describe, define, analyse and discuss terrorism – it is all that is said and *done* about terrorism – the discourse of terrorism is what terrorism *is*.

Somewhat unusually for a Foucaultian discourse analysis, this study employs only Foucault's ideas and methods without recourse to other similar figures to complement, modify or qualify what Foucault has to say. As Jan Selby pointed out, it is customary for Foucault to be 'employed alongside a raft of other, mostly francophone, authors – Derrida, Lacan, Barthes, Baudillard, Virilio, Deleuze, and so on'¹¹⁵. This practice has become so normal that 'poststructuralist IR theorists have often not developed specifically Foucauldian readings of international politics' and Foucault has come to be regarded as 'one of a collective of postmodern social theorists'¹¹⁶.

While Selby's criticisms of these practices are developed primarily for the purpose of highlighting how they have led to an underestimation of interesting parallels and convergences between Foucault and non-poststructuralist theorists—Marx in particular—they also highlight how the specificity of Foucault's positions have often been lost as a result of this commonplace practice in International Relations. This study asserts, and shows, that using Foucault's ideas alone, without pressing into service other authors—be it poststructuralist or not, within or without IR—can make a valuable contribution to our understanding of some of the most complex issues of the

¹¹⁴ Michel Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1972), 54.

¹¹⁵ Jan Selby, "Engaging Foucault: Discourse, Liberal Governance and the Limits of Foucauldian IR," *International Relations* 21, no. 3 (2007): 325.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

present. In addition to bringing back the specificity of Foucault's positions, doing a specifically Foucaultian discourse analysis also helps return to the limelight some of Foucault's earlier works that have been largely abandoned in IR in favour of his later works such as genealogical and biopolitical critiques.

This is not to claim that this study is unique among recent scholarship to train its gaze specifically on Foucault. Several new publications have emerged in recent years that use Foucault-inspired approaches to analysing terrorism and the current War on Terror¹¹⁷. Among them, Julian Reid's *The Biopolitics of the War on Terror*, for example, is specifically Foucaultian in approach. Reid describes his work as 'a book not about Foucault, but an examination of the problem of war and its relation to the development of liberal societies' wrought through 'Foucauldian thought'¹¹⁸. Although he finds it necessary 'to go somewhat beyond Foucault' to include other specific thinkers influenced by him, Reid's work is 'an overtly Foucauldian analysis'¹¹⁹ of the War on Terror. In a similar vein, there has also been recent scholarship that has revived Foucault's archaeological method, which, as highlighted before, has been described as having been abandoned by Foucault in favour of genealogy. Andrew Neal's archaeological analysis of the concept of exception stands out in this regard. In *Exceptionalism and the Politics of Counter-terrorism*, Neal shows that not only is the archaeological method more suitable than genealogy for analysing some phenomena and concepts, but also that sometimes scholarship that derives its

¹¹⁷ Krista Hunt and Kim Rygiel, *(En)gendering the war on terror: war stories and camouflaged politics* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2006); Adam Hodges, *The War on Terror Narrative: Discourse and Intertextuality in the Construction and Contestation of Sociopolitical Reality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Marianne Vardalos et al., ed., *Engaging Terror: A Critical and Interdisciplinary Approach* (Boca Raton, Florida: BrownWalker Press, 2009); Thomas S. Kidd, *American Christians and Islam: evangelical culture and Muslims from the colonial period to the age of terrorism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009); Richard Jackson, *Writing the war on terrorism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

¹¹⁸ Julian Reid, *The biopolitics of the war on terror: life struggles, liberal modernity, and the defence of logistical societies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 12.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

inspiration from Foucault, such as Giorgio Agamben's work on exceptionalism, misreads Foucault¹²⁰.

This has been somewhat true in the field of Critical Terrorism Studies. Much of the scholarship that has emerged in the field in recent years question the ontological certainty of terrorism and claim to question power/knowledge relations underpinning the discourse of terrorism. However, the attempt to create a separate discipline—in itself an exercise which Foucault's understanding of discourse would deem highly suspicious—and to establish a broad critical agenda has led to an elision of some of the specificities of Foucault's definitions of discourse and genealogical critique¹²¹. By digging only into Foucault's toolbox of methods, this study adheres closely to Foucault's thoughts on history and means of conducting archaeological and genealogical investigations of a problem of our present. In so doing, it provides a specifically Foucaultian analysis of terrorism that probes deeper into the origins and power/knowledge relations that constitute it than do critical terrorism analyses that take wider and broader stances.

Terrorism: unknowing the knowns

When terrorism is seen as a discourse, and 'terrorism' and 'the terrorist' are shed of their metaphysical status and the 'givenness' attached to them removed, it becomes possible to trace a different history of the terrorist in which the question is not 'What is the moment in history in which he first emerged?' but 'How was he formed? How did he emerge?' The historical account of 'terrorism' provided in this study is archaeological in the sense that rather than being a 'transcendental' analysis that seeks to identify universal structures that underlie all knowledge about 'terrorism', it looks at historical archives to uncover the conditions that made it possible to think, speak and act on 'terrorism' and 'the terrorist' in different ways over various epochs in history. It is genealogical in the sense that it distances itself from the quest for a metaphysical origin of 'terrorism' or 'the terrorist' subject, taking care not to

¹²⁰ Andrew W. Neal, *Exceptionalism and the politics of counter-terrorism: liberty, security, and the War on Terror* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2010).

¹²¹ Richard Jackson et al., *Terrorism: a critical introduction* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

'neglect as inaccessible the vicissitudes of history.'¹²² The ethos of such a critique can be described as 'an incitement to study the form and consequences of universals in particular historical situations and practices grounded in problems raised in the course of particular social and political struggles.'¹²³ In putting aside the universal of 'the terrorist', a genealogy requires the analyst to 'dispense with the constituent subject, to get rid of the subject itself' and 'to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework'. Thus it calls into question transcendental structures and received values that permeate present western 'terrorism' discourse, and examines how the subject of the Evildoer has emerged from the interplay between discourse, power and subjectivation.

It is asserted that acts of violence do not *naturally* occur as acts of terrorism: they become terrorism only when they are identified, categorised, labelled, defined, understood and known as such. How is it, for instance, that Osama bin Laden's declaration of war against the United States—a unique occurrence in history of a man declaring and waging war against a state—came to be known as terrorism and not by a new name reflecting the uniqueness of the act? Or how is it that the War on Terror—the first time in history that a state has launched full-scale military campaigns against another in a war against a concept—is understood as a new form of counter-terrorism and not an entirely unique occurrence with its own name? Finding out requires analysing the discourse of terrorism—the regimes of practices according to which these acts were perceived, identified, known, judged, countered and punished as 'terrorism'.

This is not to say that terrorism discourses function arbitrarily and that the mere application of the label 'terrorism' or a deliberate re-categorisation of an act as 'terrorism' or vice versa can change what is known as terrorism. On the contrary, terrorism discourse, like all other discourses, is subject to an unspoken but rigid body of socially sanctioned rules—specific to particular epochs—that

¹²² Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: studies in governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991): 80.

¹²³ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: power and rule in modern society* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2007), 42.

govern what can and cannot be thought of, seen as, spoken of and acted upon as terrorism in that particular period of time. Accepting terrorism as its discourse means, therefore, analysing these regimes of practices, identifying the tacit rules that govern them, and tracing the changes that occur in them.

One of the main occupations of Terrorism Studies, as discussed earlier, has been to seek the origins of terrorism and the terrorist: the *right* way to think about terrorism would emanate from such a discovery, on this analysis. The different conceptualisations of terrorism, its many definitions and theories become a 'problem' only if we seek a single origin and an uninterrupted single history of terrorism. If, instead, terrorism is regarded as a discourse, its history is made up of its 'various fields of constitution and validity, that of its successive rules of use, that of the many theoretical contexts in which it developed and matured'¹²⁴.

Take, for example, the common assertion that modern terrorism began at the time of the French Revolution (1789 – 1799). It is indeed true that this is the etymology of the word 'terrorism'. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) in its first definition of the term, published in 1866, provides two meanings. The first being:

[A] policy intended to strike with terror those against whom it is adopted; the employment of methods of intimidation; the fact of terrorising or condition of being terrorised.¹²⁵

This is a meaning of 'terrorism' close to the original usage of the word 'terror', derived from Middle English *terroure*, from the old French word *terreur*, derived in turn from Latin noun *terror* and the Latin verb *terre*. *Terre* is defined in English as 'to frighten'. A 'terrorist' was, thus: 'anyone who attempts to further his views by a system of coercive intimidations.'¹²⁶ The second meaning of 'terrorism' provided by OED (1866) is that it is 'a system of terror', 'government intimidation as directed and carried out by the party in power in France during

¹²⁴ Michel Foucault, *The archaeology of knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1972), 5.

¹²⁵ Oxford English Dictionary (1866), s.v. "terrorism".

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

the Revolution of 1789–94, the system of the ‘Terror’ (1793–1794)’. This meaning clearly imbues it with political connotations directly related to the French Revolution.

While the etymology of the word is patently associated with the French Revolution, by no means did the term remain yoked solely to the carriage of politics throughout history. On the contrary, the new word ‘terrorism’ was used interchangeably with the earlier concept of terror, meaning ‘to frighten’, and was used regularly throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to casually refer to someone, or even something, that caused another to be *frightened*. A brief survey of Western academic journals from a variety of disciplines in the human sciences published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shows various references to terrorism made in this context. Richard Wagner, better known as one of the greatest composers of Western classical music was, for example, described as a terrorist¹²⁷. If not for ‘Pharisee terrorism’, authorship of the Christian religious tract *The Pentateuc* would not have been attributed to Moses¹²⁸. Natural phenomena were a tool in the arsenal of ‘the terrorist Hindu’ religion.¹²⁹ Industrial workers on the picket lines were terrorists.¹³⁰ Disobedient young boys who jumped in front of trains and scared the living daylight out of train drivers were terrorists¹³¹. The advance of liberalism and the rise of criticism combined could lead to ‘mental terrorism’ in all except the most balanced intellectual minds¹³². The secret to the progress of the Mayan civilisation was not its armed forces, but the theocratic government’s ‘spiritual terrorism’.¹³³ Practitioners of witchcraft in the British colony of

¹²⁷ Joseph Bennett, “The Great Composers. No. XXVIII. Wagner (Continued),” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 31, no. 569 (1890): 396; Edgar Istel and Theodore Baker, “For a Reversion to Opera,” *The Musical Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1924): 420, 437.

¹²⁸ B. Pick, “Spinoza and the Old Testament, I,” *The Biblical World* 2, no. 2 (1893): 115.

¹²⁹ J. B. Mullinger, “Buckle and his Critics: A Study in Sociology. by John Mackinnon Robertson,” *Mind, New Series* 5, no. 18 (1896): 268.

¹³⁰ Ernst Freund, “Malice and Unlawful Interference,” *Harvard Law Review* 11, no. 7 (1898): 458.

¹³¹ Virginia Law Review, “Seaboard & Roanoke Railroad Co. v. Hickey. Supreme Court of Appeals: At Richmond,” *The Virginia Law Register* 9, no. 12 (1904): 1052.

¹³² William H. Allison, “Was Newman a Modernist?,” *The American Journal of Theology* 14, no. 4 (1910): 566.

¹³³ E. J. Thomas, “Review of The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, by Har Dayal,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 6, no. 44 (1932).

Jamaica in the 1700s were terrorists.¹³⁴ A mysterious long low black schooner that 'acted strangely' off the coast of America's Long Island and New Jersey in 1839 'spread terrorism' in the seaport towns.¹³⁵ The 1928 Archbishop of Paris Cardinal Dubois was a terrorist.¹³⁶ The American white supremacist group Ku Klux Klan were terrorists¹³⁷. Members of the Italian Mafia were 'terrorists'¹³⁸. The cannibals of the Human Leopard Society of Sierra Leone who devoured human flesh were terrorists.¹³⁹ The 'terrorism' of twentieth century jazz bands could only be countered with the terrorism of pipe bands¹⁴⁰. Puritan censorship organisations in Boston were terrorists¹⁴¹. 'Spiritual terrorism' was part of the Buddhist religion.¹⁴²

Terrorism: knowing the unknowns

Where have these different knowledges of terrorism disappeared to? How is it that it is no longer possible to think of terrorism as 'to frighten'? Moreover, how is it that some of these terrorists of bygone eras are no longer included in the discourse of terrorism? A history of the discourse of terrorism requires seeking out these subjugated knowledges, that is, 'knowledges that have been disqualified as nonconceptual knowledges, as insufficiently elaborated knowledges: naïve knowledges, hierarchically inferior knowledges,

¹³⁴ Frank W. Pitman, "Fetishism, Witchcraft, and Christianity Among the Slaves," *The Journal of Negro History* 11, no. 4 (1926): 653.

¹³⁵ Perry Walton, "The Mysterious Case of the Long, Low, Black Schooner," *The New England Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (1933): 353.

¹³⁶ Walter R. Sharp, "The New French Electoral Law and the Elections of 1928," *The American Political Science Review* 22, no. 3 (1928): 692.

¹³⁷ George E. Haynes, "Conditions among Negroes in the Cities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 49 (1913): 106.

¹³⁸ Gino C. Speranza, "Crime and Immigration (Report of Committee G, of the Institute)," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 4, no. 4 (1913): 527.

¹³⁹ Donald Burrows, "The Human Leopard Society of Sierra Leone," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 13, no. 50 (1914): 143.

¹⁴⁰ Musical Times Publications Ltd, "Music in the Provinces," *The Musical Times* 67, no. 1000 (1926): 555.

¹⁴¹ Beirne Stedman, *The Virginia Law Register, New Series* 12, no. 1 (1926): 36.

¹⁴² E. J. Thomas, "Review of The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, by Har Dayal," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 6, no. 44 (1932).

knowledges that are below the required level of erudition or scientificity.¹⁴³ It requires playing these local, discontinued or non-legitimised knowledges off against the unitary theoretical instance of ‘terrorism’ which claims to be able to filter these disparate knowledges, prioritise, categorise, and organise them in what is said to be a ‘true body of knowledge’ in the name of expertise that is said to be in the hands of a few.

The history of terrorism that this study uncovers thus groups together and puts into the same category of ‘subjugated knowledges’ on the one hand ‘historical, meticulous, precise technical expertise’ and, on the other, ‘singular, local knowledges, the non-commonsensual knowledges that people have, and which have in a way been left to lie fallow, or even kept in the margins.’¹⁴⁴ The ‘true body of knowledge’ of terrorism that exists today, and was discussed above, was formed not by discovery of the original terrorist, or the true psyche of the terrorist, but by exclusion of certain knowledges that were deemed non-commonsensual or illegitimate or inferior. The history of terrorism that this study provides is an attempt to unearth these ‘forgotten’ knowledges and trace the processes by which they were excluded so that the knowledges that were deemed legitimate could be generalised and accepted as ‘true’.

It is argued that without the strategies adopted by political power for generalising the knowledges that have been so legitimised, there can be no ‘true body of knowledge’ about terrorism. Foucault outlined four main stages in which political power undertakes this process of generalisation. First it eliminates and disqualifies ‘useless and irreducible knowledges’; then they are normalised, making it possible to fit them together and make them communicate with each other; thirdly the knowledges are organised into an hierarchy; paving the way to the fourth element of the generalisation process—a pyramidal centralisation of the knowledges which selects them and ensures that the content of these knowledges are both transmitted upward from the bottom, and that the overall direction and general organisation it wishes to promote can be transmitted downward from the top.¹⁴⁵ Locating the subjugated

¹⁴³ Michel Foucault, *Society must be defended* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 7.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 181.

knowledges in the archive of terrorism discourse, and tracing the processes by which they were excluded from the discourse of terrorism so that the 'truth' about the phenomenon can be formed, is what this study considers to be the history of terrorism. And it is a history that begins with the Devil.

The concept of the Evildoer

Tracing the history of terrorism from the French Revolution to the present day, or from the first individual or group who carried out a suicide bomb attack in the pursuit of a political goal, requires not just the subjugation of a variety of different knowledges of terrorism but also the assumption that the history of its theory and the history of its concept are the same. On the contrary, concepts are theoretically polyvalent and the history of a concept does not begin with, nor follow, the same trajectory as its linguistic progress and meanings or its theoretical history. The same concept can function in a variety of theoretical contexts¹⁴⁶. Foucault's analysis of Classical empirical sciences in *The Order of Things*, for instance, showed that the disparate disciplines of general grammar, analysis of wealth, and natural history that emerged during the period shared more conceptual similarities with each other than with their contemporary counterparts; philology, economics and biology¹⁴⁷.

The twenty first century terrorist has little in common with those 'hellhounds called terrorists' Edmund Burke wrote about in the lead up to the French Revolution. The eighteenth century revolutionaries were driven by a need to dismantle structures of power built on the 'idea of God, employed for so long by flatterers to secure monstrous and unlimited powers for the heads of empires'¹⁴⁸. The present terrorist, on the other hand, is fanatically religious, has no negotiable demands—political or otherwise—and is out to annihilate Western civilisation. In today's knowledge of terrorism, the new terrorist is an Evildoer, a Holy Warrior in the eternal battle between Good and Evil, fighting

¹⁴⁶ Gary Gutting, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 8.

¹⁴⁷ Michel Foucault, *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences* (London, Tavistock Publications, 1970).

¹⁴⁸ Maximilien Robespierre, quoted in Norman Hampson, *The life and opinions of Maximilien Robespierre* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1974), 22–23.

on the side of Evil¹⁴⁹. The historical narratives of the two terrorists are not the same and are, if anything, widely divergent. Yet, their conceptual anchor point is the same: the irreducible ‘impulse by which a single individual, a group, a minority, or an entire people says, “I will no longer obey,” and throws the risk of their life in the face of an authority they consider unjust.’¹⁵⁰ It is from these moments in history where individuals and/or groups gave into the impulse, an impulse that is ‘more solid and closer to experience than “natural rights”’, and declared they did not want to be governed a particular way, that all the various types of terrorists present in the body of terrorism knowledge that exists today have emerged. And, although now excluded from the ‘true body of knowledge’ of terrorism and therefore from its ‘true’ history, it is the Devil—the original rebel—that is at the beginning of the history of the concept of terrorism.

As James Der Derian said in his genealogical analysis of Western diplomacy, beginning the history of a phenomenon as ‘serious’ as terrorism with mythology is a decision that most likely ‘appear as anathema to those in the realist, neo-realist, and non-realist schools alike’¹⁵¹. But, also as Der Derian pointed out, there are many boon companions for analysts undertaking the task of drawing ‘sense out of nonsense, logic from mytho-logic’—Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, Foucault and Barthes to name but a few. In Foucault’s words:

If the genealogist refuses to extend his faith in metaphysics, if he listens to history, he finds that there ‘is something altogether different’ behind things: not a timeless and essential secret but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms.¹⁵²

Although this study begins the history of terrorism with the emergence of the Devil it does not by any means contend that the Devil has remained a blatant

¹⁴⁹ George W. Bush, “Address to the Nation,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 11, 2001, accessed November 2, 2009, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-16.html>.

¹⁵⁰ Michel Foucault, “Useless to Revolt?,” in *Power: Essential works of Michel Foucault*, ed. James D. Faubion, vol. 3, 1954-1984 (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 445.

¹⁵¹ James Der Derian, *On diplomacy: a genealogy of Western estrangement* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1987), 50.

¹⁵² Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-memory, Practice*, ed., and trans. D. Bouchard (Oxford: Blackwell, 1977), 142.

constant in the discourse of terrorism since. As mentioned before, history is not a continuum; nor is, therefore, the history of terrorism a continuous one. Rather, it is one marked by breaks, by different moments of time when there was a 'wrenching-away that interrupt[ed] the flow of history, and its long chains of reasons', when it came to the point 'for a man to be able, 'really', to prefer the risk of death to the certainty of having to obey.'¹⁵³

Beginning from Lucifer's rebellion against God, history has had many such figures, 'because no authority is capable of making it [refusal to obey] utterly impossible'.¹⁵⁴ What shape or form the rebel takes depends on how society responds to—and is capable of responding to—the rebel during the given period of time in which he or she emerges. Lucifer, the angel who stood against God and committed the ultimate rebellion, for example, had been in the Bible since the Old Testament, but it was only with the advent of Christianity in the Middle Ages, and with the establishment of pastoral power and divinely ordained monarchies, that Lucifer became The Devil, God's grand cosmic antagonist and the personification of evil. As is explored in detail in *Chapter Two*, it is mechanisms of power that made knowledge of the Devil as evil possible while, at the same time, it was knowledge of the Devil as an evil that made the epoch's dominant mechanisms of power—pastoral control and divinely ordained monarchies—possible. The analysis in *Chapter Two* also shows how this knowledge of the Devil, and the knowledge that was then formed of rebellion as a sin, an evil against an established order that was good, has returned to play an important role in making possible the present Evildoer.

Once the social and political conditions in which the Devil emerged and came to play such an important role in Western societies changed, however, the Devil could no longer exist as the chief rebel—how could the rebel be religious when the established order against which he was rebelling was secular? This dynamic relationship between knowledge and power—that one cannot exist without the other—is what is missing from the existing analyses of terrorism that assume that 'the terrorist' exists as a metaphysical entity. As Foucault has asserted, it is

¹⁵³ Michel Foucault, "Useless to Revolt?," in *Power: Essential works of Michel Foucault*, ed. James D. Faubion, vol. 3, 1954-1984 (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 445.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

a myth—based on the assumption that truth itself is an immutable abstract—that ‘If there is knowledge, it must renounce power. Where knowledge and science are found in their pure truth, there can no longer be any political power’¹⁵⁵. If, instead, truth is ‘a thing of the world’, it is produced ‘by virtue of multiple forms of constraints’¹⁵⁶ that form a regime or ‘general politics’ of truth: the types of discourses that it accepts and allows to function as truth, the mechanisms that separate what is true from what is false, how it is sanctioned, what procedures and techniques are seen as valuable for establishing the truth, and the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true’¹⁵⁷.

Mechanisms for establishing the truth—which also act as controls on the production of ‘true’ knowledge—and mechanisms for exercising power are constitutive of each other. Particular types of subjects of knowledge, orders of truth, or domains of knowledge cannot exist ‘except on the basis of political conditions that are the very ground on which the subject, the domains of knowledge, and the relations with truth are formed.’¹⁵⁸ It is not that political conditions mask the truth or are an obstacle to getting to the truth – they are the means by which subjects of knowledge, and hence the truth, are formed. Truth, as Foucault put it, is not ‘the reward of free spirits, the child of protracted solitude’, it is, rather, ‘a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint.’¹⁵⁹ It is through these regimes of truth, that is the mechanisms for establishing the truth, that power is exercised in and over societies.

‘The terrorist’ and terrorism are not immutable abstracts. The various types of terrorists that have appeared in the existing body of ‘terrorism knowledge’ are rebels who have refused to obey the established orders of various epochs that have been defined in different ways according to how it was *possible* at the time to think of them given the socio-political conditions of the period. This study

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 131.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential works of Michel Foucault*, ed. James D. Faubion, vol. 3, 1954-1984 (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 15.

¹⁵⁹ Michel Foucault, “Truth and Power,” in *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews & other writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 131.

identifies several such rebels that have emerged since the Devil who—by the subjugation of certain knowledges and through the mechanisms for establishing truth that prevailed during certain epochs—were brought under the same system of regularities that is known as ‘terrorism’. These figures—the secular rebel of the French Revolution who emerged from the separation of rebellion and sin; the proletarian radical of the industrial revolution; the anti-colonial freedom fighter; the Arab/Muslim rebel of the Israel/Palestine conflict—all have as their conceptual origin the rebel who refuses to obey the established order. How they came to be known as terrorists, and of different types, depended on the power/knowledge relations that existed in society during the particular epochs, as is discussed in detail in *Chapter Three*.

This history of terrorism in the next two chapters, makes it possible to see that the Evildoer of the twenty-first century is neither new, nor an entity that exists outside of the regimes of practices that define it, study it, know it and then acts on this knowledge as if it were a truth that already existed. The terrorist of today is the rebel who is seen to most threaten the established order of today: a world in which Western thought, culture and political power is seen as the most enlightened, the most knowing, and the most *right*. When Al-Qaeda attacked the United States in 2001, a new millennium had just begun after an exhausting wait for an apocalypse which never came and a Jesus that never returned; tensions were high in the Israel/Palestine conflict; an evangelical born-again Christian had just been elected as the President of the United States, and the long drawn out war in Afghanistan had at last ended in victory for the Taliban. The Cold War was at an end, and International Relations was in turmoil both in theory and practice. It was a time of great socio-political turmoil and of great American hubris as the world’s only superpower.

Al-Qaeda’s actions on 11 September 2001 was a moment in which history was interrupted, when Osama bin Laden, proclaiming to speak on behalf of all Muslims in the world refused to accept as just American foreign policy and revolted against the established order. It is from the responses to Osama bin Laden’s actions, made possible by the specific socio-political conditions of this epoch, that the rebel of the present begins to emerge as an Evildoer: an Arab/Muslim barbarian who hates liberal Western values and norms long

established as the *right* and good form of governance and of *being*. As shall be seen in the coming chapters, it is this return of the rebel as a sinner that has made possible, and was made possible by, forms of political power that have long since been thought to belong only in the archives of history. But, as is argued in this study—not only is history discontinuous, it is quite possible that it is also anachronistic.

Summary

The body of knowledge about terrorism that currently exists is overwhelmingly based on the assumption that ‘terrorism’ is an ontological certainty, which this study negates. Histories of terrorism based on this assumption pursue a metaphysical figure of ‘the terrorist’, seeking his origins in one page or another of history. But, these are histories that read the present back into the past rather than histories that use an understanding of the past to know about the present. Removing the ontological certainty of terrorism allows differentiation between the history of its theory and the history of its concept, which this study locates in the concept of the rebel—an individual or group that refuses to obey an established order and risks life and limb to stand against that order. It is argued that the history of terrorism is a history of the concept of the rebel constituted in various different shapes and forms according to the socio-political conditions specific to the particular epoch in which each such figure emerged. The history of the present concept of terrorism as an Evildoer that this study offers thus begins with the Devil of the Middle Ages, the original rebel in modern Western history that rebelled against established order and created the conditions of possibility in which today’s terrorist—an Arab/Muslim barbarian—could (re)emerge as an Evildoer.

2. Terrorism: the details are in the Devil

‘Well,’ said Socrates, ‘there is a certain thing called fear or terror; and ... I should particularly like to know whether you agree with me in defining this fear or terror as expectation of evil.’ - *Protagoras*¹⁶⁰

Terror, evil and knowledge have been connected in Western thought since the beginning of the Greek civilization. In Plato’s *Protagoras*, Socrates defines ‘fear or terror’ as ‘the expectation of evil’ and the root of all evils was ignorance: not knowing.¹⁶¹ In the *Laws*, Plato proposed that ‘ignorance is, and always has been, the ruin of states [...] and the greatest ignorance is the love of what is known to be evil, and the hatred of what is known to be good’.¹⁶² In *Phaedo* Plato makes the same distinction between knowledge and good, and evil and ignorance, asserting the importance of education in progressing from ‘evil to good, from ignorance to knowledge’.¹⁶³ These associations between terror and ignorance, evil and knowledge are also found in Enlightenment writers who saw early man as being terrorized by his ignorance of the forces of nature, as is discussed later in this *Chapter*.

Before that, however, this *Chapter* explores the emergence of the Devil in Western discourse during the Middle Ages and the politico-religious conditions and regimes of practices that made the figure of the Devil possible and rendered it true. It examines the early Christian conceptions of evil that emerged during this period, and explores how the presence of the Devil created the conditions in which terror could become a legitimate form of political power. It also traces the links that were formed during this period between the Devil and Mohammed, the prophet of Islam, and how these links made it possible for Islam to emerge in Western consciousness as a Christian heresy,

¹⁶⁰ Socrates in Plato, *Dialogues of Plato: Translated Into English, with Analyses and Introduction*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Plato, “Laws” in *Dialogues of Plato: Translated Into English, with Analyses and Introduction*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 27.

¹⁶³ Plato, *Phaedo*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (Charleston, South Carolina: Forgotten Books, 2008), 10.

forming the historical *a priori* that would later make possible the Evildoer-terrorist of the twenty-first century.

The continuities between classical Greece and Renaissance Europe in their conceptualizations of terror, evil and knowledge referred to at the start of this *Chapter* do not mean that what was understood as evil, what inspired terror, and what counted as knowledge about either concept remained the same in the intervening period(s). The period in-between—during which European societies experienced the advent of Christianity, the Reformation, the Hundred Year’s War and the Black Death—represents an epoch significantly different from those that had come before and what was to come after.

With the advent of Christianity, the question of evil became a pressing concern for medieval European society¹⁶⁴: if God was good, and if God was omnipresent, why did bad things happen in the world? If God created the world and everything in it, then was God the source of evil? Were the Manicheans correct that the universe was constituted by God who was supremely good and by an evil principle identified in materiality¹⁶⁵? In 397-398 Augustine of Hippo proposed a thesis that was found to be convincing: ontologically evil did not exist, it could only ever be the privation of good¹⁶⁶. God was not the source of evil; evil was the result of Adam’s disobedience and his sinful turning away from God. In *On Free Choice of the Will*, Augustine argued that the first evil occurs when the Devil, one of God’s rational creatures, turns away from God to love ‘certain created goods in preference to God himself who is the highest good.’¹⁶⁷ God being all that was good, then the Devil’s rebellion against God was a rebellion against goodness itself, and thus the ultimate evil. In Classical Greece, terror had been the expectation of evil, and evil was the unknown. Now that evil was known as the Devil, what

¹⁶⁴ Michael A. Gillespie, “Where did all the evils go?,” in *Naming evil, judging evil*, ed. Ruth W. Grant (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 17.

¹⁶⁵ Gillian R. Evans, *Augustine on evil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹⁶⁶ Stanley Hauerwas, “Seeing darkness, hearing silence: Augustine’s account of evil,” in *Naming evil, judging evil*, ed. Ruth W. Grant (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 39.

¹⁶⁷ Scott MacDonald, “Petit larceny, the beginning of all sin: Augustine’s theft of the pears,” in *Augustine’s Confessions: critical essays*, ed. William E. Mann (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 61.

became of terror? Did terror now arise from the fear of the Devil? Without a doubt, the figure of the Devil that emerged in the Middle Ages as the personification of evil was immensely terrifying. The Devil became omnipresent in society during this epoch, and affected every aspect of individuals' lives as well as the organization of society as a whole.

With Augustine's concept of evil, questions arose as to how man could overcome the weaknesses in his nature and avoid being tempted by the Devil as Adam had been. Could human beings redeem themselves entirely by their own effort, or did the ultimate decision depend on the grace of God? Scholastic enquiry and Church practices came to agree that the last word was God's: human beings could not entirely overcome the weakness of their nature by themselves, but they were obliged to do everything they could to do so. Central to the whole process of overcoming evil understood in this way was the Church, which played a crucial role in keeping people away from temptation and bringing them back to their rational ends¹⁶⁸. This role of the Church as the guiding light to man's redemption was made possible by the presence of the Devil, who was himself constituted by the regimes of practices that were introduced to deal with his presence. The Devil has been identified as the creator of evil, but there was a lot that was still unknown about him. What form would he take? Where would he strike next? How could He be avoided?

These were essential questions that the Bible, the primary text of Western religious discourse to which every commentary on religion ultimately refers back for validation, offered only some answers to. The Devil was referred to in the Old Testament only implicitly as the serpent that leads Adam and Eve astray.¹⁶⁹ The New Testament retrospectively validates this reference, and points to a variety of different figures that all came to be accepted as referring to the Devil - from Satan¹⁷⁰, Beelzebub¹⁷¹, Wicked One¹⁷², Prince of this World¹⁷³,

¹⁶⁸ Michael A. Gillespie, "Where did all the evils go?," in *Naming evil, judging evil*, ed. Ruth W. Grant, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 21.

¹⁶⁹ Genesis 3:14-15. Revelation 12:9 of the New Testament validates the contention that the snake referred to in the Old Testament in Genesis is, indeed a reference to the Devil.

¹⁷⁰ Luke 10:18.

¹⁷¹ Matthew 10:25.

The Tempter¹⁷⁴, Liar¹⁷⁵, and Belial¹⁷⁶ to the Ancient Serpent¹⁷⁷. The Devil of the Bible had many guises, and could appear at any time. And so it was the case with the concept of the Devil during the Middle Ages.

Given the Devil's ubiquitousness, and his proteiform nature, it was necessary for human beings to know more about him in order to best avoid him. As the ultimate authority on the word of God, and thus the identity and nature of the Devil, it was the Church alone that could provide the answers man sought. And it did so through homilies, catechisms and regular preaching. These discursive practices were tightly regulated by the Church; what should be said in the sermons that were preached, what tone that the preacher should take, and how the content should be structured were strictly controlled by the upper levels of the complex Church hierarchy. Siegfried Wenzel's analysis of Latin sermons from medieval England identified the most common themes in their content as being the history of salvation¹⁷⁸:

In the beginning, man was created in the image of God. Yielding to the temptation by Satan, chief of the fallen angels who envied man's exalted position, he lost his state of grace by sin and was rejected from Paradise and given over to the rightful power of the devil. But in his infinite mercy God wanted mankind to return to him, for which he first sent Moses and the Old testament prophets; and as these were not universally heeded, God sent his own Son, who became man, called sinners to repentance, and died for mankind's salvation.¹⁷⁹

The core message, 'ever-present', is that 'although all men and women are born sinners, and are most probably affected by some actual, personal sins they may hope and trust in God's mercy, which during life is available through

¹⁷² Matthew 13:19.

¹⁷³ John 12:31.

¹⁷⁴ Matthew 4:3.

¹⁷⁵ John 8:44.

¹⁷⁶ Deuteronomy 13:13.

¹⁷⁷ 2 Revelation 20:2.

¹⁷⁸ Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin sermon collections from later Medieval England: orthodox preaching in the age of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 245.

repentance and the sacrament of Penance¹⁸⁰. When the human being dies, and again at the end of time, there will be judgement, ‘when the condemned will go to eternal punishment, and the saved to their glorious home with God’¹⁸¹. This message was delivered in a variety of different forms, using a range of rhetorical devices particular to the medieval sermon. Whichever form the sermon took, however, ‘a medieval preacher could not make a single statement without backing it up with a biblical “authority”’. After the scripture, the preachers referred their words to the writings of the Church Father and Scholastic texts. By the time of the High Middle Ages, Medieval Christianity had drawn a complex moral map—reflected in canon and civil laws—that was rooted in reason and revelation, and measured evil according to the degree to which they had turned away from goodness and God.¹⁸²

Dante’s *Divine Comedy* provides an illustration of the detailed gradations for measuring an individual’s distance from Good. The worst evil is committed by those who move furthest away from God and, therefore, closest to his chief antagonist: the Devil. The gravity of their sin, according to this system of gradations, was commensurate with the excellence of the good that it rejected or damaged.¹⁸³ At the very bottom of Dante’s Hell, for example, is Satan and in his mouths are caught Judas the betrayer of Jesus, the Son of God, and Cassius and Brutus the betrayers of Caesar, founder of the universal empire. The worst offenders were damned to an eternity at the bottom of Hell. This medieval concept of punishment being meted out according to the excellence of the good that it damaged—constituted around the discourse of the Devil—has been present in Western discourse since, and was reanimated in the United States terrorism discourse of the twenty first century, as is discussed in more detail in *Chapter Three*.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Michael A. Gillespie, “Where did all the evils go?,” in *Naming evil, judging evil*, ed. Ruth W. Grant (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 17.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 20.

The Devil we know

The inter-textual repetition of the sermons, and their status as the 'word of God', helped rarefy the concept of the Devil. Its positivity was further increased by the systematic, rational enquiry into the Bible, and to the study of which some religious orders dedicated their entire lives. University education was encouraged among priests and, in the medieval university, 'giving sermons represented one of the basic academic activities, together with lectures and disputations'.¹⁸⁴ Theology was available as a discipline of study in all major universities, and many preachers and those in the higher echelons of the church held university degrees at various levels. At the same time, it was compulsory for all students at England's medieval universities to attend the weekly university sermon¹⁸⁵. Church guidelines for priests stressed an absolute need for theological knowledge not only for preaching but also for hearing confessions. For a pastor to be able to provide his flock with the knowledge they needed for salvation, he 'must have learning and knowledge, and the ability to pass these on and thereby to lead his flock'¹⁸⁶.

In other words, it was the Church that delineated the lines according to which the Devil could be known, it had control over what could and could not be considered legitimate knowledge of him. And it was this knowledge, the limits, structure and authenticity of which the Church itself controlled, that informed the practices that it put into place to pave the way for man's redemption and which would ultimately make the Church the only coherent socio-economic body during this period. With this knowledge the Church was the ultimate arbitrator in deciding what inexplicable mysteries of nature could be attributed to the powers of God and what to the dark forces that the Devil commanded.

The Church also had the power to identify a human being possessed by the Devil, and the knowledge to exorcise it from within her. And according to the Church's acquired body of knowledge, while supernatural action was possible, it could only ever emanate from one of two sources: God or the Devil. 'Any magician, therefore, who sought to achieve a marvellous result by means which

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 297.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 300.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 270-271.

were neither purely natural nor commanded by God was guilty of allying himself either tacitly or expressly, with Satan.¹⁸⁷ The existence of the Devil validated the Church as *the* authority in deciding between good and evil, right and wrong, truth and artifice, sinner and saint. The power that the fear of the Devil had over Western societies during this epoch is strikingly illustrated by ‘the war on the Devil’s agents known as witches’, in which between forty and fifty thousand people in Europe and colonial North America were executed¹⁸⁸.

Historical records have documented the witch-hunt as having been most virulent in the Lowlands, France and Germany—where the religious divisions of the Reformation had precipitated the most violence¹⁸⁹. The Reformation had intensified the spectre of Satan, and, in places like Germany where Devil lore was common in historical and traditional narratives¹⁹⁰; it created widespread terror, allowing for the conditions of such a discourse of the Devil to perpetuate within the strife ridden societies. The dynamic knowledge/power relations that underpin the constitution of a discourse changed in an unprecedented way during this period with the development of the printing press. Instead of being delivered just from the pulpit to the congregation, knowledge about the Devil’s agents—subject to all the controls discussed above—could be more easily disseminated now to reach even the peasant classes.

Armed with printed Bibles, catechisms, and Homilies clergymen set out to suppress all unorthodox behaviour. Until this time, the official policy of the Catholic Church on witchcraft, summarised in *Canon Episcopi* had been that belief in witchcrafts were ‘mere illusions’. The books that appeared on the subject of witchcraft in the fifteenth century contended that ‘witches were qualitatively different from the rest of humanity, and that the ‘witch sect’ included qualitatively-different witches from the ones to which the *Canon*

¹⁸⁷ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic* (New York: Scribner, 1971), 303.

¹⁸⁸ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: a house divided* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 561.

¹⁸⁹ Dale Hoak, “The Great European Witch-Hunts: A Historical Perspective,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 88, no. 6 (1983).

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

Episcopi alluded'¹⁹¹. The discourse of evil and the figure of the Devil now found in the Witch, gained further validation in intellectual enquiry and was thus rendered more 'true' with the publication of *Malleus Maleficarum* by Dominicans Sprenger and Kramer in 1487-1489. Adopted as the official text-book of the Inquisition, it removed the last impediment to the hunt of witches, and illustrates clearly the judicative and veridicative nature of discursive practices whereby a certain discourse legitimates a particular way of acting, or vice versa.

Since the devil could be blamed for these woes, it remained merely to identify his human agents [...] torture and suggestive questioning revealed an extensive network of devil worshipping heretics, thus confirming the fantasies of the learned jurists who counsel (in imperial jurisdictions) ignorant judges were, by law, prescribed to follow¹⁹².

Determined to stamp out such diabolical practices, ruled by faith in God and the fear of his antagonist, clergymen and rulers in various parts of continental Europe inspired fear in whole populations, torturing and killing hundreds of thousands, mostly women. Not even children were spared. In 1723 in Augsburg, for example, a group of children were alleged to have been seduced by the Devil to commit maleficent acts in the city. It was said that an old seamstress had led them astray. Twenty children, aged between six and sixteen were taken into custody, held in dark cells, often in solitary confinement. It was six years before the last of the children were freed¹⁹³. The Church attempted to stamp out 'all un-acceptable magic, especially the demonic magic of many poor countrywomen whose spells and charms and conjuring and cures represented the last vestiges of pre-Christian tradition'¹⁹⁴.

¹⁹¹ Nachman Ben-Yehuda, "Problems Inherent in Socio-Historical Approaches to the European Witch Craze," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20, no. 4 (1981): 328.

¹⁹² Dale Hoak, "The Great European Witch-Hunts: A Historical Perspective," *The American Journal of Sociology* 88, no. 6 (1983): 1273.

¹⁹³ Lyndal Roper, "'Evil Imaginings and Fantasies': Child-Witches and the End of the Witch Craze," *Past & Present* no. 167 (2000).

¹⁹⁴ Dale Hoak, "The Great European Witch-Hunts: A Historical Perspective," *The American Journal of Sociology* 88, no. 6 (1983): 1273.

The Devil we don't know

The concept of evil as understood during this epoch allowed medieval European societies to develop a system of measuring evil according to an individual's distance from God; and a system of punishment that was commensurate with said distance. The distance also indicated the excellence of the good that had been damaged by the actions of the individual. As discussed above, in Dante's *Inferno*, the Devil, having rejected God and therefore all that was good, had created the most evil and was damned to the bottom of Hell. In his mouth were Judas who betrayed Jesus and, Cassius and Brutus who murdered Julius Caesar. In the next circle of Hell is Mohammed, the prophet of Islam. Mohammed's closeness to the Devil in Dante's work is not an exception, but reflects how Mohammed was known in the social rubric of the time. Mohammed and Islam had, in fact, made their first appearance in European general consciousness as Christian heresies—punishments from God for Christian misdeeds.

Western knowledge about Mohammed has its roots in the collapse of the Byzantine Empire and the seventh century Arab conquest of Palestine and their occupation of Bethlehem, preventing Christian pilgrims from visiting the scene of the Nativity for the first time in memory. Walter Kaegi traced the first known Byzantine reference to the Arab conquest to the 634 Christmas sermon of Patriarch Sophronious of Jerusalem¹⁹⁵. Sophronious, the foremost Byzantine bishop and theologian, delivered the sermon just two years after the death of Mohammed and against the backdrop of the Arab conquest. Finding many Old Testament parallels to their predicament under the Arab conquest, Sophronius said the Saracens' Arab invasion was a divine punishment: 'countless sins and very serious faults' had made the Christians unworthy of seeing the sights of Bethlehem.¹⁹⁶ Comparing the situation with Adam's after the Fall, he said that while Adam had been barred from paradise by a flaming sword, the sinful Christians of the time were barred from Bethlehem by the 'sword of the Saracens, beastly and barbarous, which truly is filled with diabolic savagery'.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Walter E. Kaegi, "Initial Byzantine reactions to the Arab Conquest," *Church History* 38, no. 2 (1969): 139.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 139-140.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 140.

Sophronius does not mention Mohammed or Islam in his sermon. Rather, he speaks of the Arab invaders as 'blood-loving', 'slime', terrible, godless and without any religious impulse. To destroy them, the sinful Christians must correct themselves, repent and stop acts that were hateful to God. In a second document, the *Doctrina Jacobi Nuper Baptizi*, a dialogue which is said to have taken place on 13 July 634 between Jacob, a recent compulsory convert to Christianity, and several Jews, appears the first reference to Mohammed. He is described as 'the deceiving prophet' who had appeared amidst the Saracens. In this text, which according to Kaegi is the first known Byzantine literary text which refers to Mohammed although not by name, is also the first such tract to judge Islam, fitting it into the apocalyptic prophecy in Daniel.¹⁹⁸ In the years that followed, revulsion at the Arab conquest grew. In a letter written by Maximus the Confessor to Pater the Illustrious, he asks:

What could be more serious than the evils now enveloping the inhabited world? What could be more terrible to those perceiving it than what is happening? What could be more piteous or fearful to those who are now suffering than to see a barbarous people of the desert overrun a foreign land as though it were their own, and to see wild and untamed beasts, whose form alone is human, devour civilised government?¹⁹⁹

This early Western knowledge of Arabs as uncivilised barbarians and Mohammed and Islam as divine punishments continued well into the next century. The *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, a seventh century Syriac work written in reaction to the Islamic conquest of the Near East, for example, speaks of the lawlessness and the sins of Christians, and states that it was for this reason that 'God delivered them into the hands of the barbarians'.²⁰⁰ By the late seventh century, the Arab conquest had come to be accepted as the fulfilment of a divine prophecy, and Islam was seen as the fourth beast in Daniel's prophecy of the apocalypse. Muslims became 'the enemies of God', and Islam was 'the detestable doctrine of the beast, that is Mohammed', as a contemporary

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 142.

¹⁹⁹ Maximus the Confessor, quoted in Walter E. Kaegi, Ibid., 142.

²⁰⁰ Walter E. Kaegi, "Initial Byzantine reactions to the Arab Conquest," *Church History* 38, no. 2 (1969): 143.

observer said speaking of the Arab conquest of Alexandria.²⁰¹ In the eighth century, when the attempts to understand Islam began, it reflected this early thinking. By the Middle Ages, the knowledge of Mohammed as a ‘false prophet’ and Islam as a divine punishment for Christian sins had become accepted as true.

This understanding of Mohammed and Islam continued to be validated through commentary and rarefaction even in the later Middle Ages, right through the Reformation. The works of Reformation thinkers such as Bullinger, Calvin and Luther provide several examples. Heinrich Bullinger, wrote in his 1567 treatise on Islam, *The Turk*, that Islam is the evil that arises from Christians’ turning away from good. To support his argument he points to how the rise of Islam coincided with various internal Church disputes.²⁰² Bullinger maintained that Mohammed was a false prophet who had invented his revelations and visions, and asserted that Mohammed had put the Koran together with the help of a heretical monk and the advice of perverted Jews and false Christians. For Bullinger, the syncretic and false nature of Islam was undeniable. He accuses Mohammed and Muslims, along with the papacy, of being Anti-Christ²⁰³.

Calvin’s thoughts on Islam, documented in his sermons, commentaries and other writings—and wholly lacking in citations and references to any theological, literary or philosophical authority whatsoever—reflect a similarly sceptical attitude towards Islam and Mohammed. In his 1550 *Commentary on Second Thessalonians*, he refers to Mohammed as ‘the man of sin’ and describes him as an apostate who turned his followers away from Christ. Like Bullinger, Calvin names Mohammed as the Anti-Christ: ‘As Mahomet says that his Al-Coran is the sovereign wisdom, so says the Pope of his own decrees. For they be the two horns of Anti-Christ [...]’²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Coptic Bishop John of Nikiu in Egypt, speaking in the seventh century, quoted in Walter E. Kaegi, *Ibid.*, 143.

²⁰² Emidio Campi, “Early protestant reformed attitudes towards Islam,” Lecture at University of Zurich. See The Presbyterian College, McGill University, accessed July 14, 2011, <http://www.presbyteriancollege.ca/Reformers%20and%20Islam.pdf>, 9.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ John Calvin, *Sermons on Deuteronomy 1555ff*, Banner of Truth Trust, Edinburgh, 666, in Francis N. Lee, “Caldwell-Morrow Lecture in Church History” (lecture, Queensland

Similar thinking informed Martin Luther's work, who had been an Augustinian monk before becoming a Protestant. According to Luther, Augustine himself shared the same views of Mohammed and Islam. 'Augustine held', said Luther, 'Arius's²⁰⁵ punishment in hell becomes greater every day, as long as their error lasts. For Mohammed came out of this sect'²⁰⁶. In Luther's view, which reflected the epoch's belief in the Church as the establisher of 'truth', 'Mohammed's Koran is such a great spirit of lies that it leaves almost nothing of the Christian truth remaining.'²⁰⁷ While 'the kingdom of Christ is a kingdom of grace, mercy, and of all comfort', according to Luther, 'the Kingdom of Mohammed is a kingdom of revenge, of wrath, and desolation'.²⁰⁸

Luther's view of Mohammed as Satan or the Devil is always accompanied with comparative descriptions of the other Anti-Christ, the Pope. Luther also expressed the view that for him the 'real final Antichrist is the Pope'; Mohammed was too coarse, 'a recognizable black Devil who can deceive neither faith nor reasons' whereas the Devil that is the Pope is 'a high and subtle and beautiful and glistening Devil'. The papal Devil is worse than Mohamed because he is the Devil *within* Christendom, deceiving unwilling followers from the *inside* whereas Mohammed misleads people from the *outside*. The coarse Devil is Mohammed, and Papacy the subtle Devil²⁰⁹.

Presbyterian Theological College, Brisbane, Australia, 2000), The Historicism Research Foundation: El Paso, accessed June 15, 2011,

<http://www.historicism.net/readingmaterials/CalvIslam.pdf>.

²⁰⁵ Arius was Unitarian heretic who rejected the Trinity.

²⁰⁶ Martin Luther, *Works of Martin Luther Vol.5* (Philadelphia: A.J. Holman Company, 1931), 206.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

²⁰⁸ Martin Luther, *The table-talk of Martin Luther*, trans. William Hazlitt (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Christian Classics Ethereal Library), 74.

²⁰⁹ Martin Luther, cited in Francis N. Lee, "Caldwell-Morrow Lecture in Church History" (Brisbane, Australia: Queensland Presbyterian Theological College, 2000), The Historicism Research Foundation: El Paso, accessed June 15, 2011,

<http://www.historicism.net/readingmaterials/CalvIslam.pdf>.

Better the Devil you know?

'Is it worse to follow Mahomet or the Devil?'²¹⁰, asked Benjamin Franklin in *Poor Richard*, the 1740 edition of his bestselling Almanack. For most early American observers, Thomas Kidd has argued, the question was redundant – 'to follow one was to follow the other'.²¹¹ As seen from the discussion above, the European view of Mohammed and Islam was formed in the context of the threat that they posed to Christianity. Arabs, in this understanding were barbarians and diabolical savages who followed the 'false prophet' and his heresies. In the sixteenth century, when 'Barbary pirates' began capturing and enslaving European seafarers, Western discourse found a new object around which the Arab/Muslim-barbarian discourse was constituted.

The word Barbary is a term that Europeans used to mark the Maghreb or North Africa, which emerged from the Greek word *barbaros* or the Latin *barbarus* to signify non-Greeks or non-Romans, whose language they did not understand.²¹² Euripides, for example, indicated three uses of the term: unintelligible, non-national, and foreign with an implied inferiority²¹³. In the seventh century, Arabs are known to have used the term *berbera* (to mumble) in reference to the language of the natives in lands they invaded²¹⁴. It has also been suggested that *Barbara*, another derivative, was a categorical label used to denote African tribes who opposed communication and trade, and thus 'whose nature was like that of animals'.²¹⁵ In the context of Arabs and Muslims, Augustine—a native of

²¹⁰ Benjamin Franklin, "Poor Richard's Almanack," quoted in Thomas S. Kidd, "'Is it worse to follow Mahomet than the Devil?': early American uses of Islam," *Church History* 72, no. 4 (2003): 786. For a full text of the pamphlet in which the question appeared, see "AMDOCS: Documents for the Study of American History," Virtual Library, accessed June 21, 2011, <http://www.vlib.us/amdocs/texts/prichard41.html>.

²¹¹ Thomas S. Kidd, "'Is it worse to follow Mahomet than the Devil?': early American uses of Islam," *Church History* 72, no. 4 (2003).

²¹² Paul Baeppler, "White slaves, African masters," *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science* 588 (2003): 91.

²¹³ Helen H. Bacon, *Barbarians in Greek tragedy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 10.

²¹⁴ Mark B. Salter, *Barbarians and civilization in international relations* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), 19.

²¹⁵ Paulo Fernando De Moraes Farias, "Models of the world and categorical models: the 'enslavable barbarians' as a mobile classificatory label," in *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa: The servile estate*, ed. John Ralph Willis (London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd, 1985), 39.

North Africa—used the term to refer to his countrymen who resisted Roman rule and Christianity.

When the ‘Barbary pirates’ began to enslave Europeans, it thus implied the captivity of civilised European Christians by Arab-Muslim barbarians. Narratives published by such captives who escaped from the ‘Barbary’ enslavement in the eighteenth century became North America’s first significant acquaintance with Islam, and its first substantial source of ‘knowledge’ about the religion. These ‘captivity narratives’, as they came to be known, told tales of extreme cruelty by their Muslim captors as well as the many attempts that they made to convert their Christian captives to Islam. And, in much the same way as European discursive practises were centred on the concept of Islam as a divine punishment, in North America Islam became a discursive device that reinforced Protestant superiority over other religions, such as Deism or Catholicism²¹⁶, in comparison with the Muslim other.

Thomas Kidd’s study of the North American’s deployment of Islam and Mohammed as a rhetorical tactic provides several examples of how the captivity narratives were used in this way. When Captain William Foster of Roxbury, Massachusetts and his son were captured by North Africans and released after three years, Puritan Minister Increase Mather spoke of the case as evidence of how prayer had worked to deliver them from their captivity ‘under Mahomet’²¹⁷. Another American captive Joshua Gee, who was captured in 1680, wrote of the cruelties he had suffered as a means of showing the comforting power of the scripture and prayers. One of the most popular books of the genre to be published during this period was Francis Brooks’ *Barbarian Cruelty*, originally published in London in 1693 and reprinted in Boston in 1700. Brooks narrated many stories of how Moroccan Emperor Mully Ishmael under whose rule he was held captive continuously demanded that Christians convert to Islam. Brooks explained his cruelties in relation to the Emperor’s faith in Islam:

²¹⁶ Thomas S. Kidd, “‘Is it worse to follow Mahomet than the Devil?’: early American uses of Islam,” *Church History* 72, no. 4 (2003): 767.

²¹⁷ Increase Mather, *A Relation of the Troubles* (Boston: John Foster, 1677), 8-9.

'Mahomet their great Prophet possessing them with a Belief, that if he kills any one, he merits Heaven by so doing.'²¹⁸

Cotton Mather, a Puritan Minister who became a key figure in the Salem Witch trials, frequently used such narratives in his publications to bolster the goodness of Christianity in comparison with Islam and Mohammed, the 'false prophet'. Throughout his works that discuss the capture of Europeans and his countrymen by North Africans are references to the 'Impostor Mahomet' and his 'accursed Alcoran'; the 'filthy disciples of Mahomet'; and 'Mahometan Tempters'.²¹⁹ Using translations of the Qur'an, he suggested in *A Pastoral Letter to English Captives in Africa* (1698) that 'if Muslims read their holy book correctly, they would see that it pointed to Christ as the true Messiah'.²²⁰ Even in seemingly unrelated works such as his *Collection of the best discoveries in nature with religious improvements*, he uses Mohammed as an aid for driving home the message of how Christianity had improved philosophy and discoveries of nature.²²¹

One of the most influential texts of this type of writing where Islam and Mohammed were used as a means of strengthening Christianity and defending it from allegations of falsity was Humphrey Prideaux's *The true nature of imposture, fully displayed in the life of Mahomet*. Attached was 'A discourse annexed for the vindication of Christianity from the charge of imposture'.²²² As Prideaux said in anticipation of questions being asked as to why he had chosen

²¹⁸ Francis Brooks, *Barbarian Cruelty* (London: J. Salsbury and H. Newman, 1693), 18, quoted in Thomas S. Kidd, "'Is it worse to follow Mahomet than the Devil?': early American uses of Islam," *Church History* 72, no. 4 (2003): 770.

²¹⁹ Cotton Mather in *The Glory of Goodness*, cited in Thomas S. Kidd, "'Is it worse to follow Mahomet than the Devil?': early American uses of Islam," *Church History* 72, no. 4 (2003): 772.

²²⁰ Thomas S. Kidd, "'Is it worse to follow Mahomet than the Devil?': early American uses of Islam," *Church History* 72, no. 4 (2003): 772.

²²¹ Cotton Mather, *The Christian philosopher: a collection of the best discoveries in nature, with religious improvements* (Charlestown, Massachusetts: Middlesex Bookstore), 111.

²²² Humphrey Prideaux, *The true nature of imposture, fully displayed in the life of Mahomet: with a discourse annexed for the vindication of Christianity from the charge of imposture: offered to the consideration of the deists of the present age*, 10th ed. (London: W. Baynes, 1808).

to use 'such a foul picture as that of Mahomet', 'so wicked a person as Mahomet' for his case study:

[...] to this I have there two answers to return. 1. Because I have none other to do it by, Mahomet being the only Impostor who could ever prevail so far as to establish his imposture, and make it a standing religion in the world [...]. And, 2dly, How foul forever the picture of Mahomet may be, we have no reason from the nature of the thing, ever to imagine that any other impostor can have a fairer, till you bring us an instance thereof. And these two I hope may be sufficient to clear me from acting any way unfairly in this matter[...]²²³

In the attached 'Discourse on vindicating Christianity,' he lists in great detail the inherent characteristics of Islam that distinguishes its fraudulent nature, and thus its essential differences from Christianity.²²⁴ Comparison with the wickedness of Mahomet and Islam and 'proving' its falsity was thus the best possible way that Christians could defend allegations of fraudulence being levelled against it by Deists. Prideux thus presented his work as pure and objective knowledge. And this was how the book was received; ten editions were printed in London alone where it was first published in 1697, and several other editions appeared in various British colonies, including a 1723 edition in Dublin, Ireland, 1799 edition in Glasgow, Scotland, and in Calcutta, India in

²²³ Ibid., 201.

²²⁴ A summary of these characteristics as presented by Prideaux: (1) Mahomet deceived both the poor and the rich to gain their affections whereas Christ and his apostles did the contrary; (2) Mahomet won the Arabians, "those barbarians" who more than any other nations of the earth were naturally inclined towards lust and violence, by making both a part of his religion which allowed multiple wives and sex slaves and condoned war. Jesus Christ, on the other hand allowed no such sins; (3) Mahomet appeased the Arabians by allowing them to continue their pagan practices as part of his religion whereas Jesus Christ, with no regard to the pleasing of men abolished both the temple and the law that the Jews were so enamoured of; (4) Mahomet changed his own law if it did not serve his purposes in contrast to Jesus Christ who never made the least alteration in any of the doctrines or precepts he delivered; Mohamed, on his deathbed, forbade any disputes over his religion thereby ensuring that its follies and absurdities would not be detected or analysed whereas Jesus Christ invited scrutiny of the scriptures; and (6) Mahomet ensured the propagation of his religion by bringing it to a people who were illiterate and ignorant and would, therefore, not contest it whereas 'the truth' of Christianity had been boldly offered itself to such a trial. Furthermore, Mahomet had offered neither prophecies nor miracles. Ibid., 177-182.

1820. Various American editions appeared from 1796²²⁵. In eighteenth century Anglo-American thinking, all the characteristics that Prideaux and other such writers attributed to Mohammed and Islam, and which he explained in terms of the barbaric, lustful and violent nature of ‘the Arabians’, were rendered ‘true’, becoming rarefied with inter-textual repetition.

Presenting Mohammed along with the Pope as Satan or Anti-Christ, a practice rife during the Middle Ages in Europe, also became valid ‘truths’ during this period. The Lutheran leader of New York, for example, said that the Pope was the Anti-Christ from the West that the scripture had predicted and ‘Mahomet, or Gog and Magog’ was the Anti-Christ that had been predicted to arise in the East.²²⁶ These ‘truths’ about Arabs, Islam and Mohammed—as well as the discursive practises involved in the production of such texts and speeches—which had continued from the very beginning of Western consciousness of Islam right through to the eighteenth century formed part of one of the dominant narratives of American religious discourse. As the process of secularisation became more consolidated in the next century, it was often relegated to the archive of subjugated knowledges but was easily reanimated, especially when confronted with a dangerous new enemy, as will be seen clearly in the three chapters that follow.

The power of terror

What is this thing called terror that had such power over people? It is certainly a more stable concept than the Devil, is much older, and has retained its original Latin meaning of ‘to frighten’ for well over 2,000 years²²⁷. Its Greek antecedent *trésas*, is a derivative of *tréo*, meaning ‘flee from fear, flee away’²²⁸. In Protagoras, Socrates had defined it as the expectation of evil, but he did not elaborate on what the feeling itself was. In fact, when challenged by Prodicus

²²⁵ Thomas S. Kidd, “‘Is it worse to follow Mahomet than the Devil?’: early American uses of Islam,” *Church History* 72, no. 4 (2003): 774.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 775.

²²⁷ Peter Caws, “Terror from the Armada to Al-Qaeda,” in *Interrogating the war on terror: interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Deborah Staines (Newcastle, U. K.: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 16.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

that ordinary fear and terror are two different emotions, Socrates dismisses the distinction with a 'never mind'²²⁹. Terror in the Bible, the fundamental text, which underpinned and constituted the dominant narrative of the epoch with which this *Chapter* is concerned, does distinguish between the two. It speaks, for instance, of fear generated by the expectation of terror and speaks also of 'the sword without, and terror within'²³⁰. Terror causes such a degree of fright that its expectation is in itself frightening. Terror washes over unsuspecting people like a tempest and submerges them in its waters,²³¹ or once 'the terrors are turned upon' a person, they pursue his soul like the wind and takes away his wellbeing²³². Terror 'utterly consumes' individuals and brings them to desolation.²³³ Terror is a suffering²³⁴, and is felt in the heart itself.²³⁵

Significantly, terror in the Bible does not refer to this overwhelming emotion alone. Terror is also a noun, referring to an undefined, extraordinary act or display that is spectacular and destructive that causes people to experience the emotion of intense fear in expectation of it, or in witnessing it. Terror as a noun causes terror the emotion. God, for example, is described in Deuteronomy 4:34 as using seven different strategies in ensuring the success of the Exodus: 'by temptations, by signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, and by great terrors.'²³⁶ Terror as an extreme degree of fear caused by spectacular acts is also found in Joshua 2, again in reference to the events narrated in Exodus. Inhabitants of Jericho are fainting with terror at the arrival of Joshua having heard of how God had first wondrously parted the Red Sea for him and later destroyed the kings of the Amorites. 'And as soon as we had heard these things, our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more courage in any man because of you.'²³⁷ The overpowering emotion that an

²²⁹ Benjamin Jowett, trans., *Dialogues of Plato: Translated Into English, with Analyses and Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

²³⁰ Deuteronomy 32:25.

²³¹ Job 27:20.

²³² Job 30:15.

²³³ Psalm 73:19.

²³⁴ Psalm 88:15.

²³⁵ Isaiah 33:18.

²³⁶ Deuteronomy 4:34.

²³⁷ Joshua 2:11.

individual experiences upon seeing, hearing, witnessing or expecting these spectacularly destructive acts—‘terrors’—is terror.

The definition of what the particular acts refers to is not spelt out, but is clear from the contexts in which it is used in the Bible. ‘I will send my terror ahead of you and throw into confusion every nation you encounter. I will make all your enemies turn their backs and run’, God warns in Exodus.²³⁸ In Leviticus God threatens to carry out acts of terror, equal to other forces of destruction such as the consumption and the burning ague.²³⁹ In Deuteronomy, the extraordinary acts of God carried out through Moses are referred to as ‘the great terror that Moses shewed in the sight of all Israel’.²⁴⁰ While followers are warned not to be afraid of the terror that the evildoer may unleash,²⁴¹ the above references make it clear that God himself quite often used the power of terror. Terror in the scripture, and from which it first emerges as a form of political power, is available to both God and the Devil equally, and although destructive, it is neither evil nor good on its own. It becomes evil only when used by the evildoer, the Devil, or when it is used for a purpose that is clearly evil. As God represented all that was good and the Devil all that was evil, God’s use of terror could only ever be for a good purpose while the Devil’s could only ever be for bad.

The historical concept of terror as evil only when used by actors seeking to rebel against an established order that is perceived to be inherently good provides another way of understanding an issue of increasing concern within Terrorism Studies: terrorism is increasingly excluding the state from its discourse. The recently established sub-field of Critical Terrorism Studies, which now has its own journal, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, has as one of its main aims ‘bringing the state back into terrorism studies’²⁴². Laying out the commitments of the field, Richard Jackson wrote that ‘there is a determination by CTS scholars to

²³⁸ Exodus 23:27.

²³⁹ Leviticus 26:16.

²⁴⁰ Deutronomy 34:12.

²⁴¹ 1 Peter 3:14.

²⁴² Ruth Blakeley, “Bringing the state back into terrorism studies,” *European Consortium for Political Research* 6 no. 3 (2007).

redress the current imbalance within traditional terrorism studies and 'bring the state back in' to terrorism research'²⁴³.

In a later work, Jackson argues that 'the conceptual practices which construct terrorism exclusively as a form of non-state violence are highly contestable.'²⁴⁴ He argues an act of terrorism is an act of terrorism regardless of who commits it. Thus 'it makes little sense' to assert that some actors, such as states, are precluded from employing the tactics of terrorism. Jackson, along with other critical voices within the field of Terrorism Studies²⁴⁵, has argued that this practice legitimises state violence while at the same time de-legitimising any violence by non-state actors. It is certainly a valid argument that the decision to, or not to, include states in Terrorism Studies affects the knowledge that such analyses would produce. It is also a valid argument to make that analytical silence on acts of terror committed by the state has strengthened the 'mostly unspoken belief' that Western liberal democratic states in particular never engage in terrorism as a matter of policy. Valid as these concerns are, there is a different question that needs to be asked: *has it ever been any other way?*

As the above discussion on the origins of terror as a political weapon showed, terror has always been available, and used by opposing sides; it is only regarded as evil (or terrorism as it is understood today), when it is used by who is perceived to be evil for what it is perceived to be evil. Its powers are destructive no matter who uses it, and it rouses the same emotion of terror in the individual who anticipates, witnesses, or is damaged by it. But it is legitimate when it is used by good, for a good purpose. When this historical context from which terror emerged as a political power is included in the discourse of terrorism, it becomes less perplexing that both states and terrorism analysts preclude acts of terror when it is used by the state. The same understanding of terror is also encompassed by the cliché that 'one man's

²⁴³ Richard Jackson, "The core commitments of critical terrorism studies," *European Consortium for Political Research* 6 no. 3 (2007).

²⁴⁴ Richard Jackson, "Knowledge, power and politics," in *Critical terrorism studies: a new research agenda*, ed. Richard Jackson (New York: Routledge, 2009), 75.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 66-82.

terrorist is another man's freedom fighter', which is discussed in this context in more detail later.

The sin of rebellion

Another aspect in the history of how terror emerged as a political weapon that is relevant to the present angst over the preclusion of the state from terrorism discourse is that terror has always been legitimate when used by the established order. Throughout the Bible, as discussed earlier, God liberally and legitimately used terror to gain obedience and quell rebellion. In the Middle Ages, when Lucifer's rebellion against God was understood as an attempt to 'create a total alternative to the divine order, an 'adversary culture' and, within it, to assume God's place'²⁴⁶, challenging the established order in society was taught, and known, to be a sin of the first order. This is one of the main reasons that, in the Middle Ages, 'almost no one challenged the essentials of Christianity' or 'the basic premises of what was taken to be a divinely ordained system of aristocracy, monarchy, land-ownership, and ecclesiastical authority.'²⁴⁷

This understanding of rebellion as a sin was reiterated and rarefied by both the Church and the rulers in what they said from the pulpit, and in the Homilies and catechisms that referred explicitly and implicitly to Lucifer and his sinful rebellion against God.²⁴⁸ The Bible refers to rebellion:

Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.

Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

²⁴⁶ Vytautas Kavolis, "Models of rebellion," in *The morality of terrorism: religious and secular justification*, ed. David C. Rapoport and Yonah Alexander (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982).

²⁴⁷ Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical enlightenment: philosophy and the making of modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 4.

²⁴⁸ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic* (New York: Scribner, 1971); Daniel P. Walker, *The decline of hell: seventeenth-century discussions of eternal torment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul: 1964); Norman Glass, *The early history of the independent church at Rothwell* (Northampton: Taylor & Son, Printers and Publishers, 1871).

For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power?²⁴⁹

The *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to Read in Churches* published in sixteenth century England provides an example of how the connections made between political and religious discourses during this period constituted and validated rebellion as an act of evil committed not just against the monarchy, but against God and therefore all that was good. This collection of *Homilies* was published in two volumes during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I and was one of the most important texts in sixteenth century England, third only to the Bible and the *Book of Common Prayer*. They provided guidance on a variety of different ways in which an individual could seek redemption from correct ways to read the scripture to warnings against whoredom and adultery.

There were strict regulations according to which the Homilies were to be shared with the public: they had to be delivered every Sunday by the Ministers of the Church; and they had to be read 'diligently and distinctly, that they be understood [sic] of the people'. Edward VI took out a second injunction in 1547 that elevated the cognitive status of the Homilies even more. He deemed that Bishops should not 'at any time or place, preach, or set forth unto the people, any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and intent contained or set forth in the king's highness' homilies'. These Homilies with their strong institutional support from the Church and monarchy explicitly attributes the divinely ordained nature of the power of Kings and Princes and establishes the 'truth' of these claims by reference to the Bible:

in very many and almost infinite places as well of the Old Testament as of the New, that kings and princes, as well the evil as the good, do reign by God's ordinance, and that subjects are bounden to obey them; that God doth give princes wisdom, great power, and authority; that God defendeth them against their enemies, and destroyeth their enemies horribly; that the *anger and displeasure of the prince is as the roaring of a lion, and the very messenger of death*; and that the subject that

²⁴⁹ Romans 13:1-3.

*provoketh him to displeasure sinneth against his own soul; with many other things concerning both the authority of princes and the duty of subjects*²⁵⁰.

The Homilies named Lucifer as the ‘first author’ of rebellion, and spoke of how his actions had brought about ‘eternal and everlasting death and damnation’²⁵¹. Only Jesus Christ’s obedience had repaired the damage done. Illustrative of how *true* this connection was during this period is not just the canon and civil laws that make them possible, but also popular commentary on the subject, such as contained in Dante’s *Inferno*, as discussed above.²⁵²

In the Middle Ages, rebellion understood as a sin meant that terror was a legitimate form of power when used to quell action against the established order. Documents from the time of the conquest of America by the Spanish illustrate just how central this understanding of rebellion was to medieval Western society. Once in the New World, discovered in 1492, Spanish conquerors practised ‘wanton and controlled’ techniques of terror that were deliberate and ‘calculated to induce submission and discipline’, according to an account produced in 1583 by a Spanish monk, Batolome de Las Casas²⁵³. The conquerors displayed their power with spectacular acts of destruction that were designed to ‘tame the flock and make it tremble’, Casas wrote. One conquistador, he recorded, ‘gloated in a letter to his sovereign that he had recently affected the peaceful submission of Indians by cutting off the hands and noses of two hundred prisoners for contumacy’. The conquistador called his act ‘an act of justice’ which he was bound to perform in ‘service to the king’²⁵⁴.

²⁵⁰ “An Homily Against Disobedience and Willful Rebellion,” *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches*, vol. 2 (London: Richard Lugge & John Cawood, 1570), 552.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 551.

²⁵² Interestingly, ‘the murderers of Caesar’ were identified as the ‘first terrorists’ in a recent history of terrorism by Pamela L. Griset and Sue G. Mahan, *Terrorism in perspective* (California: Sage Publications, 2002), 1.

²⁵³ Judith S. Koffler, “Terror and mutilation in the Golden Age,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (1983): 117.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 118.

The 'civilised Christian' discourse which allowed for the practise of terror as a justified means of domination, also made it important to the conquerors that their conquest be carried out according to 'just and Christian principles'. This led to the adaptation of a 'curious legal procedure' called the Requirement, which allowed for the legalisation of the terror practices. It took the form of a juridical declaration read aloud to the intended victims which told them, in words similar to those found in religious scriptures that, 'if they do not submit at once, the Spaniards will enter the land with fire and sword, will subdue the people with force,' as well as enslave their wives and children, selling and disposing of them.²⁵⁵ Spectacular acts of terror that caused an overwhelming feeling of fear and awe were, from the very beginning, legitimate when used to maintain established authority.

The terror of religion

The power relations between the discourses of terror, politics and religion made possible during this period forms the historical *a priori* of present-day terrorism discourse. Terror – both as a form of destructive power available to both God and his grand cosmic antagonist--and as an overwhelming emotion that engenders fear and awe--emerged from the surface of religion. This study argues that if there is a history of 'religious terrorism' to be written, which is not totalizing in its nature and objectifying in its effects, this period in Western history when terror first emerged as a form of political power legitimized by religion would be a good place to start. The many histories of 'religious terrorism'²⁵⁶ that point to the Hindu Thugs who were active 2500 years ago and who killed in the name of religion; or to the Sicarii, 'a radical anti-Roman religious movement' from 66-73 CE Judea; or to the Assassins, a Muslim Shia group that operated from 1090 to 1275, are only possible by applying a retrospective hypothesis which allows the present to be read back into the past.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 119.

²⁵⁶ David C. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in three religious traditions," *The American Political Science Review* 78, no. 3 (1984): 661; John Gearson, "The Nature of Modern Terrorism," in *Superterrorism – Policy Responses*, ed. Lawrence Freedman (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 14.

'Religious terrorism' was not initially, or always, understood as an act of terror committed by an individual in the name of religion. Rather, it emerged as a *feeling*, an overwhelming emotion of awe and fear engendered in an individual who is witness to a spectacular and extraordinary act – associated with either God or his cosmic antagonist – that rendered the person powerless and submissive. This form of 'religious terror' was felt even after the Devil was pushed from the forefront of Western thought with the age of radical enlightenment, reason and Enlightenment. From then onwards, without the presence of the Devil to attribute inexplicable acts of destruction to, terror remains connected to God through the capacity that nature has to astonish and awe. Consider for example, this account of 'religious terror' narrated by Ramond de Carbonnières (1755-1827), 'who appears to have spent most of his life travelling in the Alps' and set out to 'retrace the feelings' caused by the mountains in the accounts of his journey'²⁵⁷:

Nothing distracts or disenchant the mind engaged by these sublime objects. The silence of these places where nothing lives, nothing moves, where the noise of the inhabited world does not reach ... all combine to make meditations more profound, to furnish them with a sombre tint and a sublime nature that the meditations acquire, once the soul, taking that flight which makes it contemporary to all centuries and coexistent with all beings, hovers over the abyss of time. Now reason would try in vain to count the years. It is horrified and its calculations are confounded by the solidity of these enormous masses opposed to their accumulated ruins. Imagination seizes upon that which reason abandons; in this long succession of epochs, imagination foresees an image of eternity that it receives in a state of religious terror'²⁵⁸.

During this epoch, when the forces of reason were said to be at war with supersititon²⁵⁹, terror was no longer associated with the Devil or the supernatural; but returned more fully to its status as an emotion. It is in this context that Edmund Burke, the conservative British politician who introduced

²⁵⁷ Ramond de Carbonnières cited in Michael Fend, "Literary Motifs, Musical Form and the Quest for the 'Sublime': Cherubini's 'Eliza Voyage aux glaciers du mont St Bernard'," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5, no. 1 (1993): 22.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Lawrence E. Cahoone, *From modernism to postmodernism: an anthology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 27.

the word terrorist to the English language in 1795 by applying it to the French rebels, first expounded on the concept of terror in his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* published four decades previously in 1757. He wrote:

Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion the mind is capable. I say the strongest emotion, because I am satisfied that the idea of pain are much more powerful than those which enter on the part of pleasure²⁶⁰.

'Terror', Burke stated, 'is in all cases whatsoever more openly or latently, the ruling principle of the sublime'²⁶¹. Burke's understanding of terror is far more complex than what the present meaning of the term 'terrorist', which he coined, allows. The terror, which is the ruling principle, as Burke said, of this overwhelming 'sublime' was most often aroused by nature and natural phenomena such as 'greatness of dimension', 'vastness of extent', 'vacuity' and 'solitude'. And the fundamental effect of the sublime is to exclude the power of reason:

The passion caused by the great and sublime in nature, when causes operate most powerfully, is Astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul, in which all its emotions are suspended, with some degree of horror. In this case the mind is so entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain any other, nor by consequence reason on that object which employs it. Hence arises the great power of the sublime, that far from being produced by them, it anticipates our reasoning's, and hurries us on by an irresistible force²⁶².

The terror that is the principle of the sublime paralyses our rational capacity and destroys the mind's ability to reason. Years later, in 1790, Burke describes the French Revolution as 'the most astonishing' event to have occurred in the world. There are many parallels in his description of the emotions that he feels towards the French Revolution to his descriptions of the beautiful and the

²⁶⁰ Edmund Burke, *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful* (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1757), 36.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 95.

sublime. The overwhelming emotions that he says the sublime can induce are present in the French Revolution, which is a 'monstrous tragi-comic scene', in the viewing of which 'the most opposite passions succeed, and sometimes mix with each other in the mind; alternate contempt and indignation; laughter and tears; scorn and horror'²⁶³. He did not know 'whether to blame or to applaud' the events²⁶⁴. The specificities of how Burke came to apply the term terrorist, however, have now largely disappeared from the discourse of terror. In the present understanding of terror, not only is its use entirely evil, the discourse of terrorism excludes from it any suggestion that an act of terror could be understood as arousing any feeling other than fear, anger and revulsion.

Consider the fate of German composer Karlheinz Stockhausen, regarded a musical genius who (re)connected the discourse of terror with its earlier origins in the sublime. Five days after Al-Qaeda's attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001, Stockhausen commented: 'That minds accomplish in one act something that we in music can't dream of, that people rehearse like mad for ten years, totally fanatically, for a concert and then die—that's the greatest work of art there is in the entire cosmos'.²⁶⁵ The comments caused worldwide outrage, and his scheduled concerts in Hamburg and elsewhere were cancelled along with others scheduled for Kürten, the city of his birth. He cut off all contact with journalists and retreated from the public sphere. He died six years later, in December 2007²⁶⁶. An interesting point in the story—in the context of this study—is the comments that Stockhausen made in his own defence. The quote had been 'ripped out of context', what he had actually said was that the attack

²⁶³ Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France and on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London* (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1790), 11.

²⁶⁴ Edmund Burke in a letter to the earl of Charlemont dated 9 August 1789. Cited in Anne Mallroy, "Burke, Boredom and the Theatre of Counterrevolution," *MPLA* 118, no.2 (2003): 225.

²⁶⁵ Karlheinz Stockhausen, quoted in John O'Mahoney, "The sound of discord," *The Guardian*, September 29, 2001, accessed June 15, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2001/sep/29/arts.highereducation3?INTCMP=SRCH>.

²⁶⁶ "German composer Stockhausen dies," BBC News, December 7, 2001, accessed June 15, 2011, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/7133571.stm>.

was 'the greatest work of art by Lucifer.'²⁶⁷ The present understanding of terror as an evil ruled out the possibilities that had existed earlier of it being an awesome power that could be exercised by both good and evil. It does, however, retain the understanding of terror as awe-inspiring when used by the forces of Good against that of Evil. 'Shock and Awe' was the name given to the United States led military campaign against Iraq in the War on Terror after all.

Summary

Intricate power relations have existed between terror, evil and knowledge from the beginning of modern Western civilization. With the advent of Christianity, the omnipresence of the Devil and God made terror almost exclusively an object of religious discourse. Terror was an overpowering emotion of fear and awe that individuals felt when they anticipated or witnessed an extraordinary act of destruction associated with either God or the Devil. The greatest of such terror was engendered by the prospect of being tempted to do evil by the Devil, which would lead to the terrifying prospect of Eternal Damnation. Salvation from the Devil, who took many different forms and most significantly appeared during this period as Mohammed the 'false prophet of Islam', lay in repentance and doing good. It was the central position of the Church in the process of redemption, and its exclusive knowledge of what was true, what was right and what was wrong that created the conditions in which the Church attained the socio-political powers that it did during this period. The constitution of the Devil as the figure who created evil by rebelling against God, and therefore all that was good, allowed the 'divinely ordained' rulers of the time to enforce obedience by evoking the terror of God's wrath against those who rebelled. The figure of the Devil was also instrumental in the formation of early Western 'knowledge' of Mohammed as Satan and the Anti-Christ. Although this knowledge arose in the context of the Arab conquests of Christian lands, and as a means of discrediting Islam and stopping it from being a threat to strife-ridden Christianity, it persisted over the centuries such that it became an integral part of Anglo-American religious, social, and political discourse.

²⁶⁷ Karlheinz Stockhause, quoted in John O'Mahoney, "The sound of discord," *The Guardian*, September 29, 2001, accessed June 15, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2001/sep/29/arts.highereducation3?INTCMP=SRCH>.

3. The second coming: terror without the Devil

With the disappearance of the Devil from the political discourse with the advent of reason and secularism, the idea of rebellion as a sin faded. The concept of terror as a legitimate political tool when used for the purposes of fighting evil, however, remained; and created the conditions of possibility in which the French Revolutionaries felt justified in using it against a system of governance which they saw as evil. The discourse of 'terrorism' begins with this reversal in the use of terror: terror as a form of political power *by* the governed against a system which they believe is unequal, but is held to be good and just by those who govern. This understanding of the use of terror as a form of political power underpinned the regimes of practices that constituted the discourse of terrorism in the twentieth century around three other juridically indiscernible figures: the proletarian radical, the universal rebel, and later, the Arab/Muslim barbarian as is discussed in detail below.

The period after the Reformation was one of upheaval for Western civilisation. Having experienced the Hundred Years' War, the Black Death, the witch-craze and the Reformation:

a general process of rationalisation and secularisation set in which rapidly overthrew theology's age old hegemony in the world of study, slowly but surely eradicated magic and belief in the supernatural from Europe's intellectual culture, and led a few openly to challenge everything from the past – not just commonly received assumptions about mankind, society, politics and the cosmos but also the veracity of the Bible and the Christian faith or indeed any faith²⁶⁸.

It is during this time that the concept of the Devil and the regimes of practices that had formed around it began to be re-ordered according to the rubric of reason and rational inquiry that now dominated society. It was a time of profound change, when man was said to have emerged from his 'self-incurred immaturity' (Kant 1784), the Rights of Man replaced the Divine Right of Kings, the landed aristocrat was usurped by the merchant, and knowledge was

²⁶⁸ Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 4.

acquired through rational inquiry instead of being passed down from scripture, sermons or homilies. Within this new *épistème*, it was no longer possible to think of, understand and know the Devil as He had been known previously.

With the rise of radical thinkers such as Baruch de Spinoza, Meyer, Plockhoy, Van Enden, the Koerbagh brothers, Johan and Pieter de la Court, Beverland, Bekker, Lucas, Leenhof, Tschirnhaus, Tyssot de Patot, Pierre Bayle, and others challenging the existence of God during what Jonathan Israel has called the age of 'radical enlightenment'²⁶⁹ from the mid sixteenth century, it became less easy to hold onto the figure of the Devil. The period that followed was both 'a singular event inaugurating European modernity' as well as 'the permanent process which manifests itself in the history of reason, in the development and the establishment of forms of rationality and techniques, the autonomy and the authority of knowledge'²⁷⁰. The discursive formation of religious and superstitious terror began to be largely excluded from socio-political discourse during this time when intellectuals came to believe that reason 'independent of the dictates of tradition and authority' was the 'ultimate and legitimate earthly judge of truth, beauty, moral goodness and political order'. Reason was now 'at war with ignorance and superstition'²⁷¹

During such a period what could, during the Middle Ages, have been attributed to the Devil could no longer be so done. Just as particularly glorious displays of the forces of nature could no longer be explained as a 'miracle' of God, the Devil could no longer be indicted for their destruction. The concept of terror during this period in fact had fewer similarities with its immediate past than it did with Plato's understanding of terror as arising from ignorance. Whereas during the High Middle Ages evil could be known as arising from the Devil, Buffon's writings describe the condition of the unknowing early man thus:

²⁶⁹ Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

²⁷⁰ Michel Foucault, "What is Revolution?," in *The Politics of Truth*, ed. Sylvère Lotringer and Lysa Hochroth (New York: Semiotext(e), 1997), 98.

²⁷¹ Lawrence E. Cahoon, *From modernism to postmodernism: an anthology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 27.

[W]itnesses of the convulsive movements of the earth, still recent and very frequent; having only the mountains to shelter them against floods, they were often driven from these same refuges by the fire of volcanoes. Trembling on an earth that trembled beneath their feet, naked in mind and body, they were exposed to the ravages of all elements, victims of the fury of wild animals to which they repeatedly fell prey; and all were equally filled with the common feeling of a fatal terror [*terreur funeste*].²⁷²

One of the most significant changes that allowed the transformations in what caused terror was a re-orientation in thinking about evil. The detailed moral map, which had been constituted around the regimes of practices surrounding the Devil, almost disappeared during this period of radical enlightenment and reason. One of the strongest challenges to the idea of evil came from Rousseau who emphatically rejected the doctrine of original sin, the dominant narrative of the Middle Ages. Evil, according to Rousseau, results from the historical development of social institutions that have led humanity astray and perverted the natural goodness of man. For Rousseau there was no evil man, no Devil—man was naturally good. ‘Everything is good as it leaves the hands of the Author of nature; everything degenerates in the hands of men.’²⁷³ ‘Everything’ included man, as is evident from his discussions of man’s natural goodness in *Emile* (1762) and the *Discourse on the Arts and Sciences* (1750). Rousseau provides a more nuanced explanation of what he meant by man’s natural goodness in the *Second Discourse* (1754): good and evil has no meaning for an individual who lives in the state of nature with no moral relationships with, or duties towards, another.²⁷⁴

The inequalities Rousseau refers to are not merely those of distributive equities but ‘the basic normative status of all human beings as sentient individuals with

²⁷² Comte de Buffon, quoted in George Armstrong Kelly, “Conceptual Sources of the Terror,” *Eighteenth Century Studies* 14, no. 1 (1980): 22.

²⁷³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile: or, On education*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979).

²⁷⁴ Nannerl O. Keohane, “Inequality and the problem of evil,” in *Naming evil, judging evil*, ed. Ruth W. Grant (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

distinctive hopes and fears, each worthy of respect'²⁷⁵. The social interactions that man enters into, however, creates a system of dependency in which some people take advantage of others and pursue their own interests at the expense of those in a position of lesser advantage. Such impulses can become extreme, taking the form of cruelty or oppression, prompting the dependents to react violently. Inequality also increases the distance between human beings, making it easier to regard the Other as radically different, inferior.

The very acknowledgement of a good and evil power, Rousseau argued, requires that evil be regarded as inferior to good, establishing inequalities from the very start²⁷⁶. Inequality is not just an occasional accompaniment of evil but its primary source and cause, and can arise both naturally—as differences in age, health, body strength and qualities of mind and soul—and as moral or political inequalities that comprise different privileges and advantages that some individuals have over others. These latter forms of inequality such as race, religion and sex as well as social status, wealth, and power arise from man's social interactions and the institutions that enable them.²⁷⁷ While human beings are naturally independent and self-sufficient with a primitive sense of pity being their only connection with each other, social, economic and political inequalities that develop when they began to interact produced a system of dependence, which in turn, produces vice.²⁷⁸ This view of evil—that even the best of people will be governed badly given the inequalities of the institutional structure—is in contrast to Kant's who held that even a nation of Devils could be well governed with the proper institutional structures in place. Significantly, Rousseau also sought to distance himself from what he saw as Hobbes' mistake in *Leviathan* of reading back into the state of nature factors that arose only as a

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 77.

²⁷⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile: or, On education*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979).

²⁷⁷ Nannerl O. Keohane, "Inequality and the problem of evil," in *Naming evil, judging evil*, ed. Ruth W. Grant (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 87.

²⁷⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Discourse on the origin and foundation of inequality," in *The first and second discourses*, trans. Roger D. and Judith R. Masters (New York: St Martin's Press, 1964), 156.

result of human beings becoming 'civilised'.²⁷⁹ In other words, it was the processes of civilization – inherently unequal, that created evil.

Reason: no Devil's advocate

Combined with the receding idea of divinely ordained monarchs, this concept of evil meant that not only was rebellion no longer a sin, but, when targeted against a manmade system of inequalities from which evil arose, it was a virtue. This view had a profound impact on the French Revolution that followed not too long after; and on the concept of terror as well as on the emergence of the discourse of terrorism. Indeed, Robespierre's declaration that, '[t]he first thing the legislator must know is that people is good'²⁸⁰, is an echo of Rousseau's view that man is naturally good. Rousseau's explanation of evil, which joined the idea of man's natural goodness with that of systems as a determinant of behaviour, was taken a step further in Revolutionary thinking: if people are good and evil is systematic, revolutionary change can produce a new world purged of evil.²⁸¹

It is time that this idea of God, employed for so long by flatterers to secure monstrous and unlimited powers for the heads of empires, should serve at last to remind us of the imprescriptible rights of man. It is time to recognise that the same divine authority which orders kings to be just, forbids people to be slaves.²⁸²

For Robespierre, and many who sought to free themselves from the injustice of oligarchy, rebellion against such a system was a virtue. For those who believed in the justice of the system, the rebellion was terrifying, as is evident from Burke's *Reflections* discussed in the preceding *Chapter*. The previous *Chapter* also showed that terror as a form of political power was present in Western

²⁷⁹ Nannerl O. Keohane, "Inequality and the problem of evil," in *Naming evil, judging evil*, ed. Ruth W. Grant (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 80.

²⁸⁰ Maximilien Robespierre, quoted in Ruth W. Grant, "The Rousseauian revolution and the problem of evil," in *Naming evil, judging evil*, ed. Ruth W. Grant (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 64.

²⁸¹ Ruth W. Grant, "The Rousseauian revolution and the problem of evil," in *Naming evil, judging evil*, ed. Ruth W. Grant (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 55.

²⁸² Norman Hampson, *The life and opinions of Maximilien Robespierre* (London: Duckworth, 1974), 22-23.

civilization throughout the Middle Ages. As it appeared in scripture, terror was a destructive power that could be used both for *and* against good. God used it liberally, and so did his grand cosmic antagonist, the Devil. God, as the embodiment of goodness itself, could not use terror for an evil purpose, but a monarch, no longer divinely ordained, was more than capable of doing so. To use terror against such a system was not only justified, but an obligation and a virtue. As Robespierre stated:

Let the despot govern by terror his brutalized subjects; he is right, as a despot. Subdue by terror the enemies of liberty, and you will be right, as founders of the Republic. The government of the revolution is liberty's despotism against tyranny. Is force made only to protect crime?²⁸³

The French Revolution, as mentioned at the beginning of this study, is often identified in modern discourse as the beginning of terrorism. This is true, if terrorism does not refer to the use of terror as a form of political power. As discussed in *Chapter Two*, the French Revolution was not where the concept of terror as a form of political power emerged from. And by no means was it the first time that terror was used in pursuit of political power. It was, however, the first time that terror was used on a large scale *by* the governed rather than against the governed.

If terrorism had its genesis in the French Revolution, then terrorism is the use of terror as a form of political power *by* the governed against a system which they believe is unequal, but is held to be good and just by those who govern. Viewed this way, the difficulties in defining what true terrorism is--the clichéd explanation of 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'--and the increasing concern of *Critical Terrorism Studies* and other critics over the exclusion of state as a perpetrator of terrorist acts seem neither inexplicable nor due to the 'essentially contested' nature of the concept. Terrorism, does not refer to the use of terror for political, religious, or other causes by *any* actor, it

²⁸³ Maximilien Robespierre, "Robespierre: On the moral and political principles of domestic policy," quoted in "Modern History Sourcebook: Maximilien Robespierre: Justification of the Use of Terror," August 1997, Fordham University, accessed June 17, 2011, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/robespierre-terror.html>.

refers to the use of terror for such purposes by those rebelling against the established order. 'Terrorism' as a discourse thus emerged from the new epistemic spaces created with the separation of terror from religion.

The secular rebel: a bit of the Devil in him

The secular saviour who emerged from this separation was not, however, entirely separated from the figure of the Devil – many of the characteristics that he was attributed during the Middle Ages were present in the new rebels, as is discussed below. Nor were the concepts of terror and evil entirely separated from the Devil. Several of the regimes of practices, including discursive and non-discursive patterns and the procedures implemented in the Middle Ages as a means of saving people from the Devil and securing their redemption continued throughout the next century and beyond. Until the mid twentieth century, however, it was not possible for these narratives to be a part of the discourse of terrorism, as the Western security apparatus focused on the different secular rebels that emerged during particular epochs that followed. This study identifies the epochs as the period between the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, when various revolutionaries were constituted as terrorists; the period between the industrial revolution and the mid 1900s when the radical proletarian fighting against the perceived injustices of industrialisation were known as terrorists; and late 1960s onwards when those rebelling against colonialism and perceived injustices of the global system were brought into the domain of terrorism. Towards the end of the millennium, as Western social and political thought turned towards Armageddon and apocalyptic discourses took hold, the foremost rebel became the Arab/Muslim barbarian fighting against Israel's occupation of Palestine. Having dealt with the French Revolution in preceding discussions, the following analysis begins with the rebels that emerged around the industrial revolution and thereafter.

The radical proletarian

When the twentieth century began, the West was once again confronting rebellion. The *ère des attentats* was in full swing and there were rebels everywhere – anarchists, semi-anarchists, socialists, socialist revolutionaries, communists, Bolsheviks, radicals, anarcho-terrorists, monarchist-revolutionists,

Tzarist revolutionaries and 'dynamite criminals' – all standing against established authority in its various forms. Whereas the secular rebel had fought to establish liberal governments by overthrowing 'divinely ordained' monarchies and, thus, retained some virtue and admiration for its character, the radical proletarian who fought to either abolish government completely (anarchists) or change the established order in which liberal democracies functioned (socialists and communists) was a different figure. Like the Devil who had rebelled against all that was good, the radical proletarian was fighting to change liberal governance, believed by the West to be the most fair and equal. There was little virtue to such rebellion, as was constituted in and validated by the regimes of practices that were constructed around these rebels. The Church had anchored its discourse of the Devil in the truth of the word of God, and the reasoned findings of theological enquiry seen as independent from power.

Similar power/knowledge relations underpinned the regimes of practices that emerged around the figure of the radical proletarian. New disciplines in the human sciences, instead of the scripture, now provided 'true' knowledge of this new kind of rebel that threatened the established order. Two of the most significant forms of such scientific knowledge to emerge during this period were the new discourses of physiognomy and phrenology. Neither of these forms of knowledge had moved too far away from the knowledge of the Devil and barbarians that was produced during the Middle Ages as becomes obvious from the non-human, demonic and monstrous characteristics that both new disciplines accorded to the new rebels. 'They [anarchists] frequently have those characteristics of degeneracy which are common to criminals and lunatics, for they are anomalies, and bear hereditary taints', Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso observed of the anarchist's physiognomic make up.²⁸⁴ Hyppolite Taine, meanwhile, found the French Revolution to be an evolutionary regression.²⁸⁵ Taine observed that when public order collapses 'we see all of a

²⁸⁴ Cesare Lombroso, "La Physionomie des anarchistes," *Nouvelle Revue*, May 15 (1891): 227 in Josephine M. Guy, *The Victorian Age: an anthology of sources and documents* (London: Routledge, 1998).

²⁸⁵ Isaac Land, *Enemies of humanity: the nineteenth-century war on terrorism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 118.

sudden spring forth the barbarian, and still worse, the primitive animal, the grinning, sanguinary, wanton baboon, who chuckles while he slays, and gambols over the ruin he has accomplished'.²⁸⁶

The new 'science' of phrenology, based on the hypothesis that personality traits of a person can be derived from the shape of the person's skull, was an additional way of 'knowing' the rebel during this period. Swiss clergyman J.C. Lavater, for example, proposed in his *Physiognomische fragmente* (1775-78) that 'beauty and ugliness have a strict connection with the moral constitution of the Man'.²⁸⁷ Lavater's popular thesis, of which fifteen editions in French and twenty in English had been published by 1810, was that ugly faces betrayed ugly minds, while beautiful faces displayed virtue. The concept provided profound reassurance for those seeking to deal with the many political upheavals that Europe was facing during this period, allowing easy identification between obedient subject and rebel through their distinctive facial features. Lavater's assertion that 'the face of revolution, if it came, would predictably be an ugly one'²⁸⁸ was later codified into law enforcement practices developed to deal with anarchists and other proletarian rebels during this period²⁸⁹. As later analysis will show, the disciplines of physiognomy and phrenology (subsequently taken over by psychology) through which the radical proletarian was understood during this period remained as grids of intelligibility for Western knowledge of the terrorist as a deranged barbarian.

These practices adopted by liberal governments to deal with the radical proletarian allowed the discourse of terrorism as violence committed by individuals or groups against established authority to attain a higher degree of positivity than before. In the United States, the use of terror as a weapon became firmly associated with working class radicals, and new legislation was

²⁸⁶ Robert A. Nye, *The origins of crowd psychology: Gustave Le Bon and the crisis of mass democracy in the Third Republic* (London: Sage Publications, 1975), 22.

²⁸⁷ J. C. Lavater, cited in Isaac Land, *Enemies of humanity: the nineteenth-century war on terrorism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 122.

²⁸⁸ Isaac Land, *Enemies of humanity: the nineteenth-century war on terrorism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 124.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

passed creating the crime of 'criminal syndicalism': the doctrine 'which advocates crime, sabotage (this word as used in this bill meaning the malicious damage or injury to the property of an employer by an employee), violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political ends'²⁹⁰. Syndicalism was the crime; terrorism its main tactic²⁹¹.

Legislation against syndicalism, although formulated to quell proletarian rebellions against ruling industrialists, soon became a powerful technology of power used to stop not just the 'menace of organised labour',²⁹² but all 'radical' ideas such as socialism, communism, and anarchism²⁹³. Accusations of syndicalism were levelled against workers' unions along with allegations of communism, socialism and anarchism. Both employers and governments resorted to abusing the newly effected syndicalism legislation to suppress the proletarian radical with such frequency that it terrorised trade unions and suppressed anarchist, socialist and communist thought as evidenced by, for example, the original documents relating to the Harlan miners strike in Kentucky.²⁹⁴

A significant development during this period was the disputes that occurred among the various groups that the radical proletarian belonged to – socialists, communists and anarchists and their splinter/sub-groups. With the adoption of the policy of 'propaganda by the deed' by Russian rebel Mikhail Bakunin, divisions appeared among the proletarian rebels who had until then been united in their rebellion against exploitation by capitalists. As the radical proletarians debated whether or not to follow Bakunin's doctrine at various

²⁹⁰ Robert E. Cushman, "Judicial decisions on public law," *American Political Science Review* 12, no. 3 (1918): 477.

²⁹¹ Theodore Dreiser and National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, *Harlan miners speak. Report on terrorism in the Kentucky coal fields* (New York: De Capo Press, 1970).

²⁹² Jay F. Christ, "The Federal Courts and Organized Labor. I," *The Journal of Business of the University of Chicago* 3, no. 2, (1930): 215.

²⁹³ Robert D. Highfill, "The Effects of News of Crime and Scandal upon Public Opinion," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 17, no. 1 (1926): 95; "Factories of Public Opinion," *The Nation*, December.5, 1923.

²⁹⁴ See Theodore Dreiser and National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, *Harlan miners speak. Report on terrorism in the Kentucky coal fields* (New York: De Capo Press, 1970).

meetings in the United States and across Europe in the late 1800s²⁹⁵ under the united umbrella of the International Workingmen's Association (W.I.A), Western governments were busy defining what constituted a 'political crime'.

Discussions in the British Parliament concerning the enactment of the Extradition Act of 1870 reveal that defining what constituted a political crime proved a difficult issue which, in the end, the British parliamentarians left to the courts and the United States left to the discretion of individual judges²⁹⁶. Theodore Roosevelt, elected president of the United States after President William McKinley was 'shot by an anarchist' in September 1901, said in his first speech to the US Congress that 'anarchy is no more an expression of 'social discontent' than picking pockets or wife-beating'²⁹⁷. Not only was the anarchist 'the deadly foe of liberty', but it was wrong to say that he was either a victim or product of social or political injustice Like the sinners of the Middle Ages whose inherent weaknesses allowed them to be led astray by the Devil, the cause for the anarchist's criminality was to be found in:

his own evil passions and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the State to do justice to him or his. He is a malefactor and nothing else...It is a travesty upon the great and holy names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. (Roosevelt 1901).

Tsarist Russia took advantage of the assassination of President McKinley to successfully push the international community to define anarchy as a non-political crime at the Anti-Anarchist Conference held in Rome in November 1898. It was agreed at the conference that anarchy had 'as its aim the destruction through violent means of all social organisation'²⁹⁸. The protocol adopted Russian proposals to define anarchism as having 'no relation to politics

²⁹⁵ Chester McA. Destler, "Shall Red and Black Unite? An American Revolutionary Document of 1883," *The Pacific Historical Review* 14, no. 4 (1945).

²⁹⁶ Theodore Schroeder, "Political Crimes Defined," *Michigan Law Review* 18, no. 1 (1919).

²⁹⁷ President Theodore Roosevelt, "First annual address to the Congress, December 3, 1901," Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, accessed January 22, 2010, <http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/3773>.

²⁹⁸ Fredric S. Zuckerman, *The tsarist secret police abroad: policing Europe in a modernising world* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[...] and cannot under any circumstance be regarded as a political doctrine'.²⁹⁹ Although Russia's bomb-throwers were not 'of the anarchist persuasion', bringing the Russian revolutionaries under the same label allowed the Tsarist regime to 'win sympathy from Western governments that *did* have an anarchist problem'³⁰⁰.

However, despite the anti-anarchist feelings in the United States, the bringing together of all proletarian rebels under the label of anarchy, and the equation of rebellion with common criminality and evil, not everyone was persuaded that every rebel during this period was an anarchist, or that every rebellion was a crime.

The good, the bad, and the rebel

The secular rebel of the French Revolution, whom modern histories describe as the first terrorists--with all the word's modern connotations thereby rendering them devoid of any virtue or justification--still retained the admiration and support of many in the West who saw their rebellion as necessary and brave. This is clear from newspaper accounts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century United States which report cheering crowds in their thousands attending rallies held by both American supporters of Russian revolutionaries and visiting revolutionaries themselves, looking for arms and ammunition to carry out their 'propaganda of the deed'.

After such a speech in Boston in 1890 by George Kennan, American journalist and author of *Siberia and the Exile System* (1891), which examined the treatment of rebels in Russian prisons, renowned author Mark Twain is reported to have risen from his seat tearfully and exclaimed, 'If such a government cannot be overthrown otherwise than by the use of dynamite, then, thank God for dynamite'³⁰¹. It is also clear that despite President McKinley's assassination in

²⁹⁹ His-Huey Liang, *The Rise of the Modern Police and the European State System from Metternich to the Second World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 163.

³⁰⁰ Isaac Land, *Enemies of humanity: the nineteenth-century war on terrorism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 131.

³⁰¹ Jane E. Good, "America and the Russian Revolutionary Movement, 1888-1905," *Russian Review* 4, no. 3 (1982): 274.

1901, the official relationship established between anarchy--defined as a non-political crime--and the designation of Russian revolutionaries as 'anarchists', support for their cause remained high in the United States, and elsewhere in the West among those seeking change. The latter shared with Mark Twain the conviction that:

Government by falsified promises, by lies, by treachery, and by the butcher-knife, for the aggrandizement of a single family of drones and its idle and vicious kin has been borne long enough in Russia [...] it is to be hoped that the roused nation, now rising in its strength, will presently put and end to it and set up the republic in its place. Some of us, even the whiteheaded [sic], may live to see the blessed day when Czar and Grand Dukes will be as scarce there as they are in heaven³⁰².

Americans who supported the Russian revolutionaries, and Russian revolutionaries who travelled to the United States to rally support for their cause spoke to cheering crowds, packed lecture halls and evoked emotional responses. Similar support for the Russian revolutionaries was also present in Britain where the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom was founded in London on 31 March 1890, and the *Free Russia* journal was published in August 1890 with a circulation that rose to over a thousand within a month. Several books by Russian revolutionary Sergei M Kravchinskii (1851-1895), writing under the *nom de guerre* S. Stepniak, were published in various languages to great acclaim in both Europe and the United States³⁰³. A petition to establish an American branch of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom was signed by American humanitarians, cultural leaders and intellectuals³⁰⁴ who 'certainly were not radicals'³⁰⁵.

³⁰² American author Mark Twain, in "Arms to free Russia, Tchaykoffsky's appeal: revolutionist speaks to cheering audience of 3,000," *The New York Times*, March 30, 1906, 9. Twain's sentiments were expressed in a letter (published in full by the paper) sent to a meeting held at the Grand Central Hotel in New York by Russian revolutionist Nicholas Tchaykoffsky. Newspaper reports say the meeting was attended by a cheering crowd of over 3,000 men and women who greeted Tchaykoffsky with a standing ovation that lasted three minutes.

³⁰³ These include *Underground Russia* (1882) written in Italian; *Russia under the Tsars* (1883) published in French; *The Russian storm cloud* (1888) in English; and *The Career of a Nihilist* (1889) in English.

³⁰⁴ Includes author Mark Twain, journalist George Kennan, author and social activist Julia Ward Howe, diplomat and poet James Russell Lowell, abolitionist and author Thomas Wentworth

Later analysts argue that the Russian revolutionaries received such support in the United States and from other liberal governments because they hid from Americans the 'socialism and terror' that was part of their revolution, and that Americans 'wholeheartedly supported their case' because 'they confidently believed that once the revolutionaries overthrew the tsar, Russians would establish a constitutional government' in the liberal form³⁰⁶. While this may have been the case, it does not take away from the fact that citizens of liberal Western countries were happy to provide finance and other means of support for the rebels they viewed as fighting against oppression, even if their methods involved the use of terror, dynamite and other tools of violence.

The problem for liberal democracies appeared to be that when terror was used as a weapon against oppressive governments elsewhere, it was justified; when it was used as a weapon by those rebelling against practices and systems of governments *within* liberal democracies, it was wrong. Furthermore, legislative powers in liberal governments were also confronted with the issue of whether or not to accord the status of 'political criminals' to rebels who were fighting for changes that did not agree with their own capitalist systems. Despite the definition of anarchy as a non-political crime at the beginning of the twentieth century, and regardless of President Roosevelt's unequivocal description of anarchy as a common crime, when the time came to define and legislate against 'political crimes' in the mid 1900s in the United States, there was no clarity as to what kind of a criminal the revolutionary and the proletarian in his many different forms really was. This is a conflict that permeated all contemporary discussion and analysis that sought to define 'political crime' in the West, as is evident from debates of the time:

Higginson, abolitionist and poet Greenleaf Whittier, journalist and social reformer William Lloyd Garrison, educator Alice Freeman Palmer and clergyman and author Phillips Brooks. See Jane E. Good, "America and the Russian Revolutionary Movement, 1888-1905," *Russian Review* 41, no. 3 (1982): 279.

³⁰⁵ Jane E. Good, "America and the Russian Revolutionary Movement, 1888-1905," *Russian Review* 41, no. 3 (1982): 279.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 287.

Probably most of us lawyers would find it difficult to give a sympathetic understanding to a German Bolshevik who conspired to establish in Germany a government for the democratization of labor and of welfare and which would penalize all exploitation of laborers. Most of us give enthusiastic support for the general achievement of our own kind of democratic political forms. However, our feelings are not yet generally attuned to the calm acceptance of the democratization of labor and welfare, even if peaceably accomplished by our own accustomed political methods. Is it intelligent to assume that unaided, all of us can remain in philosophic calm, when confronted with a live Bolshevik who sought to use revolutionary methods to force the democratization of labor and welfare upon the former German aristocrats and their sympathizers?³⁰⁷

The conflict over who could and could not be defined as a terrorist is reflected in the manner in which the radical proletarians within liberal democracies are labelled 'terrorists' while other labels such as 'freedom fighters' were applied to those fighting *for* liberation *from* oppression (Irish and Indian rebels for example). It is also clear from the references commonly made to terrorism against the people *by* governments that did not follow the liberal system – from the government of the Dominican Republic in the 1800s³⁰⁸; Russia in the nineteenth century³⁰⁹ and France of the early twentieth century³¹⁰; to Serbia³¹¹; German occupied Belgium and France³¹²; Germany³¹³; Turkey³¹⁴; and Kurdistan in the 1800s³¹⁵.

³⁰⁷ Theodore Schroeder, "Political Crimes Defined," *Michigan Law Review* 18, no. 1 (1919): 37.

³⁰⁸ Jacob H. Hollander, "The Convention of 1907 Between the United States and the Dominican Republic," *The American Journal of International Law* 1, no. 2 (1907).

³⁰⁹ Edward W. Miller, "Some Distinctive Features of Russian Christianity," *The American Journal of Theology* 11, no. 4 (1907); Charles G. Fenwick, "The Russian Peace Treaties," *The American Political Science Review* 12, no. 4 (1918); Baron Rosen, "The Menace of Bolshevism," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 84 (1919); Dorsey D. Jones and Sol Meltzer, "Colleges Need Russian History," *The Journal of Higher Education* 4 no. 7 (1933); Maurice Parmelee, "Liberal Democracy, Fascism, and Bolshevism," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 180 (1935).

³¹⁰ Maynard Shipley, "Should Capital Punishment Be Abolished? The Problem of the Hour in France," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 2, no. 1 (1911).

³¹¹ Edward M. Sait and Lewis Mayers, "Record of Political Events," *Political Science Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (1915).

³¹² Willem R. Bisschop, "German War Legislation in the Occupied Territory of Belgium," *Transactions of the Grotius Society* 4 (1918); Ira W. Howerth, "The Great War and the Instinct of the Herd," *International Journal of Ethics* 29, no. 2 (1919).

This conflict between the need to protect the liberal system of government from rebellion *within* and supporting rebellions against systems of government that are seen as illiberal is underpinned by the understanding of terror as a legitimate political tool only when used by the 'good' established order that emerged with the concept of terror as it was understood in the Bible and throughout the Middle Ages.

The universal rebel

By the middle of the twentieth century, rebellion was again in the Western air. As the epistemic spaces in which dissent and revolt could be thought of, spoken about and acted upon underwent numerous changes, a new figure emerged in the genealogy of the present evildoer-terrorist – the freedom fighter. As the inherent inequalities of the colonial system were being overthrown by freedom fighters and nationalists in various parts of the world colonised by the West, the universal rebel sought to change established order on *behalf* of those they saw as suffering from an unjust system of governance. French tactics in Algeria and the publication of the *Wretched of the Earth* by Frantz Fanon (1961), the United States' war in Vietnam and, the Six Day War in the Middle East, provided cause for many to rally against established governments and systems of power.

Things came to a head in 1968, an eventful year which saw the assassination of civil rights leader Martin Luther King in the United States; the Soviet attack on Czechoslovakia; escalation of the United States war in Vietnam; the assassination of anti-war presidential candidate Robert Kennedy in the United

³¹³ Edmund F. Trabue, "The Law of the Sea and the Great War," *Virginia Law Review* 6, no. 4 (1920); Harry E. Barnes, "A Psychological Interpretation of Modern Social Problems and of Contemporary History: A Survey of the Contributions of Gustave Le Bon to Social Psychology," *The American Journal of Psychology* 31, no. 4 (1920); Herman G. De Wetteville, "The Military Administration of Occupied Territory in Time of War," *Transactions of the Grotius Society* 7 (1921).

³¹⁴ Vahan Cardashian, "The Turkish Question and America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 108 (1923).

³¹⁵ Ephraim A. Speiser, "Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal and Today," *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 8 (1926-1927).

States and the election of Richard Nixon as the new President of the United States. In January of that year, the devastating Tet Offensive was launched in Vietnam, and in March of that year over 500 men, women and children were massacred in Mi Lai. 'The Vietnam War had become a universal cause. The very heart of London was riven by protests. Students took over universities in America and Europe. They clashed with police in Japan, in Delhi, they mobbed the US Embassy' (BBC World Service 2008).

At present, it is commonplace for experts in the field of Terrorism Studies to state that 1968 is 'the year acknowledged as marking the advent of modern international terrorism'.³¹⁶ It started on a specific date – July 22, 1968 – with a specific action – the hijacking of El Al Israeli Airlines flight from Rome to Tel Aviv by Palestinian rebels:

Modern international terrorism is widely accepted as having been ushered in on 23 July 1968 when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked an Israeli El Al plane in Rome³¹⁷.

The beginning of the new era is often identified precisely: July 22, 1968. On that date an El Al commercial airliner was hijacked³¹⁸

None of the analysts explain whom it is that is 'widely acknowledging' modern 'terrorism' began in 1968 or who 'often identifies' 1968 as the year in which terrorism began, or amongst whom the 'truth' of the statement is 'widely accepted'. The acceptance of 1968 as the 'beginning' of modern terrorism now

³¹⁶ Bruce Hoffman, "Lessons of 9/11," RAND Corporation, October 8, 2002, accessed December 20, 2009, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/2005/CT201.pdf>, 3, 7; Martha C. Taylor, "Implicating the Demos: A Reading of Thucydides on the Rise of the Four Hundred," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 122 (2002); William F. Shughart II, "An analytical history of terrorism, 1945-2000," *Public Choice* 128, no. 1/2 (2006); Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, "Transnational Terrorism 1968-2000," *Southern Economic Journal* 71, no. 3 (2005); Sean N. Kalic, "Combating a modern hydra: Al Qaeda and the global war on terrorism," *Global War on Terrorism Occasional Paper* 8 (2005): 36.

³¹⁷ Cindy D. Ness, "In the Name of the Cause: Women's Work in Secular and Religious Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28, no. 5 (2005).

³¹⁸ Barry Cooper, *New Politics, Religion, or an Analysis of Modern Terrorism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 51.

has a positivity requiring no further explanation. 'It would be inadequate' however' to simply accept 'that one was dealing here with the consequences of a discovery'.³¹⁹ Closer examination is necessary.

What is the basis for the claim that modern terrorism began on 22 July 1968, 'when Palestinian terrorists, to avenge Egypt's defeat in the 1967 Six Day War' hijacked an El Al flight from Rome to Tel Aviv'?³²⁰ According to the database of 'terrorist incidents maintained by the Centre for Defence and International Security Studies (CDISS), there were six other aircraft hijackings carried out by different individuals motivated by a variety of reasons in the 1960s before the Palestinian hijacking of the Israeli aircraft. On 1 May 1961, the data set records 'first ever United States air-craft hijacked and forced to fly to Communist Cuba'; on 26 September 1966: 'El Condor nationalists hijack Argentine aircraft from Buenos Aires to British occupied Falklands ...'; on 22 November 1966: 'A DC-3 aircraft blown up in mid-air near Ade, South Arabia, killing all twenty people on board...'; on 30 June 1967: 'Aircraft carrying Katangan rebel leader Moise Tshombe hijacked en route to Ibiza, Spain, and forced to land in Algeria...'; on 12 October 1967: a 'British European Airways Comet airliner' was 'destroyed by a bomb that detonated in the passenger cabin over Rhodes, Greece', killing all sixty six people on board; and on 21 February 1968 a Delta Airlines flight was forced to fly to Havana Cuba 'in the first successful hijacking of a US commercial airliner since 1961'. All six incidents were recorded *prior* to the Palestinian hijacking of the Israeli aircraft. The CDISS Database of Terrorist Incidents, however, recorded the latter incident as:

July 22 [1968]

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine carry out *first ever* [emphasis added] aircraft hijacking, seizing an El Al Boeing 707 in Rome, Italy, and diverting it Algeria. Thirty two Jews passengers held hostage for five weeks (CDISS Database of Terrorist Incidents 1960-69)

³¹⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock, 1972), 47.

³²⁰ William F. Shughart II, "An analytical history of terrorism, 1945-2000," *Public Choice* 128, no. 1/2 (2006): 39.

How did the Palestinian hijacking, five months after the last of five previous similar incidents, come to be described as the ‘first ever’ aircraft hijacking? According to the Aviation Safety Network, which distances itself from any political affiliation and is not associated with the accruing of or production of ‘terrorism’ knowledge, between 1948 and 22 July 1968 there were eight-two airline hijackings, an average of four hijackings a year. There were five hijackings in the same month of July 1968 before the PLF incident. Could it be that the hijacking carried out by the PLF was the first airline hijacked on an international route? The Aviation Safety database provides information on the hijacking of nine aircraft on international routes by various individuals or groups during the same period between 1948 and July 1968 including a Dutch KLM flight on 16 April 1962 en route to Portugal from Amsterdam; a Pan American World Airways flight from Havana to Mexico on 9 August 1961; a *Cubana de Aviacion* flight from Spain to Cuba forced to land in Miami by hijackers on 5 July 1960 and a *Cubana de Aviacion* flight from Cuba to the United States forced by hijackers to land in Jamaica on 17 July 1960.

In the common assertion that international terrorism began on 23 July 1968, however, these incidents are not taken into consideration. The United Kingdom’s Counter-terrorism Strategy (Contest) published in 2009, for example, states in a sub-section titled ‘Strategic context’:

The first modern international terrorist incident *has been dated back* [emphasis added] to 1968, when a faction of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) hijacked an Israeli commercial flight in Rome.³²¹

The source it cites for this statement is Bruce Hoffman’s *Inside Terrorism*. Chapter Three of Hoffman’s book titled ‘The internationalisation of terrorism’ begins thus:

The advent of what is considered modern, international terrorism occurred on July 22, 1968. On that day three armed Palestinian terrorists, belonging to the Popular

³²¹ Home Ministry, “The United Kingdom’s Strategy for Countering International Terrorism,” Parliamentary Official Documents, March 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7547/7547.pdf>, 23.

Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), one of the six groups that then constituted the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), hijacked an Israeli El Al commercial flight en route from Rome to Tel Aviv.³²²

Hoffman does qualify his statement by saying that 'commercial aircraft had been hijacked before', but states that 'the El Al hijacking differed significantly from all other previous ones'. 'This hijacking was a bold political statement' whereas the others were 'a seemingly endless succession of homesick Cubans or sympathetic revolutionaries from other countries commandeering domestic American passenger aircraft simply as a means to travel to Cuba.'³²³

Hoffman not only drastically downplays the high political tensions that existed between Cuba and the United States by portraying the Cuban rebels hijacking American aeroplanes as simply homesick nationals hitching a ride home, albeit in an unorthodox way; but also deliberately excludes from his analysis--among others--the violent deaths of the sixty people who were killed on board the Argentinean flight that El Condor nationalists hijacked en route to the British occupied Falklands; the twenty people who were killed on board the DC-3 aircraft blown up near Aden; and the sixty six people who were killed when a bomb was exploded on board the British European Comet airliner mentioned above.

All the acts were politically motivated. Rebels in Aden were fighting against the British crown forces, so were the Argentine rebels in the Falklands; and the Comet airline bombing was connected to the conflict between Cyprus and Greece. Their exclusion from the list of 'terrorist incidents' has been subject to inter-textual repetition and other forms of control to such an extent that it is now accepted as 'truth' that it was with the Palestinian hijacking of El Al that 'international terrorism' began. Unquestioned, it is accepted in official Western government policy, and by applying a retrospective hypothesis--based on the exclusion itself--historians and other analysts have further validated its 'truth'. Acts of political violence using the same methods carried out before this 'origin' of international terrorism have now been relegated to the archive of subjugated knowledges, forgotten and disregarded by historians, analysts and

³²² Bruce Hoffman, *Inside terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 63.

³²³ *Ibid.*

policymakers alike. How was such an exclusion possible? What transformation had occurred in the rules of discourse that allowed the subjugation of this information?

Return of the Arab/Muslim barbarian

The Six Day War of 1967, which ended in a decisive victory for Israel, is one of the most important occasions in the history of terrorism discourse. In *Discipline and Punish*, having comprehensively analysed the historical, political and scientific events that eventually made the modern prison possible, Foucault suggests that were he to fix the date of the completion of the carceral system, he would choose not the various dates on which relevant laws were passed, but 22 January 1840, when the Mettray prison opened³²⁴. If a date is to be fixed for the beginning of international terrorism, this study suggests it is not 22 July 1968 when Palestinians hijacked the El Al flight, nor any other day when a group of rebels crossed state boundaries to perpetrate an act of political violence – it is 10 June 1967 when Israel won the Six Day War.

It is this victory, and the transformations that it made possible in the rules governing the discourse of terrorism that eventually allowed Hoffman, and other analysts and policymakers, to point to the Palestinian hijacking of the El Al flight as the beginning of international terrorism while excluding from the discourse acts of the same motivation, method and degree of destruction committed by rebels other than Palestinians. Transformations in the discourse of terrorism made possible by this victory are also what created the conditions of possibility for the twenty first century terrorist to be a Muslim, albeit one who believes in a bastardised version of the religion.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the discourse of terrorism emerged within the new epistemic spaces created from the separation of terror from religion. The use of terror as a form of political power, although rife in the Middle Ages, was not 'terrorism' until it was used by the secular rebel. As such, the discourses of terrorism and religion remained largely separate from each other for most of the first half of the twentieth century. When the Israelis decisively

³²⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (London: Penguin Books, 1977), 293.

defeated Egypt, Jordan and Syria in the Six Day War to take control of the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, it allowed the reactivation of the Arab/barbarian discourse that had been rendered 'true' by the discursive practices of the Middle Ages and in early eighteenth century North America.

Centuries old discourses of Orientalism, colonialism and Zionism, which had all been connected to the concept of terror and religion in the Middle Ages were now reactivated and reconstituted in relation to the discourse of 'terrorism', which itself had been constituted by power relations between terror and religion. Orientalism had informed the European colonial project since it began³²⁵. All histories of European imperialism begin with the fifteenth and sixteenth and centuries, overlooking the fact that 'Jerusalem was the aim of the first European movement of expansion outside of Europe and the first European colony overseas: the Kingdom of Jerusalem'³²⁶. Jewish restoration to Palestine had been advocated in England since 1585, and Zionism thereafter played an important role in Western political relations with Israel from the Puritan Revolution of the seventeenth century to the Evangelical Revival of 1790, and beyond. The restoration of Jews to Palestine was significant in the founding of America – it was 'Israel and the New Zion'; their crossing of the ocean to settle in the New World an Exodus. The relations between Christian Zionists and the political movement of Zionism continued in America, allied with millennial metaphor and apocalyptic politics that has never quite disappeared from mainstream American society.

The creation of Israel, for many evangelicals and fundamentalists, 'was confirmation of the premillennial doctrine and the imminence of Jesus' return'³²⁷. Israel's victory in the Six Day War of 1967 was all the confirmation needed for the validity of the Bible for many American evangelists, and the discourses of Zionism mixed with those of Orientalism paved the way for the emergence of the uncivilized Arab/Muslim in twentieth century 'terrorism'.

³²⁵ Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1978).

³²⁶ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "The history of a metaphor: Christian Zionism and the politics of Apocalypse," *EHSS, Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 36e, no. 75 (1991): 79.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 91.

From the Six Day War onwards, Western knowledge of Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular was acquired via the more Western, and thus more civilized, Israelis:

If during the nineteenth century the expert scholar-Orientalist was looked to for knowledge about the Orient, now a Westerner turns first to the Zionist for his evidence of and knowledge about the Orient (and Orientals) [...] Israel is the norm, Israelis are the presence, their ideas and institutions the native ones: Arabs are a nuisance, Palestinians a quasi mythical reality. Israeli origins are forgotten: Israel simply *is* a Western democracy now quite gratuitously set upon by anti-Jewish Arabs. The reversal is complete³²⁸.

Themes of Christian Zionism returned to the front pages in the United States following the Six Day War in 1967, along with discourses of Armageddon and apocalypse. Politics and apocalyptic scenarios merged as fears grew of a nuclear war, with many believing that Judgement Day would arrive with an 'all-out Soviet attack'³²⁹. The Arab Oil Embargo of 1973-74 connected the apocalyptic discourse with economics as the fear grew 'that Americans would soon be faced with scarcities in other raw materials and, eventually, in food'. Others awaited Judgement Day to arrive in the form of a cosmic cataclysm³³⁰. The Iranian Hostage Crisis, Israeli invasion of Beirut in 1982, which is cast by American religious figures as 'the fulfilling of prophecy'³³¹, the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the restoration of Jews to Israel were all connected to the discourse of Armageddon in various American newspapers by both evangelists and political figures during this period³³². It was the Middle East that would be the epicentre of the impending end. 'History began in that area of the world and the Bible teaches it will end there in a conflagration'³³³.

³²⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1978), 8.

³²⁹ Camille Recchia, "Area survivalists circle wagons for coming Armageddon, Fearing economic chaos advocates store food, buy gold, silver," *The Washington Post*, August 25, 1980.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

³³¹ "Apocalyptic Talk," Editorial, *Christian Science Monitor*, July 12, 1982.

³³² "Evangelist says world 'on edge of Armageddon'," Associated Press, January 22, 1980; "Billy Graham getting older, fears Armageddon," Associated Press, February 1, 1980; Richard M. Harley, "Toying with Apocalypse," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 2, 1982.

³³³ American Evangelist Bill Graham, quoted in "Evangelist says world on edge of Armageddon," Associated Press, January 22, 1980.

The relations between national security discourse and the discourse of Armageddon was further cemented by revelations in mainstream media that President Reagan was among the believers in Armageddon³³⁴. Reagan's belief in Armageddon was first reported in 1983, when he was said to have told the Director of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee: 'I find myself wondering if – if we're the generation that is going to see that [Armageddon] come about...I don't know if you've noted any of those prophecies lately, but believe me, they certainly describe the times we are going through'³³⁵. The two men were discussing United States marines in Beirut. His Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger shared the same belief and theorised that the location of Armageddon would be 'near the Hill of Meggido in northern Palestine, about 15 miles southeast of Haifa'³³⁶. The theme of Armageddon returned to the forefront of American consciousness again with the 1990 Gulf Crisis and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August of that year.

Jimmy Carter studied it before meeting Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat at Camp David. Ronald Reagan spoke of it in public. President Bush has discussed it with a leading clergyman. *ABC Nightline* has shot a story about it that is awaiting a broadcast date. *The New York Times* reports brisk sales of books on the topic. The subject is Armageddon, and whether current events in the Middle East are the beginning of the end of the world as forecast in biblical prophecies. Millions of Christians and Jews believe that events in the Middle East and elsewhere are unfolding according to a divine schedule³³⁷.

³³⁴ Speaking to Senator James R Mills in 1971, prior to his election to presidency, Reagan said on the subject of Armageddon: "Everything's falling into place. It can't be long now". The remarks were reported in the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, August 15, 1985, at the end of his first term as president. See "Mills tells of Regan's Bible belief," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, August 15, 1985. The subject was serious enough to be included in his televised debate with rival Walter F Mondale in the presidential election of 1984. He denied that he had made an association between his beliefs and politics. See "Ferraro assails Regan on leadership and Armageddon remarks," *The New York Times*, October 25, 1984.

³³⁵ "Reagan reflects on Armageddon," Associated Press, October 29, 1983.

³³⁶ Weinberger is reported to have made the remark while speaking to a Canadian newspaper. See "Mills tells of Regan's Bible belief," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, August 15, 1985.

³³⁷ C. T. Column, "Gulf War may mean Armageddon is near," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)*, February 11, 1991, 3B.

The best-selling book on the subject, *Armageddon, Oil and the Middle East Crisis: What Bible says about the future of the Middle East and the end of Western Civilisation* (1976)³³⁸--a new edition of which was published in 2007 and a million copies of which were reprinted during this period--predicted according to a reading of the Bible, that the first three steps to Armageddon would be as follows: 1) a peace treaty signed by a world leader that guarantees Israel's security; 2) a joint Arab-Russian attack on Israel; 3) the supernatural destruction of those who try to destroy Israel.

Israel was central to Western civilisation, and its future. It was central not only to the survival of mankind, but to the survival of God himself, as the site where Jesus was scheduled to come back. In the ultimate fight between good and evil, Arabs/Muslims were on one side and Christianity/the West was on the other. The showdown was nigh. It was this fervent merging of feverish apocalyptic discourse, war, and tense relations between the United States and the Middle East that produced the 'new religious terrorist' of the 1990s. By the end of the century, terrorism analysts had adopted the apocalyptic discourse into their own analyses, asserting that terrorists during this period, unlike their predecessors, had become religious, 'nihilistic' and 'apocalyptic'³³⁹. Many descriptions of terrorists published during this period borrowed from the millennial discourse, describe them as possessing 'as much fanaticism and madness as there ever was' but newly capable of much more disturbing and cataclysmic acts³⁴⁰. Their actions would lead the world to the very destination of

³³⁸ John F. Walvoord, *Armageddon, oil and the Middle East Crisis: What the Bible says about the future of the Middle East and the Western civilisation*. (Michigan: Zondervan, 1976).

³³⁹ Ian O Lesser et al., *Countering the new terrorism* (Santa Monica: RAND, 1999), 87; Walter Laqueur, *The new terrorism: fanaticism and the arms of mass destruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Walter Laqueur, "Post-modern terrorism: New Rules for an Old Game," *Foreign Affairs* 75, no.5 (1996); Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (London: St Andrews Press, 1998); Harvey W. Kushner, *The future of terrorism: violence in the new millennium* (London: Sage Publications, 1998); Ashton B. Carter, John M Deutch and Philip Zelikow, "Catastrophic terrorism: tackling the new danger," *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 6 (1999); Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the mind of God: the global rise of religious violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

³⁴⁰ Walter Laqueur, *The new terrorism: fanaticism and the arms of mass destruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

the millenarian prophecies—Armageddon: they were prepared to wipe out civilisations and humankind itself³⁴¹.

Furthermore, it was the Armageddon discourse with its central Arab versus Israel rhetoric that made it possible for the religion of the newly devout terrorist to be predominantly Islam. It became customary for analysts to begin their discussions of the 'new' terrorist by first stating that 'Islam is not a violent religion per se, but...'; or with the statement that 'not all terrorists are Muslims, but...' and 'while common to religious terrorists of all faiths, have nonetheless been most closely associated with Islamic terrorist groups in general [...]'³⁴². Or, 'while Islam in modern history has not engaged in acts of mass violence on a Hitlerian or the Pol Pot scale, it is also true that the missionary, aggressive element in radical Islam is stronger than that in other religions [...]'³⁴³ Or:

There is, of course, no Muslim or Arab monopoly in the field of religious fanaticism; it exists and leads to acts of violence in the United States, India, Israel and many other countries. But the frequency of Muslim- and Arab-inspired terrorism is still striking [...] A discussion of religious inspired terrorism cannot possibly confine itself to Islam, but it has to take into account the Muslim countries' preeminent [sic] position in this field.³⁴⁴

As the millennium approached, the language used by the analysts of terrorism became as apocalyptic as the potential terrorist actions that were being forecast:

[...] it must be contemplated that we may be on the cusp of a new, and potentially more dangerous, era of terrorism as the year 2000—the literal millennium—approaches. One cannot predict the effect that this pivotal watershed might have on religion-inspired terrorist groups who feel impelled either to hasten the redemption associated with the millennium through acts of violence [...] or in the

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (London: St Andrews Press, 1998), 95.

³⁴³ Walter Laqueur, *The new terrorism: fanaticism and the arms of mass destruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 128.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 129.

event that the year 2000 passes and redemption does not occur, to attempt to implement Armageddon by the apocalyptic use of weapons of mass destruction.³⁴⁵

It was not that the 'terrorists' had become more religious, more dangerous, or apocalyptic – it was that the complex groups of relations between the dominant discourses of the time had created the conditions of possibility to produce this object in terrorism discourse. It is by disregarding those conditions and their specificity to that particular era that conventional histories of terrorism are able to point to the 1990s as the time when terrorists became more religious, and primarily of Arab/Muslim origin.

The power of knowing

Power/knowledge relations underpinned the constitution of the Arab/Muslim barbarian as the terrorist of the late twentieth century. He was rebelling against the civilized West, against God's 'chosen people'. With the increasing number of hijackings and other actions against Israel by Palestinian rebels, Israel during this period became a dominant Western voice in the 'knowledge' of 'terrorism'. Israeli authors cemented the divide between the Arab/Muslim barbarian and the West with publications such as *Terrorism: How the West can win* (1986)³⁴⁶, clearly putting the West, of which Israel is an integral part, in the position of the victim despite his own argument that 'European radical factions' were one of two major contributors to 'terrorism' which 'began its rapid growth in the 1960s'³⁴⁷. 'The PLO introduced airline hijacking as an international weapon' [emphasis added], and these 'Muslim radicals' collaborated with Marxist ones deliberately in an unholy alliance of two anti-Western movements 'communist totalitarianism and Islamic (and Arab) nationalism':

These forces have given terrorism its ideological impetus and much of its material support. Both legitimise unbridled violence in the name of a higher cause, both are

³⁴⁵ Bruce Hoffman, "Holy terror": the implications of terrorism motivated by a religious imperative (Santa Monica: RAND, 2003), 13-14.

³⁴⁶ Binyamin Netanyahu, *Terrorism: how the West can win* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1986).

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

profoundly hostile to democracy, and both have found in terrorism an ideal weapon against it.³⁴⁸

The United Nations' view that 'national liberation' is a justified cause became 'perverse' and the Algerian fight for independence was compared to the 'civilized French Resistance against German occupation which did not involve 'systematic killing of German women and children'. The differences between the civilised West and the brutality of Islamic (Arab) radicals were treated as obvious: 'France, of course, is today a democracy Algeria merely another of many despotisms where terrorists have come to power'³⁴⁹. 'Terrorism' became impossible without the support of 'the Soviet bloc and the Arab world', the enemies of democracy and the West. The terrorist subject is thus re-constituted as the uncivilised Arab/Muslim, an enemy of civilization. Israeli analysts continued to repeat this (re)definition of the terrorist in Western discourse throughout the twentieth century, contributing to it becoming accepted as a 'truth' and, creating the conditions of possibility for the Evildoer-terrorist to emerge in the twenty first century.

It is also during this period, from the 1960s onwards, that links were formed between psychiatric discourse and 'terrorism' discourse, leading to a pathologisation of 'the terrorist'. This change in the way of knowing 'the terrorist' is similar to the changes that occurred in Western knowledge of the secular rebel and proletarian radical in the nineteenth century when they became objects of the discourses of phrenology and physiognomy. In 1969, following the student movements that spread across the world in 1968, the rebel became an object of psychiatric knowledge. In an attempt to analyse the 'character and significance of [the] student movements' Lewis S Feuer proposed the 'conflict of generations' theory, hypothesising that the motives for 'terrorism' were deeply rooted in an individual's dysfunctional early childhood³⁵⁰. This theory, based on 'a Freudian interpretation of terrorism as a psychological reaction of sons against fathers, a generational phenomenon

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 11-12.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 12-13.

³⁵⁰ Lewis G. Feuer, *The conflict of generations* (New York: Basic Books, 1969).

rooted in the Oedipus complex and, thus, in maleness³⁵¹ rapidly gained ground. In the decades that followed, 'terrorism' and 'the terrorist mindset' became favourite objects of analysis and psychological discourse.

Scholars within, or related to, the field of psychology began analysing 'terrorists' and 'terrorist behaviour' through the psychoanalytic framework with much fervour, publishing their findings in titles as wide-ranging as *Mental Health and Society*³⁵²; *Legal Medical Quarterly*³⁵³; *Journal of Psychohistory*³⁵⁴; *Journal of Forensic Sciences*³⁵⁵; *The Police Chief*³⁵⁶; *Journal of Behavioural Science and the Law*³⁵⁷; *Psychiatry: The State of the Art*³⁵⁸; *Journal of Psychology*³⁵⁹; *International Journal of Mental Health*³⁶⁰; *Medicine, Science and Law*³⁶¹; *Forensic Reports*³⁶²; *Psychology*³⁶³; *Psychiatric Annals*³⁶⁴; *Political Psychology*³⁶⁵; *Cerebrum: The Dana*

³⁵¹ Martha Crenshaw, "The psychology of political terrorism," in *Political Psychology*, ed. M. G. Herman (San Francisco: Josey-Bass, 1986), 390-1.

³⁵² I. Kent and W. Nicholls, "The psychodynamics of terrorism," in *Mental Health & Society* 4 (1977).

³⁵³ H. H. A. Cooper, "What is a terrorist: a psychological perspective," *Legal Medical Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1977); H. H. A. Cooper, "Psychopath as terrorist," *Legal Medical Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1978).

³⁵⁴ R. M. Fields, "Child terror victims and adult terrorists," *Journal of Psychohistory* 7, no. 1 (1979).

³⁵⁵ J. R. Meloy and J. E. McEllistrem, "Bombing and psychopathology: an integrative view," *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 43, no. 3 (1998).

³⁵⁶ M. N. Heyman et al., "International Terrorism," *Police Chief* 49, no. 1 (1982).

³⁵⁷ Deborah M. Galvin, "The Female Terrorist: A Socio-Psychological Perspective," *Behavioral Science and the Law* 1 (1983).

³⁵⁸ Jerrold M. Post, "Individual and Group Dynamics of Terrorist Behavior," in *World Congress of Psychiatry, Psychiatry: The State of the Art*, vol. 6 (New York: Plenum, 1985); L. Bollinger, "Terrorist Conduct as a Result of a Psychological Process," in *World Congress of Psychiatry, Psychiatry: The State of the Art*, vol. 6 (New York: Plenum, 1985); Franco Ferracuti, "A Psychiatric Comparative—Analysis of Left and Right Terrorism in Italy," in *World Congress of Psychiatry, Psychiatry: The State of the Art*, vol. 6 (New York: Plenum, 1985).

³⁵⁹ Ken Heskin, "The Psychology of Terrorism in Ireland," in *Terrorism in Ireland*, ed. Yonah Alexander and Alan O'Day (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 88–105.

³⁶⁰ J. Braun De Dunayevich and J. Puget, "State Terrorism and Psychoanalysis," *International Journal of Mental Health* 18, no. 2 (1989).

³⁶¹ H. A. Lyons and H. J. Harbinson, "A comparison of political and non-political murderers in Northern Ireland, 1974-1984," *Medicine, Science and the Law* 26 (1986).

³⁶² P. W. Johnson and T. B. Feldman, "Personality types and terrorism: Self-psychology perspectives," *Forensic Reports* 5 (1992).

³⁶³ R. Luckabaugh et al., "Terrorist Behavior and United States Foreign Policy: Who Is the Enemy? Some Psychological and Political Perspectives," *Psychology* 34, no. 2 (1997).

*Forum on Brain Science*³⁶⁶. Many of the theories advocated in these publications were later expanded into books.

This body of knowledge, building on theories that had been developed in the 1960s, and in the aftermath of the Six Day War, further reified and rendered true the knowledge of the terrorist as not only an Arab/Muslim barbarian, but a mentally disturbed one at that³⁶⁷.

On 11 September 2001, nineteen members of Al-Qaeda carried out a series of coordinated suicide attacks on the United States. They hijacked four passenger jets and crashed two of them into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in New York City, causing both towers to collapse within two hours. The third

³⁶⁴ Bruce Hoffman, "The mind of the terrorist: Perspectives from Social psychology," *Psychiatric Annals* 29, no. 6 (1999).

³⁶⁵ Jeanne N. Knutson, "Toward a United States Policy on Terrorism," *Political Psychology* 5, no. 2 (1984); Martha Crenshaw, "The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the 21st Century," *Political Psychology* 21, no. 2 (2000).

³⁶⁶ Paul B. Davis, "The Terrorist Mentality," *Cerebrum: The Dana Forum or Brain Science* 3, no. 3 (2001).

³⁶⁷ D. G. Hubbard, *The skyjacker: His flights of fantasy* (New York: Macmillan, 1971); Gerald McKnight, *The Mind of the Terrorist* (London: Michael Joseph, 1974); Frederick J. Hacker, *Crusaders, criminals, crazies: terror and terrorism in our time* (New York: Norton, 1976); Marius H. Livingston et al., ed., *International Terrorism in the Contemporary World* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978); Ken Heskin, *Northern Ireland, a psychological analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980); I. L. Barak-Glantz and C. R. Huff, ed., *The Mad, the Bad and the Different: Essays in Honor of Simon Dinlz* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1981); B. M. Jenkins, ed., *Terrorism and beyond: An international conference on terrorism and low-level conflict* (Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1982); André Haynal, Miklos Molnar, and Gérard de Puymège, *Fanaticism: A Historical and Psychoanalytical Study* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983); Patrick J. Montana and George S. Roukis, ed., *Managing Terrorism: Strategies for the Corporate Executive* (Westport, Connecticut: Quorum, 1983); Yonah Alexander and Lawrence Z. Freedman, ed., *Perspectives on Terrorism* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1983); J. Brockner and J. Z. Rubin, *Entrapment in Escalating Conflicts* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1985); M. G. Hermann, ed., *Political psychology: contemporary problems and issues* (London: Josey-Bass, 1986); W. Reich, ed., *Origins of terrorism: Psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); R. M. Pearlstein, *The mind of the politic terrorist* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc, 1991); Lawrence Howard, ed., *Terrorism: Roots, Impact and Responses* (New York: Praeger, 1992); Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Rex A. Hudson, *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?* (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, 1999).

plane was flown into the Pentagon in Virginia, and the fourth jet crashed into a field in Pennsylvania before it could reach the intended target in Washington D.C. The attacks killed nearly 3,000 people, making it the worst attack of its kind on the United States in its history. All the attackers were Muslims.

Within hours, as is discussed in the following *Chapter*, President George Bush had described the attacks as evil and the attackers as Evildoers. The President could do so because the conditions of possibility were already present to bring under the same system of regularities the figure of the Devil (who rebelled against everything good); the secular rebel (who rebelled against divine oppression); the radical proletarian (who rebelled against liberal oppression) and the uncivilised Arab/Muslim (deranged, apocalyptic and an enemy of the West) to form the Evildoer, the 'new' enemy of the twenty first century. *Chapter Four* demonstrates how the presence of these early figures, and the Devil in the historical *a priori* of terrorism, allowed President Bush to make such utterances; while the subsequent two chapters show how these utterances were rendered true through rarefaction and action.

Summary

Terrorism as a discourse emerged from the separation of religion and politics, and was rendered true in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through power/knowledge relations that centred around three other juridically indiscernible figures: the proletarian radical, the universal rebel, and later, the Arab/Muslim barbarian. It is argued that if a date for the beginning of international terrorism were to be fixed, it should be 10 June 1967 when Israel won the Six Day War, and not 23 July 1968 when Palestinian rebels hijacked an El Al flight from Rome. Israel's victory in the War, viewed by many American leaders as well as fundamentalist Christians elsewhere in the West as a signal that Armageddon was nigh, created the conditions of possibility in which connections between religion and terror present in the Middle Ages could be reactivated. The discourse of the Arab/Muslim barbarian, which emerged with the medieval fear of Islam and religious thinkers and rulers' discursive use of Islam as a means of bolstering the 'truth' of Christianity, re-emerged during this period and was reconstituted as an object of terrorism discourse. Similarly, the Barbary captivity narratives, which had been used in seventeenth century

medieval Europe as well as eighteenth century North American discourse as a means of increasing the strength of belief among Christians, too, were reanimated during this period.

The Arab/Muslim barbarian terrorist was both constituted and validated by new developments in psychiatric and other forms of 'scientific' knowledges that emerged during this period. These transformations in the discourse of terrorism created the conditions of possibility in which the terrorist of the twenty first century would emerge as the Evildoer: an Arab/Muslim barbarian motivated by a fanatical belief in a bastardised version of Islam and an irrational hatred of liberal freedoms whose aim was to destroy civilization, namely the West. The following chapters explore the regimes of practices that both constituted and rendered the Evildoer and the evil of terrorism 'true'.

4. (Re)born in the USA: George Bush & the Evildoer

'You not only have a civil calling, but a divine calling...You are not just a civil servant; you are a servant of God called for such a time like this.'

'I accept the responsibility', Bush said, nodding.³⁶⁸

For three years after 11 September 2001, President Bush referred to 'terrorism' on average once a day, to 'terror' three times a day, and to 'terrorists' four times a day³⁶⁹. This chapter comprises an analysis of the texts of 1479 speeches/interviews/public addresses made by President George W Bush in the three years following 11 September 2001 (from 11 September 2001 – 11 September 2004). Seventy percent of all these speeches contained at least one mention of 'terrorism'. As has been alluded to before, an analysis of the discourses of any domain requires an examination of the *regimes of practices* of those discourses, that is 'all that was said in the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, traced its developments, indicated its various correlations, judged it, and possibly gave it speech by articulating, in its name, discourses that were to be taken as its own'³⁷⁰. This chapter attends to one part of this task by examining what was officially said about terrorism in the United States during the first few years of the War and Terror.

An examination of what President Bush *said* about the 'new enemy' is important not for any hidden meanings that his words might contain from which the true origin of terrorism could be decoded, but because his is an important enunciative position contributing to the formation of the Evildoer.

³⁶⁸ Conversation between President Bush and a Christian religious leader summoned to the White House on 20 September 2011 to offer guidance to the President before he addressed the Congress later the same day. The group included thirteen evangelical Christians as well as members of other faiths including Islam, Buddhism, and Sikhism. Tony Carnes, "Bush's Defining Moment", *Christianity Today*, 45, no. 14: 38-42.

³⁶⁹ Figures are based on the analysis of 1479 speeches (including interviews and radio addresses) given by President Bush between September 11, 2001 and September 11, 2004. The speeches were collected from "Presidential news and speeches," The George Bush Archive, The White House, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/>.

³⁷⁰ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock, 1972), 35.

President Bush's speeches about terrorism were delivered from the institutional site of American Presidency. He spoke as the 'leader of the Free World'³⁷¹, Commander in Chief of the 'War on Terror', and also as a leader for whom the Christian religion was vital for the execution of his official duties³⁷². During this period, President Bush's job approval ratings reached an all time high of ninety per cent³⁷³—the highest amongst all 11 United States Presidents whose popularity was measured by American pollster Gallup since the Second World War.³⁷⁴ His speeches to the American public were

³⁷¹ President Bush himself made it clear that he was speaking as "leader of the free world" in several of his speeches made between September 11, 2001 and December 31, 2001. See for example, "President Bush building worldwide campaign against terrorism," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 19, 2001, accessed March 14, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010919-1.html>; "UK's Blair pledges solidarity," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 20, 2001, accessed March 14, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-7.html>; and "President asks global leaders to play anthems on Dec 11," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 5, 2001, accessed March 14, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011205-11.html>.

³⁷² George W. Bush, "An American President serves people of every faith, and serves some with no faith at all. Yet, I have found my faith helps me in the service to people," quoted in "Bush speaks in annual national prayer breakfast," CNN Transcripts, CNN, February 1, 2001, accessed March 14, 2010, <http://edition.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0102/01/se.02.html>. Also see "Interview excerpts of President Bush and First Lady Laura Bush by Doro Bush Koch for StoryCorps," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 28, 2008, accessed March 14, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/11/20081128.html>, in which he described himself as "a lowly sinner seeking redemption" while cautioning the mixing of politics with faith. In summing up his presidency, he expressed his wish to be remembered "first and foremost" as a person who "did not sell his soul in order to accommodate the political process".

³⁷³ "President Bush: overall job ratings," *CBS News*, accessed March 14, 2010, http://www.cbsnews.com/elements/2006/03/23/in_depth_politics/frameset1433259.shtml; "President Bush's approval ratings: 2001-09," *The Guardian*, January 16, 2009, accessed March 14, 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2009/jan/16/george-bush-approval-ratings-america>.

³⁷⁴ "Bush job approval at 28%, lowest of his administration," *Gallup*, April 11, 2008, accessed March 14, 2010, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/106426/bush-job-approval-28-lowest-administration.aspx>.

liberally interspersed with the approving audience's applause, laughter and even proclamations of love: 'I love you George!'³⁷⁵.

President Bush was by no means the only prominent figure in the United States government to speak of terrorism as an evil and of terrorists as Evildoers. During the same period in which President Bush made the speeches analysed in this chapter, it was common for speakers in all major political institutions of the country to portray terrorism as an evil. It was a theme repeated in the Congress, in the Senate, in the House of Representatives³⁷⁶, and on various public forums by individuals within the political establishment. Richard Jackson's *Writing the War on Terrorism* chronicles, for example, various utterances by the American political elite, which have contributed to the present understanding of terrorism as an evil perpetrated by Muslims. Portraying the War on Terror as a battle between Good and Evil was also a common practice in the American media at the time³⁷⁷. The decision to focus solely on President Bush's speeches in this Chapter is related to his enunciative status in the discourse of terrorism. Being the leader of the world's only superpower, the First Victim of the 11 September attacks and the most popular American President in living memory all provided him with a unique authority with which to speak of terrorism, and made him one of the most important enunciative figures in the discourse of terrorism at the time. By taking what President Bush *said* about

³⁷⁵ Audience member recorded as shouting at a speech given by President Bush at a civic centre in Western Virginia. See George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at West Virginia Welcome," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 31, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021031-8.html>.

³⁷⁶ Carolyn B. Maloney, Congresswoman, *World bank lending to Iran, Before the Subcommittee on Domestic and International Monetary Policy, Committee on Financial Services* (October 29, 2003), accessed January 26, 2012,

http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/bank/hba92903.000/hba92903_0f.htm; Tom Lantos, Congressman, *Intellectual property crimes: Are proceeds from counterfeited goods funding terrorism?*, *Before the committee on International Relations, 108th Cong.* (July 16, 2003), accessed January 26, 2012,

http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/intlrel/hfa88392.000/hfa88392_0f.htm.

³⁷⁷ April Eisman, "The media of manipulation: patriotism and propaganda," *Critical Quarterly* 5, no. 1-2 (2003).

terrorism and putting it together with what was *done* about terrorism (as is explored in *Chapter Six*) during the same period, this study shines a light on some of the main regimes of practices that made it possible for the ‘terrorist’ to transform into an Evildoer and terrorism into an evil during this time.

Evil, as discussed in the earlier two chapters, has been conceived of in a variety of different ways in Western thought since Socrates defined it as arising from ignorance, the expectation of which causes terror. In the dualist view of Manicheans, the world is constituted by two rival forces of good and evil that are irreconcilably opposed to each other and exist in a state of perpetual conflict. Augustine conceived of evil as the privation of good, and singled out Lucifer’s rebellion against God as the original sin that created evil. He attributed evil to the ‘wrong choices of free rational beings’³⁷⁸—it was not that evil caused sin, but sin caused evil³⁷⁹. Rousseau introduced the concept of evil as systematic, that is, arising from the inherent inequalities in the system of social interaction that developed as individuals in the state of nature emerged to form societies³⁸⁰.

As becomes evident in the following analysis, President Bush’s use of the term evil is varied and carries connotations from the many understandings of evil dominant during various epochs. In his descriptions of Osama bin Laden and of Saddam Hussein, President Bush uses the term evil to describe the individuals themselves as inherently evil—people who, like the Devil, turned away from good and themselves became evil. However, he also refers to extreme ‘acts of evil’ committed by Osama bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, the Taliban and other ‘terrorists’. As Renée Jeffery has argued:

Considered together, already we have what is a rather confused understanding of evil. Evil is, for Bush, a type of action that, in some circumstances, is extreme enough to render the perpetrator of the action evil themselves. However, in what appears to be a somewhat circular argument, he also understands evil as

³⁷⁸ John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 65.

³⁷⁹ Joseph F. Kelly, *The problem of evil in the Western tradition: from the book of Job to modern genetics* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1989), 54.

³⁸⁰ Ruth W. Grant, “The Rousseauian revolution and the problem of evil,” in *Naming evil, Judging Evil*, ed. Ruth W. Grant (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 53-74.

turning away from or corruption of good, which renders the individual evil and allows them, in turn, to perpetrate evil actions.³⁸¹

At times, however, President Bush uses a more Manichean than an Augustinian understanding of evil. For example, he said on 11 October 2001, paying tribute at the Pentagon Memorial, one of the sites attacked on 11 September 2001, 'We cannot fully understand the designs and power of evil. It is enough to know that evil, like goodness, exists. And in the terrorists, evil has found a willing servant.'³⁸² Evil is inexplicable and exists as a type of independent force in the world. President Bush further reiterates this view in asserting that evil has nothing to do with religion. America did not 'share the point of view that evil is religious,'³⁸³ he said. Evil recognises 'no holidays; doesn't welcome Thanksgiving or Christmas season'³⁸⁴. Evil is essentially irreligious. In his descriptions of the War on Terror as a grand cosmic battle between good and evil, he reiterates this view many times, as is discussed in detail below. But, in asserting time and again that good will overcome evil, he negates the very same understanding—if good can overcome evil, good and evil do not co-exist in perpetual conflict as the Manicheans understood it.

At times, President Bush's use of the term is *somewhat* Rousseauan, especially when he speaks of illiberal regimes such as that of the Taliban in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein's in Iraq that gave rise to the evildoers. However, his speeches provide no room for the understanding of evil proposed by Rousseau, and which motivated the French Revolutionaries, the first rebels to be described as terrorists: evil arises from inherent inequalities in the systems

³⁸¹ Renée Jeffery, *Evil and International Relations: human suffering in an age of terror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 138.

³⁸² George W. Bush, "President Pays Tribute at Pentagon Memorial," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 11, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011011-1.html>.

³⁸³ George W. Bush, "Nigerian President Offers Solidarity, Support to U.S.," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 2, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011102-5.html>.

³⁸⁴ George W. Bush, "Philippine President Reiterates Support," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 20, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011120-11.html>.

of social interaction and processes of civilisation itself. In the rejection of this view, the President is adamant: evil is barbaric, and foreign to civilisation. Thus, evil could not arise from inequality in the processes of civilisation. In one speech he flatly denies any connection between poverty—where inequalities in Rousseau’s concept of evil is most manifest in modern society—and evil: ‘I don’t accept that poverty promotes evil. That’s like saying poor people are evil’³⁸⁵. The Rousseauian concept of evil, on the other hand, is a discourse which Osama bin Laden, like other rebels before him, proposes in his many assertions that the inequalities inherent in United States foreign policy is what motivated his actions³⁸⁶. This is a view of evil that President Bush does not have room for as seen in his outright rejection of any such grievances—or a rational motive of any sort for that matter—behind the actions of Al Qaeda. They are driven, he says, by ‘pure evil’.³⁸⁷

This study asserts that the predominant concept of evil found in President Bush’s discursive output is most closely related to, and made possible by, that of medieval Christianity: Good is from God and evil from the Devil, the two are locked in perpetual battle with each other *and*, as Augustine’s insistence on redemption being ultimately dependent on God’s grace showed, God retains ultimate control over the Devil. It is also the same understanding of

³⁸⁵ George W. Bush, “Nigerian president offers solidarity, support to U.S.,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 2, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011102-5.html>.

³⁸⁶ Douglas Jehl and David Johnston, “In video message, bin Laden issues warning to U.S.,” *The New York Times*, October 30, 2004, accessed June 12, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/30/international/middleeast/30qaeda.html>. For a full compilation of Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda’s statements between 2003-2004, see Thomas Hegghammer, “Al-Qaida statements 2003-2004: A compilation of translated texts by Usama bin Ladin and Ayman al-Zawahiri,” Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, 2005, accessed March 4, 2007, <http://rapporter.ffi.no/rapporter/2005/01428.pdf>. For an analysis of Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda’s statements from before September 11, 2001 and until 2007, see Christopher M. Blanchard, “CRS Report for Congress, Al Qaeda: Statements and evolving ideology,” Library of Congress, January 26, 2006, accessed June 12, 2011, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL32759.pdf>.

³⁸⁷ George W. Bush, “International Campaign Against Terror Grows,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 25, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010925-1.html>.

evil, as seen in *Chapter Two*, that underpinned the concept of terror as a destructive form of political power that is legitimate and justified when used by God (good) against evil, and can only ever be used against good when deployed by the Devil.

As the analysis below shows, it is these medieval concepts of evil and terror, that are reactivated in President Bush's speeches, and which create the conditions of possibility for terrorists of the twenty first century to emerge as evildoers and terrorism as evil.

The reunion of evil and terror

Even before the sun set on 11 September 2001, and long before the dust settled on Ground Zero, relations between the discourses of evil, God and terrorism began to be formed in ways that had not been possible since the French Revolution. America had witnessed and experienced evil that day, and God was where comfort and solace could be found, President Bush told the nation. At the end of the day he told America to remember these words from scripture: 'Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil for You are with me'³⁸⁸. By the end of 2001, President Bush had described the attacks of 11 September 2001 as evil over 300 times, repeating the message on average three times a day over a period of just over 100 days³⁸⁹. The attacks were 'evil' of a kind the United States had never before seen³⁹⁰, 'evil in the extreme'³⁹¹ 'absolute evil'³⁹², 'flat evil'³⁹³, and 'a

³⁸⁸ George W. Bush, "Statement by the President in his address to the nation," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 11, 2001, accessed March 1, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-16.html>.

³⁸⁹ The figure is based on analysis of 153 speeches, interviews and radio addresses given by President Bush between September 11, 2001 and December 31, 2001 (112 days). All speeches accessed via The George Bush Archive, The White House.

³⁹⁰ George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President Upon Arrival," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 16, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html>.

³⁹¹ George W. Bush, "'Islam is Peace' Says President," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 17, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-11.html>.

brand of evil, the likes of which we haven't seen in a long time in the world'³⁹⁴. In the three years that followed, President Bush used the word 'evil' to describe terrorism equally as much as he used the word 'terrorism' itself (evil 1196 times and terrorism 1105 times). The terms terrorism and evil had become interchangeable in American discourse, creating the conditions in which terrorism could become evil, and evil terrorism.

Similarly, within two days of the attacks, President Bush had begun referring to the terrorists as Evildoers,³⁹⁵ a juridically indiscernible entity with a vast array of clearly discernible characters that were identified by President Bush in the months that followed. He was 'an enemy so evil that those [...] in America' could not possibly comprehend him³⁹⁶. First and foremost, the Evildoer is a 'terrorist', for terrorism is evil - there being 'one universal law, [...] that is, terrorism is evil'³⁹⁷. Evil is at the heart of terrorism, terrorists are

³⁹² George W. Bush, "President Chirac Pledges Support," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 18, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010918-8.html>.

³⁹³ George W. Bush, "President: FBI Needs Tools to Track Down Terrorists," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 25, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010925-5.html>.

³⁹⁴ George W. Bush, "At O'Hare, President Says 'Get On Board'," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 27, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010927-1.html>.

³⁹⁵ George W. Bush, "National Day of Prayer and Remembrance for the Victims Of the Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 13, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010913-7.html>.

³⁹⁶ George W. Bush, "President Salutes USO in White House Ceremony," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 2, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011102-14.html>.

³⁹⁷ George W. Bush, "President Meets with Prime Minister of India," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 9, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011109-2.html>.

'the most evil criminals of our age'³⁹⁸, and on 11 September 2001, the United States 'fell into the hands of Evildoers'³⁹⁹.

The hijackers were instruments of evil who died in vain. Behind them is a cult of evil which seeks to harm the innocent and thrives on human suffering. Theirs is the worst kind of cruelty, the cruelty that is fed, not weakened, by tears. Theirs is the worst kind of violence, pure malice, while daring to claim the authority of God. We cannot fully understand the designs and power of evil. It is enough to know that evil, like goodness, exists. And in the terrorists, evil has found a willing servant.⁴⁰⁰

The Evildoer can think of nothing but evil⁴⁰¹, is motivated by nothing but evil and has 'no justification for their actions' except evil itself⁴⁰²; 'hate [s] freedom and legitimate government'⁴⁰³ 'would like to rid the world of freedom as we know it'⁴⁰⁴, 'ha[s] no regard for human life', does not 'believe in religious freedom'⁴⁰⁵ is 'ruthless' and has 'no conscience...no mercy'⁴⁰⁶. Al-Qaeda, the

³⁹⁸ George W. Bush, "NATO Chief Stresses International Resolve," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 10, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011010-6.html>.

³⁹⁹ George W. Bush, "President Pays Tribute at Pentagon Memorial," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 11, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011011-1.html>.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ George W. Bush, "President: FBI Needs Tools to Track Down Terrorists," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 25, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010925-5.html>.

⁴⁰² George W. Bush, "International Campaign Against Terror Grows", The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 25, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010925-1.html>.

⁴⁰³ George W. Bush, "International Campaign Against Terror Grows," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 25, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010925-1.html>.

⁴⁰⁴ George W. Bush, "President Thanks CIA," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 26, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010926-3.html>.

⁴⁰⁵ George W. Bush, "President Meets with Displaced Workers in Town Hall Meeting," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 4, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011204-17.html>.

organisation responsible for the attacks was ‘an evil organisation ...based upon hate and evil’⁴⁰⁷; and its teachings were similarly ‘based upon evil and hate and destruction’⁴⁰⁸, just as its message was ‘one of evil and hate’⁴⁰⁹. Just as the ‘Evildoers’ of the Bible who ‘are full of boasting’⁴¹⁰ so was the ‘new’ enemy who ‘boast they want to kill—kill all Americans, kill all Jews, and kill all Christians’.⁴¹¹

Cleansing Iraq of evil

A year and a half later, when the United States and its Coalition of the Willing invaded Iraq, it was again in the pursuit of an Evildoer, this time seen in the person of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. ‘The War on Terror involves Saddam Hussein because of the nature of Saddam Hussein’—if the word Evil could not be used to describe his actions then, President Bush let it be known, ‘Evil has no meaning’⁴¹². He harboured ‘a deep hatred of America’ in his heart, weapons of mass destruction in his armouries, and terrorists ‘including

⁴⁰⁶ George W. Bush, “President Shares Thanksgiving Meal with Troops,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 21, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011121-3.html>.

⁴⁰⁷ George W. Bush, “President Meets with Muslim Leaders,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 26, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010926-8.html>.

⁴⁰⁸ George W. Bush, “King of Jordan: ‘We will stand behind you’,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 28, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010928-4.html>.

⁴⁰⁹ George W. Bush, “German Leader Reiterates Solidarity with U.S.,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 9, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011009-13.html>.

⁴¹⁰ Psalm 94:4.

⁴¹¹ George W. Bush, “Remarks by the President to the Travel Pool During Tour of CDC,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, 8 November 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011108-14.html>.

⁴¹² George W. Bush, “President Delivers “State of the Union,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, 28 January 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>.

operatives of al Qaeda' in his land⁴¹³. With the help of this Evil man, 'the terrorists could fulfil their stated ambitions and kill thousands or hundreds of thousands of innocent people in our country, or any other.'⁴¹⁴

To render his discourse 'true', President Bush sought validation in comments made by 'Nobel Laureate and Holocaust survivor' Elie Wiesel: 'We have a moral obligation to intervene where evil is in control. Today that place is Iraq'⁴¹⁵. Using Wiesel's opinion to support his own views not only increased President Bush's credibility in judging President Saddam as Evil, but also allowed connections to be made between the powerful discourses of the Holocaust, Evil, 'new terrorism' and Iraq. President Hussein had left 'thousands of his own citizens dead, blind, or disfigured' by chemical weapons. In 'the torture chambers of Iraq' are used the methods of 'electric shock, burning with hot irons, dripping acid on the skin, mutilation with electric drills, cutting out tongues, and rape'⁴¹⁶. There was no earthly cure for a man possessed by such Evil, after all, as President Bush pointed out with derision that delighted his fellow good Americans, it was not as if 'therapy would change his evil mind (laughter)'⁴¹⁷.

The union of Mahomet and bin Laden

One of the most often repeated and dominant narratives in President Bush's speeches is that of Osama bin Laden as the bringer and leader of a *false* Islam.

⁴¹³ George W. Bush, "President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 17, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317-7.html>.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ George W. Bush, "President Discusses Iraq in Radio Address," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 15, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030315.html>.

⁴¹⁶ George W. Bush, "President Delivers "State of the Union," The George Bush Archive, The White House, 28 January 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>.

⁴¹⁷ George W. Bush, "President Calls for Strengthened and Reformed Medicare Program," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 29, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030129-4.html>.

I consider bin Laden an evil man. And I don't think there's any religious justification for what he has in mind. Islam is a religion of love, not hate. This is a man who hates. This is a man who's declared war on innocent people. This is a man who doesn't mind destroying women and children. This is man who hates freedom. This is an evil man⁴¹⁸.

'The Al Qaeda people' he said, do not represent Islam 'as far as America is concerned' and being 'evil people', they are not of 'the Muslim faith that I know and understand.'⁴¹⁹ The idea of a *false Islam*, represented foremost by bin Laden and his followers, is a dominant and oft repeated narrative in President Bush's speeches. 'The face of terror', represented by Osama bin Laden, 'is not the true faith of Islam', nor is it 'what Islam is all about'.⁴²⁰ The terrorists' Islam was 'a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam'.⁴²¹ 'The Islam that we [Americans] know' as was 'revealed through The Holy Qur'an' was not the false Islam that the evildoers knew.⁴²² And the evildoers could not be Muslims because 'Islam is peace' and 'these terrorists don't represent peace. They represent evil and war'⁴²³. The Evildoers are thus

⁴¹⁸ George W. Bush, "President meets with Muslim leaders," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 26, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010926-8.html>.

⁴¹⁹ George W. Bush, "King of Jordan: 'We will stand behind you'," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 28, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010928-4.html>.

⁴²⁰ George W. Bush, "'Islam is Peace' Says President," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 17, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-11.html>.

⁴²¹ George W. Bush, "Address to a joint session of Congress and the American people," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 20, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁴²² George W. Bush, "President's message for Ramadan," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 15, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011115-14.html>.

⁴²³ George W. Bush, "'Islam is Peace' Says President," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 17, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-11.html>.

ersatz-Muslims who had 'betrayed'⁴²⁴ or 'hijacked' (or 'tried to hijack'⁴²⁵) a great religion in order to justify their evil deeds'⁴²⁶. They had proceeded 'to commit evil in the name of Allah, blaspheme the name of Allah'⁴²⁷. Al-Qaeda falsely claimed Islam to be their motivation and its members attested to being devout Muslims, but 'as far as America is concerned', Muslims they 'are not'⁴²⁸. Muslims were the 'doctors, lawyers, law professors, members of the military, entrepreneurs, shopkeepers, moms and dads'⁴²⁹ who were American citizens and paid their taxes. Evildoers could not be *true* Muslims.

President Bush's repeated accusations that Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda followers practised a fake Islam allowed him to reiterate continuously that the War on Terror was not against Islam *per se*, but against the false Islam that the Evildoers practised. 'This is not a campaign against Islam; this is not a campaign against Arab people', he said a week after he declared the War on Terror⁴³⁰. Bush again repeated the same message two days later saying, 'the enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab

⁴²⁴ George W. Bush, "President Outlines War Effort," The George Bush Archive, The White House, 17 October 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011017-15.html>.

⁴²⁵ George W. Bush, "President Rallies Troops at Travis Air Force Base," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 17, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011017-20.html>.

⁴²⁶ George W. Bush, "President Holds Prime Time News Conference," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 11, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011011-7.html>.

⁴²⁷ George W. Bush, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 20, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁴²⁸ George W. Bush, "President Meets with Muslim Leaders," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 26, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010926-8.html>.

⁴²⁹ George W. Bush, "'Islam is Peace' Says President," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 17, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-11.html>.

⁴³⁰ George W. Bush, "President Chirac pledges support," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 18, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010918-8.html>.

friends'⁴³¹ but those who had hijacked Islam.⁴³² Again, speaking to the King of Jordan a few days later, he repeated the message that America's 'war is against evil, not against Islam' whose teachings were the exact opposite of Islam, which they falsely professed to believe in⁴³³.

These continuous denials of the 'Muslimness' of the Evildoer Osama bin Laden, and any links between Islam and the War on Terror made Islam one of the most significant objects of the discourses of both terrorism and evil. In eight percent of the speeches President Bush gave during the three-year period following the 11 September 2001 attacks, Islam (and/or Muslims) appeared together with terrorism. This discursive prominence given to the *non-Muslimness* of the 'new' enemy meant that terrorism always had *something* to do with Islam: be it a lack of faith, too much of it, or a fraudulent claim to it. The reconfiguration of terrorism as an object of religious discourse, and the placement of Islam and Evil alongside each other at the centre of twenty first century terrorism discourse created the conditions in which the historical *a priori* of Western conceptions of Islam could return to the foreground of Western thought in the twenty first century.

Particularly significant in this respect are the accusations against Osama bin Laden of spreading a 'false Islam' that preached violence and hatred and destruction. As was discussed in *Chapter Two*, Islam first entered Western consciousness as a heresy, spread by the violence and hatred of the 'false prophet' Mahomet. In twenty first century discourse it was not possible for the President of the self-proclaimed 'most liberal nation in the world' to single out Islam itself as a heresy. He, therefore, created a division between a true Islam and a false Islam in which the 'false Islam' comprised the same

⁴³¹ George W. Bush, "Address to a joint session of Congress and the American people," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 20, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ George W. Bush, "King of Jordan: 'We will stand behind you'," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 28, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010928-4.html>.

characteristics as the false religion, which early Christianity regarded Islam itself to be.

At the centre of the 'false Islam' discourse was Osama bin Laden, who like Mahomet, believed in the power of the sword to acquire followers, and killed indiscriminately. Like Mahomet, Osama was out to 'kill Christians and Jews' wherever he could find them. As will be seen, like Mahomet, Osama bin Laden was also a barbarian, an Arab barbarian like the Barbary pirates of the captivity narratives from the seventeenth and eighteenth century. These discursive practices also allowed the reanimation of the discourses of the Arab Anti-Christ, which had already become part of the terrorism discourse in the late twentieth century as was discussed in *Chapter Two*. A fleeting sign of how these subjugated discourses had been reanimated in Western thought came in the form of an unscripted remark made by President Bush. Speaking on 16 September 2001, a Sunday, which he described as 'the Lord's Day', President Bush said: 'This crusade, this war on terrorism is going to take a while.'⁴³⁴

Evil, evil everywhere

These Evildoers soon came to occupy as omnipotent and ominous a place in American discourse as the Devil did in Western discourses of the Middle Ages. In the three years following 11 September 2001, it was not just the nation's attention in general that President Bush drew to the Evil of terrorism, but he alerted almost every sector of society to its threat, addressing them individually from children at elementary school⁴³⁵ to high school graduates⁴³⁶;

⁴³⁴ George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President upon arrival," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 16, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html>. The White House later retracted the remark, saying the President had not intended to convey any other meaning than "the traditional English sense of the word, as a broad cause". See Euan Ferguson, "The language of conflict," *The Guardian*, September 23, 2001, accessed June 26, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2001/sep/23/afghanistan.terrorism14?INTCMP=SRCH>. As mentioned at the outset, this analysis of President Bush's speeches is not intended to look for hidden meanings behind his words. President Bush used the word to describe the War on Terror.

⁴³⁵ George W. Bush, "President Highlights Next Step of Education Reform," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 6, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, [121](http://georgewbush-</p></div><div data-bbox=)

from parents⁴³⁷ to grandparents⁴³⁸; from factory workers⁴³⁹ to crop farmers⁴⁴⁰ and cattle farmers⁴⁴¹; from artisans⁴⁴² and labourers to labour leaders⁴⁴³; from

whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020506-4.html; George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at 2002 Unity Luncheon," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 17, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021017-2.html>.

⁴³⁶ George W. Bush, "President Bush and President Putin Talk to Crawford Students," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 15, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011115-4.html>; George W. Bush, "President Visits Rufus King High School in Milwaukee," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 8, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020508-2.html>; George W. Bush, "President Visits Logan High School in Lacrosse," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 8, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020508-3.html>.

⁴³⁷ George W. Bush, "President Calls on Congress to Pass Economic Security Package," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 22, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020122-8.html>; George W. Bush, "President Reiterates Call for Retirement Security Reform," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 1, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020301-2.html>; George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President and the First Lady at 'ask President Bush' Event," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 7, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040507-8.html>; George W. Bush, "President's Remarks at an Ask the President Event," The George Bush Archive, The White House, July 20, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040720-7.html>; George W. Bush, "President's Remarks at Panama City, Florida Rally," The George Bush Archive, The White House, August 10, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/08/20040810-19.html>; George W. Bush, "President's Remarks at Traverse City, Michigan Rally," The George Bush Archive, The White House, August 16, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/08/20040816-4.html>.

⁴³⁸ George W. Bush, "President Calls for 100,000 New Senior Corps Volunteers," January 31, 2002, The George Bush Archive, The White House, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020131-2.html>

⁴³⁹ George W. Bush, "President Meets with Displaced Workers in Town Hall Meeting," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 4, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011204-17.html>.

⁴⁴⁰ George W. Bush, "President Discusses Economic Stimulus with the Farmers Journal Corporation Convention," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 28, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush->

airline workers⁴⁴⁴ to fire fighters⁴⁴⁵; from athletes⁴⁴⁶ to baseball and football champions⁴⁴⁷; from Jews on Yom Kippur⁴⁴⁸ to Muslims at Ramadan⁴⁴⁹ and Christians at Christmas⁴⁵⁰; from Churchgoers to charity workers⁴⁵¹; from Chief

whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011128-10.html; George W. Bush, "President Discusses Ag, Trade in South Dakota," The George Bush Archive, The White House, April 24, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/04/20020424-3.html>.

⁴⁴¹ George W. Bush, "President Discusses Ag Policy at Cattle Industry Convention," The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 8, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020208-1.html>.

⁴⁴² George W. Bush, "President's Remarks to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America," The George Bush Archive, The White House, August 12, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/08/20040812-8.html>.

⁴⁴³ George W. Bush, "President Unveils Back to Work Plan," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 4, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011004-8.html>.

⁴⁴⁴ George W. Bush, "At O'Hare, President Says 'Get On Board'," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 27, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010927-1.html>.

⁴⁴⁵ George W. Bush, "President Speaks at 20th Annual National Fallen Firefighters Memorial Tribute," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 7, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-2.html>.

⁴⁴⁶ George W. Bush, "President Bush to Olympic Athletes: 'Let's Roll'," The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 9, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020209.html>.

⁴⁴⁷ George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President to the NCAA Sports Champions," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 12, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020312-12.html>.

⁴⁴⁸ George W. Bush, "Presidential Message on Yom Kippur," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 26, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010926-10.html>.

⁴⁴⁹ George W. Bush, "President Hosts Iftaar," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 7, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/11/20021107-11.html>.

⁴⁵⁰ George W. Bush, "Presidential Christmas Message," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 20, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011220-5.html>.

⁴⁵¹ George W. Bush, "President Promotes Faith-Based Initiative," The George Bush Archive, The White House, April 11, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/04/20020411-5.html>; George W. Bush,

Executives to corporate managers⁴⁵²; and from teachers⁴⁵³ to manufacturers⁴⁵⁴ and coalminers⁴⁵⁵. By forming relations between terrorism and every aspect of American life, the Presidential rhetoric helped facilitate the existence of the 'new' Evil enemy not just within the domains customarily related to the 'terrorist' (security, politics, crime, for example) and the domain of religion, but in almost every conceivable domain of American life. The Evildoer 'terrorist' was now found in sports⁴⁵⁶, education⁴⁵⁷, retirement⁴⁵⁸ and social

"President Bush Previews Historic NATO Summit in Prague Speech," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 20, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/11/20021120-4.html>.

⁴⁵² George W. Bush, "President Outlines Plan to Improve Corporate Responsibility," The George Bush Archive, March 7, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020307-3.html>.

⁴⁵³ George W. Bush, "President Launches Quality Teacher Initiative," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 4, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020304-8.html>.

⁴⁵⁴ George W. Bush, "President Discusses Economic Stimulus with National Association of Manufacturers," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 31, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011031-1.html>; George W. Bush,

"President Participates in Roundtable with Small Business Owners and Employees," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 18, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020318-1.html>.

⁴⁵⁵ George W. Bush, "President Bush Meets with Pennsylvania Coal Miners," The George Bush Archive, The White House, August 5, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/08/20020805-1.html>.

⁴⁵⁶ George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President to the NCAA Sports Champions," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 12, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020312-12.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Urges Responsibility in Speech Congratulating Lakers," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 28, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020128-1.html>.

⁴⁵⁷ George W. Bush, "President Stresses Volunteerism at Atlanta High School," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 31, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020131-7.html>;

George W. Bush, "President's Remarks to Press After Meeting with Educators," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 4, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020304-9.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Launches Quality Teacher Initiative," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 4, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020304-8.html>; George W. Bush,

welfare⁴⁵⁹, civic affairs⁴⁶⁰, economy⁴⁶¹, medicine and healthcare⁴⁶², childcare⁴⁶³, finance⁴⁶⁴, labour, business⁴⁶⁵, agriculture⁴⁶⁶, women's entrepreneurship⁴⁶⁷, taxation⁴⁶⁸, and even in the nation's biodiversity⁴⁶⁹.

"President Highlights Education in Rochester, Minnesota," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 18, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021018-7.html>.

⁴⁵⁸ George W. Bush, "President Reiterates Call for Retirement Security Reform," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 1, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020301-2.html>.

⁴⁵⁹ George W. Bush, "President Calls for Strong Work Requirements in Welfare Reform," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 13, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020513-6.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Urges Senate to Pass Compassionate Welfare Reform Bill," The George Bush Archive, The White House, July 29, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/07/20020729-6.html>.

⁴⁶⁰ George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President on Teaching American History and Civic Education," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 17, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020917-7.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Introduces History & Civic Education Initiatives," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 17, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020917-1.html>.

⁴⁶¹ George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at South Bend, Indiana Welcome," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 5, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020905-6.html>.

⁴⁶² George W. Bush, "President's Remarks During Tour of Medical Center," The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 5, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020205-3.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Increases Funding for Bioterrorism by 319 Percent," The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 5, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020205-4.html>;

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George W. Bush, "President Proposes Major Reforms to Address Medical Liability Crisis," The George Bush Archive, The White House, July 25, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/07/20020725-1.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Calls for Medical Liability Reform," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 16, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030116-1.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Calls for Strengthened and Reformed Medicare Program," The George Bush

Archive, The White House, January 29, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030129-4.html>.

⁴⁶³ George W. Bush, "President Meets with Early Childhood Education Experts," The George Bush Archive, The White House, April 2, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/04/20020402-8.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Highlights Next Step of Education Reform," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 6, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020506-4.html>.

⁴⁶⁴ George W. Bush, "President Calls on Congress to Show Fiscal Responsibility," The George Bush Archive, The White House, April 16, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/04/20020416-8.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Stresses Budget Discipline and Fiscal Restraint," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 16, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020916-2.html>.

⁴⁶⁵ George W. Bush, "President Outlines Plan to Improve Corporate Responsibility," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 7, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020307-3.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Participates in Roundtable with Small Business Owners and Employees," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 18, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020318-1.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Emphasizes Job Creation in Economic Recovery," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 18, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020318-2.html>.

⁴⁶⁶ George W. Bush, "President Discusses Ag Policy at Cattle Industry Convention," The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 8, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020208-1.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Discusses Ag, Trade in South Dakota," The George Bush Archive, The White House, April 24, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/04/20020424-3.html>.

⁴⁶⁷ George W. Bush, "President Unveils Small Business Plan at Women's Entrepreneurship Summit," The George Bush Archive, The White House, 19 March 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020319-2.html>.

⁴⁶⁸ George W. Bush, "President Calls on Congress to Make Tax Relief Permanent," The George Bush Archive, The White House, April 15, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/04/20020415-2.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Discusses Tax Relief Impact in Springfield, Missouri," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 18, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021018-6.html>.

⁴⁶⁹ George W. Bush, "President Announces Healthy Forest Initiative," The George Bush Archive, The White House, August 22, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/08/20020822-3.html>.

President Bush told airline employers to ‘get on board’ and athletes to ‘roll’⁴⁷⁰ with him on the War on Terror. He alerted Hispanics⁴⁷¹ African Americans⁴⁷², Italian Americans⁴⁷³, Irish Americans⁴⁷⁴ and Asian Pacific Americans⁴⁷⁵, each ethnic group separately, to the presence of the Evildoer and the threat he posed to their existence. Just as the Devil shadowed the European of the Middle Ages from birth to death, so was the Evildoer present in every stage of the average American life—childhood⁴⁷⁶, youth⁴⁷⁷, parenthood⁴⁷⁸, old age⁴⁷⁹; and, of course, death.

⁴⁷⁰ George W. Bush, “President Bush to Olympic Athletes: ‘Let’s Roll,’” The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 9, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020209.html>.

⁴⁷¹ George W. Bush, “President Addresses National Hispanic Prayer Breakfast,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 16, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020516-1.html>;

George W. Bush, “President Discusses Education with Hispanic Leaders,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, August 23, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/08/20020823-7.html>;

George W. Bush, “President Hosts White House Event for Hispanic Heritage Month,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 9, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021009-1.html>.

⁴⁷² George W. Bush, “President Speaks at Celebration of African American Music, History, and Culture,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 31, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020531-7.html>; George W. Bush, “President Commemorates 40th Anniversary of Civil Rights Act,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, July 1, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040701-10.html>.

⁴⁷³ George W. Bush, “Remarks by the President,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 8, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011008-8.html>.

⁴⁷⁴ George W. Bush, “President’s Radio Address,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, June 26, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/06/20040626.html>.

⁴⁷⁵ George W. Bush, “Remarks by the President on Asian Pacific American Heritage Month,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 17, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020517-10.html>.

⁴⁷⁶ George W. Bush, “President Meets with Early Childhood Education Experts,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, April 2, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/04/20020402-8.html>;

George W. Bush, “President Highlights Next Step of Education Reform,” The George Bush

Archive, The White House, May 6, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020506-4.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Highlights Education Reform at Back to School Event," The George Bush Archive, The White House, August 29, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/08/20020829-7.html>;

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⁴⁷⁷ George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at 2002 President's Environmental Youth Awards Ceremony," The George Bush Archive, The White House, April 18, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/04/20020418-8.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Visits Rufus King High School in Milwaukee," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 8, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020508-2.html>;

George W. Bush, "President Bush Speaks to Elementary Students in Milwaukee," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 8, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020508-1.html>;

George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at White House Conference on Missing, Exploited, and Runaway Children," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 2, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021002-4.html>.

⁴⁷⁸ George W. Bush, "President Reiterates Call for Retirement Security Reform," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 1, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020301-2.html>;

George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President and the First Lady at 'ask President Bush' Event," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 7, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040507-8.html>;

George W. Bush, "President's Remarks at an Ask the President Event," The George Bush Archive, The White House, July 20, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/07/20040720-7.html>;

George W. Bush, "President's Remarks at Ask President Bush Event," The George Bush Archive, The White House, August 10, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/08/20040810-15.html>;

George W. Bush, "President's Remarks at Traverse City, Michigan Rally," The George Bush Archive, The White House, August 16, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/08/20040816-4.html>.

⁴⁷⁹ George W. Bush, "President Commemorates Veterans Day at Arlington Natl Cemetery," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 11, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/11/20021111-3.html>.

The 'new' enemy's place in Western discourse is not only as omnipresent as that of the Devil's was in the Middle Ages, it is also as potent. In the Middle Ages, as discussed in *Chapter Two*, the Devil was:

[A]n omnipresent force, ever ready to prey on man's weaker instincts and to tempt him away into the paths of evil. He was also an instrument of God's judgement, for the sinners of this world constituted the member's of Satan's kingdom after their death. In Hell they were subjected to undying torments over which he presided. To help him in his task he had any army of demons and evil spirits, as numerous and pervasive as the saints and angels of Christ. He was both one and many⁴⁸⁰.

In the immediate aftermath of 11 September 2001, as Evil became as omnipresent as the Devil had been in Western discourses of the Middle Ages, it was possible to see the work of his human agents, the Evildoers, in every unusual or inexplicable occurrence in American society.

On 18 September 2001, a week after the Evildoers struck, letters laced with the deadly poison anthrax were mailed to several media outlets and two US Senators. Five people were killed and seventeen others were infected⁴⁸¹. Asked if the anthrax attacks had 'any connection to bin Laden's organization', President Bush replied, 'There may be some possible links'. 'We have no hard data yet. But it's clear that Mr. bin Laden is a man who is an evil man'.⁴⁸² 'These are evil people and the deeds that have been conducted on the American people are evil deeds'⁴⁸³ and, 'whoever has done it shares that same value of evil that we saw on September the 11th. And we'll find them and

⁴⁸⁰ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic* (New York: Scribner, 1971), 559.

⁴⁸¹ Joby Warrick, "FBI investigation of 2001 anthrax attacks concluded; U.S. releases details," *The Washington Post*, February 20, 2010, accessed March 14, 2010, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/02/19/AR2010021902369.html>.

⁴⁸² George W. Bush, "President Bush and Italian Prime Minister Discuss War Effort," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 15, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011015-3.html>.

⁴⁸³ George W. Bush, "U.S., China Stand Against Terrorism," The George Bush Archive, The White House, 19 October 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011019-4.html>.

bring them to justice, as well'⁴⁸⁴. Almost ten years, new legislation, 'billions of dollars in government and private spending aimed at defending the country against biological attacks' and 'an expensive, eight-year FBI probe that spanned six continents and included multiple, highly publicized mishaps' later, the FBI 'sealed the envelope'⁴⁸⁵ on the anthrax case in February 2010. They concluded that an irate American scientist was solely responsible for the attacks. He committed suicide in July 2008 while files were being prepared to prosecute him⁴⁸⁶.

In the Europe of the Middle Ages, when the Devil was similarly omnipresent, his presence was often detected even in natural disasters that befell society. When the intended bride of sixteenth century King James IV of Scotland, Danish Princess Anna, was prevented by spectacular storms from travelling to Scotland, for example, the King personally led an investigation into the courses of the storms, and 'uncovered a story of a gathering at North Berwick parish kirk the previous Hallowe'en (31 October 1589) over which the Devil himself had presided, with the agenda of planning the King's destruction, principally through the manipulation of the weather.'⁴⁸⁷ In the years following 11 September 2001 the presence of the Evildoer was equally prominent in American discourse for the nation to see the Evildoer's hand in all disasters the befell the country, natural or otherwise. When Hurricane Katrina hit the city of New Orleans in 2005, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), established in 1979 to deal with disasters too overwhelming for local and state authorities, viewed the disaster through the lens of terrorism. While the Evildoers were not suspected of 'manipulation of the weather' as the

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ Katie Drummond, "FBI seals the envelope on 2001 Anthrax attacks," *AOL News*, February 19, 2010, accessed March 14, 2010, <http://www.aolnews.com/nation/article/fbi-seals-the-envelope-on-2001-anthrax-attacks/19365965>.

⁴⁸⁶ John Warrick, "FBI investigation of 2001 anthrax attacks concluded; U.S releases details," *The Washington Post*, February 20, 2010, accessed March 16, 2010, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/02/19/AR2010021902369.html>.

⁴⁸⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: a house divided* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 571.

Devil of the Middle Ages had been, they were suspected of manipulating the consequences of the weather.

As Hurricane Katrina bore down on the Gulf Coast the Department of Homeland Security alerted law enforcement agencies in the region to the vast array of opportunities available to any terrorist seeking to exploit the disaster.⁴⁸⁸ With the title *How terrorists might exploit a hurricane*, the document was compiled in 2003 by a 'Red Cell' of thirty five experts from 'intelligence, industry, military and academia' who were asked by the Department of Homeland Security to 'speculate on possible terrorist exploitation of a high category hurricane'⁴⁸⁹. While the four page document starts with the caveat, 'Terrorists are unlikely to exploit a hurricane', it says, 'if terrorists were to do so, they would have several opportunities'. A 'group like Al-Qaida' could 'capitalise on the hurricane' and 'launch an attack elsewhere'. Moreover, organized groups, splinter cells, or lone wolf terrorists might observe security measures to help planning for a future event, target evacuation routes and emergency shelters, or even impersonate emergency responders to attempt to gain access and cause destruction.⁴⁹⁰

In other words, the 'terrorist' or Evildoer as he was otherwise known during this period, could be everywhere, and could be anyone. The Devil had a similar ability to impersonate anyone or anything having been known to have appeared, among other things, as adder, ape or monkey, asp, basilisk, bat, bear, bull, camel, cat, centaur, chimaera, crocodile, crow, deer, dog, dragon, eagle, fish, fly, fox, gnat, goat, goose, griffin, gull, hare, hawk, horse, hyena, leopard, lion, serpent, sheep, sparrow, spider, stag, swallow, tiger, toad, tortoise, vulture, wasp, whale, wolf, and worm through the ages⁴⁹¹. Consequently, the 'red cell' experts recommended increased security at

⁴⁸⁸ Department of Homeland Security, "How terrorists might explore a hurricane," September 15, 2004. The document now unclassified can be retrieved at:

http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/FeaturedDocs/DHS_HurricaneExploitation.pdf. Accessed on September 8, 2011.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Jeffery Burton Russell, *Lucifer: the Devil in the Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University Press, 1984), 67.

shelters, 'vigilance at evacuation checkpoints (tunnels, bridges), and reporting of unfamiliar vehicles and personnel'⁴⁹² to spot the Evildoer in disguise.

Valuable resources were thus spent on arresting potential Evildoers rather than assisting the needy. And, while President Bush differentiated between the evil of 11 September 2001 attacks, saying that the devastation from the hurricane 'resulted not from the malice of evil men', as had been the case on 11 September 2001, 'but from the fury of water and wind'⁴⁹³, the Evildoer's presence was nevertheless suspected. Illustrative of this preoccupation with Evildoers is the story of Syrian immigrant Abdulrahman Zeitoun, an American citizen who was arrested and held at a maximum-security prison without charge and without any rights for twenty days, suspected of being 'Al-Qaeda' or 'Taliban' for no reason other than his Middle Eastern appearance⁴⁹⁴. Zeitoun, a Syrian Muslim married to Kathy, an American who converted to Islam before meeting Zeitoun, lived in Kathy's native New Orleans with their three children and ran a successful painting and decorating business together. When Hurricane Katrina hit, Zeitoun stayed at home while his wife and children evacuated to Fort Bragg. Zeitoun, a former sailor, spent his time paddling a canoe across the flooded streets of the city, rescuing various people trapped in their homes. On 6 September 2005, five men and one woman in 'mismatched military police and military uniform' armed with M-16s arrested Zeitoun at his own property along with three acquaintances, one of whom was another Syrian immigrant. In reply to the bewildered Zeitoun's queries as to why he had been arrested he was told, 'You guys are al Qaeda'⁴⁹⁵. Throughout his captivity, he was referred to as 'terrorists', or the

⁴⁹² Department of Homeland Security, "How terrorists might exploit a hurricane," September 15, 2004. The document now unclassified can be retrieved at:

http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/FeaturedDocs/DHS_HurricaneExploitation.pdf, accessed on September 8, 2011.

⁴⁹³ George W. Bush, "President's Radio Address," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 10, 2005, accessed March 17, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/09/20050910.html>.

⁴⁹⁴ Dave Eggars, *Zeitoun* (London: Penguin Books, 2010).

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 232.

'Taliban', and subjected to similar degrading and humiliating treatment as prisoners of the War on Terror held in Guantánamo Bay and elsewhere.⁴⁹⁶

Goodness, gracious

One of the multiple ways in which Bush conceived of evil was as the absolute opposite of good. That the United States was fighting evil he was in no doubt, as he made clear in many different speeches. 'We're not fighting a nation; we're not fighting a religion; we're fighting evil. And we have no choice but to prevail'⁴⁹⁷. There were 'not many shades of gray in this war', he said, 'you are either Evil or you are Good'⁴⁹⁸, 'there is no in between'.⁴⁹⁹ Concomitant with this view is the claim that the United States, and therefore the War on Terror, is inherently good. As he explained in detail:

⁴⁹⁶ For example, Zeitoun and his acquaintances were denied the right to a phone call and placed in fifteen feet by fifteen feet cell. Watched by dozens of soldiers, many of whom muttered, 'Taliban', while looking at them, Zeitoun was stripped and searched internally before being placed in the cell. 'You guys are terrorists. You're Taliban', one guard said to them. After three days in the cell, clad in an orange jumpsuit and gaped at like an animal in a zoo, Zeitoun was transferred to the Elayn Hunt Correctional Centre in Louisiana, a maximum-security prison where he remained for twenty days without any contact with the outside world. His wife Kathy and three children, meanwhile, were trying to come to terms with the possibility that Zeitoun may have died. The first Kathy knew Zeitoun was alive, and in prison, was when a missionary priest called her on September 19, 2005 at the behest of Zeitoun. She also received a phone call from the Office of Homeland Security on the same day informing her where Zeitoun was - they had 'no more interest in him'. After being charged with looting, Zeitoun was released on \$75,000 bail, which Kathy paid by mortgaging their business premises. While Zeitoun was in a cell in a maximum-security prison, and while his wife contemplated life without a husband and a father for their children, President Bush observed a minute of silence outside the White House in remembrance of the victims of September 11, 2001. The story is told by Dave Eggars, *Zeitoun* (London: Penguin Books, 2010).

⁴⁹⁷ George W. Bush, "President Bush Calls for Action on the Economy and Energy," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 26, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011026-9.html>.

⁴⁹⁸ George W. Bush "Remarks by the President at Scott McCallum for Governor Reception," The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 11, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020211-9.html>.

⁴⁹⁹ George W. Bush, "President Rallies the Troops in Alaska," The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 11, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020216-1.html>.

We value life; the terrorists ruthlessly destroy it. We value education; the terrorists do not believe women should be educated or should have health care, or should leave their homes. We value the right to speak our minds; for the terrorists, free expression can be grounds for execution. We respect people of all faiths and welcome the free practice of religion; our enemy wants to dictate how to think and how to worship even to their fellow Muslims⁵⁰⁰.

Al-Qaeda's leader, Osama bin Laden was 'The Evil One'⁵⁰¹. He is 'an evil man'⁵⁰², 'an incredibly evil man'⁵⁰³ 'who hates freedom...an evil man', who 'has got evil goals'⁵⁰⁴. Just as it was hard to think of the Devil in rational terms, so it was 'hard to think in conventional terms' about bin Laden 'a man so dominated by evil'⁵⁰⁵. Just as God had seen how great 'man's wickedness on the earth had become' and 'that every inclination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil all the time'⁵⁰⁶, the United States saw that the evil bin Laden's 'heart has been so corrupted that he's willing to take innocent life'⁵⁰⁷. His thoughts were so evil that Americans could not even begin to comprehend

⁵⁰⁰ George W. Bush, "President Discusses War on Terrorism," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 8, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011108-13.html>.

⁵⁰¹ George W. Bush, "President Holds Prime Time News Conference," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 11, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011011-7.html>.

⁵⁰² George W. Bush, "President Meets with Muslim Leaders," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 26, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010926-8.html>.

⁵⁰³ George W. Bush, "Prime Minister of Thailand Reiterates Full Support to U.S.," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 14, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011214-5.html>.

⁵⁰⁴ George W. Bush, "President Meets with Muslim Leaders," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 26, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010926-8.html>.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Genesis 6:5.

⁵⁰⁷ George W. Bush, "Nigerian President Offers Solidarity, Support to U.S.," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 2, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011102-5.html>.

their destructiveness, and so low was his regard for human life⁵⁰⁸. 'He is so evil that he is willing to send young men to commit suicide while he hides in caves'⁵⁰⁹, and he was more than capable of developing 'evil weapons to try to harm civilization as we know it'⁵¹⁰. Before the United States and its allies invaded Afghanistan in October 2001, President Bush warned the Taliban government that if it did not hand over the Evildoers hiding in Afghanistan, 'they will share in their [the Evildoers'] fate'⁵¹¹.

To be on the side of Good, one had to be on the side of America for the nation was Good personified. 'Our nation', America, 'is the greatest force for good in the world history'⁵¹², President Bush repeatedly told the people of America in the years following 11 September 2001. It 'is a nation with a good and generous heart'⁵¹³ and Americans are 'good. [...] good-hearted people'⁵¹⁴ full of 'goodness and generosity'⁵¹⁵. America remained 'the hope of the oppressed,

⁵⁰⁸ George W. Bush, "President Bush Calls for Action on the Economy and Energy," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 26, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011026-9.html>.

⁵⁰⁹ George W. Bush, "President's Remarks at White House Lighting of Menorah," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 10, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011210-7.html>.

⁵¹⁰ George W. Bush, "President Welcomes President Chirac to White House," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 6, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011106-4.html>.

⁵¹¹ George W. Bush, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 20, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁵¹² George W. Bush, "President Asks American Children to Help Afghan Children," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 12, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011012-4.html>.

⁵¹³ George W. Bush, "Radio Address by the President To the Nation," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 24, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011124.html>.

⁵¹⁴ George W. Bush, "America's Youth Respond to Afghan Children's Fund," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 16, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011016-4.html>.

⁵¹⁵ George W. Bush, "President Shares Thanksgiving Meal with Troops," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 21, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011121-3.html>.

and the greatest force for good on this earth'.⁵¹⁶ On several occasions, he thanked the people of the United States for the opportunity to be 'the President of the greatest nation on the face of the earth'.⁵¹⁷ When he travelled abroad, it was to carry out the honourable duty of 'represent[ing] the greatest nation on the face of the earth in capitals around Europe' and elsewhere⁵¹⁸. President Bush' wife, Laura, was 'the First Lady of the greatest country on the face of the Earth'⁵¹⁹. He reminded students they were 'going to college in the greatest land, the greatest nation on the face of the earth'⁵²⁰; teachers were commended for their commitment 'to the greatest nation on the face of the earth'⁵²¹; sports champions were told the President recognised them not just as great athletes, but 'as great people who are a part of the greatest nation on the face of the Earth'⁵²²; American 'youngsters' were told to take voting seriously as they lived 'in the greatest land in [sic] face of the earth'⁵²³; and members of

⁵¹⁶ George W. Bush, "President's Remarks at the 2004 Republican National Convention," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 2, 2004, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2004/09/20040902-2.html>.

⁵¹⁷ George W. Bush, "President Renews Call for Prescription Drug Coverage in Medicare," The George Bush Archive, The White House, July 11, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/07/20020711-1.html>.

⁵¹⁸ George W. Bush, "President Calls on Senate to Pass Trade Bill," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 22, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020522-2.html>.

⁵¹⁹ George W. Bush, "President Proposes Major Reforms to Address Medical Liability Crisis," The George Bush Archive, The White House, July 25, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/07/20020725-1.html>.

⁵²⁰ George W. Bush, "President Visits Rufus King High School in Milwaukee," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 8, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020508-2.html>.

⁵²¹ George W. Bush, "President Highlights Progress Made in Education Reform," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 4, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020904-6.html>.

⁵²² George W. Bush, "President Welcomes NCAA Champs," The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 24, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030224-7.html>.

⁵²³ George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President in Arizona Welcome," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 27, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021027-1.html>.

the American military were men and women in uniform who 'are willing to sacrifice for the greatest nation on the face of the Earth'⁵²⁴.

In *The President of Good and Evil: The Ethics of George W Bush*, Peter Singer describes this dualist understanding of evil held by President Bush as fundamentally Manichean.⁵²⁵ As mentioned earlier and discussed in *Chapter Two*, however, the concept of evil as understood by Manicheans was that good and evil co-existed in perpetual conflict with each other. In Bush's speeches evil emerges—among other things—as something that can be overcome by good. Richard Bernstein has argued that Bush's frequent reiteration that good will triumph over evil makes his concept of evil 'quasi-Manichean' rather than out-right Manichean.⁵²⁶ In terms of portraying the War on Terror as a battle between good and evil, this study asserts that Bush's understanding of evil is most similar to the dominant understanding of the concept in the Middle Ages, which rejected Manichaeism.

'Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good'⁵²⁷, was the old battle plan against the Devil. 'One way to fight evil is to fight with kindness and love and compassion' for each other, Bush told Americans of the twenty

⁵²⁴ George W. Bush, "President Discusses Response to September 11 Attacks," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 17, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020517-1.html>; George W. Bush, "President Focuses on Economy and War on Terrorism in Kentucky Speech," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 5, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020905-4.html>; George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at South Bend, Indiana Welcome," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 5, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020905-6.html>; George W. Bush, "President Stresses Budget Discipline and Fiscal Restraint," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 16, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020916-2.html>.

⁵²⁵ Peter Singer, *The President of Good and Evil: The ethics of George W Bush* (Melbourne: Text Publishing Company, 2007), 209.

⁵²⁶ Richard J. Bernstein, *The abuse evil: the corruption of politics and religion since 9/11* (New York: New School University, 2005), 48.

⁵²⁷ Romans 12:21.

first century. 'We can overcome evil. We're good.'⁵²⁸ It was said in the 'original battle' plan that 'Evil men will bow down in the presence of the good, and the wicked at the gates of the righteous'⁵²⁹. President Bush provided detailed plans for righteousness among those within the gates of the Homeland—the government 'will find something for every American to do'⁵³⁰.

Lobstermen were thus told to keep their eyes peeled for Evildoers 'when they're out there pulling their pots to get the lobsters' along the coast of Maine, just as Neighbourhood Watch programmes and truckers were to keep their eyes similarly peeled for Evil lurking in the shadows⁵³¹; the population in general was told, 'in order to fight the evil ones and not let their way of life stand, one thing Americans can do is to love a neighbor'⁵³²; parents were told they were doing good by saying 'I love you' to their children on a daily basis⁵³³; and every American who mentored a child or walked 'across the street to a shut-neighbor and says, how can I brighten your day, what can I do to love you?' is a 'soldier in the War on Terror'⁵³⁴.

⁵²⁸ George W. Bush, "America's Youth Respond to Afghan Children's Fund," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 16, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011016-4.html>.

⁵²⁹ Proverbs 14:19.

⁵³⁰ George W. Bush, "Gov. Ridge Sworn-In to Lead Homeland Security," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 8, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011008-3.html>.

⁵³¹ George W. Bush, "President Promotes Citizen Corps for Safer Communities," The George Bush Archive, The White House, April 8, 2002 accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/04/20020408-4.html>.

⁵³² George W. Bush, "President Talks Trade in New Orleans," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 15, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020115.html>.

⁵³³ George W. Bush, "President Calls on Congress to Pass Economic Security Package," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 22, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020122-8.html>.

⁵³⁴ George W. Bush, "President talks trade in New Orleans," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 15, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020115.html>; George W. Bush, "President discusses energy, economy in West Virginia," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 22, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020122-2.html>.

These ‘soldiers in the War on Terror’ could be distinguished as ‘somebody who wants to fight evil with goodness’; as somebody who ‘wants to get involved in their school system and praises the teacher, or helps the education’; or, as ‘somebody who goes to a church or a synagogue or mosques and says, how can we form a faith-based program to help change people's lives by changing their hearts?’⁵³⁵ It was the ‘good inherent in the

⁵³⁵ George W. Bush, “President Talks Trade in New Orleans,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 15, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020115.html>; George W. Bush, “President Announces Substantial Increases in Homeland Security Budget,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 24, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020124-1.html>; George W. Bush, “President Increases Budget for Border Security,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 25, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020125-1.html>; George W. Bush, “President Stresses Volunteerism at Atlanta High School,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 31, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020131-7.html>; George W. Bush, “President Discusses Ag Policy at Cattle Industry Convention,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 8, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020208-1.html>; George W. Bush, “President Rallies the Troops in Alaska,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 16, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020216-1.html>; George W. Bush, “President's Remarks at Iowa Republican Dinner,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 1, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020301-6.html>; George W. Bush, “Remarks by the President to Republican Party of Florida Reception,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 8, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020308-5.html>; George W. Bush, “President Promotes Public Service through Freedom Corps,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 12, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020312-3.html>; George W. Bush, “Remarks by the President at Reception for ‘Keep Our Majority’ PAC,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 12, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020312-19.html>; George W. Bush, “President Unveils Small Business Plan at Women's Entrepreneurship Summit,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 19, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020319-2.html>; George W. Bush, “President Promotes Funding for Emergency First Responders,” The George

soul and character of the American people⁵³⁶ brought forward in defence of the Homeland 'by millions of acts of kindness that take place every day that defined America' that will ensure 'no evil will ever be able to diminish' that goodness⁵³⁷ and ensure that Good 'will overshadow the evil of those who take innocent life'⁵³⁸. The details of America's plan of righteousness echoed the battle plan for the ancient war on Evil waged during the early years of Western civilisation:

Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil.

For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.

Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand.

Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness⁵³⁹

In the ancient battle plan, those on the side of Good were instructed to 'Go after these men at once, and when you catch up with them, say to them, 'Why

Bush Archive, The White House, March 27, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020327-6.html>;

George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at Saxby Chambliss for Senate Dinner - Atlanta, GA," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 27, 2002, accessed February 20,

2010, [http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020327-](http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020327-10.html)

[10.html](http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020327-10.html); George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at Fisher for Governor Reception," The George Bush Archive, The White House, April 3, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/04/20020403-1.html>.

⁵³⁶ George W. Bush, "President Discusses Energy, Economy in West Virginia," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 22, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020122-2.html>.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ George W. Bush, "President Focuses on Jobs in Speech to Missourians," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 14, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020114-4.html>.

⁵³⁹ Ephesians 6:11-14.

have you repaid good with evil?'⁵⁴⁰. President Bush articulated a similar plan for the American Homeland's battle against Evil, to the admiration and delight of the good American people:

We're going to figure out who's coming into our country and who's leaving our country, to make sure that people—(applause.) Listen, we're a great nation. We welcome people in. We just want to know why you're here. (Laughter.) And if you're not supposed to be here more than a period of time, then maybe you ought to just go on home.⁵⁴¹

Official efforts alone, however, could not attain the goals of excluding the Evildoers from the Homeland entirely. Such a task could only be carried out if every good citizen joined in the fight to ferret out the Evil from their midst by being extra vigilant to its presence⁵⁴². 'This nation's got to be alert'⁵⁴³, and any good American citizen, if they saw 'something unusual' should 'tell the local police. They're on alert'⁵⁴⁴. To this end, the President urged Americans to join the Citizens on Patrol program, the participants in which 'help serve as eyes and ears of local law enforcement'⁵⁴⁵.

⁵⁴⁰ Genesis 44.4.

⁵⁴¹ George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President to the NYPD Command and Control Center personnel," The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 6, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020206-4.html>.

⁵⁴² George W. Bush, "President Thanks Reserve Officers Association for Commitment," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 23, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020123-16.html>; George W. Bush, "President Bush: 'First priority is the military'," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 23, 2002, accessed February 20, 2002, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020123-13.html>.

⁵⁴³ George W. Bush, "Georgia welcomes President Bush," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 30, 2002, February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020131-5.html>.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ George W. Bush, "President calls for 100,00 new Senior Corps Volunteers," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 31, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020131-2.html>.

Within the Homeland, this meant the soldiers of Goodness must be able to recognise the enemy that dwelled in their midst. The inherent goodness of Americans had made them inevitably welcoming to the outsider, and Evil persons were bound to have taken advantage of this American generosity. 'Our country has been an incredibly generous country, the most generous country in the world. We're generous with our universities, we're generous with our job opportunities, we're generous with the beautiful system that is, that if you come here and you work hard, you can achieve a dream.'⁵⁴⁶ The enemy had taken advantage of this inherent American generosity, teaching America a valuable lesson. Not all foreigners come into America to live the American Dream, some 'evil ones' creep in too. The Department of Homeland Security would ensure this foreign evil who 'might be burrowed in this country, trying to hurt any American' is found and thrown out⁵⁴⁷. To ensure 'the Land of the Free is as safe as possible from people who might come to our country to hurt people'⁵⁴⁸, Department of Homeland Security would ensure that 'what we don't welcome are people who come to hurt the American people'⁵⁴⁹.

The Department would remain 'very vigilant' about who gets permission to come to the Homeland, and would remain 'observant with the behavior of people who come to this country'⁵⁵⁰. As God instructed, the evil within must

⁵⁴⁶ George W. Bush, "President Increases Immigration Safeguards," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 29, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011029-15.html>.

⁵⁴⁷ George W. Bush, "President Discusses Economic Stimulus with National Association of Manufacturers," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 31, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011031-1.html>; George W. Bush, "President Discusses War on Terrorism," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 8, 2001, access February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011108-13.html>.

⁵⁴⁸ George W. Bush, "President Increases Immigration Safeguards," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 29, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011029-15.html>.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

be purged⁵⁵¹. Homeland Security was 'running down every single lead, we're hardening assets, we're on the hunt. We're going to chase them down'⁵⁵². And it was reviewing its 'visa policies', 'immigration policies' and 'border policies'⁵⁵³ to ensure that the foreign enemy could not penetrate the gates of the Homeland. If people were found in the country who had 'no intention to fulfil their purpose [as stated in the visa]', Homeland Security would have them 'escorted out of the United States'⁵⁵⁴.

The Immigration and Naturalisation Services (INS), President Bush announced, had been given additional finance to ensure it 'knows exactly who is coming into our country and who is leaving our country to make sure [...] our homeland is as secure as possible'⁵⁵⁵. Foreigners who had overstayed the generous welcome the good people of the land extended to them were going to be hunted down to make sure 'they're not part of some al Qaeda network that wants to hit the United States'⁵⁵⁶. They should know that the homeland security apparatus was 'looking' and that it was 'listening'⁵⁵⁷.

Just as the Goodness of God was the 'battle axe and weapons of war' in the Biblical battle of Good versus Evil⁵⁵⁸, the Goodness of America would be the battle axe and the chief weapon in the United States' War on Terror. Being the president of 'the greatest nation on the face of the Earth', President Bush said,

⁵⁵¹ Deuteronomy 13:5.

⁵⁵² George W. Bush, "Nigerian President Offers Solidarity, Support to U.S.," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 2, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011102-5.html>.

⁵⁵³ George W. Bush, "President Discusses Foreign Policy for Year Ahead," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 31, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011231.html>.

⁵⁵⁴ George W. Bush, "President Increases Immigration Safeguards," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 29, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011029-15.html>.

⁵⁵⁵ George W. Bush, "Georgia welcomes President Bush," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 30, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020131-5.html>.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Jeremiah 51:20.

he was able to predict with ‘absolute certainty’⁵⁵⁹ that ‘out of the Evil done to America will come great good’⁵⁶⁰.

Crusading for Good

‘Listen, all you distant lands. Prepare for battle, and be shattered!’ - Isaiah 8:9

⁵⁵⁹ George W. Bush, “Remarks by the President at West Virginia Welcome,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 31, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021031-8.html>.

⁵⁶⁰ George W. Bush, “Remarks by the President at Coleman/Kline/Minnesota Republican Party Victory 2002 Dinner,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, July 11, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, [http://georgewbush-](http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/07/20020711-8.html)

[whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/07/20020711-8.html](http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/07/20020711-8.html); George W. Bush, “President Discusses Homeland and Economic Security at Mt. Rushmore,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, August 15, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/08/20020815.html>;

George W. Bush, “President Discusses Education with Hispanic Leaders,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, August 23, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/08/20020823-7.html>;

George W. Bush, “President Promotes Reading First Program in Florida,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 17, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021017-5.html>;

George W. Bush, “President Highlights Education in Rochester, Minnesota,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 18, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021018-7.html>;

George W. Bush, “Remarks by the President at John Cornyn for Senate Reception,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 26, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020926-17.html>;

George W. Bush, “President Presses Congress for Action on Defense Appropriations Bill,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 27, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020927-3.html>;

George W. Bush, “President Bush Pushes for Homeland Security Bill,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 28, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020928-2.html>;

George W. Bush, “Remarks by the President in Manchester, New Hampshire Welcome,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 5, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021005-5.html>;

George W. Bush, “Remarks by the President at John Sununu for Senate Reception,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 5, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010,

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021005-6.html>.

Part of the good that was to come out of the evil that was done to America, President Bush said he was certain, was to 'make sure this American experience [of goodness] is available for all'.⁵⁶¹ This meant without a question in his mind, he said, 'that this great country will lead the world to peace'.⁵⁶² For not only did Americans 'represent the greatest nation on the face of the earth', but they 'represent a spirit that is much bigger than evil and terror: [they] represent peace'⁵⁶³. It allowed him, he said, 'to boldly predict that the evil done to America is going to yield a more peaceful world and a more hopeful country'⁵⁶⁴. 'Thanks to the strength and the compassion of our country, the world will be more peaceful',⁵⁶⁵ as the United States fulfilled 'the great purpose of our great land [...] to rid this world of evil and terror'⁵⁶⁶. It was the nation's 'calling as a blessed country [...] to make the world better'⁵⁶⁷, and, henceforth, the United States said unto the rest of world, 'This is good

⁵⁶¹ George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President in Bob Riley for Governor and Alabama Republican Party Victory 2002 Luncheon," The George Bush Archive, The White House, July 15, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/07/20020715-1.html>.

⁵⁶² George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at Columbia, South Carolina Welcome," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 24, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021024-4.html>.

⁵⁶³ George W. Bush, "President Bush to Olympic Athletes: 'Let's Roll'," The George Bush Archive, The White House, February 9, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020209.html>.

⁵⁶⁴ George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at Arkansas Welcome," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 4, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/11/20021104-7.html>;
George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President in Terrell for Senate and Louisiana Republican Party Luncheon," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 3, 2002, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/12/20021203-3.html>.

⁵⁶⁵ George W. Bush, "President Bush Promotes Jobs and Growth Plan in Indiana," The George Bush Archive, The White House, May 13, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/05/20030513-2.html>.

⁵⁶⁶ George W. Bush, "President Speaks at Veterans Day Prayer Breakfast," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 11, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011111.html>.

⁵⁶⁷ George W. Bush, "President Bush Honors Martin Luther King, Junior in Church Service," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 20, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030120-2.html>.

versus evil'⁵⁶⁸, 'come with us, stand by our side to defeat The Evildoers...'⁵⁶⁹, come to 'our side ... join the folks who are fighting evil'⁵⁷⁰ and together, 'across the world and across the years, we will fight these Evil Ones, and we will win'⁵⁷¹. Those who heeded the call should find comfort in knowing theirs is 'a noble cause'⁵⁷² that the United States 'will stand strong on the side of good'⁵⁷³, and it will 'defeat the forces of evil wherever they are'⁵⁷⁴, for ultimately, 'Good will overcome evil'⁵⁷⁵.

President Bush also repeated in his many speeches the claim that even though '[t]he attack took place on American soil, [...] it was an attack on the heart and soul of the civilized world'⁵⁷⁶. 'The great threat to civilisation is that a few evil men will multiply their murders, and gain the means to kill on a scale equal

⁵⁶⁸ George W. Bush, "International Campaign Against Terror Grows," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 25, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010925-1.html>.

⁵⁶⁹ George W. Bush, "President Thanks CIA," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 26, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010926-3.html>.

⁵⁷⁰ George W. Bush, "President Directs Humanitarian Aid to Afghanistan," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 4, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011004.html>.

⁵⁷¹ George W. Bush, "President Shares Thanksgiving Meal with Troops," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 21, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011121-3.html>.

⁵⁷² George W. Bush, "President Directs Humanitarian Aid to Afghanistan," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 4, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011004.html>.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ George W. Bush, "U.S., Africa Strengthen Counter-Terrorism and Economic Ties," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 29, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011029-2.html>.

⁵⁷⁵ George W. Bush, "Nigerian President Offers Solidarity, Support to U.S.," The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 2, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011102-5.html>.

⁵⁷⁶ George W. Bush, "President Holds Prime Time News Conference," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 11, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011011-7.html>.

to their hatred,' he warned⁵⁷⁷. For the sake of civilisation itself, it was essential that the eternal battle between Good versus Evil be resumed and won by Good once and for all, and for this purpose, the United States will 'fight evil with good' 'for as long as it takes'⁵⁷⁸. As the year 2001 drew to a close, President Bush prayed with the nation at Christmas that 'may the glorious light of God's goodness and love shine forth from our land'⁵⁷⁹.

Let there be goodness in Afghanistan

Shining down on Afghanistan on 7 October 2001 were explosions from United States' bombs and shells. The Taliban, the leaders of Afghanistan, which President Bush had described as the very manifestation of 'al Qaeda's vision for the world', had refused to give in to the demands made of it by the United States to handover the Evildoers hiding in the country⁵⁸⁰. The United States was 'very upset', President Bush said, but the mission was clear:

to rout terrorists, to find them and to bring them to justice. Or [...] in Western terms, to smoke them out of their caves, to get them running so we can get them. [...] and at the same time send out a clear message that says if you harbour a terrorist, if you aid a terrorist, if you hide terrorists, you are as guilty as the terrorists.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁷ George W. Bush, "President Speaks on War Effort to Citadel Cadets," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 11, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011211-6.html>.

⁵⁷⁸ George W. Bush, "President Launches Education Partnership with Muslim Nations," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 25, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011025-2.html>.

⁵⁷⁹ George W. Bush, "Presidential Christmas Message," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 20, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011220-5.html>.

⁵⁸⁰ George W. Bush, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 20, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁵⁸¹ George W. Bush, "International Campaign Against Terror Grow," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 25, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010925-1.html>.

As the United States continued its military actions in Afghanistan, paving ‘the way for friendly troops to defeat the Taliban and root out the al Qaeda parasites that the Taliban hosts and protects’ it was also enforcing a ‘new’ doctrine ‘that says this: If you harbor the terrorists, you are guilty of terror. And like the terrorists, you will be held responsible⁵⁸². This ‘new’ strategy in the United States’ ‘new kind of response’ against the ‘new terrorist’ is once again familiar—‘if that nation I warned repents of its evil, then I will relent and not inflict on it the disaster I had planned’⁵⁸³. If not, those on the side of Good, such as the United States in the War on Terror, were left with no choice but to rise up against the evil that dwells there.

While the bombing and shelling of Afghanistan continued, President Bush told his fellow good Americans that Afghanistan was ‘hearing from a compassionate nation’, ‘a nation that sends food and medicine to starving people of Afghanistan’⁵⁸⁴. It was hearing from the kind of nation ‘whose children are sending their dollars to save the children of Afghanistan.’⁵⁸⁵ Helping ‘the poor souls in Afghanistan’ ensured that the goodness of America and its people ‘shone forth’⁵⁸⁶. Those watching should see and note that America will ensure that along with the bombs and guns, ‘the oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies. As we strike military targets, we’ll also drop food, medicine and supplies to the starving and suffering men and women and children of Afghanistan’⁵⁸⁷. Only

⁵⁸² George W. Bush, “President Outlines War Effort,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 17, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011017-15.html>.

⁵⁸³ Jeremiah 18:10.

⁵⁸⁴ George W. Bush, “President Rallies Troops at Travis Air Force Base,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 17, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011017-20.html>.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁶ George W. Bush, “President Directs Humanitarian Aid to Afghanistan,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 4, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011004.html>.

⁵⁸⁷ George W. Bush, “Presidential Address to the Nation,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 7, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-8.html>.

Evildoers, and their helpers, were excluded from America's otherwise limitless compassion⁵⁸⁸.

Throughout the attacks President Bush portrayed the War on Terror as a responsibility that had been thrust upon the United States as the Good that was obliged to fight Evil.

If war is forced upon us, we will fight in a just cause and by just means—sparing, in every way we can, the innocent. And if war is forced upon us, we will fight with the full force and might of the United States military—and we will prevail.⁵⁸⁹

As the most compassionate nation on the face of the earth, Americans exercise power without conquest' and make 'sacrifice[s] for the liberty of strangers'. America was fighting for a cause greater than its own—the liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity.⁵⁹⁰

When the United States and its 'Coalition of the Willing' invaded Iraq in 2003, he repeated the same message. It was America's 'duty to history' and humanity to facilitate the delivery of God's gift of liberty to the Iraqi people, and liberate them from the Evil of President Saddam Hussein. While bombing Iraq in the pursuit of this lofty aim, America would also 'make sure that those who are hungry are fed, those who need health care will have health care, those youngsters who need education will get education.'⁵⁹¹ Speaking directly to the American and Iraqi people simultaneously (the latter through a live translation of his address), three days before the invasion on 21 March 2003,

⁵⁸⁸ George W. Bush, "President Directs Humanitarian Aid to Afghanistan," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 4, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011004.html>.

⁵⁸⁹ George W. Bush, "Excerpts from the State of the Union regarding Iraq," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 28, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-23.html>.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ George W. Bush, "Excerpts on Iraq From Grand Rapids Speech," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 28, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030129-2.html>.

President Bush reassured the Iraqi people they were 'deserving and capable of human liberty unlike' their leader⁵⁹².

Commeth the barbarian

This division between humans who deserve rights such as liberty and the Evildoers who do not is a common theme that emerged in the speeches of President Bush during this period. In addition to the 'inhuman' qualities that he attributed to the evildoers as per the discussions above, President Bush had another instrument with which to delineate the Human Being from the Evildoer: barbarism. Only days after 11 September 2001, President Bush began providing details on what made the evildoer a barbarian. 'Flying airplanes into buildings full of innocent people were 'barbaric' acts'⁵⁹³. For these barbarians, 'there are no rules [...] They slit throats of women on airplanes in order to achieve an objective that is beyond comprehension. And they like to hit, and then they like to hide out'⁵⁹⁴. The evildoers are 'barbaric in their indefensible meting of justice'⁵⁹⁵. On many occasions, President Bush made clear that the Barbarian and the terrorist Evildoer were one and the same. The 11 September 2001 attacks were a declaration of war against

⁵⁹² President Saddam Hussein was found guilty of crimes against humanity and sentenced to death by an Iraqi court on November 5, 2006. See: "Saddam Hussein sentenced to death," BBC News, November 5, 2006, accessed March 24, 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/6117910.stm> for more details. He was executed on December 29, 2006. President Bush did not make a speech to mark the occasion, but issued a statement. He did not refer to President Hussein's evil nature at all in the document. Rather he focused on President Hussein having enjoyed the right to a fair trial, a right he had denied many of his citizens during his rule of the country. For full text of the statement, see George W. Bush, "President Bush's statement on the execution of Saddam Hussein," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 29, 2006, accessed March 24, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/12/20061229-15.html>.

⁵⁹³ George W. Bush, "President Urges Readiness and Patience," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 15, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010915-4.html>.

⁵⁹⁴ George W. Bush, "Guard and Reserves 'Define Spirit of America'," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 17, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-3.html>.

⁵⁹⁵ George W. Bush, "President Signs Afghan Women and Children Relief Act," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 12, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011212-9.html>.

America by 'a group of barbarians'⁵⁹⁶. President Bush connected the evil of terrorism with 'barbarism'/'barbarian'/barbaric' in nine per cent of the 1479 speeches he made during the three year period analysed in this *Chapter* (11 September 2001 – 11 September 2004)—roughly the same degree to which links were made between Islam/Muslims and the Evildoers. This is not to claim a direct or intended correlation between these two discursive practices employed by President Bush, but to suggest that they created the conditions of possibility in which old relations between the discourses of barbarism and Islam could be reactivated.

As discussed in *Chapter Two*, relations between Islam and barbarism has a long history in Western discourse that date back to the early Middle Ages. North African native Augustine himself used the word 'barbarians' to describe his fellow countrymen who followed Islam and refused Christianity. And it was through these narratives that Islam and Mohammed first entered the general consciousness of North Americans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The twenty first century barbarian, the evildoer-terrorist, was not a *true* Muslim, but he was still a Muslim of sorts. Moreover, it was the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which described itself as practising *pure* Islam that President Bush singled out as the very embodiment of 'barbarism', further increasing the conditions of possibility in which the early discourses could be reanimated.

President Bush alternatively described the 'evil' and 'barbaric' Taliban government as a regime with 'a value system that's hard for many in America' to fathom⁵⁹⁷. They murdered teenage girls who laughed; incarcerated and tortured children; forbade their women to talk too loudly and killed them for suspected adultery. The civilised world, led by the United States, had no choice but to defend itself from the threat of such barbarians;

⁵⁹⁶ George W. Bush, "President Urges Readiness and Patience," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 15, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010915-4.html>.

⁵⁹⁷ George W. Bush, "International Campaign Against Terror Grows," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 25, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010925-1.html>.

the civilised nations of the world 'strongly reject the Taliban way'⁵⁹⁸, the barbaric way. By invading Afghanistan and attacking the Taliban regime, the Coalition of the Civilised 'liberated, literally liberated'⁵⁹⁹ Afghanistan 'village after village' and 'city after city' from 'incredible barbaric behaviour'⁶⁰⁰. This, President Bush said, was 'one of the joyous parts of war—if there is such a thing as a joyous part of war'⁶⁰¹—seeing human beings liberated from barbarism.

The War on Terror, President Bush said, was as much a fight between the barbarian and civilisation as it was between good and evil:

There is a great divide in our time—not between religions or cultures, but between civilization and barbarism. People of all cultures wish to live in safety and dignity. The hope of justice and mercy and better lives are common to all humanity. Our enemies reject these values—and by doing so, they set themselves not against the West, but against the entire world.⁶⁰²

On 20 March 2003 when the United States embarked on another such mission to deliver liberation from barbarism and deliverance from Evil to another country in need—Iraq, President Bush recalled to American minds the joyous scenes in Afghanistan and reminded them of the true purpose of American military intervention in the country: 'We didn't go into Afghanistan as conquerors, we went in as liberators. (Applause.) We liberated people from

⁵⁹⁸ George W. Bush, "President Signs Afghan Women and Children Relief Act," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 12, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011212-9.html>.

⁵⁹⁹ George W. Bush, "Prime Minister of Thailand Reiterates Full Support to U.S." The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 14, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011214-5.html>.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² George W. Bush, "President: We're Fighting to Win - And Win We Will," The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 7, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011207.html>.

the clutches of one of the most barbaric regimes imaginable.⁶⁰³ The regime of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was similarly barbaric, and there were millions of Iraqis crying out for liberation from barbaric behaviour. Not only was President Hussein evil by nature, his progeny were 'brutal, brutal people. They are barbaric in nature'⁶⁰⁴.

As mentioned in *Chapter Two*, the word barbarian has its origins in the Greek description of foreigners whose speech was incomprehensible. In the Middle Ages, it came to refer to the followers of Islam. In the Anglo-American discourses of the time, the barbarian was a powerful discursive device that strengthened Christianity in comparison with the perceived violence and depravity of the followers of Mahomet. The barbarian re-emerged in Enlightenment politico-historical discourses as the antithesis of the savage, a figure that had played a powerful role in eighteenth century juridical theory⁶⁰⁵. As Foucault asserts in his genealogy of the barbarian, whereas the savage was redeemable, the barbarian can only be defined 'in relation to a civilisation, and by the fact that he exists outside of it. There can be no barbarian unless an island of civilisation exists somewhere, unless he lives outside it, and unless he fights it'; and he despises the existing civilisation, and his relationship with it is 'one of hostility and permanent warfare.'⁶⁰⁶ The barbarian has to be:

[B]ad and wicked, even if we have to admit that he does have certain qualities. He has to be full of arrogance and has to be inhuman, precisely because he is not the man of nature and exchange [as was the savage]; he is the man of history, the man of pillage and fires, he is the man of domination⁶⁰⁷.

⁶⁰³ George W. Bush, "President Calls for Strengthened and Reformed Medicare Program," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 29, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030129-4.html>.

⁶⁰⁴ George W. Bush, "President Bush, Prime Minister Blair Hold Press Availability," The George Bush Archive, The White House, March 27, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-3.html>.

⁶⁰⁵ Michel Foucault, *Society must be defended* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 194-5.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 196.

The figure of the barbarian has since been a powerful trope in Western discourse present in cultural, political and ideological discursive structures, and has generally been applied 'in a negative way to individuals and societies whose actions and mores do not accord with Europe's'⁶⁰⁸. Barbarians are 'most often the locus of anxiety', as is reflected in the application of the term to an ever-shifting number of groups from new races that needed to be civilised as part of the colonisation project, the 'East in the nineteenth century to the new European peasant underclass of the industrial revolution to Freud's Id as the barbarian existing internally.'⁶⁰⁹

The barbarian that emerged in the writings of Enlightenment authors such as Mably and Bonneville were adventurers who 'lived only for war [...] the sword was their right and they exercised it without remorse.' They were 'brutal people, without a homeland, and without laws' who engaged in 'atrocious acts of violence because they are regarded as being publicly acceptable'⁶¹⁰. In Buat-Nançay's succinct description, the relationship between civilisation and barbarism is: 'the relationship between the sun and the mud it dries, between the thistle and the donkey that feeds on it'.⁶¹¹

In the words of President Bush, the Evildoers, embodied the very same characteristics as the early barbarian. They have no fixed abode, no homeland; they dwell in caves, and they kill indiscriminately. America loves human freedom, they hate it; America values human life⁶¹² and never target civilians

⁶⁰⁸ Mark B. Salter, *Barbarians and Civilisation in International Relations* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), 24.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 24-26.

⁶¹⁰ Mably and Bonneville, quoted in Michel Foucault, *Society must be defended* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 196-7.

⁶¹¹ Buat-Nançay, quoted in Michel Foucault, *Society must be defended* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 197.

⁶¹² George W. Bush, "President Welcomes New Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 15, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011015-10.html>.

in war⁶¹³ and holds dear values of respect, dignity and human worth⁶¹⁴. The barbaric enemy, however, does not possess the values that ‘regard[s] life as precious’⁶¹⁵. The divisions between civilisation, represented by the United States and the evildoer were so vastly different, ‘they did not want America to exist’⁶¹⁶:

The terrorists despise creative societies and individual choice—and thus they bear a special hatred for America. They desire to concentrate power in the hands of a few, and to force every life into grim and joyless conformity. They celebrate death, making a mission of murder and a sacrament of suicide⁶¹⁷.

The civilised world shared the American values of ‘human rights, freedom, the dignity of man’ and they formed a ‘coalition of freedom-loving people,’ representing civilisation. Those who loved freedom were with America, and the side of civilisation, those who were not—they were ‘with the enemy’⁶¹⁸ and barbarism.

⁶¹³ George W. Bush, “President Discusses War on Terrorism,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, November 8, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011108-13.html>.

⁶¹⁴ George W. Bush, “‘Islam is Peace’ Says President,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 17, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-11.html>.

⁶¹⁵ George W. Bush, “President Increases Immigration Safeguards,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 29, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011029-15.html>.

⁶¹⁶ George W. Bush, “President Bush Calls for Action on the Economy and Energy,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 26 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011026-9.html>.

⁶¹⁷ George W. Bush, “President: We’re Fighting to Win - And Win We Will,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, December 7, 2001, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011207.html>.

⁶¹⁸ George W. Bush, “President Discusses Taking Action to Strengthen Small Businesses,” The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 22, 2003, accessed February 20, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030122-4.html>.

Summary

The 'new terrorist' of the twenty first century that emerges from the discursive practices of President George W Bush is an evil, ersatz-Muslim barbarian who is motivated by a fanatical belief in a bastardised form of Islam that wants to kill as many Christians and Jews as possible and annihilate civilisation itself. The discourse of terrorism as evil is constructed around this figure, whom President Bush referred to as the Evildoer. Osama bin Laden is the personification of evil; a deceptive figure who perverts the peaceful teachings of 'true Islam'. The civilisation that Osama and his fellow barbarians seek to annihilate is the liberal regimes of the West, the values of which neither Osama nor other evil barbarians like him, such as the Taliban and Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, do not share.

This figure of the Evildoer, around whom the domain of evil-terrorism is constructed, does not resemble the secular rebel who emerged with 'terrorism' discourse in the French Revolution. Nor is he a more dangerous version of the radical proletarian that emerged during the Industrial Revolution or any of the other rebels who emerged in the twentieth century. The Evildoer most closely resembles the figure of the Devil in the Middle Ages and, as became clear in the above discussion, many of the discursive practices of President Bush during this period were reanimations of the discourses and discursive practices of that period.

While President Bush's speeches show that his understanding of evil was varied and at times even contradictory, the dominant understanding of the concept that emerges is the one held 'true' during medieval Christianity and found in scripture. His portrayal of the War on Terror as a continuation of the eternal battle between Good versus Evil, too, is a reanimation of Biblical narratives: seeking to overcome evil with good; purging evil from amongst good; and seeking peace by annihilating evil wherever it is found, whether at home or in distant lands. In President Bush's understanding of evil there is no room for the secular conceptualisation of evil as arising from inequalities inherent in civilisational processes, for evil is committed by barbarians external to Western civilisation.

The trope of the barbarian, too, is a reanimation of early Western discourses where he stands in direct opposition to civilisation. In this understanding of the barbarian, he is inhuman, violent, and incapable of being civilised, unlike the savage. The discourse of terrorism as evil, committed by the barbaric, false-Muslim Evildoer created the conditions of possibility in which the United States was inherently good, and the evil terrorists inherently bad. As will be seen in the next *Chapter*, President Bush was not alone in engaging in these discursive practices—they constituted, and were constituted by, the *epistème* in which terrorism and the terrorist could not be thought of any other way. To demonstrate this, this study now turns to an analysis of the ‘general knowledge’ about terrorism that was produced during this period in the United States.

5. Where there is a will to knowledge

In the War on Terror knowledge is power - *George W Bush*⁶¹⁹

Twenty first century terrorism, as it emerged from the words of President George W Bush, is an evil that threatens civilisation itself. Such acts of terrorism are committed by Evildoers: barbaric false-Muslims who practise a bastardised version of Islam, who hate the liberalism of the West, and who aim to kill as many Jews, Christians and other civilised people as possible.

What President Bush alone said, however, does not constitute the entire discourse of terrorism, of course; nor did his words and thoughts appear in a vacuum. What President Bush said and what most Americans said and thought during this period matched in words and sentiment. Gallup, US based pollster and provider of 'data driven news' based on opinion polls, has shown, for instance, that following President Bush's State of the Union Address in 2002 where he described Iran, Iraq and North Korea as an Axis of Evil, eighty-eight percent of Americans held a negative view of Iraq and eighty-four percent had a similarly negative opinion of Iran⁶²⁰. North Korea, which received less attention from President Bush, was viewed negatively by fifty-nine percent of Americans. Prior to President Bush's speech, and before 11 September 2001, a much smaller number of Americans (thirty-eight percent), viewed Iraq as the country's 'greatest enemy', only eight percent mentioned Iran and just four percent mentioned North Korea⁶²¹.

⁶¹⁹ George W. Bush, "Gov. Ridge sworn-in to lead Homeland Security", The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 8, 2001, accessed February 20, 2011, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011008-3.html>.

⁶²⁰ Frank Newport and Joseph Carroll, "North Korea below Iran and Iraq on Americans' 'Evil' list," February 19, 2002, *Gallup News Service*, accessed July 1, 2011, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/5356/north-korea-below-iran-iraq-americans-evil-list.aspx>.

⁶²¹ David W. Moore, "'Axis of Evil' countries seen as America's greatest enemies," *Gallup News Service*, February 23, 2005, accessed July 1, 2011,

When asked if they 'would describe the governments of various nations as 'evil' or 'not evil''⁶²², Gallup reported, 'not surprisingly' that eighty-two percent of Americans thought the government of Iraq was evil, followed by Iran's government at sixty-nine percent. Those who perceived the North Korean government as 'evil' was much lower with only a small majority thinking so. Eleven percent of the people said 'they do not *know* enough about North Korea to have an opinion on its evilness'⁶²³ [emphasis added]. Knowledge, according to the poll, is what Americans based their opinions on; but where did their knowledge of evil governments and terrorism come from?

In 2008, it emerged that the Bush Administration had put together a team of seventy-five retired military generals to appear on television as independent analysts providing information to the general public on the War on Terror. A Pulitzer Prize winning investigation by *The New York Times* journalist David Barstow revealed that the team of analysts was hand-picked by the Pentagon, and were wooed by Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and his public relations staff with lavish parties and access to Pentagon inner circles. In return, the generals appeared on various twenty-four-hour news channels in the United States including *Fox News*, *NBC*, *CNN*, *CBS* and *ABC* to explain the War on Terror to the American public as the White House wanted them to⁶²⁴. According to Barstow's report, the success of the strategy was such that Pentagon officers 'marvelled at the way the analysts seamlessly incorporated

<http://www.gallup.com/poll/15022/Axis-Evil-Countries-Seen-Americans-Greatest-Enemies.aspx>.

⁶²² Frank Newport and Joseph Carroll, "North Korea below Iran and Iraq on Americans' 'Evil' list," February 19, 2002, *Gallup News Service*, accessed July 1, 2011,

<http://www.gallup.com/poll/5356/north-korea-below-iran-iraq-americans-evil-list.aspx>.

⁶²³ Ibid.

⁶²⁴ David Barstow, "Message Machine: behind TV analysts, Pentagon's hidden hand," *The New York Times*, April 20, 2008, accessed July 1, 2011,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/20/us/20generals.html?pagewanted=all>.

material from talking points and briefings as if it was their own.⁶²⁵ Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), found that in American media coverage of the invasion of Iraq, of 840 current or former government or military officials who appeared on the news channels, only four held opinions that contradicted the official discourse of the Bush administration.⁶²⁶

Without a doubt then President Bush's statement—'In the War on Terror, knowledge is power'—was put into practise by his administration with a great degree of seriousness in the years following 11 September 2001. While exposés such as Barstow's are important and shine much-needed light on abuses of political power, they also obfuscate an important issue: by implying that there is a 'true' knowledge to be acquired that is wholly independent of such power. If the production of terrorism knowledge is analysed at a scale different from the journalistic endeavours and other such investigations into the overt manipulations of information by political power, underneath is to be found another layer of control—a *will to truth*—that has imposed itself for so long and to such an extent on discourse that 'the truth it wants cannot fail to mask it.'⁶²⁷

As discussed in *Chapter One*, Western thought since Classical Greece has been dominated by what Foucault described as 'the great myth'—that knowledge and power are independent of each other. It is this myth that allows the division between true and false, when viewed from inside of a

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

⁶²⁶ The FAIR report also showed that over sixty percent of the all the sources that major American television news networks used (from a three week sample starting from the day after the invasion of Iraq), were Seventy six percent of overall sources were from the United States itself, and when sources were used, they were mostly officials from the UK, the United States' chief ally in the War on terror. When US sources were analysed separately, military officials out-numbered civilian officials two to one. Steve Rendall and Tara Broughe, "Amplifying Officials, Squelching Dissent," Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), May/June 2003, accessed June 15, 2011, <http://www.fair.org/index.php?page=1145>.

⁶²⁷ Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," in *Untying the text: a poststructuralist reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 56.

discourse, to be seen as 'neither arbitrary nor modifiable nor institutional nor violent.'⁶²⁸ When the myth is cast aside, it is possible to see that what is accepted as true is the result of a system of exclusion, 'a historical, modifiable, and institutionally constraining system', that which Foucault called the will to truth.⁶²⁹ Unmasking the will to truth that orders, categorises, determines and constitutes 'true' knowledge of terrorism in the twenty first century is the purpose of this *Chapter*. To do so, it focuses on popular literature produced in the United States during the first few years of the War on Terror, as is explained in more detail shortly.

Nothing but the truth

The will to truth, although the most influential, is one of many forms of control to which the production of knowledge is subjected. In *The Order of Discourse*⁶³⁰, Foucault outlines three distinctive categories of such control: external, internal and enunciative. Along with the will to truth, which excludes certain speeches on the basis of a spurious division between false and true, exist two other systems of exclusion of which prohibition is the most obvious. Quite clearly, not everyone can speak about everything under whatever circumstances. Taboos are placed on certain objects of speech, certain rituals have to be followed according to circumstance, and there are certain privileges or rights the speaking subject must possess before being permitted to speak. The third system of exclusion imposed on discourse externally is the division between madness and folly: the rejection of certain discourses from being allowed within its limits on grounds that it is devoid of reason while, at the same time, accepting other speeches as composed of reason. These three types of prohibition work together, reinforcing and compensating for each other; and form a complex, constantly changing grid. The will to truth dominates the other two forms of external control, invades and

⁶²⁸ Ibid., 54.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Ibid., 48-78.

assimilates them while itself growing 'stronger, deeper, and more impeccable.'⁶³¹

Apart from the external controls, Foucault identifies two other types of procedures that limit and organise discourse and constrain what can be produced as true knowledge: internal and enunciative. Internal controls organise, classify and distribute through commentary, the establishment of disciplines, and through the role of the author. Enunciative controls refer to the qualification to speak—the subjection of discourse or rarefaction among speaking subjects. Foucault asserts that according to the enunciative controls, 'none shall enter the order of discourse if he does not satisfy certain requirements or if he is not, from the outset, qualified to do so'⁶³².

The will to truth, and these other systems of exclusion, division and rejection, relies on institutional support for its existence and functioning. They are 'both reinforced and renewed by whole strata of practices, such as pedagogy, of course; and the system of books; publishing; libraries; learned societies in the past and laboratories now'⁶³³. It is this system of support that underpinned President Bush's speeches, analysed in the preceding *Chapter*, which this study now focuses on uncovering. The most profound renewal of this will to truth comes from how the knowledge thus produced is put to work, celebrated, distributed and attributed in society. The processes themselves are explored in *Chapter Six* and *Seven*, but the focus in this chapter is on finding out how the controls discussed above contributed towards rendering as true the present knowledge of terrorism as an evil that threatens civilisation, committed by false-Muslim barbarians who emerged in the discursive practices of President Bush.

⁶³¹ Ibid., 56.

⁶³² Ibid., 62.

⁶³³ Ibid., 54.

Judging literature: how serious is serious?

Research has shown that most of the existing literature on ‘terrorism’ in the English language was published after 11 September 2001. Between 1995 and June 2008 a total of 2,281 non-fiction books were published with the word ‘terrorism’ in the title. Of the total, 1,151 of the books were published after 11 September 2001. In comparison, only 1,310 such books had been published in total before 11 September 2001, meaning that most of the published work in terrorism has been created since the War on Terror began.⁶³⁴ A similarly exponential increase—of 300 percent—was recorded in the number of journal articles published on the subject of ‘terrorism’ in the same period.⁶³⁵

This *Chapter* focuses on books published on the subject of terrorism that were most popular in the United States since the War on Terror began. The reasons for choosing these books for an academic study over the more serious literature are manifold, and are almost all related to the rules of discourse themselves. For one thing, knowledge (*savoir*), as Foucault said, is found not just within the covers of books judged as ‘academic’ but also in ‘fiction, reflexion, narrative accounts, institutional regulations, and political decisions’⁶³⁶. Another reason for choosing these texts instead of the more ‘serious’ literature are the external controls to which the production of terrorism knowledge has been subject of late in various disciplines of the human sciences. One of the stated aims of the

⁶³⁴ Andrew Silke, “Contemporary terrorism studies: issues in research,” in *Research in Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, ed. Richard Jackson et al (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 34.

The survey does not include books dealing with the subject of “terrorism”, which does not contain the word in the title itself. Silke notes that this excludes a majority of the books published on the Irish Republican Army (IRA) as a large percentage of books published on this group does not contain the words ‘terrorism’, ‘terrorist’ or ‘terror’ in the title. It should also be noted that prior to 11 September 2001, the IRA was the most heavily researched group in core terrorism journals.

⁶³⁵ Andrew Silke, “Contemporary terrorism studies: issues in research” in *Research in Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, ed. Richard Jackson et al (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 34; Peter Lentini, “Understanding and Combating Terrorism: Definitions, Origins and Strategies,” *Australian Journal of Political Science* 43, no. 1 (2008).

⁶³⁶ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock, 1972), 202.

recently established subfield of 'Critical Terrorism Studies' is, for instance, to analyse controls exerted on the production of academic terrorism knowledge since the late twentieth century⁶³⁷. To this affect, Magnus Ranstorp⁶³⁸, Andrew Silke⁶³⁹, John Horgan⁶⁴⁰, Richard Jackson⁶⁴¹ and Avishag Gordon⁶⁴² have analysed how a core group of experts have, for decades, produced and re-produced a limited set of narratives that collectively comprise a widely accepted 'knowledge' of terrorism⁶⁴³. The role of embedded expertise within academic terrorism literature in the production of 'new terrorism' has also been examined in other disciplines of the human sciences such as media and conflict studies.⁶⁴⁴ There are also valuable studies on the subject that predate 11 September 2001, that once little known, are now receiving renewed attention among critical researchers. Notable among such earlier works is Joseba Zulaika and William Douglass's 1996 *Terror and taboo: the follies, fables and faces of terrorism* which analyses the existing knowledge of terrorism using

⁶³⁷ Richard Jackson, "The core commitments of critical terrorism studies," *European Consortium for Political Research* 6, no. 3 (2007).

⁶³⁸ Magnus Ranstorp, "Mapping terrorism studies after 9/11: an academic field of old problems and new prospects," in *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda* ed. Richard Jackson et al. (New York: Routledge, 2009) 13-33.

⁶³⁹ Andrew Silke, "Contemporary terrorism studies: issues in research," in *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, ed. Richard Jackson et al. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 34-48; Andrew Silke, "The Devil you know: continuing problems with research on terrorism," in *Research on Terrorism: trends, achievements and failures*, ed. Andrew Silke (New York: Frank Cass, 2004), 57-71.

⁶⁴⁰ John Horgan, "The case for firsthand research," in *Research on Terrorism: trends, achievements and failures*, ed. Andrew Silke (New York: Frank Cass, 2004), 30-56.

⁶⁴¹ Richard Jackson, "Knowledge, power and politics in the study of political terrorism," in *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, ed. Richard Jackson et al. (New York: Routledge, 2009). 66-83.

⁶⁴² Avishag Gordon, "Terrorism and knowledge growth: a database and Internet analysis," in *Research on Terrorism: trends, achievements and failures*, ed. Andrew Silke (New York: Frank Cass, 2004), 119-137; Avishag Gordon, "Terrorism as an academic subject after 9/11: searching the Internet reveals a Stockholm Syndrome trend," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28 (2005).

⁶⁴³ Richard Jackson, "The core commitments of critical terrorism studies," *European Consortium for Political Research* 6, no. 3 (2007): 245.

⁶⁴⁴ Jonny Burnett and Dave Whyte, "Embedded expertise and the new terrorism," *Journal for Crime, Conflict and the Media* 1, no. 4 (2005).

Foucault's methods.⁶⁴⁵ Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman's 1988, *Political terrorism: a new guide to actors, authors, concepts, databases, theories, and literature*,⁶⁴⁶ updated and reprinted in 2005, and the related 2009 *Handbook of terrorism research: research theories and concepts*⁶⁴⁷; Richard Rubenstein's *Alchemists of Revolution*⁶⁴⁸ (1987) and Alexander George's *Western State Terrorism*⁶⁴⁹ (1991) as well as Stohl and Lopez's *The State as Terrorist*⁶⁵⁰ (1984), also show the various forms of external and internal controls that have been exerted on the production of terrorism knowledge.

The various publications of Noam Chomsky on the War on Terror and United States foreign policy also provide valuable evidence and insight into the various forms of external control exerted on the production of terrorism knowledge⁶⁵¹. The manner in which Chomsky's work has largely been excluded from the present terrorism discourse, is in itself an example of how the various mechanisms of external control are exercised in the production of 'true' knowledge. By choosing to focus on what the 'serious academic studies' banished to the periphery this study broadens the scope of the Critical Terrorism Studies project by adding to the existing critical discourse analysis.

⁶⁴⁵ Joseba Zulaika and William A. Douglass, *Terror and taboo: the follies, fables and faces of terrorism* (London: Routledge, 1996).

⁶⁴⁶ Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman, *Political terrorism: a new guide to actors, authors, concepts, data bases, theories, and literature* (Amsterdam: Transaction Books, 1988).

⁶⁴⁷ Alex P. Schmid, Albert J. Jongman and Eric Price, *Handbook of terrorism research: research, theories and concepts* (New York: Taylor and Francis Group, 2009).

⁶⁴⁸ Richard E. Rubenstein, *Alchemists of Revolution: Terrorism in the Modern World* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

⁶⁴⁹ Alexander L. George, *Western State Terrorism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991).

⁶⁵⁰ M. Stohl and G. A. Lopez, *The state as terrorist: the dynamics of governmental violence and repression* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984).

⁶⁵¹ Noam Chomsky, *Power and Terror: Post-9/11 Talks and Interviews*, ed. John Junkerman and Takei Masakazu (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003); Noam Chomsky and Gilbert Achcar, *Perilous Power: The Middle East and US Foreign Policy: Dialogues on Terror, Democracy, War, and Justice*, ed. Stephen Rosskamm Shalom (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2006); Noam Chomsky, *9-11: Was there an Alternative?* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2011).

Excluding books written on the subject of terrorism by authors that do not have a formal institutional affiliation would be to partake in at least one of the three forms of external controls referred to above. It would also mean leaving out a substantial portion of the texts that were produced during this period as well as excluding from the discussion some of the texts that were read by the most number of Americans during this period. Inclusion of these texts in the analysis is also important for another reason: it demonstrates the drastic changes that took place in the enunciative forms of control exercised on the production of terrorism knowledge in American society during the War on Terror that would not be possible to demonstrate in an analysis that limits itself to 'serious' literature.

Furthermore, both academic and non-academic discourses are underwritten by the same will to truth. This author sees no reason why these two groupings should remain rigidly distinct categories. It therefore treats popular literature as an integral part of the prodigious machinery that produces the 'true' knowledge of terrorism as the academic/scientific literature that has been shown to serve the same purpose.

Only in America

Each society has its own major narratives 'which are recounted, repeated and varied; formulae texts, and ritualised sets of discourses which are recited in well defined circumstances; things said once and preserved because it is suspected that behind them there is a secret or a treasure.'⁶⁵² Commentary, through repetition of the old in an endless number of 'new' ways, imposes on the narratives an identity and *sameness*, making the discourse finite, while at the same time providing the opportunity for infinite variation and repetition. 'By a paradox which it always displaces but never escapes, the commentary must say for the first time what had,

⁶⁵² Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," in *Untying the text: a poststructuralist reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 56.

nonetheless, already been said, and must tirelessly repeat what had, however, never been said.⁶⁵³

The terrorism literature published in the United States during the first decade of the twenty-first century—although focusing on what was said to be the ‘new Islamic terrorism’ of the Evildoer—was *old*. It repeated in new ways centuries old major American narratives of its Exceptionalism, Orientalism and manifest destiny, as well as the early medieval European narratives on Islam, terror, and evil present in the historical *a priori* of terrorism discussed in *Chapter Two* and *Three*. Exceptionalism, which holds that the United States occupies a unique place in history that is fundamentally different from all other countries and thus a ‘God-given destiny’ to guide the rest of the world according to its own political, social and economic values,⁶⁵⁴ is a foundational narrative of America. Along with the belief in its ‘manifest destiny’⁶⁵⁵, it has remained prominent in political and social discourses ever since. The role of these narratives in American foreign policy and identity formation has been made clear in many analyses.⁶⁵⁶

For the first three years following 11 September 2001 ‘Islamic terrorism’ was the focus of over half the research published in the English language

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁶⁵⁴ Seymour M. Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: a double edged sword* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1996).

⁶⁵⁵ See, for example, David Campbell’s *Writing Security: United States foreign policy and the politics of identity*, rev. ed., (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998). The phrase “manifest destiny” was coined by Democrat John L. Sullivan during the debate over the annexation of Texas in the 1840s, and remained a part of American political and cultural discourse throughout the nineteenth century as it continued expansionist policies against indigenous Americans and Mexicans. See: Meghana V. Nayak and Christopher Malone, “American Orientalism and American Exceptionalism: a critical rethinking of US hegemony,” *International Studies Review*, no. 11 (2009): 266.

⁶⁵⁶ David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States foreign policy and the politics of identity*, rev. ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

on the subject of terrorism⁶⁵⁷. Within seven years enough knowledge existed on 'Islamic terrorism' to warrant an anthology of its theories and practice.⁶⁵⁸ In these 'new' texts, on the subject of 'new terrorism', the new 'lies not in what is said but in the event of its turn.'⁶⁵⁹ Recall the discursive practices of Medieval Europe and North American puritans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries discussed in *Chapter Two*, when Islam was used to bolster the piety of Christian populations through the portrayal of the religion as a heresy and Mohammed as a false-prophet. Also bring to mind the Barbary captivity narratives in which Europeans and North Americans taken as slaves by North African Muslims told their stories of extreme cruelty suffered at the hands of the 'barbaric' followers of Mahomet.

The discussions in *Chapter Two* showed how these narratives were used as a powerful rhetorical device to discredit the perceived enemies of Christianity and 'Western civilisation'. As Thomas Kidd has argued, and whose arguments were presented at some length in *Chapter Two*, these rhetorical uses of Islam became increasingly secularised over time:

Early in the [eighteenth] century, Islam was typically used for religious purposes in religious debates while later commentators often took knowledge "derived" from observations of despotic Islamic states to support political points. Although one should hesitate to describe early Americans as conversant with Islam, they certainly conversed about Islam regularly⁶⁶⁰.

⁶⁵⁷ Andrew Silke, "Contemporary terrorism studies: issues in research," in *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, ed. Richard Jackson et al. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 43.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁶⁵⁸ Marvin Perry and Howard E. Negrin, *The theory and practice of Islamic terrorism: an anthology* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁶⁵⁹ Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," in *Untying the text: a poststructuralist reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 58.

⁶⁶⁰ Thomas S. Kidd, "'Is it worse to follow Mahomet than the Devil?' Early American uses of Islam," *Church History* 72, no.4 (2003): 766.

The same can be said about American discourse in the early twenty-first century. Americans certainly conversed about Islam a lot during the first decade of the century, as the above discussions show. An overwhelming majority of the conversations were in the context of terrorism. This linking of Islam and terrorism had the effect of not just reinvigorating the use of Islam as a rhetorical device in political discourse, but also allowed the domain of terrorism—equated with Islam—to become a part of religious discourse. As discussed in *Chapter Three*, ‘terrorism’ as a discourse emerged from the separation of religion from terror and rebellion. The discursive practices of the twenty-first century, however, reversed this separation by allowing Christian religious leaders the authority and position to once again speak of ‘Islamic terrorism,’ which reanimated the old politico-religious discourses of evil, terror and religion in the context of ‘terrorism’.

‘New’ Christian discourses on Islam

Terrorism, Jihad, and The Bible by preacher John F MacArthur was one of the first books published in the immediate aftermath of 11 September 2001 to reactivate the practise of using Islam as a rhetorical device for strengthening Christianity, and using portrayals of Islam as a violent religion in order to do so. MacArthur reanimates the discussion of evil and the Devil in connection with Islam, and argues that ‘powers of evil were working through Mohammed’ to invent the religion of Islam and states: ‘If any religion qualifies as a ‘doctrine of demons’, Islam does.’⁶⁶¹ What was seen in the 11 September 2001 attacks was the ‘sinister effects’ of the false religion of Islam: ‘Once the consciences of evil people have been freed to do evil, they will do it’⁶⁶², he says. ‘Obviously’, MacArthur concedes, all followers of Islam have not remained as militant as the early Islamic armies:

[B]ut Mohammed himself was an aggressive, deadly militant, who boasted of killing and robbery and other evil acts in the name of Allah. So there is

⁶⁶¹ John MacArthur, *Terrorism, Jihad and the Bible* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 2001).

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*

plenty of warrant in the Islamic belief system for justifying violence and *jihad* in the name of Allah. And the rise of Islamic fundamentalism is simply a return to the militant “missionary” efforts advocated by Mohammed himself⁶⁶³.

In MacArthur’s portrayal, Islam is a ‘perverse and evil lie that invariably produces perverted and diabolical deeds’ and it was the religion—satanic, demented and inexorably violent—that caused the terrorist attacks. These claims are a repetition of the very same claims made in Humphrey Prideaux’s highly influential *The true nature of imposture, fully displayed in the life of Mahomet* published in 1808 in which Muhammad’s ‘lustful’ nature and the inherent falsity and violence of the religion he brought, as was discussed in detail in *Chapter Two*.

MacArthur’s enunciative authority is considerable in the United States. In addition to being an award-winning author who has written bestselling books that have sold millions⁶⁶⁴, he also hosts the *Grace to You* radio programme, which airs more than 800 times daily, reaching all major population centres in the United States as well as Canada, the United

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁴ *The MacArthur Study Bible*, first published in 1997, won the Gold Medallion Book Award in 1998 (see Evangelical Christian Publishers Association, “1998 Gold Medallion Book Awards Winners,” accessed July 11, 2011, <http://ecpanews.org/christianbookawards/gm1998.php>), and the Gold/Platinum/Diamond Book Award in 2007. His other bestselling books include *The MacArthur New Testament Commentary* series which has sold more than a million copies and won the ECPA Platinum Award in 2005 for sales figures over a million (see Evangelical Christian Publishers Association, “Gold / Platinum / Diamond Book Awards Winners,” accessed July 11, 2011, http://ecpanews.org/gold_past.php), and also *Twelve Ordinary Men* which sold more than half a million copies and won the ECPA Gold Award in 2008 (see “Gold / Platinum / Diamond Book Awards Winners,” Ibid). His children’s book, *A Faith to Grow On*, won another Evangelical Christian Publishers Association (ECPA) Book Award in 2001 and 2005 (see Evangelical Christian Publishers Association, “2005 Christian Book Awards Winners,” accessed July 11, 2011, <http://ecpanews.org/christianbookawards/cba2005.php>).

Kingdom, Australia, India, New Zealand, the Philippines and Singapore⁶⁶⁵.

Similar contributions to that of MacArthur's were made by award-winning⁶⁶⁶ evangelical Christian author Ravi Zacharias whose 2002 *Light in the Shadow of Jihad: the struggle for truth* addresses the question of whether the attacks of 11 September 2001 represented 'true Islam' or a 'fanatical counterfeit,' and uses the attacks to propose the strengthening of relations between Church and state, as well as to promote the need for increased prayer and piety among Christians.⁶⁶⁷ Zacharias' book made it to number fifteen on the Christian Bestsellers List⁶⁶⁸ in August 2002, and was reprinted in 2006.

Among other notable early publications postulating an 'Islamic terrorism' emerging from the domain of evangelical Christianity is *Unveiling Islam: an insider's look at Muslim life and beliefs* (2002) by brothers Emir and Ergun Caner. The Caner brothers, who had been Muslims but converted to Christianity in their teens, became leading figures in the American religious sphere after the book's publication and travelled the country as leading enunciative personalities, repeating their narratives to receptive audiences across America. In *Unveiling Islam* they dismiss the non-violent meaning of jihad in Islamic teachings as nothing more than a 'politically correct notion' and disparage those who stress this form of jihad over the violent one as 'talking heads on television.'⁶⁶⁹ The brothers devote a

⁶⁶⁵ Introduction to *Grace to You*, KCBI Radio 90.9, accessed July 11, 2011, <http://www.kcbi.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=program&scheduleid=7>.

⁶⁶⁶ Frederick Zacharias, *Can man live without God?* won the 1995 Gold Medallion Award (now known as the Christian Book Award) in the Theology/Doctrine category. See Christian Book Publishers Association, "1995 Gold Medallion Book Awards Winners," accessed July 11, 2011, <http://ecpanews.org/christianbookawards/gm1995.php>.

⁶⁶⁷ Ravi Zacharias, *Light in the shadow of Jihad: the struggle for truth* (Colorado Springs: Multnomah, 2002).

⁶⁶⁸ "Christian Bestsellers List," Evangelical Christian Publishers Association, August 2002, accessed July 11, 2011, <http://ecpanews.org/bestseller/bestseller0802.php>.

⁶⁶⁹ Ergun M. Caner and Emir F. Caner, *Unveiling Islam: an insider's look at Muslim life and beliefs*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2009), 35.

whole chapter to repeating the narrative of ‘Muhammad: the militant messenger’⁶⁷⁰, attribute the Qur’an to the demon and expend considerable effort on explaining the alleged interference that Satan ran during Allah’s revelations to Muhammad.⁶⁷¹ The book sold well over 200,000 copies, and won the Christian Book Award⁶⁷² in 2003. The popular publication’s authority was doubly strengthened by the ‘insider’s look’ into Islam that it alleges to provide, and was the first in a ‘new’ genre of ex-Muslim narratives that flourished in the United States during this period to become the most widespread sources of ‘knowledge’ about Islam⁶⁷³.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., 38.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., 40-45.

⁶⁷² Award for Missions/Evangelism. See Evangelical Christian Publishers Association, “2003 Gold Medallion Book Awards Winners,” accessed July 11, 2011, <http://ecpanews.org/christianbookawards/gm2003.php>.

⁶⁷³ Recent developments in the brothers’ story are worth noting here as they provide testimony to the strength of the will to knowledge that underpinned American discourse during this period. Since publication of the book, Emir became the founding Dean of the College at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary and Ergun was appointed the Dean of Liberty Baptist Theological Seminary at the time of the book’s publication. Ergun Caner’s appointment was popular amongst students; enrolment at the seminary tripled under his leadership. In 2010 it emerged that Ergun Caner had included ‘factual statements that are self-contradictory’ in his biographical details. The contradictions are significant: Caner claimed to have been raised as a radical Sunni Muslim in Turkey, in ‘a climate of Jihad’, hence the ‘insider’s look’ at Islam that he was able to provide. As reported in the *Washington Post* in June 2010 (see William Wan and Michelle Boorstein, “Liberty U. removing Ergun Caner as seminary dean over contradictory statements,” *The Washington Post*, June 30, 2010, accessed July 11, 2011, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/06/29/AR2010062905331.html>). In recorded sermons, he talked about coming to the United States as a teenager and converting to Christianity. ‘In one sermon, he put it more bluntly, saying he was trained to do what the Sept. 11 terrorists had done’ as the *Post* noted. Although it is true that he converted to Christianity as a teenager, he was not brought up in ‘jihadist Turkey’. Despite the collapse of the edifice on which his ‘expertise on Islam’ was based, Liberty University retained him as a Professor, although they decided not to renew his contract as Dean when it expired on 30 June 2010. In May 2011, Arlington Baptists College, Texas, appointed him Professor of Theology and Church History as well as Provost and Vice President of Academics (see Arlington press release at Caner’s website: Brett Shipp, “Controversy follows Baptist theologian to North Texas,” WFAA, June 21, 2011,

Islam is what Islam was

The main leitmotif in this literature is the concept of Muslims waging a Holy War against the West⁶⁷⁴. This is a concept made possible by the combined reanimation of two old narratives: that of a barbaric Islam clashing with the civilised West, and the inherently violent nature of Islam. The old narrative of Islam versus the West had been strongly reactivated before 11 September 2001 with Samuel Huntington's 'Clash of Civilisations' thesis⁶⁷⁵ published in 1993, around the same time that the 'new religious terrorism' discussed in *Chapter Three* began to emerge. Despite its many critics,⁶⁷⁶ Huntington's thesis of 'civilisational realism'⁶⁷⁷—which predicted that in the post-Cold War world, the

accessed July 11, 2011, <http://www.wfaa.com/news/local/Controversy-follows-Baptist-theologian-to-north-Texas-124318149.html>).

⁶⁷⁴ David Bukay and Merkaz Ari'el le-mehkera medinyut, *Total terrorism in the name of Allah: the emergence of the new Islamic fundamentalists* (Shaarei Tikva, Israel: Ariel Center for Policy Research, 2002); Mark A. Gabriel, *Journey Inside The Mind Of an Islamic Terrorist: Why They Hate Us and How We Can Change Their Minds* (Lake Mary, Florida: FrontLine, 2006); David Selbourne, *The losing battle with Islam* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2005); Dimitry A. Kapustyan and Matt Nelson, *The Soul of Terror: The Worldwide Conflict Between Islamic Terrorism and the Modern World* (Washington, DC: International Affairs Press, 2007); Thomas A. Johnson, *The War on Terrorism: A Collision of Values, Strategies, and Societies* (New York: CRC Press, 2008); L. Ali Khan, *A theory of international terrorism: understanding Islamic militancy* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2006); Pierre-André Taguieff, *Rising from the muck: the new anti-semitism in Europe*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004); Patrick Sookhdeo, *Understanding Islamic terrorism: the Islamic doctrine of war* (Wiltshire: Isaac Publishing, 2004); Timothy J. Keppler and Army War College (U.S.), *Center of gravity determination and implications for the war against radical Islamic terrorism* (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, 2005); Bernard Lewis, *The crisis of Islam: holy war and unholy terror* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2004); Jean B. Elshtain, *Just war against terror: the burden of American power in a violent world* (New York: Basic Books, 2004).

⁶⁷⁵ Samuel Huntington, "The clash of civilisations?," *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993).

⁶⁷⁶ Edward Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," *The Nation*, October 22, 2001, accessed July 3, 2011, <http://www.thenation.com/article/clash-ignorance>; Jacinta O'Hagan, "Civilisational Conflict? Looking for cultural enemies," *Third World Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1995); Errol A. Henderson, "Huntington's Dilemmas: not letting evidence get in the way of assumption," *International Politics* 42 (2005).

⁶⁷⁷ Mark B. Salter, *Barbarism and civilisation in International Relations* (London: Pluto Press, 2002).

primary source of conflict would be cultural and religious identities—resonated strongly with many American intellectuals and policymakers. The divisions that appeared in the War on Terror, were taken by many such figures as ‘infallible proof’ of Huntington’s claim that ‘Islam has bloody borders’, and as a manifestation of his predicted clash between Islam and the West⁶⁷⁸. Much of the literature examined in this chapter builds on this thesis, which was itself built on existing narratives of Orientalism, barbarism and American Exceptionalism.

One author, Raphael Israeli has written six books on the subject of Islamic terrorism⁶⁷⁹, each explaining a different way in which it poses an existential threat to Western civilisation. In 2003 he warned of an impending new threat: ‘Islamic martyrology’ or ‘Islamikaze’⁶⁸⁰. Five years later he expounded on his own thesis, and warned that this new form of Islamic warfare could be used to launch a ‘third Islamic invasion of Europe’⁶⁸¹. The same year, 2008, he also published *The Islamic Challenge in Europe*, again warning the West to beware of the growing threat of Islamic extremism ‘in the heartland of the European world’.⁶⁸² In 2009 he warned of a possibly apocalyptic coupling between Muslim immigrants and ‘local, traditional anti-Semites of the xenophobic fascist and racist

⁶⁷⁸ Meghana V. Nayak and Christopher Malone, “American Orientalism and American Exceptionalism: a critical rethinking of US hegemony,” *International Studies Review*, no. 11 (2009).

⁶⁷⁹ Raphael Israeli and Merkaz Ari’el le-mehkera mediniyut, *Asia: the emerging hub of world Muslim terrorism* (ACPR Publications, 2003); Raphael Israeli, *War, peace and terror in the Middle East* (London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd, 2003); Raphael Israeli, *The spread of Islamikaze terrorism in Europe: the third Islamic invasion* (Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2008); Raphael Israeli, *The Islamic challenge in Europe* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2008); Raphael Israeli, *Islamic radicalism and political violence: the Templars of Islam and Sheikh Ra’id Salah* (Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2008); Raphael Israeli, *Muslim minorities in modern states: the challenge of assimilation* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2009).

⁶⁸⁰ Raphael Israeli, *Islamikaze: Manifestations of Islamic Martyrlogy* (London: Frank Cass, 2003).

⁶⁸¹ Raphael Israeli, *The spread of Islamikaze terrorism in Europe: the third Islamic invasion* (Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2008).

⁶⁸² Raphael Israeli, *The Islamic challenge in Europe* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2008).

Right along with the avowedly anti-Zionist Left' in Western 'host societies'.⁶⁸³

Israeli is Professor of Islamic, Middle Eastern and Chinese History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. As Foucault explained in *The Orders of Discourse*, universities are important institutions in the machinery of knowledge production, their academic output being widely accepted as grounded in rational enquiry independent of power, and therefore widely accepted as 'true'. The validity of this narrative of an Islamic Holy War against the West would not have been possible without its connections to the discourse of the inherent violence of Islam. As discussed in *Chapter Two*, early Christian discursive practices rarefied the discourse of Islam as being violent from its very origin. In the present discourse of terrorism, this congenital savagery of Islam is drawn from a selective inclusion of a particular meaning of the concept of jihad in the discourse of terrorism while excluding others.

Jihad, in Islamic teachings, is of two types: internal and external. Internal jihad or itjihad refers to individual spiritual striving while the external jihad takes the form of a just war waged against enemies of Islam. Whereas a majority of Muslims agree that itjihad is superior to violent jihad, Osama bin Laden and his followers emphasised violent jihad as incumbent upon Muslims in fighting the perceived wrongs and injustices committed against Islam by the United States and other Western powers. With only a few exceptions⁶⁸⁴, the texts examined in this analysis focused only on the violent jihad, or 'Holy War' as it came to be known.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸³ Raphael Israeli, *Muslim anti-Semitism in Christian Europe: elemental and residual anti-semitism* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2009).

⁶⁸⁴ Javaid Rehman, *Islamic state practices, international law and the threat from terrorism: a critique of the "clash of civilizations" in the new world order* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2005); M. J. Akbar, *The shade of swords: jihad and the conflict between Islam and Christianity* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Abdul Gafoor Abdul Majeed Noorani, *Islam & Jihad: prejudice versus reality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); David Cook, *Understanding Jihad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Noah Feldman, *After Jihad: America and the struggle for Islamic democracy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Girou, 2004); Gabriele Marranci, *Jihad beyond Islam* (New York:

Such was the singularity of focus on the violent form of *jihad* alone that no other interpretations of the concept could be included in Western discourse. Jihad, during this period, could only be known in Western

Berg, 2006); Zahid Aziz, *Islam, peace and tolerance* (Wembley, UK: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Lahore Publications, 2007), Ayesha Jalal, *Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008).

⁶⁸⁵ Steven Emerson, *American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us* (New York: The Free Press, 2003); Matthias Küntzel, *Jihad and Jew-hatred: Islamism, Nazism and the roots of 9/11*, trans. Colin Meade (New York: Telos Press Publishing, 2007); Walid Phares, *Future Jihad: Terrorist Strategies Against the West* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Walid Phares, *The war of ideas: Jihad against democracy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), Walid Phares, *The confrontation: winning the war against future jihad* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Ronald R. Cooke, *Oil, Jihad and Destiny: Will Declining Oil Production Plunge Our Planet Into a Depression?* (Opportunity Analysis, 2004); Laurent Murawiec, *The Mind of Jihad* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Sushant Sareen, *The jihad factory: Pakistan's Islamic revolution in the making* (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 2005); Tamra Orr, *Egyptian Islamic Jihad* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2003); Hal Lindsey, *The everlasting hatred: the roots of jihad* (Murrieta, California: Oracle House Publishing, 2002); Adam Frederic Dorin, *Jihad and American medicine: thinking like a terrorist to anticipate attacks via our health system* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Security International, 2007); Ravi Zacharias, *Light in the Shadow of Jihad: The Struggle for Truth* (Multnomah Publishers, 2006); Andrew G. Bostom and Ibn Warraq, *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2008); Robert Spencer, *Stealth jihad: how radical Islam is subverting America without guns or bombs* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2008); Serge Trifkovic and Srdja Trifkovic, *Defeating Jihad: How the War on Terror May Yet Be Won, in Spite of Ourselves* (Boston, Massachusetts: Regina Orthodox Press, 2006); Devin R. Springer, James L. Regens and David N. Edger, *Islamic Radicalism and Global Jihad* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2009); Monte Palmer and Princess Palmer, *At the Heart of Terror: Islam, Jihadists, and America's War on Terrorism* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007); Gary R. Bunt, *Islam in the digital age: e-jihad, online fatwas and cyber Islamic environments* (London: Pluto Press, 2003); Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, *The next attack: the globalization of Jihad* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2005); Charles Allen, *God's terrorists: the Wahhabi cult and hidden roots of modern Jihad* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 2006); Joel C. Rosenberg, *Inside the Revolution: How the Followers of Jihad, Jefferson & Jesus Are Battling to Dominate the Middle East and Transform the World* (Carol Stream, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 2009); Jerry S. Piven, *Jihad and Sacred Vengeance: Psychological Undercurrents of History*, vol. 3 (Lincoln, Nebraska: Writers Club Press, 2002); Patrick Sookhdeo, *Global jihad: the future in the face of militant Islam* (McLean, Virginia: Isaac Publishing, 2007).

discourse as 'Islamic fundamentalist terrorism' and no more, no less. With titles such as *Islamic terrorism: is there a Christian response?*; *Jihad: Islamic Fundamentalist Terrorism*; *Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia*; *Terror in the mind of God: the global rise of religious violence*; *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror*; *The historical roots of Islamic terrorism*; *The Justifications for Jihad, War and Revolution in Islam*; *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims*; *The shade of swords: jihad and the conflict between Islam and Christianity*; *Total terrorism in the name of Allah: the emergence of the new Islamic fundamentalists*; *Understanding Islamic terrorism: the Islamic doctrine of war*; and *Muhammad's Monsters: A Comprehensive Guide to Radical Islam for Western Audiences*, the rarefaction of the discourses of Islam as violence, terrorism as the new form of this old violence, and Islam as a Christian heresy began even before readers got to the first word of the text itself.

As with the literature repeating the narrative of Islam versus the West, the output focusing on violent jihad was prolific; sometimes whole bodies of work contributed by one author over a short period of time. The work of American author Robert Spencer, stands out in this regard. Spencer began writing on the subject of 'Islamic terrorism' after the 11 September 2001 attacks, and between then and 2009, published nine books, eleven monographs, and over three hundred articles on the subject.⁶⁸⁶ His *Politically Incorrect Guide to Islam (and the Crusades)*, which became a *New York Times* bestseller in 2005 recasts the War on Terror as

⁶⁸⁶ Robert Spencer, *Islam unveiled: disturbing questions about the world's fastest-growing faith* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2002); Robert Spencer and Daniel Ali, *Inside Islam: A Guide for Catholics* (West Chester, Pennsylvania: Ascension Press, 2003); Robert Spencer, *Onward Muslim soldiers: how jihad still threatens America and the West* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2003); Robert Spencer, ed., *The myth of Islamic tolerance: how Islamic law treats non-Muslims* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2005); Robert Spencer, *The truth about Muhammad: founder of the world's most intolerant religion* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2006); Robert Spencer, *Religion of peace?: why Christianity is and Islam isn't* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2007); Robert Spencer, *Stealth jihad: how radical Islam is subverting America without guns or bombs* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2008); Robert Spencer, *The Complete Infidel's Guide to the Koran* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2009). See "About Robert Spencer," Jihad Watch, accessed August 12, 2009, <http://www.jihadwatch.org/spencer>.

'the Crusade [the West] must fight' and (re)introduces Mohammed as a 'Prophet of War' while describing the Qur'an, as a 'Book of War'⁶⁸⁷. Spencer followed this enormously successful publication with *The Truth about Muhammad: Founder of the world's most intolerant religion*.⁶⁸⁸ This book too, made it to *The New York Times* bestseller list the following year.

All Spencer's books reiterated the idea of Islam as a religion of war, and mirrored the early Christian discourses of the religion as a heresy. His commentary was rarefied and validated through repetition across various media platforms in both the United States and abroad. By 2009 he had repeated the same narratives on broadcast television—appearing on CNN, FoxNews, PBS, MSNBC, CNBC, C-Span, France24 and Croatia National Television (HTV)—and national and international radio programmes, including Bill O'Reilly's *Radio Factor*, *The Laura Ingraham Show*, Bill Bennett's *Morning in America*, Michael Savage's *Savage Nation*, *The Sean Hannity Show*, *The Alan Colmes Show*, *The G. Gordon Liddy Show*, *The Neal Boortz Show*, *The Michael Medved Show*, *The Michael Reagan Show*, *The Rusty Humphries Show*, *The Larry Elder Show*, *The Barbara Simpson Show*. He even spoke on *Vatican Radio*.⁶⁸⁹ Spencer's print media contributions include weekly columns for conservative US publications *Human Events* and *FrontPage Magazine*.

Spencer has also repeated these narratives in documentary form as *Islam: what the West needs to know* (2006), which uses passages from a variety of religious texts to prove the inherent violence of Islam and its ambitions to dominate the West. Spencer repeats the same narratives on a website, *Jihad Watch*⁶⁹⁰, dedicated to 'correcting popular misconceptions' about the Holy War against non-believers that he alleges Islam and the Qur'an calls

⁶⁸⁷ Robert Spencer, *The politically incorrect guide to Islam (and the Crusades)* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2005).

⁶⁸⁸ Robert Spencer, *The truth about Muhammad: founder of the world's most intolerant religion* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2006).

⁶⁸⁹ Biographical details of Robert Spencer, listed on his website *JihadWatch*, accessed August 12, 2009, <http://www.jihadwatch.org/spencer>.

⁶⁹⁰ Available at Jihad Watch, <http://www.jihadwatch.org>, accessed July 3, 2011.

for⁶⁹¹. Spencer's online contributions also include a weekly Qur'an commentary at the website, *Blogging the Qur'an*, which has been translated into Czech, Danish, German and Italian⁶⁹². In addition to the rarefaction of Spencer's narratives on these platforms, it was further rendered 'true' by being adopted into the official political discourse. Spencer has, for example, given seminars on Islam and Jihad for the United States Central Command, United States Army Command and General Staff College, the U.S. Army's Asymmetric Warfare Group, the FBI, the Joint Terrorism Task Force, and the U.S. intelligence community.⁶⁹³

A further measure of the degree of positivity the term *jihad* achieved as 'Islamic suicidal terrorism' can also be seen in many works of highly popular fiction published in the United States during this period⁶⁹⁴. Some of the most notable contributions to this collection of 'jihadi fiction' was made by novelist Joel Rosenberg who wrote a 'political thriller', *The Last Jihad*⁶⁹⁵, which begins in the cockpit of an aeroplane hijacked by Muslim terrorists about to attack an American city. As the story unfolds, the United States goes to war against Iraq over weapons of mass destruction. The story was written nine months before 11 September 2001 and published four months before the United States invaded Iraq in March 2003. Hailed as a modern Nostradamus and latter-day prophet for his 'uncanny intuition', Rosenberg spent most of the last six years on the *The New York Times* bestseller list producing four more books in 'the Jihad

⁶⁹¹ See "Why Jihad Watch?," Jihad Watch, accessed August 12, 2009, <http://www.jihadwatch.org/why-jihad-watch.html>.

⁶⁹² For the blogs, see "Qur'an Commentary," Jihad Watch, accessed August 12, 2009, <http://www.jihadwatch.org/articles/bloggingtheq.php>.

⁶⁹³ Ibid

⁶⁹⁴ Bruce Herschensohn, *Above Empyrean: A Novel of the Final Days of the War on Islamic Terrorism* (New York: Beaufort Books, 2008); Warren A. White, *All Knights of the Apocalypse* (Panama: Caribbean Books, 2004); Harold Coyle, *Cat and Mouse* (New York: Forge, 2007).

⁶⁹⁵ Joel C. Rosenberg, *The Last Jihad* (New York: Forge, 2002).

series.⁶⁹⁶ Based on the ‘expertise’ Rosenberg had acquired as a writer of ‘jihad fiction’, he has since worked as a communications advisor to political leaders in the United States and Israel. He has also branched into writing non-fiction works on the subject of jihad, which are accompanied by study aids and are clearly intended to increase the knowledge of ‘Islamic jihad’ among readers⁶⁹⁷.

Return of the Barbary captivity narratives

Within the literature published on the subject of terrorism during this period is a specific genre—biographical narratives of apostate Muslims who had renounced their faith in the religion and lived to tell the tale of its many inherent savageries. Like the Barbary captivity narratives of the eighteenth century, they provide anecdotal accounts of life lived under the cruelty of Islam. And, as the Barbary narratives grounded the discourse of Islam as a Christian heresy in ‘truth’, these ex-Muslim narratives put the politico-religious discourse of Islamic terrorism ‘in the true’.

One of the most prolific contributors to ‘Islamic terrorism’ literature whose publications are promoted as being endowed with rare insight due to the author’s status as an apostate Muslim is Mark A Gabriel. A doctoral graduate of Egypt’s Al-Azhar University, the author began his contributions just a few months after 11 September 2001 by asking ‘Why do Islamic terrorists do what they do?’⁶⁹⁸ He has since analysed the

⁶⁹⁶ Joel C. Rosenberg, *The Ezekiel Option* (Carol Stream, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 2006); Joel C. Rosenberg, *The Last Days* (Carol Stream, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 2006); Joel C. Rosenberg, *The Copper Scroll* (Carol Stream, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 2007); Joel C. Rosenberg, *Dead Heat* (Carol Stream, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 2007).

⁶⁹⁷ Joel C. Rosenberg, “Books/DVDs,” accessed September 12, 2011, <http://www.joelrosenberg.com/books.asp>.

⁶⁹⁸ Mark A. Gabriel, *Islam and Terrorism: What the Qur’an really teaches about Christianity, violence and the goals of the Islamic jihad* (Lake Mary, Florida: Charisma House, 2002).

‘unfinished battle’ between ‘Islam and the Jews’⁶⁹⁹; compared ‘profound differences and surprising similarities’ between Muhammad and Jesus⁷⁰⁰; made a ‘journey into the mind of an Islamic terrorist’ to find out why they hate the West⁷⁰¹; and shed light on the ‘mysterious attitudes of the Muslim world’ which makes it reject noble western/American ideals of equality and freedom⁷⁰².

What is most emphatically stressed in the material promoting his work, is his ‘unique background’ of being an ‘ex-Muslim’, which is said to allow him access to the mindset of the Islamic terrorist in ways that ‘most westerners are unable to understand’⁷⁰³. He ‘spent his entire childhood in Muslim schools’, but ‘after his conversion to Christianity, his family disowned him, and tried several times to kill him. He escaped his Muslim homeland and eventually settled in the United States, where he chose a Christian name to reflect his new life in Christ’.⁷⁰⁴ The cruelty that Islam inflicted on him is what gave him such unfettered entry into the United

⁶⁹⁹ Mark A. Gabriel, *Islam and the Jews: the unfinished battle* (Lake Mary, Florida: Charisma House, 2003).

⁷⁰⁰ Mark A. Gabriel, *Jesus and Muhammad: profound differences and surprising similarities* (Lake Mary, Florida: Charisma House, 2004).

⁷⁰¹ Mark A. Gabriel, *Journey into the mind of an Islamic terrorist: Why They Hate Us and How We Can Change Their Minds* (Lake Mary, Florida: Charisma House, 2006).

⁷⁰² Mark A. Gabriel, *Culture Clash*, (Lake Mary, Florida: Charisma House, 2007).

⁷⁰³ These introductions to the work by Mark A. Gabriel, *Journey into the Mind of an Islamic Terrorist: Why They Hate Us and How We Can Change Their Minds* (Lake Mary, Florida: Charisma House, 2006), are publicity material provided by the publisher and booksellers. See online bookstore Flipkart.com, accessed July 31, 2009, <http://www.flipkart.com/journey-into-mind-islamic-terrorist/1591857139-5sx3fe92db>. It is also interesting to note here that in the year 2008, with the dexterity of authorship not uncommon among such experts in ‘Islamic terrorism’ and *Jihad*, Dr Gabriel took to writing fiction where an increasingly disillusioned Muslim has coffee with the Muslim prophet Muhammad in Mecca. See Mark A. Gabriel, *Coffee with the Prophet: A 21st Century Encounter with the Prophet of Islam* (Casselberry, Florida: Gabriel Publishing, 2008).

⁷⁰⁴ From the introduction to Gabriel provided by specialised Christian book review website, Christian Book Previews. For the biography of Dr Gabriel see “Mark A. Gabriel,” Christian Book Previews, accessed July 31, 2009, <http://www.christianbookpreviews.com/christian-book-author.php?isbn=1591852919>.

States terrorism discourse more than his education at Al-Azhar. This is evident from ex-Muslims who have found themselves welcomed into the discourse as 'experts' with no other qualifications to speak Islam or terrorism apart from having once been a follower/victim/perpetrator of the violence that is Islam.

Another prominent example of this type of author is Walid Shoebat, a software engineer by profession who has contributed three popular books so far to United States terrorism knowledge since 11 September 2001. One of them, a memoir, *Why I left Jihad: The Root of Terrorism and the Return of Radical Islam* was a bestseller in the United States. The cover of the book proclaims in bold writing: 'By Ex-Muslim Terrorist Walid Shoebat'⁷⁰⁵. According to his biographical narrative, he had been a 'radicalised Muslim willing to die for the cause of Jihad until [he] converted to Christianity in 1994'⁷⁰⁶. He was involved in 'terror activity' with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, and had even planted 'a bomb in Bethlehem [...] which for the grace of God, did not injure anyone'. After chronicling further 'terror activities' with Muslims in the United States itself where he had emigrated in 1978, he concludes his introduction thus:

I state the above so you know [...] my background and firsthand knowledge of the issue. I speak to the American people to warn and *educate* them about the very great dangers which are very underplayed both by our media and our political leaders. [emphasis added]

Now that you have brief details of my background, I would like to offer my expert opinion, if you can call me an expert - but perhaps an experienced former terrorist would be more appropriate.

⁷⁰⁵ Walid Shoebat, *Why I left Jihad: the root of terrorism and the rise of Islam* (Lafayette, Indiana: Top Executive Media, 2005).

⁷⁰⁶ "Biography of Walid Shoebat," Walid Shoebat's Official Website, accessed July 15, 2011, <http://www.shoebat.com/bio.php>.

Among the universities that have sought the 'expert opinion' of Shoebat are Harvard Law School⁷⁰⁷, Columbia University⁷⁰⁸, Concordia University, University of California, University of Southern California, University of Georgia, and Washington University. He has also spoken at various state institutions including Capitol Hill, and has made multiple appearances in the media in the United States and abroad as an expert on Islamic terrorism⁷⁰⁹. The authenticity of the personal narrative, upon which Shoebat's 'expert opinion' is based has since been called into question by many sources⁷¹⁰, but he continues to be among the experts favoured by US government institutions to provide terrorism education to law enforcement and counter-terrorism officials in the United States⁷¹¹.

⁷⁰⁷ For a video of Wald Shoebat's lecture at Harvard in May 2009, see "Walid Shoebat presentation at UCLA Royce Hall," MeFeedia, May 2009, accessed July 11, 2011, <http://www.mefedia.com/watch/29481448>.

⁷⁰⁸ Shoebat's lecture at Columbia University in October 2006 attracted controversy when the University changed it from a lecture open to the public to an invite-only event shortly before the lecture was due to begin. There is no record of the lecture on the Columbia University website, but a video of the lecture is available on YouTube. His own experience as a 'jihadi' forms the nucleus of his 'expert opinion'. "Walid Shoebat, Ex Jihadi Columbia University," YouTube video, 9:53, posted by "Atlasrugs2000," October 11, 2006, accessed July 11, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CoMq5HYMpZQ>.

⁷⁰⁹ Shoebat has appeared on, amongst others, *CNN*, *CNN International*, *FOX News*, *ITN*, *RTE*, *NBC*, *CBS*, and *ABC*. He has also been featured on BBC Radio 4 and 5. See Shoebat's biography: "Biography of Walid Shoebat," Walid Shoebat's Official Website, accessed July 15, 2011, <http://www.shoebat.com/bio.php>.

⁷¹⁰ Omar Sacirbey, "Skeptics challenge life stories offered by high-profile Muslim converts to Christianity," *The Washington Post*, June 26, 2010, accessed July 11, 2011, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/06/25/AR2010062504435.html>; See full report: Thomas Cincotta, "Manufacturing the Muslim menace: private firms, public servants, and the threat to rights and security," Political Research Associates, accessed July 11, 2011, http://www.publiceye.org/liberty/training/Muslim_Menace_Complete.pdf.

⁷¹¹ In October 2010, for example, he was the key speaker at a counter-terrorism training programme in Las Vegas, and was hired for the job despite various reports having been published at the time that questioned the authenticity of his 'personal narrative' (see note above).

Christians in cruel Muslim hands

In addition to the enunciative value accorded to apostate Muslims who also claim to be ex-terrorists such as Ergun Carner and Walid Shoebat, the United States terrorism discourse of this epoch also regarded as high-value knowledge stories told by Christians who—like the white slaves taken captive by North Africans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—suffered at the hands of cruel Muslims. The discursive practices of Brigitte Gabriel, a Christian from Lebanon, stand out in this particular stream of the present day Barbary narratives. The cover of her first book, *Because they hate: a survivor of Islamic terror warns America* (2005), introduces her to potential readers thus:

Brigitte Gabriel lost her childhood to militant Islam. In 1975 she was ten years old and living in Southern Lebanon when militant Muslims from throughout the Middle East poured into her country and declared jihad against the Lebanese Christians. Lebanon was the only Christian influenced country in the Middle East, and the Lebanese Civil War was the first front in what has become the worldwide jihad of fundamentalist Islam against non-Muslim peoples. For seven years, Brigitte and her parents lived in an underground bomb shelter. They had no running water or electricity and very little food; at times they were reduced to boiling grass to survive⁷¹².

Gabriel's book, which publisher St Martin asks readers to interpret not simply as a memoir but also as a 'political wake-up call', made it on to the *New York Times* bestseller list⁷¹³ and, according to the second edition published in 2008, was required reading for Navy SEALs dispatched to the Middle East, and was also put on the official reading list at the FBI Academy.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹² Back Cover of Brigitte Gabriel, *Because they hate: a survivor of Islamic terror warns America* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2005).

⁷¹³ "Number 12: Because They Hate," The New York Times Hardcover Bestseller List, *The New York Times*, November 17, 2006, accessed July 31, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/17/books/16blog-polibooks.html?_r=1&oref=slogin.

⁷¹⁴ Brigitte Gabriel, *Because They Hate: A survivor of Islamic Terror warns America*, 2nd ed. (New York: St Martin's Press, 2008).

Like Shoebat, Gabriel had no prior knowledge of Islamic teachings except for personal experiences with 'Islamic terrorists', the former as a terrorist and the latter as a victim of terrorists. Like Shoebat's personal narrative, Gabriel's story too has been called into question. She has claimed that the seven years she spent in the bomb shelter, between 1975-1982, was due to terror by the Hizbullah group. The Hizbullah group, which is listed as a terrorist organisation in the United States, was formed in 1982, as pointed out by Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram Weekly*⁷¹⁵. Despite the factual inaccuracies, Gabriel's enunciative role and authority in grounding the United States terrorism discourse in truth has increased with time. In 2008 she published a second book, *They Must be stopped: why we must defeat radical Islam and how we can do it*⁷¹⁶, graduating from personal narrative—on the basis of the personal narrative—to become a policy advisor on counter-terrorism.

The discursive practices of Gabriel, too, repeat narratives that already exist in American society around Orientalism and American Exceptionalism. In *Because they hate*, for example, she speaks of the United States in the same terms as President Bush, praising its 'greatness' as a nation and repeats Samuel Huntington's thesis of a clash of civilisations⁷¹⁷. Her lectures are commentaries on what has already been said not just by her, but by many over the years. While she too repeated the 'Mohammed is a terrorist' narrative, she paid more attention to the Arab-barbarian narrative. In a lecture at Duke University on 14 October 2004, for example, she said:

⁷¹⁵ Franklin Lamb, "Lost from Lebanon," *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, accessed July 11, 2011, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2008/887/focus.htm>.

⁷¹⁶ Brigitte Gabriel, *They must be stopped: why we must defeat radical Islam and How we can do it* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2008).

⁷¹⁷ Brigitte Gabriel, *Because they hate: a survivor of Islamic terror warns America* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2005), 186.

The difference between the Arabic world and Israel is a difference in values and character. It's barbarism versus civilization. It's democracy versus dictatorship. It's goodness versus evil⁷¹⁸.

Like other members of this group of authors, Gabriel, too, appears often on American media, and has founded an organisation called *ACT! For America*,⁷¹⁹ a nationwide network that aims to 'more effectively inform, educate and mobilise Americans regarding the multiple threats of radical Islam' and 'arm activists with the information to get involved and take effective action.'⁷²⁰ That is to say, provide the truth: 'true' knowledge of 'Islamic terrorism', according to which action can be taken against the threat. Its vision is a 'citizen action network' that: '*aggressively promotes and implements educational programs that teach and enable citizen participation in the defense of America on the community, city, state, and national level*'⁷²¹ [own emphasis]. The ultimate goal of the organisation is not only to bend the truth of 'Islamic terrorism' to the will to knowledge with the support of pedagogical institutions, but to *become* such an institution spread nationwide that not just produces but also performs the veridicative and judicative functions of the discourse.

The most celebrated ex-Muslim authors allowed into terrorism discourse is Ayaan Hirsi Ali, whose 2007 memoir, *Infidel*, was a *New York Times* Bestseller⁷²². Hirsi Ali's apostate narrative is different from others discussed above in that her entry was not solely based on a conversion to

⁷¹⁸ Brigitte Gabriel, Speech delivered at Duke University, October 14, 2004. The co-ordinators of the concert, Freeman Centre for Jewish Life, later apologised for her speech in the University Newspaper. See "Rally conveyed anti-terror message," *The Chronicle*, October 18, 2008, accessed July 11, 2011, <http://www.chronicle.duke.edu/article/rally-conveyed-anti-terror-message>.

⁷¹⁹ ACT stands for American Congress for Truth.

⁷²⁰ Act! For America, "About ACT! for America," accessed July 11, 2011, <http://www.actforamerica.org/index.php/learn/about-act-for-america>.

⁷²¹ Ibid.

⁷²² "The New York Times Bestseller List," *The New York Times*, accessed July 14, 2011, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9904EEDA133EF937A35750C0A9619C8B63&scp=12&sq=Hirsi+Ali&st=nyt>. *Infidel* was first published in Dutch as *Mijn Vrijheid* (My Freedom) in 2006.

Christianity in the distant past nor founded on claims of either having suffered at the hands of 'Muslim terrorists' or on having been a past perpetrator of such terror. As a Somali who successfully sought asylum in the Netherlands, neither did Hirsi Ali have the prior connection to the 'Arab world' that most other apostate Muslim narrators with enunciative authority in present terrorism discourse do. She did not flee the Arab/Muslim barbarian but a 'backward' and barbaric religion that treated all its women with inhuman cruelty.

Furthermore, unlike the others, Ali renounced Islam after 11 September 2001, as a result of doubts, she has said, that arose directly from discovering the close connections between Osama bin Laden's words and that of the Qur'an. One of the crucial differences in Hirsi Ali's personal narrative and that of other apostate Muslims is that the terrorism she knew at firsthand, having been forced to live under the threat of murder issued by Evildoers in 2004, was that of the 'new' evil variety and not that practised by the ordinary, relatively decent, terrorists of past epochs⁷²³. Hirsi Ali's narrative is also different in that she did not renounce Islam for Christianity as the other narrators discussed in this *Chapter*, but for atheism.

Like all the others, however, Ali has been a vocal critic of Islam and has repeated the same narratives of Islam's inherent violence, the perversity and brutality of Mohammed, and also the difference between the 'backward' culture of Islamic states when compared with those of the West. She is a particularly outspoken champion of 'Enlightenment values', and was described by right-wing Danish magazine *Sappho* as 'a genuinely European intellectual of the kind that is becoming increasingly

⁷²³ In August 2004, a movie written by Hirsi Ali and created by Dutch filmmaker Theodore Van Gogh, *Submission*, a movie detailing violence against women in some Islamic societies. A new terrorist, an Evildoer – an Arab/Muslim 'fanatic' from Morocco - killed Van Gogh on November 2, 2004, and threatened to do the same to Hirsi Ali. When her memoir, *Infidel*, was first published in Holland as *Mijn Vrijheid* (My Freedom) in 2006, she was a member of the Dutch Parliament. The first print of the book sold out in two days.

rare as our home-grown cultural personalities and leaders are busily discarding our intellectual heritage.⁷²⁴ The transformation in the orders of terrorism discourse in the twenty-first century has been such that Hirsi Ali has been described as a ‘freedom fighter’⁷²⁵ without any apparent irony or even recognition of how this had once been how political rebels who used violence in pursuit of their goals referred to themselves. ‘Terrorists’ was the label used to describe the very same ‘freedom fighters’ by the political power they were fighting against.

In Western discourse, there has been very little criticism of Hirsi Ali’s statements equating Islam and barbarism, or any other old Western narratives about Islam she has reanimated as ‘new’ in the context of the present terrorism discourse⁷²⁶. The accolades for ‘freedom fighter’ Hirsi Ali, however, have appeared freely and plentifully. She has received twelve awards from various European and American societies and institutions since 2004 in various categories ranging from awards for freedom of expression, emancipation and tolerance, to democracy. One award, received in Germany, was specifically for her courage in criticising Islam⁷²⁷.

Infidel, her ghost-written memoir, received the Ansifield-Wolf Book Award in America on 11 September 2008, the seventh anniversary of Al-Qaeda’s attacks on the United States. Anisfield-Wolf also commended her

⁷²⁴ Helle Merete Brix and Lars Hedegaard, “Interview with Ayaan Hirsi Ali,” *Sappho*, November 23, 2005, accessed July 28, 2011, http://www.sappho.dk/Den%20loebende/hirsi_english.htm.

⁷²⁵ Patt Morrison, “Feminism’s freedom fighter,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 17, 2009, accessed July 14, 2011, <http://articles.latimes.com/2009/oct/17/opinion/oe-morrison17>.

⁷²⁶ Nicholas D. Kristoff, “The Gadfly,” *The New York Times*, May 28, 2010, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/30/books/review/Kristoff-t.html?ref=review&pagewanted=all>; Cristina Odone, “Ayaan Hirsi Ali reminds me of Richard Dawkins – obsessive and simplistic,” *The Telegraph*, June 6, 2010, accessed July 7, 2011, <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/cristinaodone/100042349/ayaan-hirsi-ali-reminds-me-of-richard-dawkins---obsessive-and-simplistic>.

⁷²⁷ “Literatur: Auszeichnung für Islamkritikerin Ali,” *Zeit Online*, October 10, 2006, accessed July 14, 2011, <http://www.zeit.de/news/artikel/2006/10/01/75756.xml>.

as 'a leader in the campaign to reform Islam.'⁷²⁸ She was also named one of the 100 Most Influential Persons of the World in 2005 by *Time Magazine*⁷²⁹. All these institutional honours bestowed on Hirsi Ali as an apostate Muslim who spoke out against the 'truth' of Islam's cruelty, provided her with a high level of enunciative authority in contemporary terrorism discourse. They also form part of the prodigious machinery of the will to truth that produced the 'true' knowledge of terrorism as an evil committed by barbaric Muslims waging a Holy War against the Western civilisation.

In all the ex-Muslim narratives the authors are portrayed as being held captive by Islam—they are trapped in a life of barbarism or fear; they are forced to follow 'backward traditions' such as female genital mutilation, arranged marriages, or live in fear of losing of their lives to an 'honour killing'. Hirsi Ali said that 'to submit to the book [Qur'an] is to exist in their [Muslims'] hell'⁷³⁰ and asserted that she stopped being a Muslim when she lost her 'fear of the Holy Book'. Or they grow up within the confines of a community of fear, a 'jihadi environment' in Turkey or a bomb shelter in South Lebanon trapped underground, groomed, recruited and watched over by Islamic terrorists.

The telling of these narratives is, in fact, a re-telling of the centuries old Barbary captivity narratives where evil, demonic Arab Muslims caught the civilised man of superior Christian beliefs and intellectual abilities in their traps and treated them with barbaric and inhumane cruelty. Islam, in these narratives of the old and the new, enslaves its followers; followers of Islam hate freedom. Renouncing Islam is seen as a form of

⁷²⁸ "Ayaan Hirsi Ali: Infidel," Anisfield-Wold Book Awards, accessed July 14, 2011, <http://www.anisfield-wolf.org/Winners/Biography.aspx?id=958>.

⁷²⁹ "The 2005 Time 100: the lives and ideas of the world's most influential people," *Time*, accessed July 15, 2011, <http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/completelist/0,29569,1972656,00.html>.

⁷³⁰ Ayaan Hirsi Ali, "To submit to the book is to exist in their hell," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 4, 2007, accessed July 14, 2011, <http://www.smh.com.au/news/opinion/to-submit-to-the-book-is-to-exist-in-their-hell/2007/06/03/1180809336515.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap1>.

liberation and waging war against 'Islamic governments' is seen as delivering liberation for the people. Hirsi Ali's second book to be published in the English Language, *Caged Virgin: A Muslim Woman's Cry for Reason* (also published as *The Caged Virgin: An Emancipation proclamation for Women and Islam*)⁷³¹, embodies both this captivity narrative as well as the unreason of Islam. This division between Islam and reason is another characteristic in Hirsi Ali's narrative that provided her with the enunciative authority to enter into the present terrorism discourse. Hirsi Ali has often spoken of her renouncement of Islam for atheism as a departure from unreason to the enlightenment of reason. She describes the 'journey' as taking her 'from the world of faith to the world of reason'⁷³² In this narrative, Islam itself is unreason. This perceived incompatibility between Islam and reason is a strong presence in present-day terrorism discourse, and is one of the main ways in which the knowledge of terrorism as an evil committed by fanatical Muslims has been validated as true.

The madness of Osama bin Laden

The division between reason and folly is one of the most prominent forms of external control imposed on discourse. This division and rejection work to control and shape the production of discourse by excluding what is accepted as reason and rejecting that seen as unreason.

Since the depths of the Middle Ages, the madman has been the one whose discourse cannot have the same currency as others. His words maybe considered null and void, having neither truth nor importance, worthless as evidence in law, inadmissible in the authentication of deeds or contracts, incapable even of bringing about the trans-substantiation of bread into body at Mass.⁷³³

⁷³¹ Ayaan Hirsi Ali, *The Caged Virgin: A Muslim Woman's Cry for Reason* (Simon and Schuster, 2006).

⁷³² Ayaan Hirsi Ali, quoted in William Grimes, "No rest for a feminist fighting radical Islam," *The New York Times*, February 14, 2007, accessed July 14, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/14/books/14grim.html>.

⁷³³ Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," in *Untying the text: a poststructuralist reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 53.

The madness of the terrorist has been a crucial aspect of terrorism discourse since before it emerged with the French Revolution. It was present in the historical *a priori* of the terrorist, in the Devil who was unreason personified. While it must be kept in mind that the discourse of terrorism emerged from reason, the separation of religion from politics, and from the washing away of sin from the discourse of rebellion, it must also be recalled that the pathologisation of the secular rebel began shortly after his emergence with the French Revolution. As discussed in *Chapter Three*, it began with the new knowledges of physiognomy and phrenology in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and continued in new ways with the psychiatric analyses of the rebel which began in earnest in the 1960s. The presence of unreason as a characteristic of the rebel has meant that the discourses of terrorists themselves have been rarely included in the 'true' knowledge of discourse, and is rarely analysed within the field of Terrorism Studies.⁷³⁴ This continued to be the case in the present terrorism discourse despite the fact that Osama bin Laden's textual and vocal output was greater in volume than any other terrorist figures that have appeared in Western terrorism discourse to date.

Bin Laden and his group, al Qaeda, had systematically communicated their messages to a worldwide audience since 1994, condemning United States military presence in Saudi Arabia, the international sanctions

⁷³⁴ Norman Hampson, *The life and opinions of Maximilien Robespierre* (London: Duckworth, 1974); Mikhail A. Bakunin, *God and the State* (New York: Modern Publishers, 1946); Mikhail A. Bakunin and Sam Dolgoff, *Bakunin on Anarchism*, ed. Sam Dolgoff (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1972); Mikhail A. Bakunin, *Statism and Anarchy*, ed. Marshall Shatz (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Mikhail A. Bakunin, *The basic Bakunin: writings, 1869-1871*, ed. Robert M. Cutler, trans. Robert M. Cutler (New York: Prometheus, 1992); Norman Hampson, *The life and opinions of Maximilien Robespierre* (London: Duckworth, 1974).

regime on Iraq in the 1990s, and United States support for Israel.⁷³⁵ Only a month before the 11 September 2001 attacks, bin Laden proclaimed:

I swear by Almighty God who raised the heavens without pillars that neither the United States nor he who lives in the United States will enjoy security before we can see it as a reality in Palestine and before all the infidel armies leave the land of Muhammad.⁷³⁶

Yet, President Bush's speeches in the aftermath of 11 September 2001, and other publications speaking for bin Laden, continued to deny him a rational motive either political or religious: 'There's no religious justification, there's no political justification. The only motivation is evil'⁷³⁷. When the United States attacked Afghanistan, Bush described it as 'paying the price' for the Taliban's unreason in not meeting the 'reasonable demands' made of it by the United States⁷³⁸.

Bin Laden's frequent and strong protestations of his faith in Islam, for example, were mostly disregarded in contemporary 'terrorism' discourse. Bin Laden was a false-Muslim, the progeny of the false-prophet Mohammed. His beliefs were only allowed into terrorism discourse to emphasise the extremities of his belief, its fanatic nature, and therefore, the madness that lay behind his proclaimed rationale for his actions. This prohibition or method of controlling the discursive formation of the 'Evildoer' was not restricted to the official political discourse, but

⁷³⁵ Christopher M. Blanchard, "CRS Report for Congress, Al Qaeda: Statements and evolving ideology," Library of Congress, January 26, 2006, accessed June 12, 2011, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL32759.pdf>, 6.

⁷³⁶ Osama Bin Laden, "Bin Laden's warning: full text," BBC News, October 7, 2001, accessed July 14, 2011, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1585636.stm.

⁷³⁷ George W. Bush, "International campaign against terror grows," The George Bush Archive, The White House, September 25, 2001, accessed February 24, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010924-4.html>.

⁷³⁸ George W. Bush, "President Bush calls for action on the economy and energy," The George Bush Archive, The White House, October 26, 2001, accessed July 14, 2011, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011026-9.html>.

extended to all sites from which terrorism was spoken, and is prominent in the literature included in this analysis.

Before the end of the year 2010, close to a hundred books were published in the English language with Osama bin Laden's name in the title⁷³⁹. They comprise biographies, psychological studies, and oral histories that make claims to knowing the man, and to revealing the 'truth' about him. Psychiatrist Peter Olsson, for example, provides an analysis of Bin Laden and his magnetism for Muslim youths in *The Cult of Osama: psychoanalysing Bin Laden and his magnetism for Muslim Youth*. Without ever having met the 'patient', Olsson diagnoses Osama with narcissism, traces the roots of his narcissistic rage to his childhood, and identifies a 'peculiar and profoundly important synchrony of shared trauma between bin Laden and the youths' that he motivates to engage in suicide missions.⁷⁴⁰

Olsson describes Osama as having 'dark epiphanies' and the power to lead young men like the Pied Piper did rats. On these occasions, when Osama's words are accepted into discourse, it is in a highly selective manner, not dissimilar to the way in which the words of madmen were treated in the Europe of the Middle Ages. On the one hand it fell on deaf ears or was wholly rejected as folly,

[o]n the other hand, strange powers not held by any other maybe attributed to the madman's speech: the power of uttering a hidden truth, of telling the future, of seeing in all naivety what others' wisdom cannot perceive. It is curious to note that for centuries in Europe the speech of the madman was either not heard or else taken for the word of truth. It either fell into the void, being rejected as soon as it was proffered, or else people deciphered

⁷³⁹ Based on a search of books with 'Osama bin Laden' in the title, written in English, and published after September 11, 2001 in the catalogue of Internet bookstore, Amazon. The search yielded a total of 83 books. Accessed at <http://www.amazon.com> on June 16, 2010.

⁷⁴⁰ Peter A. Olsson, *The Cult of Osama: psychoanalysing bin Laden and his magnetism for Muslim youths* (Michigan: Praeger Security International, 2008).

in it a rationality, naïve or crafty, which they regarded as more rational than that of the sane⁷⁴¹.

And, like the madman of the Middle Ages who was only symbolically allowed to speak in the theatre where he played the role of ‘the truth in a mask’⁷⁴², on occasions when Osama’s words are included in the discourse, more often than not, others speak for him. In *Growing up Bin Laden*, penned by Western journalist Jean Sasson, one of Osama’s wives, Najwa, and their fourth son, Omar, tells the ‘astonishing story of the man they knew—or thought they knew’ and reveals the ‘closely guarded secrets’ of his private life ‘in their own words’⁷⁴³.

On the rare occasions when Osama’s words do get included in the discourse as a voice of reason rather than that of unreason, it still needs to conform to machinery of the will to truth. The texts need introductions, editorial stances and annotations. A collection of Osama bin Laden’s *Messages to the world*⁷⁴⁴, for instance, highlights that bin Laden’s ‘own writings have been curiously absent from analysis of the “war on terror”’, and provides a collection of them from 1994 onwards. Editorial commentary and extensive annotation relating the texts to the Qur’an and other material by ‘Islamic scholar Bruce Lawrence’ then places bin Laden’s words ‘in their religious, historical and political context’⁷⁴⁵. The book is promoted to potential audiences as supplying ‘evidence crucial to an understanding of the bizarre mix of Quranic scholarship, CIA training, punctual interventions in Gulf politics and messianic anti-imperialism

⁷⁴¹ Michel Foucault, “The Order of Discourse,” in *Untying the text: a poststructuralist reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 53.

⁷⁴² Ibid.

⁷⁴³ Najwa bin Laden, Omar bin Laden, and Jean Sasson, *Growing up bin Laden: Osama’s wife and son take us inside their secret world* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 2009). Publicity material for book by publisher: See: “Growing up bin Laden,” St Martin’s Press, December 2010, accessed July 12, 2011, <http://us.macmillan.com/growingupbinladen>.

⁷⁴⁴ Bruce Lawrence, ed., *Messages to the world: the statements of Osama bin Laden* (London: Verso Books, 2005).

⁷⁴⁵ Publicity material for book by publisher. See: Verso Books, “Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden,” accessed July 14, 2011, <http://www.versobooks.com/books/32-messages-to-the-world>.

that has formed the programmatic core of Al Qaeda.⁷⁴⁶ A later text, *Through our enemies' eyes*⁷⁴⁷, written by Michael Scheuer a former director of the Central Intelligence Agency's Bin Laden Unit treats Bin Laden's words as rational. His purpose is to warn of the greater danger that lies in not seeing the rationality behind Bin Laden's Islamic terrorism. The book is promoted by Potomac Books, the publisher, as 'the one book to read in order to *truly* understand the reasons why Osama bin Laden and followers have declared war on America and the West.'⁷⁴⁸ [own emphasis]

The twenty-first century *disputatio*

Starting from the test found in Homer's *Iliad*, Western civilisation has had several methods of establishing the truth that belonged to particular epochs⁷⁴⁹. The current system of establishing the truth through enquiry emerged in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, replacing Homer's test. The above analysis shows that the production of 'true' knowledge about the Evildoer reanimated major narratives and discursive practices that were constructed around, and constituted, the discourse of the Devil in the Middle Ages. In many ways, establishing the truth about the Evildoer involved reactivation of not just these discursive practices, but also older methods of establishing the truth, such as the *disputatio*. The *disputatio* was a confrontation between two adversaries in which both used the verbal weapon, rhetorical procedures and demonstrations based on the appeal to authority for establishing the truth of their statements. In the *disputatio*, 'the more authors one of the participants had on their side, the

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁷ Michael Scheuer, *Through our enemies' eyes: Osama bin Laden, radical Islam and the future of America* (Dulles, Virginia: Potomac Books, 2005).

⁷⁴⁸ Publisher's description of the book on website Potomac Books, "Through Our Enemies' Eyes," accessed July 14, 2011, <http://www.potomacbooksinc.com/Books/BookDetail.aspx?productID=123914>.

⁷⁴⁹ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential works of Michel Foucault*, ed. James D. Faubion, vol. 3, 1954-1984 (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 18.

more evidence of authority, strength and gravity he could invoke, the greater were his chances of winning.⁷⁵⁰

As mentioned previously, more books with the word 'terrorism' in the title have been published in the twenty-first century than the combined total of all such books prior to that. Over half of these were on the subject of 'Islamic terrorism'. The sheer volume of such texts published, without even taking into consideration their contents, contributed to rendering as 'true' the existence of the phenomenon they publicised. Such an increase in the literature on the subject of Islamic terrorism was made possible not just by the inclusion of personal narratives from various people attesting to the 'truth' of 'Islamic terrorism' in the discourse, but also by an overall relaxation of usually strict enunciative rules and regulations governing discursive production.

Rules governing discourses mean that none shall generally contribute to a particular discourse if they do not satisfy certain requirements or if they are not, from the outset, in some way qualified to do so. That is, 'not all regions of discourse are equally open and penetrable; some of them are largely forbidden (they are differentiated and differentiating), while others seem to be almost open to all winds and put at the disposal of every speaking subject without prior restrictions.'⁷⁵¹ Whereas previously the field of terrorism studies, as well as theology and Islamic studies appear to have been closed discourses where only specialists were allowed in, in the decade following 11 September 2001, it appears to have taken on the form of a discourse 'open to all winds.'⁷⁵² This becomes clear from the eclectic mix of authors allowed into American terrorism discourse during this period.

Andrew Bostom, a Professor of Medicine at Brown University, for instance, examines 'the fate of non-Muslims' faced with 'the legacy of

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., 51.

⁷⁵¹ Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," in *Untying the text: a poststructuralist reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 61-62.

⁷⁵² Ibid.

Jihad’ by analysing Islamic literature on *Jihad* translated previously by others⁷⁵³. Adam Dorin, an ex-army anaesthesiologist, prepared the American public for a possible attack on the United States through its health system by advising them on how to anticipate such an attack by ‘thinking like a terrorist’⁷⁵⁴. Furthermore, a ‘comprehensive history of the terrorist organisations waging war in the twenty-first century’ is provided by Tamara Orr, a ‘children’s author’ and ‘homeschooling expert’. *Islamic Jihad in Egypt* (2003), which promises ‘an invaluable glimpse into the inner workings of the world’s most shadowy armies’⁷⁵⁵ is only one in Orr’s oeuvre of over 200 books covering many fields of expertise including liver cancer⁷⁵⁶, Greek mythology⁷⁵⁷, Avian flu⁷⁵⁸ and date rape⁷⁵⁹ to name but a few. Another children’s author who provided insight into the new enemy is Patricia D Netzley, ‘a freelance writer who has published nonfiction for children, young adults, and adults’⁷⁶⁰, who turned her highly adaptable expertise to the subject of ‘terrorism’ a few years after 11 September 2001, and published an encyclopaedia on the subject⁷⁶¹. Previously her expertise had included witchcraft⁷⁶², UFOs⁷⁶³, unicorns⁷⁶⁴ and alien abductions⁷⁶⁵.

⁷⁵³ Andrew G. Bostom and Ibn Warraq, *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2008).

⁷⁵⁴ Adam Frederic Dorin, *Jihad and American medicine: thinking like a terrorist to anticipate attacks via our health system* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Security International, 2007).

⁷⁵⁵ Tamra Orr, *Egyptian Islamic Jihad* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2003).

⁷⁵⁶ Tamra Orr, *Liver Cancer: Current and Emerging Trends in Detection and Treatment* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2009).

⁷⁵⁷ Tamra Orr, *Achilles (Profiles in Greek and Roman Mythology)* (Hockessin, Delaware: Mitchell Lane Publishers, 2008).

⁷⁵⁸ Tamra Orr, *Avian Flu* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2007).

⁷⁵⁹ Tamra Orr, *Frequently Asked Questions about Date Rape* (The Rosen Publishing Group, 2007).

⁷⁶⁰ From publicity material provided by Greenwood Publishing Group. See “Patricia D. Netzley,” Greenwood Publishing Group, accessed July 29, 2009, http://www.greenwood.com/catalog/author/N/Patricia_D_Netzley.aspx.

⁷⁶¹ Patricia D. Netzley, *The Greenhaven encyclopedia of Terrorism* (Farmington Hills, Michigan: Greenhaven Press, 2007).

⁷⁶² Patricia D. Netzley, *The Greenhaven encyclopedia of witchcraft* (Farmington Hills, Michigan: Greenhaven Press, 2006).

Contributions were also made to the terrorism literature by physicist David Jonsson who first explores the 'clash of ideologies' between Islam and Christianity⁷⁶⁶ and later warns of an Islamist strategy for 'achieving world domination' and 'Islamisation of the West' by 'controlling currency, oil resources, free trade zones, transportation media and financial markets'⁷⁶⁷. Jonsson had learnt 'the basic tenants of Islam as a political, economic and religious system' through work that 'brought him to more than fifteen countries with significant or majority populations who are Muslim'. He also became 'proficient in Islamic law (Shariah) through contract negotiation and personal encounter'⁷⁶⁸. Marketing and business development professional Ronald Cooke, on the other hand, suggested that 'Islamic terrorism' would be best understood through the connections between oil, *Jihad* and destiny.⁷⁶⁹

The relaxation of the usually strict rules regarding the qualifications of the speaking subject which exclude them from entry into the discourse added hugely to the number of people speaking the 'truth' about terrorism. Added to this was the fact that in the aftermath of 11 September 2001, the American public gained a substantial part of their knowledge of the Terrorist Barbarian from a media⁷⁷⁰ that was highly

⁷⁶³ Patricia D. Netzley, *UFOs* (Farmington Hills, Michigan: Lucent Books, 2000).

⁷⁶⁴ Patricia D. Netzley, *Unicorns* (Farmington Hills, Michigan: Lucent Books, 2000).

⁷⁶⁵ Patricia D. Netzley, *Alien Abductions* (Farmington Hills, Michigan: Lucent Books, 2000).

⁷⁶⁶ David J. Jonsson, *The Clash of Ideologies: The Making of the Christian and Islamic Worlds* (Longwood, Florida: Xulon Press, 2005).

⁷⁶⁷ David J. Jonsson, *Islamic Economics and the Final Jihad: The Muslim Brotherhood to the Leftist* (Longwood, Florida: Xulon Press, 2006).

⁷⁶⁸ The biographical information about Jonsson is common publicity material. Jonsson himself has used the material as an introduction of himself. See David J. Jonsson, "The Leftist/Marxist-Islamist Alliance Against the West," *America Daily*, accessed July 29, 2009, <http://www.americandaily.com/article/20613>.

⁷⁶⁹ Ronald R. Cooke, *Oil, Jihad and Destiny: Will Declining Oil Production Plunge Our Planet Into a Depression?* (Opportunity Analysis, 2004).

⁷⁷⁰ Audience analyses show that 74 per cent of the American public aged between 18-54 turned to the television as their first source of information following the September 11,

patriotic, strongly propagandist and largely biased.⁷⁷¹As the discussion above shows, the most popular authors in the United States during this period were those who repeated the same 'truth', and they were also the figures who spoke this 'truth' to large audiences across almost every media platform from television to print and radio to the Internet.

Summary

The 'true' knowledge of terrorism that emerged in twenty-first century America in which terrorism is an evil committed by Muslim/Arab barbarians who are waging a Holy War against the West is a 'truth' produced by a system of ordering the discourse according to the will to truth that permeated American society during this particular epoch. The descriptions of the terrorist as an Evil-doer, and the representation of the War on Terror as a continuation of the eternal battle between Good and Evil made it possible—and were made possible by—the reactivation of old discursive practices that portrayed Islam as a Christian heresy and a false religion led by a false Prophet. American foundational narratives such as exceptionalism and the concept of manifest destiny connected with the discourses of Orientalism and medieval concepts of the Devil to rarefy the discourse of contemporary terrorism as an evil in the form of an Islamic Holy War against Western civilisation.

Texts and knowledges that were not re-telling these narratives in new ways were excluded from the discourse according to arbitrary and historically contingent divisions created between true/false and reason/unreason. The mechanisms for establishing the truth about terrorism during this period also closely resembled the early medieval *disputatio* in which two sides purporting to speak the truth, using words

2001 attacks. See April Eisman, "The media of manipulation: patriotism and propaganda," *Critical Quarterly* 5, no. 1-2 (2003).

⁷⁷¹ Matthew D. Matsaganis and J. Gregory Payne, "Agenda Setting in a Culture of Fear: The Lasting Effects of September 11 on American Politics and Journalism," *American Behavioral Scientist* 49, no. 3 (November 1, 2005); April Eisman, "The media of manipulation: patriotism and propaganda," *Critical Quarterly* 5, no. 1-2 (2003): 55-72; David L. Altheide and Jennifer N. Grimes, "War Programming: The Propaganda Project and the Iraq War," *The Sociological Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (2005).

and rhetorical weapons, appealed not to evidence or rational enquiry to establish the truth, but to authority. The side that had the greatest chance of winning was the side that had the largest number of authors and could thus invoke the most evidence of authority, strength, and gravity.

These ancient methods and practices of truth/knowledge production received tremendous support from American institutions of pedagogy that were thoroughly modern. In the context of the literature examined in this chapter, this is especially true for the publishing industry that not just welcomed, but aggressively promoted as the 'real truth' about 'Islamic terrorism', authors with no connections to Islam other than once having been followers of the faith, members of an 'Islamic terrorist organisation' or victims of either or both. As discussed in this chapter, these publications recycled old narratives as 'new', and these old-new narratives were in turn remediated across television, radio and the Internet, further rarefying the discourse.

An analysis of how a discourse is formed and rendered 'true' cannot, when employing the methods of Foucault, however, be reduced to texts and textuality alone. Indeed, Foucault warned against such a limitation urging that analysts throw off the sovereignty of the signifier and widen their scope of enquiry to fix text and rhetoric in the materiality of its practices. How the discourse of terrorism as an evil committed by false-Muslim/Arab barbarians came to be regarded as the truth therefore also requires an examination of 'the tactics whereby, on the basis of the descriptions of these local discursivities, the subjected knowledges which were thus released would be brought into play.'⁷⁷² It is to this task that this study now turns.

⁷⁷² Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writing, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 85.

6. Inhuman, all too inhuman

I convince myself each day that you guys are subhuman – agents of the Devil, so that I can do my job

- US military guard to prisoner at Guàntanamo Bay⁷⁷³

Twenty men, dressed in turquoise blue facemasks, orange ski caps and fluorescent orange jumpsuits stepped off a United States military plane at Guàntanamo Bay on 11 January 2002. Their feet were shackled and their hands were in manacles. Forty United States marines, Navy medical officers and security personnel all wearing facemasks and bulletproof vests met the men. American troops carrying grenade launchers and machine guns formed a security perimeter around the area. Each man was frisked by military personnel. Some resisted, fell to their knees, and were picked up by their necks. They were loaded onto a bus and then a ferry, which took them to Camp X-Ray where they were put into six by eight feet outdoor cages⁷⁷⁴. In the cage, every prisoner would be:

constantly reminded of his low level of self-worth; unable to laugh and only be laughed at; unable to write or receive letters; unable to read; unable to choose when he sleeps, drinks or go to the bathroom; unable to move around freely; unable to practice his religion when he wants to; unable to feel like a human being; the only feeling he knows at camp x-ray is the hate he brought with him.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷³ A Guard at the Guàntanamo Bay prison in Cuba where ‘enemy combatants’ in the War on Terror are being held by the United States, quoted in Moazzam Begg, *Enemy combatant: a British Muslim’s journey to Guàntanamo and back* (London: The Free Press, 2006), 165. The Guard, a born-again Southern Baptist, is described by Begg as having found the War on Terror as at times being ‘at odds with his Christian beliefs’.

⁷⁷⁴ “Shackled detainees arrive in Guàntanamo,” CNN, January 11, 2002, accessed June 5, 2010, http://articles.cnn.com/2002-01-11/world/ret.detainee.transfer_1_war-detainees-camp-x-ray-qaeda-and-taliban-prisoners?s=PM:asiapcf.

⁷⁷⁵ ‘Secret ORCON: Interrogation Log Detainee 063’, compiled by Pentagon’s Joint Task Force at Camp X-Ray at Guàntanamo as various officers interrogated prisoner no: 063, Saudi national Mohammed al-Qahtani who was arrested in Afghanistan and rendered to the prison. An article based on information contained in the log, classified as top secret, was published in *Time* magazine. See “Inside the Interrogation of Detainee 063,” *Time*, June 12, 2005, accessed

In the first three years of the War on Terror a cumulative total of 50,000 suspected 'new terrorists' were taken into United States custody. While a vast majority were captured and held in detention centres in Afghanistan and Iraq, many captives were held across the world in East Africa, Egypt, Gambia, Malawi, Mauritania, Morocco, South Africa, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe. At different times, the United States had seventeen detention centres in Iraq and twenty-five in Afghanistan. At the biggest detention centre in Iraq, Abu Ghraib, the prison population amounted to 7000 in October 2003⁷⁷⁶. The 'worst of the worst' of these prisoners were transported to Guantánamo Bay⁷⁷⁷.

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the 'true' knowledge of terrorism that emerged in the United States is that it is an evil committed by Muslim/Arab barbarians waging a Holy War against the West. The knowledge, as was seen in *Chapter Five*, was made possible by a system of rigorous exclusions that disqualified certain speech on the basis of various divisions and rejections while permitting others to be included. It was also made possible by reanimation and repetition in a myriad different ways of foundational narratives of early Christian and related American discursive practices in relation to Islam. The analysis also demonstrated how the figure of the Devil, to which this analysis traces the beginning of the history of the concept of contemporary terrorism, enabled the reanimation of not just these old narratives, but also old mechanisms for establishing the truth. If methods for establishing the truth and the exercise of power are constitutive of each other,

June 5, 2010, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1071284,00.html>. For full text of the log, also published by *Time*, see "Interrogation log detainee 063," *Time*, March 3, 2006, accessed July 9, 2011, <http://www.time.com/time/2006/log/log.pdf>.

⁷⁷⁶ James R. Schlesinger et. al, "Independent Panel to Review DoD Detention Operations, Department of Defense, United States," *Global Security*, August 24, 2004, accessed June 5, 2010, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/jhtml/jframe.html#http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2004/d20040824finalreport.pdf> | | |.

⁷⁷⁷ Newspaper reports have often quoted high ranking government United States government officials as describing the prisoners as the 'worst of the worst'. See for example, Sue Ann Pressley, "At Guantánamo Bay, a peaceful night," *The Washington Post*, January 13, 2002.

as is argued herein, then the reanimation of medieval methods of truth establishment should bring about methods of exercising power that also belong to that particular epoch. This resurgence of medieval methods of exercising power is, indeed, what is found in the United States treatment of the Evildoer.

Consider, first, the re-categorisation of terrorism as an evil, and how this moves the act of terrorism from the domain of crime to the domain of religion. It was in the High Middle Ages, when the Devil was the most prominent in European societies, and when the Church was the only coherent economic-political body, that the concept of infraction is introduced into mechanisms for establishing right and wrong. Until then, when one individual wronged another, it was regarded as a tort, a dispute that occurred between two people that did not involve the wider society. Once the concept of transgression or infraction was introduced, 'when one individual wronged another, there was always, a fortiori, a wrong done against sovereignty, against the law, against power.'⁷⁷⁸

This conjoining of lawbreaking and religious transgression, as was seen in *Chapter Two*, was prominent in the understanding during this period of rebellion as a sin and helped consolidate divinely ordained sovereignty as the main form of exercising power. During the eighteenth century, when the domains of religion and politics were separated from each other, when rebellion was no longer a sin, and when great reforms took place in the judicial and penal systems across Europe, the concept of sin was once again separated from that of crime. This separation was, in fact, the basic principle on which the reforms proposed by theorists such as Jeremy Bentham was based.

[T]he crime, in the penal sense of the term (or, more technically, the infraction), must not have any relation with moral or religious transgression. The transgression is a violation of natural law, of religious law, of moral law. The crime, or the penal infraction, is a breach of civil law, explicitly established

⁷⁷⁸ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential works of Michel Foucault*, ed. James D. Faubion, vol. 3, 1954-1984 (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 49.

within a society by the legislative function of political power. For there to be an infraction there must be a political authority and a law, and that law must have been actually formulated. There cannot be any infraction before the law exists⁷⁷⁹.

A further basic principle laid out by the reformists included the stipulation that in order to be good laws, they should not be simple transcriptions of natural, religious, or moral law. A third principle, deduced from the first two, is that there must be a clear and simple definition of crime—it cannot be something related to sin and transgression. It is on the basis of these laws that the criminal emerges as a social enemy. And, if crime is a disturbance for society, ‘if a crime no longer has any connection with transgression, with natural, divine or religious law, it is clear that penal law cannot prescribe a revenge, the redemption of transgression.’⁷⁸⁰

The knowledge produced of terrorism as evil in the United States in the immediate aftermath of 11 September 2001, however, re-connected judicial and penal practices to the concept of sin and transgression. Most importantly, it allowed sovereign power to punish sin, the very practice that the eighteenth century judicial and penal reforms had intended to obliterate. The fanatical false-Muslim who was waging a Holy War against Western civilisation was seen not simply as having broken the social contract; but also as having transgressed divine, religious and, as a barbarian, also natural laws. That the United States regarded the Evildoer as a sinner and not just a criminal becomes clear from the discussion below, which shows that he was taken captive and held in prison for actions that were not defined in law as a crime. All existing laws were deemed inapplicable or inadequate for punishment and discipline of the Evildoer. He was a Holy Warrior, fighting on the side of evil in the eternal battle between Good and Evil. He was a sinner who had transgressed all divine, religious and natural laws on a global scale. As such, no ordinary laws and norms applied to the Evildoer.

This *Chapter* exposes the relations between truth, right and power at work in the construction of the Evildoer by examining the methods of punishment

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., 53.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 54.

and discipline that he was subjected to in the United States captivity. It analyses official documents of the United States government, relevant legislation old and new, testimony of some Evildoers who were released after being detained without charge, and reports investigating said treatment. These investigative reports include official United States government reports as well as reports of investigations conducted by academics and civil society organisations. Included in the analysis are also interrogation logs compiled by the guards who manned the cages in which the Evildoers were kept, as well as reports from United States security personnel who witnessed the treatment to which Evildoers were subjected, and disagreed with the methods being used.

The focus on analysing official documents as well as judicial acts and instruments, allows this *Chapter* to examine the extent to which sovereign power was revitalised in the United States during this period through 'new' mechanisms introduced for dealing with the Evildoer. The investigative reports from governmental and non-governmental sources, as well as the interrogation logs and reports, meanwhile, allows this chapter to also investigate the very points of *enchaînement* where what was said about terrorism and what was done about terrorism meet, forging the triangular links between power, right and truth that constitute not just the Evildoer, but also forms of exercising power.

Legislating evil

Evil is not a crime defined in law. What then was to be done with the Evildoer in a society, which until then had largely separated sin and crime? How was he to be defined? What sort of power could punish a crime that did not exist in law?

Two weeks after the 11 September 2001 attacks, legal advisors to the US President had already opined that the Congress could not place any limits on when, how, and in what way the President used military force in response to

terrorist threats. These decisions were ‘for the President alone to make.’⁷⁸¹ Once the United States began taking prisoners, the same advisors counseled that ‘customary international law of armed conflict in no way binds the President or the US Armed Forces concerning the detention or trial of members of al Qaeda or Taliban’.⁷⁸² Attorney General Alberto Gonzales advised the President that the War on Terror rendered ‘obsolete Geneva’s strict limitation on questioning of enemy prisoners’ and made some of its provisions ‘quaint’⁷⁸³. The US President concurred, dismissing such international norms as ‘legalisms’.⁷⁸⁴ Just as the US President was deemed to have the sole power to decide when and how the United States would respond to the War on Terror, he had the ultimate authority to decide how enemy combatants would be treated, disciplined and interrogated in United States custody. The United States Assistant Attorney General Jay S Bybee provided legal counsel to the President saying, ‘Congress can no more interfere with the President’s conduct of the interrogation of enemy combatants than it can dictate strategic or tactical decisions on the battlefield.’⁷⁸⁵

With the assumption of judicial power by the executive, and the investing in the President of the unilateral and final power to decide when and how the

⁷⁸¹ Jean Yoo, “President’s constitutional authority to conduct military operations against nations supporting them,” *Torturing Democracy*, September 25, 2001, accessed June 8, 2010, <http://www.torturingdemocracy.org/documents/20010925.pdf>.

⁷⁸² Jean Yoo, “Memorandum for William J Haynes, Jr. General Counsel, Department of Defense – Application of Treaties and Laws to al Qaeda and Taliban detainees [Draft],” *Torturing Democracy*, January 9, 2002, accessed June 8, 2010, <http://www.torturingdemocracy.org/documents/20020109.pdf>, 34.

⁷⁸³ Alberto R. Gonzales, “Memorandum for the President – decision re the application of Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War to the conflict with Al Qaeda and the Taliban,” *Torturing Democracy*, January 25, 2002, accessed June 8, 2010, <http://www.torturingdemocracy.org/documents/20020125.pdf>.

⁷⁸⁴ George W. Bush, “President meets with Afghan Interim Authority Chairman,” *The George Bush Archive*, The White House, January 28, 2002, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020128-13.html>.

⁷⁸⁵ Jay S. Bybee, “Memorandum for Alberto R Gonzales, Counsel to the President – Re: standards of conduct for interrogations under U.S.C 2340-2340A,” *The National Security Archive*, George Washington University, August 1, 2002, accessed July 10, 2011, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB127/02.08.01.pdf>.

Evildoers should be judged and punished, the United States appears to have ‘returned to a historical time in which sovereignty was indivisible.’⁷⁸⁶ As Judith Butler has argued, it is as if ‘*the historical time that we thought was past turns out to structure the contemporary field with a persistence that gives the lie to history as a chronology*’ [emphasis in original].⁷⁸⁷ This study asserts that there is more to the reanimation of this anachronism than has been explored by Butler.

Apparent in the assumption of judicial power by the United States executive and its subsequent attempts to legislate evil is not just a resurgence of sovereignty, but a resurgence of the type of *divinely ordained medieval sovereign power* that retained for itself not just the power to punish crimes, but also sin and transgression. As mentioned before, the judicial reformists of the eighteenth century explicitly placed sin and transgression outside the limits of judicial and political power. One of the purposes of doing so was to ensure that penal law could not prescribe revenge, the redemption of transgression. Discernible with regard to the prisoners taken by the US in the War on Terror however are clear attempts to exclude terrorism from the reach of the rule of law and, in so doing, assume the power of the divinely ordained sovereign to punish transgressions. As shall be seen, the punishment to which Evildoers in captivity were subjected did not fall within the penal laws of any modern liberal society. Preceding this discussion however is an examination of the measures that the United States took to exclude terrorism from the domain of crime and thus the rule of law.

The terrorist: from outlaw to outside of law

Until the War on Terror, ‘the terrorist’ had remained outside not just the domain of sin but also of war. There were, as mentioned in an earlier discussion of existing terrorism literature, descriptions of terrorism as

⁷⁸⁶ Judith Butler, *Precarious life: the powers of mourning and violence* (London: Verso, 2004), 54.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

asymmetrical warfare or guerilla warfare⁷⁸⁸, but it had not been understood as war proper. In ratifying Additional Protocol I of the Geneva Conventions, the United Kingdom stated that ‘the term ‘armed conflict’ of itself and in its context denotes a situation of a kind which is not constituted by the commission of ordinary crimes including acts of terrorism whether concerted or in isolation.’⁷⁸⁹ Most western societies, when confronted with ‘the terrorist’ in his various guises, shared this view. The United States, however, declared a war on ‘terror’, changing the traditional rules of warfare in which the enemies were sovereign states. President Bush took and justified several actions in the War on Terror using his powers as a Commander in Chief, and all three branches of the United States government endorsed the military approach⁷⁹⁰.

Congressional debates on the Military Commissions Act 2006 demonstrate the United States’ perception of acts of ‘terrorism’ as acts of war. ‘Today’s war is a disparate bunch of terrorists, coming overnight, no uniforms, no principles, guided by nothing’, one senator declared during congressional debates on passing the Act⁷⁹¹. The United States Supreme Court endorsed the treatment of prisoners in *Hamdi v Rumsfeld* 2004⁷⁹² based on the traditional practices of the law of war and the 2006 Military Commissions Act.⁷⁹³ By equating acts of ‘terrorism’ with acts of ‘war’, the United States changed the fundamental

⁷⁸⁸ David C. Rapoport, “The Politics of Atrocity,” in *Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Yonah Alexander and Seymour M. Finger (New York: John Jay Press, 1977); Ariel Merari, *Encyclopaedia of Human Behaviour*, vol. 4 (San Diego: Academic Press, 1994), 401.

⁷⁸⁹ Christopher Hulse, HM Ambassador of the United Kingdom, International Committee of the Red Cross, “Protocol additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949,” Corrected Letter, January 28, 1998 sent to the Swiss Government, accessed June 5, 2010, <http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/a/0a9e03f0f2ee757cc1256402003fb6d2?opendocument>.

⁷⁹⁰ “Military Commissions Act of 2006, Public Law 109-366-Oct.17, 2006, 120 STAT. 2600,” GovTrack, accessed June 5, 2010, <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/vote.xpd?vote=h2006-491>.

⁷⁹¹ “Congressional Record S10354,” Military Legal Resources, Analytical Services, Library of Congress, September 28, 2006, accessed June 5, 2010, http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/MC_Act-2006.html.

⁷⁹² “*Hamdi v Rumsfeld* 2004 542 US: 520-21,” Supreme Court of the United States, Cornell University, accessed June 5, 2010, <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/pdf/03-6696P.ZD>.

⁷⁹³ Allison M. Danner, “Defining unlawful enemy combatants: a centripetal story,” *Texas International Law Journal* 43, no. 1 (2007).

principle that wars are fought between states. Additionally, by deeming the 'new' enemy as a novel figure in human conflict, the United States also created new rules according to which those taken prisoner in the War on Terror were to be subjected. They were prisoners of not just any war, but the War on Terror. On 7 February 2002 President Bush signed a memorandum denying the captives Prisoner of War status⁷⁹⁴. He declared them to be 'illegal enemy combatants' to whom Common Article 3 of the Geneva Convention did not apply. However, 'as a matter of policy', the United States Armed forces would act 'in a manner consistent with the principles of the Geneva Conventions', to the extent it deemed appropriate and necessary.⁷⁹⁵

To many United States lawmakers it appeared laughable that traditional laws governing the treatment of prisoners in a war could be successfully applied to the 'new' enemy. Mr Bond, Senator from Missouri, said during a 2006 Senate debate, for example, that 'Article 72 of the Geneva Conventions on treatment of prisoners of war says that POWs shall be allowed to receive parcels containing foodstuffs. Is that what critics [of the Military Commissions Act 2006] think the 9/11 Commission conspirators deserve? Cookie care packages?'⁷⁹⁶

Acts of 'terrorism' were acts of war, but the enemy in the custody of the United States were not prisoners of war. In the 'new kind of war', the United States could assert all powers associated with the laws of war—and more. It was not, however, bound by any of its constraints. In traditional laws of international armed conflict, for example, there can only be two types of individuals in enemy hands: prisoners of war covered by the Third Geneva Convention or civilians covered by the Fourth Convention. The Enemy Combatant in the War on Terror is neither. He is placed outside of

⁷⁹⁴ George W. Bush, "Memorandum: humane treatment of Taliban and al Qaeda detainees," The Torture Archive, Washington Research Library Consortium, accessed June 5, 2010, <http://www.aladin0.wrlc.org/gsd/collect/torture/torture.shtml>.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁶ "Congressional Record S10363 2006," Military Legal Resources, Analytical Services, Library of Congress, September 28, 2006, accessed June 5, 2010, http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/pdf/SCOR-2006-09-28.pdf.

international law, and outside of the domestic laws of the United States. He would not have recourse to a trial in a court of law, but would be tried by military tribunals⁷⁹⁷.

The US President would determine which of the Enemy Combatants had the right to a military tribunal, what form the tribunal would take, would appoint members of the tribunal, and would retain the power to overrule judgements of the tribunal. The defendants would not have the right to examine the evidence against them if evidence was deemed 'classified' for reasons of national security. The Enemy Combatant could thus be held captive by the United States indefinitely, even if they were found not guilty of any crime.

[T]he people that we now hold in Guàntanamo are held for a specific reason that is not tied specifically to any particular crime. They're not held—they're not being held on the basis that they are necessarily criminals.⁷⁹⁸

If the commission of a crime was unnecessary, what act did an Enemy Combatant need to have committed in order to be detained indefinitely in United States custody? The definition of an Enemy Combatant, as it has evolved in the years following 11 September 2001 is:

[A]n individual who was part of or supporting the Taliban or al Qaeda forces, or associated forces that are engaged in hostilities against the United States or its coalition partners. This includes the person who committed a belligerent act or has directly supported hostilities in aid of enemy forces.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹⁷ Department of Defense, "Procedures for trials by military commission of certain non-United States citizens in the war against terrorism," Military Commission Order no. 1, United States Department of Defense, March 21, 2002, accessed June 6, 2010, <http://www.defense.gov/news/Mar2002/d20020321ord.pdf>.

⁷⁹⁸ William J. Haynes, "DoD news briefing on military tribunals," Transcript of press conference, US Department of Defense, March 21, 2002, accessed June 6, 2010, <http://www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=3367>.

⁷⁹⁹ Mark Denbeaux, "Report on Guàntanamo detainees: a profile of 517 detainees through analysis of Department of Defense data," School of Law, Seton Hall University, accessed June 7, 2010, http://law.shu.edu/publications/guantanamoReports/guantanamo_report_final_2_08_06.pdf.

Detainees were held in United States custody for two years before proceedings began to determine whether they fit the Enemy Combatant status as defined above. The long delay in setting up the proceedings was contrary to Article Five of Geneva Convention Three, which stipulates that a prisoner's status should be determined at or near the time of capture. The delay in status hearings was also contrary to the United States' own laws. U.S. Army Regulation 190-8 requires that a prisoner's legal status be determined quickly, and that he be treated as a prisoner of war until such a determination is made.⁸⁰⁰

The Combatant Status Review Tribunals (CSRTs) began in July 2004 and heard evidence relating to 558 detainees. By the end of November 2004, a majority of the cases had been completed. Most decisions regarding a detainee's status were reached on the same day as the hearing itself⁸⁰¹. None of the detainees were allowed legal counsel, but were assigned 'personal representatives'. The government did not produce any witnesses at the hearings. In ninety-six percent of the cases, it did not provide the detainee with documentary evidence prior to the hearings, and the government's classified evidence was always presumed to be reliable and valid.⁸⁰² In a study of 102 CSRTs (the number of reviews conducted of which full records were made publicly available), only three found the detainee to be not/no longer an enemy combatant. In each case, however, the Department of Defense ordered a new Tribunal until the detainee was found to be an enemy

⁸⁰⁰ "Army Regulation 190-8/OPNAVINST, 3461.6/AFJI, 31-304/MCO 3461.1, Enemy prisoners of war, retained personnel, civilian internees and other detainees," Official Department of the Army Administrative Publications, Official Department of the Army Publications and Forms, October 1, 1997, accessed June 7, 2010, http://www.army.mil/usapa/epubs/190_Series_Collection_1.html.

⁸⁰¹ Mark Denbeaux, "Report on Guantánamo detainees: a profile of 517 detainees through analysis of Department of Defense data," School of Law, Seton Hall University, accessed June 7, 2010, http://law.shu.edu/publications/guantanamoReports/guantanamo_report_final_2_08_06.pdf.

⁸⁰² Ibid., 2.

combatant, in one case ordering three tribunals to try the same detainee until he was deemed an enemy combatant⁸⁰³.

The proceedings, which British Law Lord Johan Steyn likened to hearings at a 'kangaroo court'⁸⁰⁴, reinforced the US Department of Defense declaration referred to previously that the detainees were 'not being held on the basis that they are necessarily criminals.'⁸⁰⁵ Over half were determined not to have committed any hostile acts against the United States or its coalition forces. Only eight percent of the detainees were characterised as being al Qaeda fighters, and of the remaining detainees forty percent were determined as having no connections with al Qaeda at all, and fully eighteen per cent were found to have no definitive connection to either al Qaeda or the Taliban.

Studies have revealed that the United States government had six distinct categories that described the terrorist organisation with whom the detainees were classified as affiliated with: (1) al Qaeda; (2) al Qaeda and Taliban; (3) Taliban; (4) al Qaeda or Taliban; (5) unidentified affiliation; (6) other⁸⁰⁶. Membership of al Qaeda was so broadly defined as to mean that anyone whom the United States government believed to have ever spoken to an al Qaeda member could be deemed 'a member' of the organisation. Even so, sixty percent of the detainees were found to have had no contact at all with al Qaeda.⁸⁰⁷ Evidence presented as detainees' association with the Taliban include possession of a Kalashnikov rifle, staying at a guest house while travelling through Afghanistan and Pakistan, possession of a Casio watch or

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ Johan Steyn, "Guantanamo: the legal black hole," 27th F.A. Mann Lecture, State Watch, November 25, 2003, accessed June 7, 2010, <http://www.statewatch.org/news/2003/nov/guantanamo.pdf>.

⁸⁰⁵ William J. Haynes, "DoD news briefing on military tribunals," Transcript of press conference, US Department of Defense, March 21, 2002, accessed June 6, 2010, <http://www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=3367>.

⁸⁰⁶ Mark Denbeaux, "Report on Guantanamo detainees: a profile of 517 detainees through analysis of Department of Defense data," School of Law, Seton Hall University, accessed June 7, 2010, http://law.shu.edu/publications/guantanamoReports/guantanamo_report_final_2_08_06.pdf, 8.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

'wearing olive drab clothing'⁸⁰⁸. The sweeping scope of the definition of Enemy Combatant as determined by the executive branch of the United States government has been heavily criticised by parties within and outside of the United States as violating the country's Constitution as well as international law.⁸⁰⁹

Evil is not a crime that is defined, simply or otherwise, in the penal or judicial systems of modern western societies. Evil, however, is the sin for which the Enemy Combatants were punished, and it is in order to contain this evil, and save Western civilisation from extinction, that the United States detained them indefinitely in its custody. It is also the reason why the United States could not, and would not, release an Enemy Combatant, even if found not guilty in the 'kangaroo courts' of the military tribunals. Furthermore, it is the perception of the 'new' enemy as Evildoers that allowed the Combatant Status Review Tribunals to determine almost every single detainee an Enemy Combatant in case after case, based on 'evidence' seemingly as flimsy as their sartorial choices. It appears as if all the United States required as evidence was that the prisoner was deemed to possess one or more of the characteristics of the Evildoer that the United States *knew* him to have. Later discussions in this *Chapter* that analyse the treatment of the prisoners in custody strongly support this assertion.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁹ Allison M. Danner, "Defining unlawful enemy combatants: a centripetal story," *Texas International Law Journal* 43, no. 1; Denbeaux, Mark Denbeaux, "Report on Guantánamo detainees: a profile of 517 detainees through analysis of Department of Defense data," School of Law, Seton Hall University, accessed June 7, 2010, http://law.shu.edu/publications/guantanamoReports/guantanamo_report_final_2_08_06.pdf; Kristine A. Huskey, "Standards and procedures for classifying 'Enemy Combatants': Congress, what have you done?," *Texas International Law Journal* 43, no. 41; Naomi Wolf, "Fascist America in 10 easy steps," *The Guardian*, April 24, 2007, accessed June 7, 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/apr/24/usa.comment>; American Civil Liberties Union, "Coalition letter to the House of Representatives opposing Bush Military Commissions Bill," September 11, 2006, accessed June 5, 2010, <http://www.aclu.org/national-security/coalition-letter-house-representatives-opposing-bush-military-commissions-bill>.

Out of this world

Apparent in these extra-legal mechanisms for dealing with the transgressing Evildoer is a return to judicial and penal practices that predate the reforms of the eighteenth century when crime and sin were separated, and sin was placed outside of the reach of political power. It also demonstrates a return to medieval modes of exercising power—a resurgence in a form of divinely ordained sovereignty in which rebellion is the gravest of sins. As discussed earlier, sovereignty is a repressive power—it is ‘essentially a right of seizure: of things, time, bodies, and ultimately life itself.’⁸¹⁰

Exclusion is the predominant mechanism of control that sovereign power exercised over categories of individuals or groups in society that were found to be somehow different. It was during the Middle Ages—at the height of divinely ordained sovereign power—that such mechanisms of exclusion as those to which the Evildoers in American custody were submitted were first put into place in Europe hundreds of years ago. It began with the rigorous binary division between lepers and others and later served as a model for the great Confinement.⁸¹¹ Rigid rules forbade contact between one group and the other. The lepers were ‘cast out into a vague, external world beyond the town’s walls, beyond the limits of the community’⁸¹², resulting in the constitution of two masses each foreign to the other.

And those cast out were cast out in the strict sense into outer darkness. [...] And finally, the exclusion of lepers implied disqualification—which was perhaps not exactly moral, but in any case juridical and political—of individuals thus excluded and driven out. They entered death, and [...] the exclusion of lepers was regularly accompanied by a kind of funeral ceremony during which individuals who had been declared leprous were declared dead [...] and they departed for the foreign, external world.⁸¹³

⁸¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *The history of sexuality, vol. 1, An introduction* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 136.

⁸¹¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 198.

⁸¹² Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: lectures at Collège de France 1974-1975* (London: Verso, 2003), 43.

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*

The leper was caught up in a practice of rejection, of exile-enclosure the purpose of which was the political dream of a pure community.⁸¹⁴ The very same purpose underpinned the exclusion of the Evildoers. Their presence, even in the enclosed spaces reserved for criminals to separate them from the rest of society, was deemed insufficient to prevent the goodness of the American homeland being contaminated by evil. This is evident from the fact that even a decade after the War on Terror began, none of those held in *Guantanamo* Bay have been allowed to be transferred to any detention facility on American soil⁸¹⁵.

Nor does the treatment of the Evildoers in custody share the same methods of exclusion practised on 'normal' criminals who are incarcerated. This becomes evident from the fact that no attempts have been made to 'rehabilitate' these prisoners and prepare them for re-integration into society, as has become the norm in liberal societies since the judicial and penal reforms of the eighteenth century. As shall be seen shortly, like the lepers of the Middle Ages, they were instead taken into an 'outer darkness' where they were considered dead, or were left to die. A hundred detainees, at least, did die in United States custody⁸¹⁶. Three committed suicide in 2006, acts which the United States government described as 'a good PR move to draw attention'⁸¹⁷.

The Evildoers held in exile-enclosure were subjected to what the United States called 'enhanced interrogation techniques' and what others deemed 'torture'. Having been placed outside of national and international laws that

⁸¹⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 198.

⁸¹⁵ Sophia Yan, "If not Gitmo, then where should detainees be held," *Time*, January 24, 2009, accessed September 26, 2011, <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1873669,00.html>.

⁸¹⁶ Detainee Abuse and Accountability Project (DAA), "By the numbers: findings of the Detainee Abuse and Accountability project," Centre for Human Rights and Global Justice, April 10, 2006, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://chrj.org/projects/detainees.html#bythenumbers>.

⁸¹⁷ Michael Rowland, "US Official Calls Guantanamo Suicides a PR Tactic," *ABC (Australia)*, June 13, 2006, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/content/2006/s1661866.htm>.

banned all ‘violence to life and person’, including ‘cruel treatment and torture’ as well as outrages upon personal dignity, ‘in particular humiliating and degrading treatment’ of war prisoners,⁸¹⁸ the prisoners were frequently subjected to such treatment. The Evildoers were kept shackled and hooded, sometimes in cages so small they were called ‘dog boxes’⁸¹⁹, and ‘interrogated’ for days on end.

In 2002, the Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld authorized a group of ‘new’ techniques, borrowed from the *SERE Manual*, which interrogators could use on the ‘new’ enemy. They included putting prisoners in stress positions, using false documents/reports, isolating them from other prisoners for up to a month, depriving them of light and sounds, hooding them, denying them all ‘comfort items’ including religious items, stripping them, enforced grooming, and exploiting detainee’s individual phobias.⁸²⁰ Authorising the ‘new’ techniques, Secretary Rumsfeld expressed the opinion that their treatment was inexplicably lenient; he queried why detainees could only be forced to stand up to four hours: ‘I stand for 8 to 10 hours a day. Why is standing limited to 4 hours?’⁸²¹ For Secretary Rumsfeld, the Evildoers had no right to expect any other form of treatment than that meted out by his officials:

Q: Mr. Secretary, [...] how do you respond to charges from some non-governmental organizations that hooding, shaving, chaining, perhaps even...

Rumsfeld: What are the words?

⁸¹⁸ “Geneva Convention III Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 12 August 1949”.

Full text of the third convention is available online: International Committee of the Red Cross, accessed June 7, 2010, <http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/INTRO/375?OpenDocument>.

⁸¹⁹ Jane Mayer, “The Black Sites: a rare look inside the C.I.A.’s interrogation programme,” *The New Yorker*, August 13, 2007, accessed June 8, 2010, http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2007/08/13/070813fa_fact_mayer?printable=true.

⁸²⁰ James R. Schlesinger et. al, Department of Defense, United States, “Independent panel to review DoD detention operations,” GlobalSecurity, August 2004, accessed June 5, 2010, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/jhtml/jframe.html#http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2004/d20040824finalreport.pdf> | | |.

⁸²¹ Donald Rumsfeld, Hand written note in William J. Haynes, General Counsel of the Department of Defense, “Action Memo: counter resistance techniques,” November 27, 2002, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://www.torturingdemocracy.org/documents/20021127-1.pdf>.

Q: Hooding, putting hoods on, shaving, chaining, perhaps even tranquilizing some of these people is violating their civil rights?

Rumsfeld: That ... that's not correct.

Q: That you've done it or that ...

Q: That you've done it or that it violates ...

Rumsfeld: That it's a violation of their rights. It simply isn't.⁸²²

As a chief legal advisor explained, there was a difference between 'enhanced interrogation techniques' and torture: 'It is basically subject to perception. If the detainee dies, you're doing it wrong.'⁸²³

The torture approved for use against the Evildoers was based on an army instruction manual that teaches U.S. personnel to withstand interrogations if taken prisoner by an enemy that did *not* abide by the Geneva Conventions⁸²⁴. It contained a compilation of methods used over a period of fifty years by some of the harshest regimes in the world⁸²⁵. Vice President Dick Cheney explained that in such a war, with such an enemy, it was necessary to go to the 'dark side': the nature of the enemy himself necessitated such a cross over as 'that's the world these folks operate in.'⁸²⁶

⁸²² George W. Bush, "President meets with Afghan Interim Authority Chairman," The George Bush Archive, The White House, January 28, 2002, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020128-13.html>.

⁸²³ Jonathan Freedman, Chief Counsel to the Counter Terrorist Center of the CIA at a meeting with Guantánamo Bay staff on October 2, 2002 quoted in Committee on Armed Services, "Inquiry into the treatment of detainees in U.S. custody," United States Senate report, Carl Levin, United States Senate, November 20, 2008, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://levin.senate.gov/newsroom/release.cfm?id=313072>, xvii.

⁸²⁴ The Survival Evasion Resistance and Escape (SERE) training programme.

⁸²⁵ Committee on Armed Services, "Inquiry into the treatment of detainees in U.S. custody," United States Senate report, Carl Levin, United States Senate, November 20, 2008, accessed June 8, 2010, <http://levin.senate.gov/newsroom/release.cfm?id=313072>, xiii.

⁸²⁶ Dick Cheney, "NBC News, Meet the Press," *NBC News*, September 16, 2001, accessed June 5, 2010, <http://stacks.msnbc.com/news/629714.asp>. Note: As of July 2011, this transcript is no longer available on the *NBC News* website. It has also been removed from *The Washington Post* archives, where it was available in full previously. It can, however, still be accessed at a secondary source, "Transcript of Interview with Vice-President Dick Cheney," Mount Holly

In 2004, photographic evidence revealed United States personnel abusing detainees at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. The detainees were pictured hooded, stripped naked, made to perform sexual acts on one another, harassed by military dogs while naked, made to wear women's underwear on their heads while shackled naked to a bed, and dragged by a leash around their necks by uniformed United States army personnel⁸²⁷. Army personnel were also pictured posing in front of naked detainees and at least one dead body. The pictures led to widespread international condemnation and a large number of official enquiries instigated by various United States authorities⁸²⁸. The US government inquiries initially concluded the actions were a result of 'a few soldiers acting on their own' and was not systematic. Later inquiries, however, have contradicted these findings, concluding instead that the detainees were abused as a result of the procedures deliberately put into place by the US executive branch⁸²⁹. Independent studies documented over 330 cases of abuse in the first five years of the War on Terror⁸³⁰. Only a fraction of

Oak college, September 8, 2002, accessed July 11, 2011,

<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/bush/meet.htm>.

⁸²⁷ Over 1000 of these cases can be accessed from the Internet news website, Salon, archived under "The Abu Ghraib Files," February 16, 2006, accessed June 8, 2010,

http://www.salon.com/news/feature/2006/02/16/abu_ghraib/print.html.

⁸²⁸ United States Department of Defense, "Joint Staff External Review of Intelligence Operations at Guantánamo," August 2004, accessed June 8, 2010,

<http://www.defense.gov/news/Aug2004/d20040824finalreport.pdf>; Antonio M. Taguba, "Article 15-6 investigation of the 800th military police brigade," [commonly known as the Taguba Report], National Public Radio (NPR), accessed July 7, 2010,

http://www.npr.org/iraq/2004/prison_abuse_report.pdf. For an overview of most major reports into treatment of the prisoners detained by the United States published between 2003 and 2008, see: International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), "Research Brief: Selected examples of Defence, Intelligence and Justice Investigative Reports into detention and interrogation practices," November 2008, accessed July 10, 2011, <http://ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-Global-Defense-Intelligence-2008-English.pdf>.

⁸²⁹ Committee on Armed Services, "Inquiry into the treatment of detainees in U.S. custody," United States Senate report, Carl Levin, United States Senate, November 20, 2008, accessed June 8, 2010, <http://levin.senate.gov/newsroom/release.cfm?id=313072>.

⁸³⁰ Detainee Abuse and Accountability Project (DAA), "By the numbers: findings of the Detainee Abuse and Accountability project," Centre for Human Rights and Global Justice,

the United States military personnel implicated in the cases have been sentenced to prison, and only a third have faced any kind of disciplinary action. For critics, the treatment of detainees in United States custody amounted to 'abuse'⁸³¹; for the United States, which knew the prisoners as Evildoers to whom the rule of law did not apply, it was the *right* policy.⁸³² Such was life, and death, on the dark side from whence the Evildoer came and to where they were banished.

Known knowns and the Evildoer

Post 11 September 2001, United States legal authorities deemed torture necessary for acquiring information that could pre-empt a future attack by other Evildoers⁸³³. It was, however, not just information about potential attacks it sought, but also knowledge about the very nature of the 'new' enemy himself. The mechanisms of torture developed for use on the Evildoers were designed to validate the truth of what was already known—they were evil, false-Muslim, Arab barbarians who hated the liberal values of the West and who killed in the name of God.

The role that the 'true' knowledge of the Evildoer played in the resurgence of the twenty-first century American version of divinely ordained sovereign power and also in the mechanisms for excluding him from civilisation is evident from even before they were taken into captivity. Records show, for example, that only five percent of those held in United States custody were actually captured by its soldiers—the remainder were captured by Pakistani

April 10, 2006, accessed June 9, 2010,

<http://chrgj.org/projects/detainees.html#bythenumbers>.

⁸³¹ Shane Scott and Mark Mazzetti, "Interrogation methods are criticised," *The New York Times*, May 30, 2007, accessed June 7, 2010,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/30/washington/30interrogate.html?pagewanted=all>.

⁸³² William J. Haynes, General Counsel of the Department of Defense, "Action Memo: counter resistance techniques," *Torturing Democracy*, November 27, 2002, accessed June 9, 2010,

<http://www.torturingdemocracy.org/documents/20021127-1.pdf>.

⁸³³ Steven G. Bradbury, United States Department of Justice, "Memorandum for John A. Rizzo, Senior Deputy General Counsel, Central Intelligence Agency," available from *The Irish Times*, May 30, 2005, accessed July 9, 2010,

http://www.irishtimes.com/focus/2009/cia_memo1/index.pdf.

forces or the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan and handed over to the United States, which was offering large bounties for capture of Evildoers.⁸³⁴ Some of the biggest bounties were offered for captives who were Arab, or perceived to be such. 'Where is Arab? Where is Arab? Where is Arab? You get thousand dollar for one Arab. Thirty thousand, forty thousand, sixty thousand', American soldiers have been documented as saying when on the hunt for Evildoers in Afghanistan⁸³⁵.

A flyer distributed by United States forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan during the War on Terror, offered large bounties in exchange for Evildoers, promising locals 'wealth and power beyond [their] dreams' and 'enough money to take care of your family, your village, your tribe for the rest of your life'⁸³⁶. By handing over Evildoers, the 'Al-Qaida and Taliban murderers' could 'pay for livestock and doctors and school books and housing for all your people'⁸³⁷. As 'the Arabs' in captivity were flown to the prisons of Guantánamo Bay and elsewhere, officers 'quickly consulted counterparts in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Israel and other countries to compile a "catalog" of techniques said to be effective against Arab and Muslim prisoners'.⁸³⁸ Once in United States captivity, they were subjected to torture and different forms of treatment tailor-made to confirm the truth of their nature as already known to the United States.

⁸³⁴ Mark Denbeaux, "A profile of 517 detainees through analysis of Department of Defense data," School of Law, Seton Hall University, accessed June 7, 2010, http://law.shu.edu/publications/guantanamoReports/guantanamo_report_final_2_08_06.pdf.

⁸³⁵ Quoted from transcript of the Television Documentary "Torturing Democracy", produced by Sherry Jones. For full text, see: Washington Media Associates and the National Security Archive, "Torturing democracy," George Washington University, accessed June 5, 2010, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/torturingdemocracy/documents/td_transcript.pdf.

⁸³⁶ PDF copy of flyer can be viewed at: "Flyer distributed by US forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan after 9/11", the International Commission of Jurists, accessed July 7, 2010, <http://ejp.icj.org/IMG/Raut2.pdf>.

⁸³⁷ Ibid.

⁸³⁸ Shane Scott and Mark Mazzetti, "Interrogation methods are criticised," *The New York Times*, May 30, 2007, accessed June 7, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/30/washington/30interrogate.html?pagewanted=all>.

The prison infrastructure was custom-designed for the barbaric Arab/Muslim, composing six by eight feet kennel-like cages made of chain-linked fencing furnished with 'a bunk and a steel desk with a slot to serve as a Koran holder.'⁸³⁹ Here, various United States personnel interrogated the detainees over 24,000 times, often using 'enhanced interrogation techniques'. Some of the techniques were individually designed to target the Muslim body, mind and soul. Against the Islamic emphasis on cleanliness, especially during prayer, detainees were regularly made to urinate and defecate on themselves, and to pray while 'unclean', an act strictly forbidden in Islam. Against the Islamic teachings of modesty in relations between the opposite sexes, male detainees were sexually harassed and assaulted by female interrogators.⁸⁴⁰ On one occasion, a female interrogator led a detainee to believe she had wiped her menstrual blood on him⁸⁴¹. On another occasion, a female interrogator caressed and applied lotion on the hands of a detainee who remained shackled, with his hands cuffed to a chain on his waist. She whispered in his ear while grabbing at his genitals. The incident occurred during Ramadan 'when physical contact with a woman would have been particularly offensive to a Moslem male'⁸⁴².

⁸³⁹The Camp X-Ray, where the detainees were first held in Guantánamo Bay had 320 such cells. It has now been closed. Camp Delta, which upgraded accommodation to 720 steel and mesh shells made from shipping containers and arranged like boxcars. See Carol Rosenberg, "A prison camps primer," *The Miami Herald*, April 27, 2010, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://www.miamiherald.com/2008/02/06/102770/web-extra-a-prison-camps-primer.html>.

⁸⁴⁰ Quoted from transcript of the Television Documentary "Torturing Democracy", produced by Sherry Jones. For full text, see: Washington Media Associates and the National Security Archive, "Torturing Democracy," George Washington University, accessed June 5, 2010, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/torturingdemocracy/documents/td_transcript.pdf.

⁸⁴¹ Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI), Interview Transcript with unnamed detainee, April 21, 2003, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://www.torturingdemocracy.org/documents/20030421.pdf>.

⁸⁴² The observation was made by a member of the FBI Counter Terrorism Unit in a letter dated July 14, 2004 sent to the Criminal Investigation Command (CID) of the army, alerting him to 'suspected mistreatment of detainees' occurring at Guantánamo Bay. See the letter in full at: T. J. Harrington, Torturing Democracy, July 14, 2004, accessed June 10, 2010, <http://www.torturingdemocracy.org/documents/20040714.pdf>.

Apart from the treatment of the Muslim body in this manner, the Muslim mind was targeted with acts such as forcing detainees to pray at a shrine for another human being—Osama bin Laden—an act regarded as apostasy in Islam. The Qur'an, the Muslim holy book, was often disrespected too⁸⁴³, sometimes thrown into the same buckets detainees were forced to use as toilets⁸⁴⁴ and regularly confiscated from detainees according to the needs of the interrogators – the 'cultural and religious significance of this lack of access added significant psychological pressure to the detainees⁸⁴⁵. The Muslim soul was the target of various discussions about God, sinners, and the final reckoning by Allah on Judgment Day⁸⁴⁶.

The interrogators' techniques were based on the knowledge of Arabs, Islam and 'Islamic terrorism' that had burgeoned in the United States during this period, and which itself was based on Orientalism and medieval Christian narratives as discussed in *Chapter Four*. Interrogators' discussions show that certain Islamic teachings were highlighted as 'a good argument' for use in interrogations, while others were singled out as 'good analogies to confront detainees' with when they were being uncooperative. Qur'an and Islamic

⁸⁴³ Department of Defense, "Investigation into FBI allegations of detainee abuse at Guantánamo," Army Regulation 15-6, Final Report, Council on Foreign Relations, June 9, 2005, accessed June 10, 2010, <http://www.cfr.org/terrorism-and-the-law/schmidt-report-investigation-into-fbi-allegations-detainee-abuse-guantanamo-bay-cuba-detention-facility/p9804>.

⁸⁴⁴ Center for the Study of Human Rights in the Americas, "The Tipton Report," Testimony of four British detainees held at Guantánamo, July 26, 2004, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://humanrights.ucdavis.edu/projects/the-guantanamo-testimonials-project/testimonies/prisoner-testimonies/the-tipton-report>, 34.

⁸⁴⁵ International Committee of the Red Cross, "ICRC report on the treatment of 14 'High Value Detainees' in CIA Custody," Humane Security Gateway, February 14, 2007, accessed June 9, 2010, http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/documents/ICRC_Report_TreatmentOfFourteenHighValueDetainees_CIAcustody.pdf.

⁸⁴⁶ "Secret ORCON: Interrogation Log Detainee 063," compiled by Pentagon's Joint Task Force at Camp X-Ray at Guantánamo as various officers interrogated prisoner no: 063, Saudi national Mohammed al-Qahtani who was arrested in Afghanistan and rendered to the prison. For full text of the log, also published by *Time*, see "Secret ORCON: Interrogation Log Detainee 063," *Time*, March 3, 2006, accessed July 9, 2011, <http://www.time.com/time/2006/log/log.pdf>.

teachings were thus treated as providing the knowledge that could be used as power against the Evildoers. 'Arab Muslims' were grouped together as considering the '9/11 hijackings to be acts of reaction and self-defense and not acts of aggression', and 'Arab Muslims' were said to 'believe that the US and Israel are engaged in the killing of Muslims as a matter of policy and fact'. Allah's teachings were believed to be misunderstood by some of the detainees, a situation the interrogators would seek to correct; interrogators were also reminded that in Islam, Faith and Jihad cannot be separated⁸⁴⁷. Interrogation techniques could, therefore, both create and ascertain existing 'knowledge' of the Arab/Muslim barbarian as the Evil 'new' terrorist of the twenty first century.

Guantanamo Bay was, for many manning its cages and guarding its captives, 'America's Battle Lab'⁸⁴⁸ where experiments on the 'new' enemy would provide the United States with lessons that would allow them to adequately meet the 'new threat framework' that it faced⁸⁴⁹ by knowing the 'new' enemy. One prisoner, Shafiq Rasul, released without charge after years in captivity, saw the interrogations 'as an experiment just to see to what extent they could take a human.'⁸⁵⁰ At the end of the experiment, it would be revealed to the United States not just everything the 'new' enemy knew, but also everything that could be known about the enemy; and all the ways in which the enemy should be known; all the while confirming what was already known.

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁸ United States Department of Defense, "Joint Staff External Review of Intelligence Operations at Guantanamo," August 2004, accessed June 8, 2010, <http://www.defense.gov/news/Aug2004/d20040824finalreport.pdf>.

⁸⁴⁹ Committee on Armed Services, "Inquiry into the treatment of detainees in U.S. custody," United States Senate report, Carl Levin, United States Senate, November 20, 2008, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://levin.senate.gov/newsroom/release.cfm?id=313072>, 43.

⁸⁵⁰ Shafiq Rasul, Detainee Number 086, speaking in Television Documentary "Torturing Democracy", produced by Sherry Jones. For full transcript, see: Washington Media Associates and the National Security Archive, "Torturing democracy," accessed June 5, 2010, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/torturingdemocracy/documents/td_transcript.pdf.

That old Devil, we know

A showcase of how these techniques were applied to draw out and test the validity of these characteristics that distinguished the Enemy Combatants as the Evildoer is the treatment of 'Detainee No. 063', believed to have been the possible 'Twentieth Hijacker' in the 11 September 2001 attacks – Mohammed Al-Qahtani (also known as Mohammed al Khatani). He was captured by Pakistani authorities along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border on 15 December 2001 and handed over to the United States forces on 26 December 2001. The Saudi Arabian, born in 1979, was transferred to Guantánamo Bay on 13 February 2002. Due to his suspected direct involvement in the 11 September 2001 attacks, he was labeled a 'high value detainee', and subjected to 'enhanced interrogation techniques' by a variety of United States personnel.

For eleven days, beginning from 23 November 2002, United States personnel working in shifts interrogated al Qahtani for 20 hours a day. To keep him awake, they played loud music, yelled, and threw water at him. From 4 December 2003 he was incessantly interrogated for almost 80 hours, after which he was allowed a 'twenty-four-hour recuperation' period, most of which he spent at the hospital. A meticulous log was kept by the interrogators of al Qahtani's treatment in their hands for fifty days, during which period interrogators regularly employed a range of tactics aimed at identifying and validating his Arab/Muslim/barbarian identities.

The Islamic identity of the Evildoer was central to all interrogations of Al Qahtani. The second entry in the log reads: '02:35: Session begins. The detainee refuses to look at SGT.A 'due to his religion'⁸⁵¹. SGT.A is a woman. From then onwards, a tactic known as 'Invasion of Space by a Female', is used against al Qahtani on a regular basis. On separate occasions he is made to stand naked in front of a female officer; strip searched and shaved in front of one; and straddled by another. On several occasions al Qahtani was recorded as being annoyed, upset or openly crying as a result of enforced proximity to a female.⁸⁵² Interrogators logged the point of the exercise as being to

⁸⁵¹ "Secret ORCON: Interrogation Log Detainee 063," *Time*, March 3, 2006, accessed July 9, 2011, <http://www.time.com/time/2006/log/log.pdf>, 1.

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*, 22 - 23, 25, 28 - 29, 39, 46, 48, 56, 60.

‘constantly remind him’ of an alleged paradox: ‘if he was such a “religious man” how could he have caused such devastation [the attacks of 11 September 2001]?’⁸⁵³

When al Qahtani refused to engage with a female interrogator, he was told ‘if God keeps track of your sins he would have millions so he should not be concerned about something as small as looking at a woman.’⁸⁵⁴ Violating the same Islamic mores of sexual modesty, interrogators forced al Qahtani to closely scrutinise women dressed in skimpy clothing. Pictures of women in bikinis were put into a binder and hung around his neck several times or they were fashioned into masks that he had to wear⁸⁵⁵. After a month of the treatment, al Qahtani begged interrogators to stop, saying the experience was more difficult for him to endure than the physical pain and discomforts he was also subjected to.⁸⁵⁶

Praying five times a day is one of the five tenets of Islam. Interrogators controlled when, how, and to whom al Qahtani should pray. Permission to pray was a bargaining chip, something that was withheld or granted according to the needs of the interrogation. On 19 December 2002, the log states:

05:00: [...] Detainee asked to pray. Interrogators told him he could pray after he wrote down the location and point of contact for where he got his visa. Detainee complied and was taken to another interrogation booth where a bin Laden shrine was constructed. Detainee was told he could now pray to his god – UBL [Usama bin Laden]. Detainee was apprehensive and started to walk out of booth. Detainee was not allowed to leave and interrogator played the call to prayer. Detainee began to pray and openly cried⁸⁵⁷.

Similarly, on 2 January 2003:

⁸⁵³ Ibid., 39.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid., 44 - 45. 57, 60.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid., 54.

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid., 45.

01:00: [...] Interrogators offered detainee coffee and detainee refused. Interrogators told detainee that since he was being disrespectful, he would not be treated nicely this session. Detainee was shown the Bin Laden shrine and told that he could only pray to Bin Laden. [...] ⁸⁵⁸

28 November 2002

06:30: [...]“Have you earned prayer? I know you have a lot to ask forgiveness for, but I already told you that you have to earn it.” Detainee says “Please, I want to pray here” (pointing to floor next to his chair). Control responds no. ⁸⁵⁹

He was told he would have to pray on the same area on which he had urinated⁸⁶⁰; and was informed the call to prayer, revered by Muslims, was now ‘a call to interrogation’:

13 December 2002

01:00: Upon entering the booth, lead played the call to prayer with a special alarm clock. Detainee was told, “this is no longer the call to prayer. You’re not allowed to pray. This is the call to interrogation. So pay attention.” ⁸⁶¹

Interrogators frequently discussed the teachings of Islam with al Qahtani. They often reduced him to tears by lecturing him on the subjects of right and wrong, sin and forgiveness, using verses from the Qur’an. ⁸⁶² Al Qahtani’s knowledge and interpretations of Islam was often questioned, creating distress in his mind. He was told that ‘Al Qaida had raped the Koran’ and ‘Usama bin Laden raped Islam’. The interrogators clearly noted his anger and distress at the suggestion that the Qur’an could be ‘raped’. ⁸⁶³

Al Qahtani was often forced to get involved in discussions of God’s judgment and repentance. The 11 September 2001 attacks were described as a ‘sin’ and al Qahtani was made to watch videos of the attack in an approach described

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid., 73.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid., 14.

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid., 10.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid., 34.

⁸⁶² Ibid., 2 - 3, 6, 12, 18, 37, 44, 48, 53, 71, 73, 76.

⁸⁶³ Ibid., 11, 13.

by the interrogators as 'Judgement Day'⁸⁶⁴. Pictures of victims of the attacks were taped on to his body, and interrogators compared the attack on the Twin Towers to an attack on Mecca, the Muslim holy city. He was asked whether 'the people that are jumping from the burning building [the Twin Towers on 11 September 2001] are going to go to heaven or hell'⁸⁶⁵ and to ponder 'what happened to the hijackers souls on judgement day'⁸⁶⁶. He was forced to wear a sign saying 'I am going to hell because I am full of hate'⁸⁶⁷. Al Qahtani was noted as 'crying profusely about a story of Allah's forgiveness',⁸⁶⁸ and was on another occasion told it was not military justice that he should fear but the justice of Allah, thus, he was urged, '[m]ake things right. Repent'.⁸⁶⁹ Interrogators discussed with him his 'future on earth' and 'his status on judgement day'⁸⁷⁰. To drive the point home, they illustrated the Islamic Day of Judgment:

01 January 2003

[...]

20:00: '[...] drew a diagram on the white board of a bridge over a pit of fire, the bridge had little razors on it. Detainee was told that this was the 'Sirat' or a diagram of judgement day. Detainee was told on judgment day everyone will be sorted out by beliefs.'⁸⁷¹

Interrogators discussed major sins and virtues of Islam and taunted Al Qahtani for allegedly having trouble asking 'God for forgiveness'⁸⁷². They explained to him the 'process in Christianity for asking forgiveness'⁸⁷³. Cooperation with the interrogators would mean he could 'be a messenger for

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid., 28.

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid., 22.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid., 17.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., 65.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid., 51.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid., 71.

⁸⁷² Ibid., 73.

⁸⁷³ Ibid., 68, 71.

God and his cause⁸⁷⁴, earning absolution. Any confessions he made would be tantamount to carrying out 'a mission to share God's message'⁸⁷⁵ :

25 November 2002

06:00: [...] SGT R showed 9-11 DVD. SGT R stood behind detainee and whispered in his ear, "What is God telling you right now? Your 19 friends died in a fireball and you weren't with them. Was that God's choice? Is it God's will that you stay alive to tell us about his message? [...] I am still talking to you, and you won't leave until you've given God's message."⁸⁷⁶

Interrogators discussed with al Qahtani 'the way to heaven in Christianity and Islam' and addressed the evil within him several times. He was told that some of his physical discomforts were 'probably the evil trying to get out' from inside him⁸⁷⁷.

'Lead [interrogator] told detainee that it looked as if his left shoulder was sagging (a verse in the Koran states that good angels sit on the right shoulder and bad angels sit on the left shoulder)⁸⁷⁸.

A widely circulated rumour in the aftermath of 11 September 2001 was a sighting of the Devil in the smoke from the Twin Towers. It is said that Satan's face could be seen appearing in the smoke, and videos of the alleged apparition are widely circulated on the Internet⁸⁷⁹. One of the approaches taken by the interrogators in their questioning of al Qahtani was labeled the 'Devil in the smoke theme'. Although no details are available of what the theme entailed, it was deployed while al Qahtani was hooded and shackled in

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid., 6, 7.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid., 52.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid., 53.

⁸⁷⁹ See for example "Faces in Smoke: Appearance of Fallen Angels on 9/11," YouTube video, 2:33, posted by "ChubbyToesJones," April 15, 2007. Accessed June 1, 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZRocVVDvols&feature=fvsr>, viewed by over a million people. Many more videos of the same footage are available on *YouTube*.

an interrogation booth where loud music was played⁸⁸⁰. Six days later, al Qahtani became convinced he was literally (possessed by) evil⁸⁸¹, and the interrogators then performed ‘an exorcism to purge the evil Jinns he claimed were controlling his emotions’⁸⁸². It was noted in the Log: ‘Detainee was more responsive after the exorcism’⁸⁸³. The following day another exorcism of the Devil was suggested to make al Qahtani more responsive⁸⁸⁴. During these discussions, interrogators also asked al Qahtani to ‘perform “crazy Mohamed” facial expressions’ and ‘recounted “emotional Mohammed” impressions he had allegedly ‘performed.’⁸⁸⁵

The barbarian in captivity

United States forces in Afghanistan offered premium bounties for any ‘Arabs’ captured. Many were handed over by Afghan war loads and others seeking the bounty, which promised riches they had never even dreamed of⁸⁸⁶. Targeting an imagined monolithic Arab culture was part of the interrogation tactics in Guantánamo Bay. Hence, al Qahtani’s interrogation was often directed at his Arab self. He was offered a ‘home cooked Arab meal’⁸⁸⁷ and given ‘Arabic lessons’. One such ‘lesson’ followed this format: ‘Control [lead interrogator] writes the Arabic words for “liar”, “coward” and “failure” on the wall. Control asks detainee, ““Are you a liar? Are you a failure? Are you

⁸⁸⁰ “Secret ORCON: Interrogation Log Detainee 063,” <http://www.time.com/time/2006/log/log.pdf>, 21.

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*, 30.

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁸⁸⁶ Mark Denbeaux, “Report on Guantanamo detainees: a profile of 517 detainees through analysis of Department of Defense data,” School of Law, Seton Hall University, accessed June 7, 2010, http://law.shu.edu/publications/guantanamoReports/guantanamo_report_final_2_08_06.pdf. See also PDF copy of flyer which can be viewed at: “Flyer distributed by US forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan after 9/11”, the International Commission of Jurists, accessed July 7, 2010, <http://ejp.icj.org/IMG/Raut2.pdf>.

⁸⁸⁷ “Secret ORCON: Interrogation Log Detainee 063,” *Time*, March 3, 2006, accessed July 9, 2011, <http://www.time.com/time/2006/log/log.pdf>, 3.

a coward?', then answers for him, "Yes you are."⁸⁸⁸ . Another lesson involves role-play where al Qahtani is the student of Arabic and the interrogator his teacher⁸⁸⁹ . Arabic music is played loudly in his cell, and he is questioned on his knowledge of 'Arabian history'⁸⁹⁰ . He is specifically interrogated about 'the Arabs' as a particular group⁸⁹¹ and the Israel/Palestine conflict is brought up as a subject of conversation⁸⁹² .

Interrogators often addressed the detainee's inherent barbarism and lack of civilisation. The 'Respect Approach' was often used to teach al Qahtani the civility of Western society. He is told he can only use the latrine if he asked 'properly', and is given permission when he says: 'Please, may I go to the bathroom'? His previous request, made without the 'please', was denied⁸⁹³ . He is allowed to eat 'if he asked nicely'⁸⁹⁴ , and allowed to pray if he asked 'respectfully'⁸⁹⁵ . He is given 'instructions on the proper way to show respect'⁸⁹⁶ and was made to play the role of a 'respectful' student while an interrogator played the teacher instructing him on the teachings of Islam⁸⁹⁷ . He was 'harshly berated' for 'lack of respect' and repeatedly reprimanded for forgetting previous lessons on the subject⁸⁹⁸ . He was instructed to salute interrogators and to 'answer questions respectfully with "Sir"⁸⁹⁹ . He was awarded 'respect points' for behaviour deemed acceptable by the interrogators⁹⁰⁰ and rewarded for good behaviour by allowing him to return to 'the good graces' of the interrogator⁹⁰¹ . He was made to stand for lengthy periods of time because he 'didn't deserve to be seated in a chair like civilized

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid., 14.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid., 15.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid., 48.

⁸⁹¹ Ibid., 56.

⁸⁹² Ibid., 78.

⁸⁹³ Ibid., 4, 23.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid., 19.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid., 4, 41.

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid., 41.

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid., 41, 43, 47.

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid., 56.

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., 72-73.

⁹⁰¹ Ibid., 48.

human beings⁹⁰². Al Qahtani was continuously reminded he was ‘stupid’, ‘ignorant’ and uneducated:

06 January 2003

[...]

23:30: [...] Interrogators explained to detainee that he was so ignorant of the world that he could not distinguish between truth and lies [...]. He needed to improved [sic] his education about world history and sociology so that he would know when someone lied to him. [...] ⁹⁰³

Independent observations of interrogators recorded in the log show that such accusations of ignorance and stupidity made against al Qahtani were not merely part of the ‘Ego and Pride Down’ or other psychological tactics used to ‘break’ the prisoner. It formed part of the repertoire of knowledge the interrogators already possessed about the ‘new’ enemy. The interrogation techniques validated the knowledge, as can be seen from observations such as: ‘Detainee was ignorant of historical events outside of the geographic region of the Arabian Peninsula’⁹⁰⁴ and that he ‘expresses great ignorance about dinosaurs and space, topics that are taught in U.S. grade schools. Detainee asked interrogator if the sun revolved around the earth.’⁹⁰⁵

The Evildoer is not just an uncivilized Arab, but also a barbarian; a less than human being. Throughout al Qahtani’s interrogations his hands and feet were shackled. He was frequently hooded, often made to wear a wet towel around his head, forced to urinate into a bottle, and on himself. He was frequently denied permission to use the toilet, and was forced to have enema in the presence of female interrogators. He was kept hydrated by inserting IV fluids into his body and was subjected to extreme temperatures. He was told his life had no value and that he was worthless as a human being.

11 December 2002:

⁹⁰² Ibid., 51.

⁹⁰³ Ibid., 79.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid., 48.

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid., 83.

0100: [...] Detainee was reminded that no one loved, cared or remembered him. He was reminded that he was less than human and that animals had more freedom and love than he does. He was taken outside to see a family of banana rats. The banana rats were moving around freely, playing, eating, showing concern for one another. Detainee was compared to the family of banana rats and reinforced that they had more love, freedom, and concern than he had. Detainee began to cry during this comparison.⁹⁰⁶

Unfavourable comparison with the banana-rat, a common rodent in Guantanamo Bay, was frequent⁹⁰⁷. Strict rules forbade him to talk or move; if the rules were broken, he was 'reminded of his worthlessness as a human being'⁹⁰⁸. He was taught dog tricks so his status could be elevated 'at least' to that of a dog⁹⁰⁹. As a dog, he was made to 'growl' at pictures of al Qaeda members and to 'bark' at pictures of victims of the 11 September 2001 attacks⁹¹⁰. He was told he would not be allowed to 'live like the pig that he is' and was forced to clean the interrogation room while his hands were shackled together⁹¹¹.

To reiterate his lack of worth as a human being, al Qahtani was continuously ridiculed. He was forced to wear a towel on his head 'like a burka',⁹¹² and take 'dancing lessons' from the interrogators⁹¹³; water was regularly poured over his head or thrown in his face; he was laughed at 'uncontrollably'⁹¹⁴; mocked⁹¹⁵; 'harshly' berated⁹¹⁶ and made to participate in role-play designed

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid., 30.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid., 26, 30, 32, 34.

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid., 32.

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid., 47.

⁹¹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹¹ Ibid., 40.

⁹¹² A burka is an all-enveloping outer garment worn by women in some Islamic traditions, particularly in Afghanistan, to cover their bodies in public places. Wearing a towel on one's head does not approximate to wearing a burka, so what is probably being referred to here is the wearing of a female Muslim head-covering known as a Hijab.

⁹¹³ "Secret ORCON: Interrogation Log Detainee 063," *Time*, March 3, 2006, accessed July 9, 2011, <http://www.time.com/time/2006/log/log.pdf>, 48.

⁹¹⁴ "Secret ORCON: Interrogation Log Detainee 063," *Time*, March 3, 2006, accessed July 9, 2011, <http://www.time.com/time/2006/log/log.pdf>, 6.

⁹¹⁵ Ibid., 40.

to humiliate him. Interrogators performed a puppet show satirizing al Qahtani's alleged involvement in al Qaeda⁹¹⁷; and forced him to wear a 'smiley face' mask made from an MRE (Meal, Ready-to-eat) box before taking 'dance instructions' from interrogators who 'sissy-slapped' him with a blown up latex glove as he danced⁹¹⁸. A 'birthday party' was organized for him at which he was made to wear a party hat while interrogators and guards sang 'God Bless America'⁹¹⁹. Playing cards while laughing at and mocking him was a common practice⁹²⁰. He was called a homosexual, and his mother and sister whores⁹²¹.

The United States planned to continue the interrogation until al Qahtani's sense of futility was raised to such a level as to make him 'give in and provide the necessary information' - or until it came to 'a standstill'. The last phase was to decide how 'the future disposition of 063 will be determined'⁹²². On 15 January 2003, however, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld, one of the foremost petty sovereigns in the Administration, rescinded the blanket authority he had given to American personnel for using 'enhanced interrogation techniques' on detainees⁹²³. By then, however, the use of the techniques had become widespread at other United States detention centres across the world in Afghanistan, and would later be used in Iraq. Investigations into the treatment of detainees in United States custody have attributed a substantial part of the blame to the authorization of 'enhanced interrogation techniques' by the executive powers.⁹²⁴ That is, the form of divinely ordained sovereign

⁹¹⁶ Ibid., 37, 41, 43, 45, 46, 49, 52, 57, 60.

⁹¹⁷ "Secret ORCON: Interrogation Log Detainee 063," *Time*, March 3, 2006, accessed July 9, 2011, <http://www.time.com/time/2006/log/log.pdf>, 20.

⁹¹⁸ Ibid., 35.

⁹¹⁹ Ibid., 19.

⁹²⁰ Ibid., 36, 37, 42, 44, 49, 55, 59, 60, 69.

⁹²¹ Ibid., 42.

⁹²² Committee on Armed Services, "Inquiry into the treatment of detainees in U.S. custody," United States Senate report, Carl Levin, United States Senate, November 20, 2008, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://levin.senate.gov/newsroom/release.cfm?id=313072>, 114.

⁹²³ Ibid., 140.

⁹²⁴ Ibid.

power that was made possible by the presence of the Evildoer, an old enemy that first emerged with such power in the Middle Ages.

The abyss gazes back

The use of approved 'enhanced interrogation techniques' spread to Iraq and Afghanistan. When the United States began to take prisoners in the War on Terror after the first military strikes in Afghanistan in October 2001, the captives were legal non-entities. President Bush had declared they were not Prisoners of War and deemed the Geneva Conventions inapplicable to them. Until the term 'enemy combatant' was written into law in 2004, the captors were free to decide who, or what, the captive was. They were also free to interrogate, discipline and punish the captives as befit their perception of the enemy and in doing so, define the enemy. By 2006 they had murdered thirty-four of them, were suspected of being involved in the deaths of eleven more, and tortured eight to death⁹²⁵. Over 600 United States personnel are also accused of having abused close to 500 detainees during the same period. The murders were brutal; a team of interrogators 'beat the crap out of' one detainee with sledge hammer handles before shoving him head-first into a sleeping bag, wrapping it with electrical cord, and then rolling him from his stomach to his back. One of the interrogators then sat on the detainee's chest and blocked his nose and mouth. He died⁹²⁶.

Another detainee was shackled to a window about five feet from the floor in a posture, known as 'Palestinian Hanging', that made it impossible for him to kneel or sit without hanging from his arm. Less than an hour later he was dead. His corpse still hooded with a sandbag, arms cuffed behind its back, was still shackled to the window that was, by then, above his head. A New York State pathologist gave evidence he had died of 'asphyxia [...] as in crucifixion'⁹²⁷. A group of marines 'karate-kicked' another detainee while he

⁹²⁵ Hina Shamsi, and Debroah Pearlstein, "Command's responsibility: detainee deaths in U.S. custody in Iraq and Afghanistan," Human Rights First, February 2006, accessed July 11, 2010, <http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/wp-content/uploads/pdf/06221-etn-hrf-dic-rep-web.pdf>.

⁹²⁶ Ibid., 44.

⁹²⁷ Ibid., 12.

stood hooded and handcuffed. He developed diarrhoea and was left covered in his own faeces, accused of faking illness. To make room for a new prisoner, he was dragged out by the neck, a job made easy from the sweat and faeces covering his body. He was left to die in the heat of the sun. His corpse was stored in an unrefrigerated drawer, and his internal organs were left exposed on airport tarmac where they perished in the blistering Iraqi heat⁹²⁸. Another detainee was hit several times for the amusement of the interrogators. The detainee cried out 'Allah' when he was hit, 'U.S. military personnel found these cries funny and hit [him] repeatedly to hear him cry out'⁹²⁹. He was beaten to death.

How the United States personnel perceived the 'new' enemy is evident not just from their treatment of detainees, but the Arab/Muslim population at large. In Iraq, some United States personnel raided the home of an Iraqi actor and shot him five times within earshot of his family. They left his body stuffed behind a refrigerator and hidden behind a mattress for the family to find. They stopped Iraqis on the streets at random, once forcing two high school students to jump off a ten-foot bridge. One of them drowned. Nearly half of the detainees who died in United States custody were classified as having died from 'officially unknown, natural or other' causes. Independent investigations have, however, found a majority of the deaths so classified to have occurred following physical abuse or as a result of harsh conditions in detention⁹³⁰. Autopsy reports of such deaths document brain haemorrhages, blood clots, collapsed ribs, and sudden fatal blows to the head.⁹³¹

All the deaths and abuse discussed above took place before the term 'enemy combatant' was codified in United States law. During this period, interrogators defined the enemy according to what they knew the Evildoers to be and punished the Evildoers accordingly. By 2006 only forty-four of the 600 United States personnel implicated in abusing detainees were convicted by court martial. Tribunals and investigations found several of the alleged

⁹²⁸ Ibid., 12, 13.

⁹²⁹ Ibid., 16.

⁹³⁰ Ibid., 21.

⁹³¹ Ibid., 25.

murders to have been ‘justified’ deaths. Many allegations have never been investigated, and several remain unresolved⁹³². Until 2004, when photographic evidence of the abuse of detainees appeared in the public domain⁹³³, there was no requirement to perform autopsies on the corpses. Whether detainees died, how many, in whose hands and how, were matters of little or no consequence. The consequences for those who did the killing and the torturing was equally little.

Summary

The United States knowledge of ‘new terrorism’ as evil and the ‘new terrorist’ as an Evildoer was not the *cause* of the mechanisms of exclusion and punishment that it implemented against prisoners of the War on Terror. Rather, they validated the Evildoer as someone who could *not* be tortured or abused simply because when applied to the Evildoer, these terms had no meaning. In this way, the offender, the offence, and the punishment are all made extra-legal, and cross beyond crime into the realm of good and evil. In assuming the powers to punish sin and transgression, the United States exercised powers that had been possessed by divinely ordained monarchs of medieval Europe for whom rebellion was both a sin and a crime against sovereignty. For medieval sovereignty it was the omnipresence of the Devil that made such powers possible while, at the same time, it was these powers that both constituted and rendered the Devil true.

In the twenty-first century, it is the presence of the Evildoer that was constituted by, and constituted, the resurgent divinely ordained sovereign powers that the United States exercised. Without the Evildoer, the

⁹³² Detainee Abuse and Accountability Project (DAA), “By the numbers: findings of the Detainee Abuse and Accountability project,” Centre for Human Rights and Global Justice, April 10, 2006, accessed June 9, 2010, <http://chrgj.org/projects/detainees.html#bythenumbers>.

⁹³³ An archive of the pictures, which show detainees in United States custody at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq is archived at American online newspaper *Salon* and can be viewed at: *Salon*, “Introduction: The Abu Ghraib files,” March 14, 2006, accessed July 11, 2011, http://www.salon.com/news/abu_ghraib/2006/03/14/introduction. The pictures provide photographic evidence that the same tactics and methods used on Al-Qahtani discussed in this chapter were in use at the Iraqi prison.

reanimation of this anachronistic forms of exercising power would not have been possible nor would the mechanisms for establishing truth and punishment.

As mentioned earlier in this study, Foucault asserted that the mechanisms of exclusion were later *replaced* by methods of inclusion. 'It seems', he said, the model of the 'exclusion of lepers', 'the model of the individual driven out in order to purify the community, finally disappeared roughly at the end of seventeenth and the beginning of eighteenth centuries.'⁹³⁴ He did not, however, claim that the new mechanisms of control—inclusion—which replaced exclusion, also meant a *replacement* of sovereign power with governmentality. He maintained throughout that 'sovereignty and disciplinary mechanisms are two absolutely integral constituents of the general mechanisms of power in our society,'⁹³⁵ and that 'they are the two things that constitute—in an absolute sense—the general mechanisms of power in our society.'⁹³⁶

Judith Butler has argued, that Foucault had simply not been able to foresee from his vantage point, what form the co-existence of sovereignty and governmentality would take in the present circumstances. Butler argues that sovereignty re-emerged in the context of governmentality once the executive branch of the United States government invested the person of the President with judicial as well as penal powers, taking the world back to a time before the separation of powers and the great reforms of the eighteenth century⁹³⁷. This *Chapter* has shown how the presence of the Evildoer made possible this return to the past, and gave 'lie to history as chronology'.

The next *Chapter* explores how the Evildoer has made possible not just a return to the old method of exclusion as the predominant means of

⁹³⁴ Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: lectures at the Collège de France, 1974-1975* (London: Verso, 2003), 44.

⁹³⁵ Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews & other writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 108.

⁹³⁶ Michel Foucault, *Society must be defended* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 37.

⁹³⁷ Judith Butler, *Precarious life: the powers of mourning and violence* (London: Verso, 2004).

punishment by extending sovereign powers to include the authority to punish sin and transgression, but also to extend beyond limits previously thought possible methods of inclusion and normalisation. It also demonstrates the crucial role that truth, right and knowledge plays in the formation of these new modes of control that are, in fact, as old as sin.

7. The Dangerous Muslim

The plague town [in the Middle Ages] was divided up into districts, the districts were divided into quarters, and then the streets within these quarters were isolated. In each street there were overseers, in each quarter inspectors, in each district, someone in charge of the district, and in the town itself either someone was nominated as governor or the deputy mayor was given supplementary powers when plague broke out. There is, then, an analysis of the territory into its smallest elements and across this territory the organisations of a power that is continuous in two senses. First of all, it is continuous due to this pyramid of control. From the sentries who kept watch over the doors of the houses from the end of the street, up to those responsible for the quarters, those responsible for the districts and those responsible for the town, there is a kind of pyramid of uninterrupted power. It was a power that was continuous not only in this pyramidal, hierarchal structure, but also in its exercise, since surveillance had to be exercised uninterruptedly. The sentries had to be constantly on watch at the end of the streets, and twice a day the inspectors of the quarters and districts had to make their inspection in such a way that nothing that happened in the town could escape their gaze. And everything thus observed had to be permanently recorded by means of this kind of visual examination and by entering all information in big registers. At the start of the quarantine, in fact, all citizens present in the town had to give their name. The names were entered in a series of registers. The local inspectors held some of these registers, and others were kept by the town's central administration. Every day the inspectors had to visit every house, stopping outside and summoning the occupants. Each individual was assigned a window in which he had to appear, and when his name was called he had to present himself at the window, it being understood that if he failed to appear it had to be because he was in bed, and if he was in bed he was ill, and if he was ill he was dangerous and so intervention was called for. It was at this point that individuals were sorted into those who were ill and those who were not. All the information gathered through the twice-daily visits, through this kind of review or parade of the living and the dead by the inspector, all the information recorded in the register, was then collated with the central register held by the deputy mayors in the town's central administration.⁹³⁸

The 'Muslim town' in the twenty-first century United Kingdom is identified as those in which more than 2,000 Muslims live. Within each 'Muslim town',

⁹³⁸ Foucault, Michel, *Abnormal: lectures at the Collège de France 1974-1975* (London: Verso, 2003), 46.

referred to commonly as a 'Muslim community', live three different types of Muslim: 1. The General Muslim, 2. The Extremist Sympathiser, and 3. The Violent Extremist. Among the first category of General Muslims are the Dangerous Muslims⁹³⁹. The Dangerous Muslim is vulnerable to the influence of the other two categories of Muslim – he has the potential to become an Evildoer. There are laws to deal with the Extremist Sympathiser and the Violent Extremist. There is no legislation, however, to deal with the Dangerous Muslim, for he has not committed a crime. The Dangerous Muslim is not a juridically discernible figure. He must be dealt with at the level of his potentialities.

For this purpose, each 'Muslim town' is allocated a budget ranging from hundreds of thousands to millions of pounds, depending on the number of Muslims living in it. The funds are to be spent on identifying the Dangerous Muslim and treating him before he realises his potential. A programme called Channel has been set-up for this purpose. Each local iteration of the programme has a chief, known as the Channel Coordinator, selected predominantly from amongst members of the police force. The Channel Coordinator establishes strong relations with individuals from different sectors of the 'Muslim town' that they have responsibility for, including the local authority, schools, colleges and universities, youth services, children's services, prisons, probation services, voluntary organisations and charities⁹⁴⁰. Once such relations are established, members of these organisations monitor the Muslims they come into contact with to identify the Dangerous Muslims among them. The screening is carried out at all levels of the General Muslim's life, from primary school to university or prison. They are watched for telltale signs of being vulnerable to the ideology

⁹³⁹ Arun Kundani, "Spooked! How not to prevent violent extremism," Institute of Race Relations, October 17, 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.irr.org.uk/spooked>, 13.

⁹⁴⁰ "The Channel Guidance" was originally available from the UK Home Office at: <http://www.security.homeoffice.gov.uk/counter-terrorism-strategy/prevent/publications.html>, accessed July 3, 2010. The document is, however, no longer available online from the Home Office. The full text can still be accessed at the following address: Home Office and Association of Chief Police Officers, "Channel: Supporting individuals vulnerable to recruitment by violent extremists," Internet Memory Foundation, March 2010, accessed October 5, 2011, <http://tna.europarchive.org/20100419081706/http://security.homeoffice.gov.uk/news-publications/publication-search/prevent/channel-guidance?view=Binary>, 11.

of the Evildoer. These signs include possession of ‘extremist literature’ in any form, attempts to access such material on the Internet, and being in possession of literature related to weapons and explosives or military training. Their social and psychological behaviour patterns are also watched and monitored for any changes that signify their vulnerability to the ideology of the Evildoer. Such signs include a sudden withdrawal from friends and family, interest in a social event or venue the individual had previously been indifferent to, a sudden dislike of something they liked before, forming an association with an organisation the government had deemed illegal, or forming an association with an organisation that holds extremist views although it does not advocate violence⁹⁴¹.

The organisations with which the Channel Coordinator has established contact scrutinises the ‘Muslim town’s’ inhabitants to determine whether they have been *exposed to an ideology* that may have contaminated their thought process in such a way as to make them perceive violence as a positive force. The General Muslim is also carefully monitored to see whether or not they have come into contact, at any time, with an articulate person or group with the ability to connect his or her personal circumstances with the ideology they had been exposed to. Any General Muslim known to have experienced racism, discrimination, deprivation and ‘other criminality’—either as a victim or a perpetrator—is watched with extra care. Such an experience is known to increase the degree of the General Muslim’s vulnerability to the ideology of the Evildoer, and thus turn him into a Dangerous Muslim with the potential to become a Homegrown Terrorist. They are diagnosed as being likely to experience an identity crisis, a psychological weakness that the Violent Extremist exploits to his advantage. Of particular interest to the Watchers is also any General Muslim who is known to bear a grievance, whether imagined or real. Such thoughts, too, are known to increase their degree of vulnerability to the Evildoer’s ideology⁹⁴².

Once a Dangerous Muslim has been identified by one of the Watchers from any of the assigned organisations, the Watcher has the authority and the obligation

⁹⁴¹ Ibid., 13.

⁹⁴² Ibid., 14.

to alert the Channel Coordinator. The Channel Coordinator then screens the referral to determine whether: (a) the referral was genuine or malicious; (b) the Muslim has already passed the Dangerous stage and become either an Extremist Sympathiser or a Violent Extremist, in which case he was already within the criminal justice system, making extra-judicial intervention unnecessary; and (c) the person is clearly not a Dangerous Muslim. With the three conditions met to the satisfaction of the Channel Coordinator, he or she then convenes a meeting with the line manager and representatives of Senior Statutory Partners (such as the local authority, offender management services) to carry out a Preliminary Assessment. Collectively they assess the risk the Dangerous Muslim faces in society and/or poses to society. Once this group is wholly satisfied that the individual in question is indeed a Dangerous Muslim vulnerable to the ideology of the Evildoer and thus has the potential to become a Homegrown Terrorist, the case is then referred to what is called a Multi-Agency Panel⁹⁴³.

The Multi-Agency Panel comprises a representative from each of the community organisations previously mentioned, as well as a member of the UK Border Agency, which controls the movement of foreign nationals in and out of the country. The Panel applies to the individual 'indicators of vulnerability' (possession of extremist material and other such factors mentioned above) and their own expertise to assess the most suitable forms of intervention. To ensure that the process is carried out properly, the Panel has recourse to Special Information Protocols that allow them to freely share between their organisations any information they each possess on the Dangerous Muslim. Panel members need not ask the permission of the Dangerous Muslim before sharing the information. They are, however, free to do so should they feel so inclined. In cases where the Panel decides that the individual in question does not need any further support, it is still reviewed after six months and twelve months, to ensure that he still remains invulnerable to the ideology of the Evildoer⁹⁴⁴.

⁹⁴³ Ibid., 18.

⁹⁴⁴ Ibid.

On occasions when The Panel is satisfied that they indeed have a Dangerous Muslim under their scrutiny, a Support Package is devised to deal with him. This involves first an Action Plan to determine which of the statutory or community groups involved is best suited for handling the Dangerous Muslim. What type of Support is provided depends on the degree of threat the Dangerous Muslim poses to the community, or the degree of vulnerability to the ideology of the Evildoer that he is determined to be facing. If the Dangerous Muslim is diagnosed as being only in the early stages of ‘radicalisation’—the process by which he is said to fully succumb to the evil ideology—he is prescribed ‘a diversion’. If the onset of radicalisation is deemed to be at a more advanced level, he is brought under custom-made one-to-one mentoring programmes⁹⁴⁵.

Depending on the level of risk determined, the Dangerous Muslim in the more advanced stages of radicalisation is provided with knowledge about Islam that counters the knowledge he had gained from the Extremist Muslims. Having ‘true’ knowledge of Islam provided by state-approved institutions rather than the false knowledge held by the Extremists gives the Dangerous Muslim the opportunity to challenge the falsehoods he had been taught. Alternatively, the Dangerous Muslim is prescribed a programme of Increased Civic Engagement, which involves attending Citizenship Classes that provide him with lessons on how to be a better Briton. Or, he is provided with knowledge of correct ways for political engagement and is introduced to concepts of human rights and social justice. To ensure that the Dangerous Muslim does not relapse and remains on the right path, his friends and family are also brought into the Support Package and/or he is provided access to mainstream services such as education, housing, healthcare and employment that may have been unavailable to him previously. At all stages of the Support Process, all the different organisations involved in monitoring, mentoring and scrutinising his emotions and behaviour keep in close contact lest he slip through their network⁹⁴⁶.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid., 19.

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid.

Once the Panel is wholly and entirely satisfied that the risk from the Dangerous Muslim has been reduced, managed or contained, a report is prepared on The Case with details of how and why the decision was reached. Before the Dangerous Muslim is released from the Support Programme, however, the Panel's report is reviewed and endorsed by the group that made the Preliminary Assessment. If the evidence contained within the report is deemed unsatisfactory, however, a new Action Plan is devised that provides a different Support Package with which to deal with the Dangerous Muslim. He is thus deemed to have been unresponsive to the previous treatment. At every stage, meticulous records are kept of the Support Process as well as the Dangerous Muslim's responses to it. This information is then transferred to a Knowledge Base on Dangerous Muslims that contains information on the most efficient and effective ways to identify, treat, de-radicalise, and re-integrate Dangerous Muslims into Normal Society⁹⁴⁷.

The above is a relatively brief summary of the steps taken by the United Kingdom to deal with the Dangerous Muslim, the 'new terrorist' who is said to have emerged within its society in the first decade of the twenty-first century. The detailed introduction to this long process involving a large number of institutions both governmental and non-governmental designed to control the Dangerous Muslim in the United Kingdom is necessary for the purpose of this *Chapter*, which is to demonstrate how the presence of the Evildoer in Western discourse was made possible by—and made possible—new forms of knowledge production, mechanisms for establishing the truth, and means of exercising power. The juxtaposition of the above description with Foucault's description of the plague town of the Middle Ages demonstrates the striking similarities between the medieval measures imposed to contain the plague and measures imposed to contain the Dangerous Muslim in the twenty-first century United Kingdom. These similarities, despite the vast temporal gap between them shows how both sets of mechanisms are underpinned by the same method of exercising power and control over individuals: normalisation.

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid., 20.

The procedure for dealing with the Dangerous Muslim described above is part of the United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism (*Contest*) published in 2009, which is the focus of this *Chapter*. *Contest* is introduced by Home Secretary Jacqui Smith as 'one of the most comprehensive and wide-ranging approaches to tackling terrorism anywhere in the world.'⁹⁴⁸ In the *Foreword*, then Prime Minister Gordon Brown states its objective to be 'ensuring that the people of the United Kingdom can go about their *normal* lives in confidence and free from fear'⁹⁴⁹ [emphasis added]. Delivery of the strategy is organised around what it calls four workstreams: *pursue*, which aims to stop terrorist attacks; *prevent*, which aims to stop people becoming terrorists or supporting violent extremism; *protect*, which aims to strengthen the country's protection against terrorist attack; and *prepare*, which aims to mitigate the impact of any attack it is unable to stop.⁹⁵⁰ This *Chapter* focuses most closely on *Prevent*, the aim of which is to 'stop people becoming terrorists or supporting violent extremism'⁹⁵¹. In other words, it targets individuals at the level of their potentialities, before they become a juridically discernible figure. Overall, the strategy identifies the ideology of Al Qa'ida as one of the greatest challenges to the United Kingdom from terrorism, and points to certain communities—'notably but not only' British Muslims—as the sites at which most of its efforts would be directed⁹⁵².

A question of knowledge: to include or to exclude?

This study argues that terrorism is not an ontological certainty but an historically constructed discourse, and has traced the history of the concept of

⁹⁴⁸ Jacqui Smith, "The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism (*Contest*)," Home Ministry, Parliamentary Official Documents, March 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7547/7547.pdf>.

⁹⁴⁹ Gordon Brown, "The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism (*Contest*)," Parliamentary Official Documents, March 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7547/7547.pdf>.

⁹⁵⁰ Home Ministry, "The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism (*Contest*)," Parliamentary Official Documents, March 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7547/7547.pdf>, 13.

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹⁵² *Ibid.*, 12.

the present knowledge of terrorism as an evil to the medieval concept of the Devil. It has also argued that the mechanisms for knowledge production, the establishment of truth, and the exercise of power are constitutive of each other. How terrorism is known during a particular epoch therefore and the mechanisms for controlling it are constitutive of each other. The preceding chapters have shown that neither the 'new' terrorism nor the 'new kind of responses' introduced to deal with it are new. The Evildoer that became known as the 'new terrorist' is a reanimation of the concept of the Devil, the oldest enemy and the first rebel that Western society had knowledge of. This research has also shown how the presence of the Evildoer made possible, and was made possible by, the resurgence of a form of divinely ordained sovereign power in the United States. It asserted from the very outset, however, that knowledge of a particular subject produced in a society is not just specific to the particular epoch during which it emerges, but also has a spatial fixity that cannot be wholly and entirely replicated at another location *even during the same period of time*.

As alluded to in the *Introduction*, the Evildoer of the United States is not the same 'new terrorist' that emerged in other Western societies during the same period. Despite the many similarities shared between the 'new terrorist' of the United States and of Europe, there are essential differences between them. The main such difference is that Europe's 'new terrorist' is *within* its communities; he is 'Homegrown'. This variance is clear to see in the security strategies formulated by the United States and the European Union following the 11 September 2001 attacks. The *National Security Strategy of the United States*⁹⁵³ (2002) describes the 'new terrorism' as an evil threatening America from the outside. It speaks of shadowy networks of individuals who can bring chaos and suffering 'to our shores'⁹⁵⁴, implying the enemy comes from foreign lands. The European Union's Security Strategy, *A Secure Europe in a Better World* (2003), on the other hand, describes terrorism as a phenomenon that is 'also a part of our

⁹⁵³ "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America," The White House, September 2002, accessed June 8, 2007, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>.

⁹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

society⁹⁵⁵. It does not refer to terrorism of the twenty-first century either as new or evil, rather it describes it as the most recent of the phenomenon's many waves, linked to violent religious extremism and arising out of complex causes. It states: 'Europe is both a target and a base for such terrorism'⁹⁵⁶.

In the years that followed the 11 September 2001 attacks, the differences between the United States' knowledge of terrorism and that of most European societies became more apparent. The Evildoer of American terrorism discourse dwells in untamed mountain terrain and the desert plains of Islamic countries ruled by despotic Islamic regimes. The 'Homegrown Terrorist' of European discourse dwells within the cities and towns of liberal democracies—his hiding places are not caves, but townhouses and apartments; he is more likely to be found on the hallowed grounds of an Enlightenment university than in a cramped madhrassa; more likely to be sporting a 'hoodie' than a turban; more likely to speak a Western language (or several) than Arabic; and he is equally (or more) familiar with the Western 'rule of law' than the *Sharia* followed by 'barbaric' Islamic regimes. In other words, the 'new terrorist' that Europe confronts in the twenty first century is equally (if not more) likely to be found within its own borders as it is outside of them.

The Homegrown Terrorist has, without a doubt, many similarities with the Evildoer. It must be remembered that despite the essential difference between the two figures, their conceptual history is the same. As discussed in *Chapter Two* and *Three*, the history of the concept of terrorism begins with the Devil of the European Middle Ages. It is from the separation of sin and rebellion, politics and religion, and evil and terror that the discourse of terrorism first emerged in the eighteenth century. The medieval Christian narratives of Islam as a heresy, and terrorists as the new incarnation of the Devil originated from Europe, and are still very much present in European discourse. This is evident from the anti-Islamic sentiments and actions that have been expressed and

⁹⁵⁵ "A Secure Europe in a Better World," European Security Strategy, European Union, December 12, 2003, accessed June 8, 2007, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>, 3.

⁹⁵⁶ Ibid.

carried out in many European societies on a regular basis in the twenty-first century⁹⁵⁷.

Orders of discourse that were particular to the United States, such as its foundational narratives of American Exceptionalism and manifest destiny, and the religiosity of American society compared to Europe⁹⁵⁸, made American knowledge of twenty-first century terrorism markedly different from that of many European societies. The goodness and the greatness of the American nation compared to the barbarism of the Evildoer also meant he was an outsider that simply could not be a part of American society. In its long history of confronting rebels in their various guises from the secular rebel to the universal and post-colonial rebels, Europe has—both conceptually and legally—categorised terrorism as a serious or organised crime⁹⁵⁹. It was also in eighteenth century Europe that rebellion was separated from the concept of sin which, as discussed in *Chapter Three*, made possible the emergence of the terrorism discourse in the first place. These differences made it impossible for European and American terrorism discourses to be ordered in the same way. And for these reasons, Europe could not move terrorism from the domain of crime to that of religion in the same way as the United States did reversing, in the process, the judicial and penal reforms of the eighteenth century that strictly separated sin and criminal offences.

⁹⁵⁷ For a comprehensive picture of how European Muslims have become targets of new policing, security and intelligence operations see, “Ethnic profiling in the European Union: pervasive, ineffective, and discriminatory,” Open Society, May 2009, http://www.soros.org/initiatives/justice/articles_publications/publications/profiling_20090526.

⁹⁵⁸ Gallup figures from 2010 show that even though the importance of religion seems to be on the decline at present in the United States, 54 percent of Americans say that religion plays a very important part in their lives and that 58 percent believe religion can answer all or most of today’s problems; and the same percentage of people are also satisfied with the influence of religion. See: “Religion”, Gallup, 2011, accessed July 27, 2011, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1690/Religion.aspx#2>.

⁹⁵⁹ For a detailed analysis of European and European Union’s attitudes towards terrorism, see: Doron Zimmermann, “The European Union and Post 9/11 Counter-terrorism: A Reappraisal,” *Studies on Conflict and Terrorism* 29, no. 2 (2006).

The essential differences in the orders of the terrorism discourses of the United States and most European societies has meant differences in the mechanisms of control imposed on contemporary terrorists by each. The Evildoer, understood as an evil false-Muslim Arab barbarian, is an enemy outside of American society, and outside of civilisation itself. As explored in *Chapter Six*, the main method of control imposed on the Evildoer was exclusion. In Europe, where the enemy is within, and where the difference between crime and transgression introduced in the eighteenth century remained in place, the predominant mechanism of control imposed on the new terrorist is that of inclusion. The Homegrown Terrorist was not evil *per se*, but was vulnerable to the ideology of the Evildoer, and needed to be controlled from within and at the level of their potentiality.

To demonstrate how these differences constitute and are constituted by different forms of knowledge, truth and power, this *Chapter* focuses on the figure of the Dangerous Muslim who emerged in the United Kingdom in the latter half of the first decade of the twenty-first century. As mentioned in the *Introduction*, as the closest ally of the United States in the War on Terror, the United Kingdom is particularly well suited to demonstrate the differences—as well as the similarities—in the knowledges of terrorism and the related mechanisms of control and power implemented to defend against the ‘new terrorist’. Furthermore, the United Kingdom like other countries in Europe has a long history of dealing with various terrorist figures in earlier epochs. This is particularly the case given its long and violent conflict in/ with Ireland.

Indeed, several recent analyses have drawn attention to Paddy Hillyard’s 1993 book *Suspect Community*, which chronicles the experiences of members of the Irish community living in Britain during ‘the Troubles’ to whom the United Kingdom’s Prevention of Terrorism Acts (PTAs) applied. Hillyard argues that the PTA constructed a suspect community from ‘the Irish living in Britain, or Irish people travelling between Ireland and Britain.’⁹⁶⁰ He asserts that the primary reason they were suspects was that they had contacts with Ireland⁹⁶¹.

⁹⁶⁰ Paddy Hillyard, *Suspect community: people’s experience of the prevention of terrorism acts in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1993), 258.

⁹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

Christina Pantazis and Simon Pemberton develops Hillyard's 'suspect community' thesis further arguing that the political discourses of the War on Terror and 'Islamic fanaticism' have 'designated Muslims as the new 'enemy within' and justified the introduction of legislation that facilitates the construction of Muslims as the new 'suspect community.'⁹⁶² Also drawing on Hillyard's work, Henri Nickels *et al* have comparatively analysed the role played by the British media in the construction of Irish and Muslim minorities in Britain as suspect communities.⁹⁶³ This history and these similarities, which are not elaborated upon here, are however worth noting as essential to the constitution of a UK knowledge about terrorism that is different from that of the United States.

Another reason for the suitability of the United Kingdom's counter-terrorism strategies for this study is that while other European countries chose to distance themselves from the United States once it decided to invade Iraq in 2003 as part of the War on Terror, the United Kingdom remained firm in its decision to support the invasion. Furthermore, nine Britons were imprisoned in Guantánamo Bay and held in captivity for years with 770 other suspected Evildoers⁹⁶⁴. That an ally as close as the United Kingdom was for the United States in the War on Terror understood the same enemy differently, and implemented different strategies to counter them, goes a long way in clarifying the lack of ontological certainty of terrorism. The material selected for the analysis contained in this chapter comprises mainly the strategies, official

⁹⁶² Christina Pantazis and Simon Pemberton, "From the 'old' to the 'new' suspect community: examining the impacts of recent UK counter-terrorist legislation," *British Journal of Criminology* 49, no. 5 (2009).

⁹⁶³ Henri C. Nickels et al, "A comparative study of the representations of 'suspect communities in multi-ethnic Britain and of their impact on Irish communities and Muslim communities – mapping newspaper content, Working Paper 13," Institute for the Study of European Transformations, London Metropolitan University, August 2009, accessed April 26, 2011, <http://www.londonmet.ac.uk/londonmet/fms/MRSite/Research/iset/Working%20Paper%20Series/WP13%20.pdf>.

⁹⁶⁴ "The Guantánamo Files: the documents," *The Guardian*, April 25, 2011, accessed April 26, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/apr/25/guantanamo-files-guantanamo-bay>.

speeches and legislative instruments used by the United Kingdom in defending itself against the Dangerous Muslim.

The abnormality of the Dangerous Muslim

Since the United States began the War on Terror in October 2001 as a 'new kind of response' to the 'new terrorism' of the Evildoer who carried out the 11 September 2001 attacks, there have been similar attacks on other Western countries and Western interests. On 12 October 2002, for example, bomb attacks on the Indonesian island of Bali, popular with Western holidaymakers, killed 202 people⁹⁶⁵. On 11 March 2004, 191 people were killed in a series of synchronised bomb attacks on the transport system of Madrid during the morning rush hour⁹⁶⁶. On 7 July 2005, a series of synchronised attacks on the London transport system, again during the morning rush hour, killed fifty-two people⁹⁶⁷ and injured more than 770⁹⁶⁸. There have also been many close calls and a variety of foiled plots in the intervening years in various Western countries and on Western interests elsewhere⁹⁶⁹. Even before the 7 July 2005 attacks, the United Kingdom was put on high alert for a possible terrorist

⁹⁶⁵ "Bali death toll set at 202," BBC News, February 19, 2003, accessed September 8, 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/2778923.stm>.

⁹⁶⁶ "Madrid train attacks," BBC News, accessed September 8, 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/guides/457000/457031/html/default.stm>.

⁹⁶⁷ "7 July bombings," BBC News, accessed September 8, 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/london_blasts/what_happened/html/default.stm.

⁹⁶⁸ "7 July Bombings – In depth," BBC News, accessed July 25, 2011, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/london_blasts/what_happened/html.

⁹⁶⁹ Based on a review of publicly available information, United States research institution, The Heritage Foundation, for example, reported 19 foiled plots to attack the United States between September 11, 2001 and March 2007. For a full list of the plots, see: James J. Carafano, "US thwarts 19 terrorist attacks against America since 9/11," The Heritage Foundation, November 13, 2007, accessed September 8, 2010, <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2007/11/us-thwarts-19-terrorist-attacks-against-america-since-9-11>. In the United Kingdom, the police are said to have disrupted over a dozen terrorist attacks, including one that was planned for two weeks after the July 7, 2005 attacks on the London transport system. See "The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism (Contest)," Parliamentary Official Documents, March 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7547/7547.pdf>, 11.

attack. From July 2005 onwards British citizens were warned that a ‘terrorist’ attack against their country was always ‘imminent’, ‘highly likely’ or ‘a strong probability’⁹⁷⁰. The system for gauging ‘national threat level’ was unable to foresee any time at which the threat could *not* exist⁹⁷¹. This was just one of many transformations that occurred in British perception and knowledge of terrorism after the July 7 bombings.

In the immediate aftermath of the 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States, for example, then British Prime Minister Tony Blair sought to downplay connections between the ‘new terrorist’ and the religion of Islam, and between terrorism and religion in general.

[W]hen ... a Protestant gunman goes out and kills a Catholic, just because they are Catholic, you don't call them Christian terrorists. They don't represent the Christianity that I believe in [...] Bin Laden [...] no more represents the true spirit and teachings of the Koran than the person who calls himself a Protestant who goes out and kills a Catholic on the streets of Belfast.⁹⁷²

Speaking about five years later on 21 March 2006, less than a year after the 7 July bombings, in a speech with the title ‘Clash about civilisations’, the Prime Minister re-made the statement with some fundamental changes:

‘They [‘extremists who commit acts of terrorism’] are no more proper Muslims than the Protestant bigot who murders a Catholic in Northern Ireland is a proper Christian. But, unfortunately, he is still a “Protestant” bigot. To say his religion is

⁹⁷⁰ “Timeline: UK terrorism threat levels explained,” BBC News, January 22, 2010, accessed August 21, 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/8476299.stm>.

⁹⁷¹ MI5 Security Service, “What are threat levels?,” accessed August 21, 2010, <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/what-are-threat-levels.html>.

⁹⁷² “Edited transcript of an interview given by the Prime Minister Tony Blair for Larry King, CNN,” Tony Blair Archive, 10 Downing Street, The National Archives, November 6, 2001, accessed July 25, 2010, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20080107205408/http://pm.gov.uk/output/Page1643.asp>.

irrelevant is both completely to misunderstand his motive and to refuse to face up to the strain of extremism within his religion that has given rise to it⁹⁷³.

A few months later, in a speech with the title, 'The duty to integrate: shared British values,' he further clarified the connection between the 'new terrorism' and Islam: 'It is true there are extremists in other communities. But the reason we are having this debate is not generalised extremism. It is a new and virulent form of ideology associated with a minority of our Muslim community.'⁹⁷⁴ He left no doubt that 'Muslim extremism' was more dangerous than the 'generalised extremism' from other minority communities. The threat came from the Dangerous Muslims within the Muslim community who were vulnerable to the 'new and virulent form of ideology', which he had also referred to as 'an evil ideology' on an earlier occasion⁹⁷⁵.

What the title and content of Blair's 'Duty to integrate' speech suggested, and what later materialised as policy and mechanisms for defending against the threat from the Dangerous Muslims who are vulnerable to the 'evil ideology' of Al Qaeda, is that British Muslims have an obligation to integrate and wholly embrace 'British values'. He said 'those Muslims who shun integration into British society' were like 'those whites who support the policies' of the rightwing British National Party, and described both segments of the population as contradicting 'the fundamental values that define Britain today'⁹⁷⁶. Prime Minister Blair said that 'the right to be in a multicultural society was always implicitly balanced by a duty to integrate'⁹⁷⁷. What are the

⁹⁷³ Tony Blair, "Clash about civilisations," Tony Blair Archive, 10 Downing Street, The National Archives, March 21, 2006, accessed July 25, 2010, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20080107205408/http://pm.gov.uk/output/Page9224.asp>.

⁹⁷⁴ Tony Blair, "The duty to integrate: shared British values," Tony Blair Archive, 10 Downing Street, The National Archives, December 8, 2006, accessed July 25, 2010, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20080107205408/http://pm.gov.uk/output/Page10563.asp>.

⁹⁷⁵ Tony Blair, speaking at the Labour Party conference in London on July 16, 2005. For full text of the speech see: Tony Blair, "Full text: Blair speech on terror," BBC News, July 16, 2005, accessed July 24, 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4689363.stm.

⁹⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁷ Ibid.

'fundamental values' that define Britain to which the Prime Minister referred? In this particular speech, he listed them as 'tolerance, solidarity across the racial and religious divide, equality for all and between all'⁹⁷⁸. What gives people the right to call themselves British, he said, are these shared values, at which point 'no distinctive culture or religion supersedes [the] duty to be part of an integrated United Kingdom.'⁹⁷⁹ Speaking six years previously, shortly before 11 September 2001 and long before the July 7 London bombings, he provided a different list of 'British values' in which religion of any sort did not figure at all: 'fair play, creativity, tolerance and an outward-looking approach to the world'⁹⁸⁰.

These shifting changes in the concept of 'British values', on conforming to which the right to call oneself British depends, reveal the term to be a historically contingent discursive formation, a political concept. It is based on the idea of 'the norm', which plays an exacting and coercive role in the domains in which it is applied. 'The norm is not simply and not even a principle of intelligibility; it is an element on the basis of which a certain exercise of power is legitimised.'⁹⁸¹ And the norm brings with it a principle of both qualification and correction. It is this idea of the norm that underpinned the whole process of correction to which the Dangerous Muslim was subjected through the Channel programme discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

Recall the way in which Channel Coordinators set up a whole network of organisations that sought to first identify then correct the behaviour, thoughts, lifestyle, and even their religious learning to fit 'the norm': the accepted 'British values' to which Dangerous Muslims must submit before they were declared safe enough to return to the status of a General Muslim or a Normal Muslim (that is, as normal as a Muslim can be). It is important to note that it is not the function of the norm to exclude and to reject, as is the function of sovereign

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁰ Tony Blair, "Tony Blair's Britain speech," *The Guardian*, March 28, 2000, accessed July 26, 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2000/mar/28/britishidentity.tonyblair>.

⁹⁸¹ Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: lectures at the Collège de France 1974-1975* (London: Verso, 2003), 50.

power, to which Evildoers were subjected by the United States, as discussed in *Chapter Six*; Rather the norm is 'always linked to a positive technique of intervention and transformation, to a sort of a normative project.'⁹⁸² It is this process of 'normalisation' that is seen at play in the United Kingdom's mechanisms for defending itself against the threat from the Dangerous Muslim.

Governing Muslims

The methods of inclusion deployed in the medieval plague towns as discussed at the beginning of this *Chapter* mark the time when the powers of 'normalisation' first emerged in Western societies. Foucault argued that the technique took on a life of its own, and became the dominant form of exercising power in Western societies, at the end of the eighteenth century with the emergence of the *dangerous individual* and the birth of the prison. The idea of *dangerousness* meant that the individual must be considered by society 'at the level of his potentialities, and not at the level of his actions; not at the level of an actual violation of an actual law, but at the level of the behavioural potentialities they represented.'⁹⁸³ Whereas previously the knowledge required by the judiciary to perform its functions was centred around the questions of whether a crime had been committed and who had committed the crime, addressing the dangerous individual required knowledge based around a different set of questions: was the individual behaving as he should? If not, why not? What could be done to make him conform to the norm before he realised his inherent potential for danger?

The need for this type of knowledge required 'constant supervision of individuals by someone who exercised some measure of control over them—schoolteacher, university lecturer, foreman, physician, psychiatrist, prison warden—and who, so long as he exercised power, had the possibility of both supervising and constituting a knowledge concerning those he supervised.'⁹⁸⁴ The punitive control of individuals at the level of their potentialities could not be performed by the judiciary itself; it required a whole network of institutions,

⁹⁸² Ibid.

⁹⁸³ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault*, vol. 1, 1954-1984 (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 57.

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid., 59.

both old and new, to enclose the individuals 'in their bounds throughout their existence'⁹⁸⁵. They included pedagogic institutions such as schools and universities, psychological or psychiatric institutions such as hospitals, asylums, and the police. The emergence of this 'social orthopaedics', centred around control of the dangerous individual, marked a fundamental change in how power is exercised over individuals, and created the 'disciplinary society'. Foucault identified five distinctions that were brought into play with the introduction of the disciplinary regime to which the dangerous individual needed to be subjected:

[I]t refers individual actions to a whole that is at once a field of comparison, a space of differentiation, and the principle of a rule to be followed. It differentiates individuals from one another, in terms of the following overall rule: that the rule be made to function as a minimal threshold, as an average to be respected, or as an optimum toward which one must move. It measures in quantitative terms and hierarchises in terms of value the abilities, the level, the 'nature' of individuals. It introduces, through this 'value-giving' measure, the constraint of a conformity that must be achieved. Lastly, it traces the limit that will define difference in relation to all other differences, the external frontier of the abnormal [...]. The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchises, homogenises, excludes. In short, it *normalises*.⁹⁸⁶

The 'exclusion' practised by normalisation is not the same as the form of exclusion exercised by the sovereign whereby a person is expelled from certain social circles or from society itself, such as the medieval confinement of lepers or the expulsion of Evildoers by the United States in the last decade. Rather, it is a form of 'inclusion through exclusion'⁹⁸⁷ whereby a whole network of institutions—both state and non-state—form a complex web that takes complete control of an individual by subjecting him to 'the norm'. This 'power of the norm', exercised through discipline, heralded the invention of a new form of power that acts not by excluding, 'but rather through a close and an

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁶ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1977), 182-3.

⁹⁸⁷ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault*, vol. 1, 1954-1984 (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 78.

analytical inclusion of elements'. It is a power that acts not 'by separating into large confused masses, but by distributing to differential individualities' and it is a power that is linked not to ignorance, but 'to a series of mechanisms that secure the formation, investment, accumulation and growth of knowledge.'⁹⁸⁸ It is this form of power by which an individual is continuously subject to 'the penalty of the norm' through a variety of techniques of power that can be transferred to a variety of different institutional supports, state apparatuses, and institutions that Foucault described as the 'art of governing' in his 1974-75 series of lectures on the abnormal,⁹⁸⁹ and which he later defined as 'governmentality'⁹⁹⁰.

In relation to its counterterrorism strategy, the United Kingdom is particularly proud of its *Prevent* stream, which it says incorporates lessons previously learned about 'radicalisation (the process by which people become terrorists or lend support to violent extremism)⁹⁹¹; and is 'unique and ground-breaking' in the sheer range of local, national and international partners.'⁹⁹² This is indeed no idle boast, for *Contest* names fifty-nine institutions ranging from the UK Border Agency to Department of Health and the Department of International Development as having designated roles to play in implementing its mechanisms for preventing the Dangerous Muslim from attaining his potential as a Homegrown Terrorist. These institutions are to work in partnership with various community groups and organisations from educational institutions to places of religious learning and worship. The Channel programme, which was summarised at the beginning of this *Chapter* is one of three separate initiatives launched under *Prevent*. The other two, *Preventing Violent Extremism Programme* and *Prevent Strategy and Delivery Plan*, are also embedded deep within the community and call upon neighbourhoods and community groups to be involved in identifying and monitoring the Dangerous Muslim at the level of

⁹⁸⁸ Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: lectures at the Collège de France 1974-1975* (London: Verso, 2003), 48.

⁹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹⁰ Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: studies in governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

⁹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹⁹² *Ibid.*, 15.

his potentiality⁹⁹³. The chief point of focus of all these programmes is the 'Muslim community' because, as *Contest* explains, 'the greatest threat at present is from terrorists who claim to act in the name of Islam.'⁹⁹⁴

When the fifty-seven million people who make up the total population of the United Kingdom are categorised according to religious affiliation, Muslims emerge as the third largest group comprising a total of 1.5 million people. Christians are the largest group making up seventy-two percent of the population while 'people with no religion' are the second largest group comprising fifteen percent of the population. In total, Muslims make up 2.8 percent of the British population⁹⁹⁵. Despite the careful qualifications in official speeches and documents that extremism is not a threat that arises only from Muslim communities, and the statement in *Contest* that its anti-extremist strategies can be applied equally to forms of extremism that were not related to Islam, it is the Muslim population and its conduct that became the most pressing concern in the United Kingdom's counter-terrorism strategies.

Power/knowledge and the Dangerous Muslim

The mechanisms of inclusion, unlike those of exclusion discussed in the previous chapter, do not drive out individuals from the community. America's Evildoers were driven outside of civilisation and humanity itself. Processes of normalisation, instead, keeps the individuals within society, establishes them within it, fixes them, assigns places for them, defines within it their presences and subdivided presences. What was seen in the methods of exclusion examined in the last *Chapter* was a global division between 'those who are with the terrorists' and those who are not, and an even stricter division between Evildoers and the rest of humanity. Instead of such divisions between two masses, what is seen in the process of normalisation is 'a series of fine and constantly observed differences'⁹⁹⁶: between individuals who are Muslims and who are not; Muslims who are dangerous and who are not, Muslims who are

⁹⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁵ Office for National Statistics, "Religious populations: Christianity is the main religion in Britain," accessed July 27, 2011, <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=954>.

⁹⁹⁶ Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: lectures at the Collège de France, 1974-1975* (London: Verso, 2003), 46.

vulnerable to the Evildoer's ideology and who are not, Muslims who are moderate and who are not, and Muslims who are acceptable and who are not. And, instead of the severing of contact that was enforced between the Evildoers and the rest of humanity what is seen in the processes of normalisation put into place by *Prevent* are methods of close contact, of constant observation and 'an always finer approximation of power to individuals.'⁹⁹⁷ In the mechanisms of normalisation there is no longer the purification of society by casting the individual or group outside its boundaries as was the case with the Evildoers whose places of confinement and incarceration themselves had to be outside the borders of the United States.

What is found, instead, are attempts to *help* the Dangerous Muslim by lessening his vulnerability to the Evildoer's ideology thereby reducing the risk to him and from him to society. Some of these methods of assistance include, for example, teaching him the *right* Islam. To this effect, *Prevent* includes a programme in which government institutions and local partners work with Muslim scholars, faith groups and 'many other credible and influential voices' to challenge the Evildoer's ideology while at the same time supporting the scholars who 'develop positive alternatives.'⁹⁹⁸ In another productive form of inclusion, *Prevent* also includes plans to provide 'theological advice' that will appear prominently on the Internet, providing messages that counter the violent theological arguments uploaded by the Evildoers and their followers. Additionally, *Prevent* also includes strategies to engage with institutions of pedagogy to 'address gaps in [their] Islamic teaching', and also an Islamic Citizenship Education Project, which teaches British Muslims to be both 'good Muslims' and good citizens at the same time⁹⁹⁹.

As Prime Minister Tony Blair had said, no religious affinity could take precedence over 'British values', and by running such a programme, the government was assisting Muslims, the General and the Dangerous, to achieve

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁸ Home Ministry, "The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism (Contest)," Parliamentary Official Documents, March 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7547/7547.pdf>, 88.

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid.

both. To ensure success, *Prevent* also published in October 2008 a special ‘toolkit for preventing extremism’, ‘Learning together to be safe.’¹⁰⁰⁰ The toolkit is intended ‘to equip young people with the knowledge and skills to be able to challenge extremist narratives.’¹⁰⁰¹ *Prevent* also allocated a million pound budget to strengthen how religious education is taught in schools, and introduced a new strand in the citizenship curriculum: ‘identity and diversity’¹⁰⁰². The purpose of such programs is to help General and Dangerous Muslims to learn how to be good Muslims and good citizens so that they can conform to the desired norm of ‘British values’. Without such conformity, British General Muslims and Dangerous Muslims posed a threat to the well being of society and disrupted the normal lives¹⁰⁰³ of normal citizens. Tony Blair summed up the situation—and the extent to which the United Kingdom had become a society of normalisation—thus: ‘Our tolerance is part of what makes Britain, Britain. So conform to it; or don't come here’.¹⁰⁰⁴

Normalisation is a form of power that is linked not to ignorance, but to a ‘series of mechanisms that secure the formation, investment, accumulation and growth of knowledge.’¹⁰⁰⁵ As mentioned in the description of the Channel programme summarised at the beginning of this *Chapter*, organisations and individuals in charge of monitoring the ‘Muslim towns’ and their inhabitants gathered and freely shared information on suspected Dangerous Muslims in the community. This is the knowledge that subsequently informs the strategies and mechanisms for control the state formulates. *Contest* 2009, for example, states that the original *Prevent* strategy was revised in October 2007 ‘based on better

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰⁰³ Gordon Brown, Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Tony Blair, “The duty to integrate: shared British values,” Tony Blair Archive, 10 Downing Street, The National Archives, December 8, 2006, accessed July 25, 2010, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20080107205408/http://pm.gov.uk/output/Page10563.asp>.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: lectures at the Collège de France 1974-1975* (London: Verso, 2003), 48.

understanding of the causes of radicalisation'¹⁰⁰⁶ acquired from previous experience.

The importance that the mechanisms of normalisation implemented through *Contest* places on knowledge is also evident from the government's booklet on *Countering the terrorist threat: social and behavioural science*, which outlines 'How academia and industry can play their part.'¹⁰⁰⁷ The booklet describes terrorism as 'a complex phenomenon' that needs the application of social and behavioural sciences to 'improve our knowledge and understanding' of terrorism. It also states that such sciences can 'directly inform strategy, policy and operations and help ensure that the Government's response is robust and effective.'¹⁰⁰⁸ With regard to *Prevent*, it asks for help from academia and industry in finding out how and why Dangerous Muslims succumb to the ideology of the Evildoer and progress from extremism to violent extremism; and also to establish the factors which make the Dangerous Muslim more resilient to violent extremism¹⁰⁰⁹. It also calls for help from the social and behavioural sciences to develop methods for measuring changes in attitude and behaviour of the Dangerous Muslim, also in order to scientifically assess the best practices and methods for intervention from fields such as health and crime¹⁰¹⁰.

The booklet encourages the social sciences community to help in the *Pursue* workstream of the *Contest* by developing methods and ways to 'identify suspicious behaviour', so that the activities of Dangerous Muslims who succumb to the evil ideology can be frustrated and deterred.¹⁰¹¹ It calls for help from the social sciences in developing techniques that enable identification of terrorist actions and behaviours in a range of contexts because 'an individual's

¹⁰⁰⁶ Home Ministry, "The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism (Contest)," Parliamentary Official Documents, March 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7547/7547.pdf>, 14.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Home Office, "Countering the terrorist threat: Social and behavioural science," March 2010, accessed July 25, 2010, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/counter-terrorism/science-and-technology/social-and-behavioural-science?view=Binary>.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid., 11.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid., 12.

behaviour may contain clues as to their intent.¹⁰¹² The booklet also refers to attempts being made to develop research in the field of what it calls ‘counter-terrorism science’, overseen by the Office for Security and Counter Terrorism (OSCT), established within the Home Office in March 2007¹⁰¹³.

As discussed in detail in *Chapter Five* and *Six*, methods of establishing the truth, production of knowledge and the exercise of power are constitutive of each other. Foucault asserted that it was the emergence of the dangerous individual in the eighteenth century that required development of a new type of knowledge, characterised by supervision and examination, organised around the concept of the norm, and exercised through the supervision of the individual throughout their existence that forms the basis of ‘the power, the form of knowledge-power, that was to give rise [...] to what we call the ‘human sciences’—psychiatry, psychology, sociology.’¹⁰¹⁴ These new knowledges are what gave rise to power that did not require an all-powerful king, monarch or state presiding over subjects, but was exercised through power/knowledge constituted by and through the discipline of individuals according to the norm. It is quite possible that the level of supervision, monitoring and information gathering as well as the *need* for information regarding the Dangerous Muslim and his vulnerability to the evil ideology may yet secure the status of a science for the field of ‘Terrorism Studies’. Already, a specific stream within the field has emerged focusing on Jihadi terrorism, and ‘radicalisation’ with publications and papers that dig into the psyche of the Dangerous Muslim and seek to explain why, when and how this new figure becomes a full-blown Evildoer¹⁰¹⁵.

¹⁰¹² Ibid.

¹⁰¹³ Ibid., 20.

¹⁰¹⁴ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault*, vol. 1, 1954-1984 (London: Penguin Books, 1994).

¹⁰¹⁵ See for example: Andrew Silke, “Exploring the psychological processes of Jihadi radicalisation,” *European Journal of Criminology* 5, no.1 (2008); Aidan Kirby, “The London Bombers as ‘Self-Starters’: A Case Study in Indigenous Radicalisation and the Emergence of Autonomous Cliques,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30, no. 5 (2007); Edwin Bakker, “Jihadi terrorists in Europe: their characteristics and the circumstances in which they joined the jihad: an exploratory study,” *Netherlands Institute of International Relations* (2006); Tomas Precht, “Homegrown terrorism and Islamist radicalisation in Europe: From conversion to terrorism,” *Danish Ministry of Justice* (2007); Laila Bokhari et al, “Paths to global jihad: radicalisation and recruitment to terror networks,” Norwegian Defence Research Institute (2006).

Contest cites many of these studies, such as Quintan Wiktorowicz's *Radical Islam rising: Muslim extremism in the West*¹⁰¹⁶ and Edwin Bakker's *Jihadi terrorists in Europe: their characteristics and the circumstances in which they joined the jihad: an exploratory study*¹⁰¹⁷, as the source of its own knowledge. If a science of terrorism does emerge, despite the existence of journals such as *Critical Studies on Terrorism* (CST), it is bound to be subjected to the will to truth and the will to knowledge discussed in *Chapter Five*. Supported by institutions of pedagogy, the science of terrorism is likely to ground in 'true discourse' what is already known about 'Islamic terrorism', Jihad, and the Dangerous Muslim, opening up possibilities for new forms of power/knowledge. As discussed below, the development of new types of sciences or domains of knowledge such as these are important in considering the power of terrorism, for it is from such knowledge and not from the rule of law that disciplinary power increasingly derives its jurisprudence.

The norm and the law

Mechanisms of discipline define 'not a code of law, but a code of normalisation' and they 'necessarily refer to a theoretical horizon that is not the edifice of law, but the field of human sciences.'¹⁰¹⁸ What explains the overall mechanisms of a 'normalising society', Foucault asserted, is that it exercises power through both right and disciplines where 'the techniques of discipline and discourses born of discipline are invading right, and [...] normalising procedures are increasingly colonising the procedures of the law.'¹⁰¹⁹

A substantial part of the United Kingdom's counter-terrorism strategy derives its jurisprudence from different types of knowledges, and not from the rule of law. This is evident from the manner in which the Channel programme,

¹⁰¹⁶ Quintan Wiktorowicz, *Radical Islam rising: Muslim extremism in the West* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).

¹⁰¹⁷ Edwin Bakker, "Jihadi terrorists in Europe: their characteristics and the circumstances in which they joined the jihad: an exploratory study," Clingendael Security Paper 2, Publications, Clingendael Institute, December 2006, accessed July 27, 2011, <http://www.clingendael.nl/cscp/publications/?id=6480&&type=summary>.

¹⁰¹⁸ Michel Foucault, *Society must be defended* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 38.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

described at the beginning of the *Chapter*, seeks to intervene in the lives of Dangerous Muslims *before* they become juridically discernible entities. The bedrock of the Prevent strategy is the knowledge of the process of ‘radicalisation’, which *Contest* defines as ‘the process by which people become terrorists or lend support to violent extremism’¹⁰²⁰. One of the most pressing issues once the Homegrown Terrorist emerged in European discourse, and especially after 7 July 2005 in the United Kingdom, was to find out why the attackers had done what they did¹⁰²¹. All four men who carried out the attacks were British citizens, three of whose respective parents were of Pakistani origin and had ‘taken British citizenship’ after arriving there ‘many years before’; the fourth man was a Jamaican who married ‘a white British convert’. All four were Muslims¹⁰²².

The UK government introduced a variety of new legislation and new offences relating to the perpetration of terrorist acts in the first decade of the twenty first century that are different from normal criminal investigations and procedures. Many of these powers are contained within the Terrorism Act 2000, and have allowed a whole range of new mechanisms of power from detention without charge for long periods of time to powers of stopping and searching pedestrians at a whim to stopping people from taking photographs. The Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act 2000 authorises interception of communication between people, covert surveillance and also ‘covert human intelligence sources’—establishing relationships with people specifically for the purpose of covert intelligence gathering. The Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 (ATCSA) also provides additional legislation and powers against terrorism.

¹⁰²⁰ Home Ministry, “The United Kingdom’s Strategy for Countering International Terrorism (Contest),” Parliamentary Official Documents, March 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7547/7547.pdf>, 14.

¹⁰²¹ “Why did they do it?,” in House of Commons, “Report of the official account of the bombings in London on 7 July 2005,” Parliamentary Official Documents, May 11, 2006, accessed July 25, 2011, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/hc0506/hc10/1087/1087.pdf>, 13-19.

¹⁰²² *Ibid.*

Even with all the powers created by such anti-terrorism legislation, many of which already overlap existing criminal law provisions and other laws designed to deal with 'normal' criminals, one of the chief aims of the *Contest*, especially *Prevent*, is to reach where the law cannot:

It is not always possible to prosecute people who intelligence indicates are engaged in terrorist-related activity: for this reason the Government has developed a range of alternative *non-prosecution actions* to protect the public. They include control orders (which impose restrictions on the movements and contacts of an individual who has been engaged in terrorist-related activity); the exclusion of foreign nationals from entering the UK; revocation of citizenship; and deportation. *These powers directly affect only a very small number of individuals* [emphasis added].

What is important for the development of disciplinary power in the long run is not the number of people that it initially affects or is aimed at, but the mechanisms themselves and their longevity. As Foucault put it, the bourgeoisie don't 'give a damn' about the mad, the poor, the incarcerated or the delinquents.¹⁰²³ What interests them are the mechanisms of power developed to deal with them, all of which have been appropriated and adopted by the state system.

The Control Orders the *Contest* refers to, for example, may apply to 'only a very small number of people', but they contribute to the consolidation of the counter-terrorism discourse and help its functioning as a whole. Moreover, the Control Orders, as well as the other *non-prosecution actions*, *Contest* refers to are prime examples of how normalising procedures are increasingly taking over procedures of the law. Control Orders were introduced in 2005 as emergency legislation after the House of Lords ruled that powers allowing the detention of foreign nationals suspected of terrorism was unlawful even if there was no possibility of deporting them. They are thus designed precisely to circumvent the law. Control Orders do not authorise the imprisonment of suspected terrorists in a *prison*, but allow the imposition of similar control, surveillance and discipline over the 'controlee's life'. *Contest* explains Control Orders as a mechanism that allows the Home Office to 'place one or more obligations on an

¹⁰²³ Michel Foucault, *Society must be defended* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 33.

individual in order to prevent, restrict or disrupt his or her involvement in terrorist-related activities'.¹⁰²⁴ The 'obligations' increasingly include the requirement for controlees to relocate to another area of the country, causing major disruptions to their personal lives. 'Obligations' of lesser enormity but no less disciplinary in nature often include restriction of movement to within a specified area; 'often a mile, sometimes less'; and prohibition of using the Internet or a phone other than the one at his address¹⁰²⁵.

The controlee's passport is confiscated and they can also be banned from using public transport such as buses, trains and the underground rail system. Many are placed under curfews lasting up to sixteen hours a day, restricting them to the confines of their home, often one that he has been forced to relocate to. Furthermore, they are also required to report to the police on a daily basis, while the police have the power to arrive at his house unannounced and confiscate or examine any object inside. Persons placed under Control Orders are also electronically tagged and are required to seek ministerial permission for daily activities, which members of the 'normal' population take for granted such as visiting a place of worship.¹⁰²⁶ The Control Orders are subject to review every year, but can continue indefinitely. From the time Control Orders was introduced in December 2005 to January 2011 a total of forty-eight people were placed under Control Orders, twenty-eight of them foreign nationals. Two of the foreign nationals spent more than four years restrained under Control Orders before the orders were revoked¹⁰²⁷. At the end of 2010, five years after

¹⁰²⁴ Home Ministry, "The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism (Contest)," Parliamentary Official Documents, March 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7547/7547.pdf>, 67.

¹⁰²⁵ House of Lords, "Counter-terrorism policy and human rights (sixteenth report): annual renewal of Control Orders Legislation 2010," Publications, UK Parliament, February 23, 2010, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/jt200910/jtselect/jtrights/64/64.pdf>.

¹⁰²⁶ Mark Townsend, "Control orders: A battleground between liberty and security in the spotlight," *The Guardian*, May 23, 2010, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/may/23/control-orders-controversy-liberal-democrats>.

¹⁰²⁷ UK Home Office, "Review of counter-terrorism and security powers: review findings and recommendations," Publications, January 26, 2011, accessed September 13, 2011, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/counter-terrorism/review-of-ct-security-powers>, 36.

the mechanism was introduced as ‘emergency legislation’, there were eight individuals—all of them British citizens—under Control Orders. Two of them have been restrained under the Orders for less than a year while four have been under them for over a year. Two were placed under the Orders four years ago, and two have been under them for over two years¹⁰²⁸.

Contest describes Control Orders as ‘a means of managing the risk posed by suspected terrorists in this country who we can neither prosecute (because the material about the individuals cannot be adduced as evidence or is not sufficient to enable a charge to be made) nor deport [...]’¹⁰²⁹. In other words, it allows the detention of an individual who had neither committed nor been charged with a crime, removing the principle of *habeas corpus*, one of the most fundamental and universal of rights enshrined in the judiciary system of the sovereign. This principle underpinned the ‘rule of law’ in the United Kingdom for 790 years. Control Orders also deny the controlee other fundamental legal rights such as the right to know the charges against him and to representation by a lawyer with whom he can communicate freely and enjoy the lawyer-client privilege with. Investigations into the effect of Control Orders on those placed under their disciplinary mechanisms have shown that:

[T]he degree of control over the minutiae of controlees’ daily lives, together with the length of time spent living under such restrictions and their apparently indefinite duration have combined to exact a heavy price on the mental health of those subjected to control orders¹⁰³⁰.

Three controlees have made serious attempts to take their own lives¹⁰³¹. Control Orders, introduced as a replacement for legislation that was found unlawful

¹⁰²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰²⁹ Home Ministry, “The United Kingdom’s Strategy for Countering International Terrorism (Contest),” Parliamentary Official Documents, March 2009, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7547/7547.pdf>, 67.

¹⁰³⁰ House of Lords, “Counter-terrorism policy and human rights (sixteenth report): annual renewal of control orders legislation 2010,” Publications, UK Parliament, March 2010, accessed July 24, 2010, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/jt200910/jtselect/jtrights/86/86.pdf>, 18.

¹⁰³¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

because it breached an individual's human rights now negates the same human rights of another individual. This time lawfully.

Respect for 'the rule of law' promised by the *Contest* is fulfilled by incorporating law into the system of normalisation, and making it function as a coordinating point between normalising mechanisms. Methods such as these by which 'normalising procedures are increasingly colonising the law'¹⁰³² are complemented by procedures that transform practices of the law into 'instruments of review and mechanisms of accountability for government' by establishing various tribunals, commissions and inquiries that operationalise the language and procedures of the law against abuses found in various governmental mechanisms¹⁰³³. This use of the law as a regulatory mechanism for normalisation can, in fact, be seen at work in the various legal bodies that review the Control Orders itself. The latter are reviewed annually by a State-appointed 'statutory reviewer' who provides advice on whether the Control Orders regime remains a necessity and is also reviewed annually by the Joint Committee on Human Rights of the House of Lords. The latter published nine reports, including one that expressed 'disappointment' at government's 'passivity' in paying any heed to legal advice criticising the fairness of Control Orders.¹⁰³⁴ Despite the criticism, until January 2011, the government's decision after each review was that the Orders were necessary to defend society from terrorism, and the Dangerous Muslims placed under Control Orders. The Home Office recommended in January 2011 that the Control Orders should be repealed. This does not, however, mean that they are to be done away with, even if Parliament does agree to the recommendation. The Home Office has suggested that they simply continue in 'a less intrusive manner' instead.

¹⁰³² Michel Foucault, *Society must be defended* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 38.

¹⁰³³ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: power and rule in modern society* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2007).

¹⁰³⁴ House of Lords, "Counter-terrorism policy and human rights (sixteenth report): annual renewal of control orders legislation 2010," Parliamentary Business, UK Parliament, March 2010, accessed July 24, 2010,

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/jt200910/jtselect/jtrights/86/86.pdf>.

Power without terrorism

Retaining powers introduced for a specific purpose, during times of heightened fear of terrorism, or under other exceptional circumstances, even after the risk or fear appears to have passed has been a common feature in the United Kingdom's efforts to govern terrorism. It is, as mentioned above, a defining characteristic of governmentality in a normalising society. The January 2011 review of terrorism powers by the Home Office, for example, considered the need for eight different mechanisms that have been in operation in the United Kingdom for the last decade, and have been criticised for their intrusive nature or have been found to be in breach of international human rights laws.

These include Section 41 and Schedule 8 of the Terrorism Act 2000, which introduced pre-charge detention of terrorism suspects from the previous forty-eight hours to seven days. It was later extended to twenty-eight days in the Terrorism Act 2006, a 'compromise' reached with the government, which wanted the period to be extended to ninety days¹⁰³⁵. In 'normal' crimes, the maximum time period a suspect can be held without charge is four days. The purpose of pre-charge detention is not preventing terrorism, but securing sufficient evidence for use in criminal proceedings¹⁰³⁶. The extended twenty-eight day period is subject to an annual affirmative order; that is, unless renewed, the period relapses to a maximum of fourteen days. Despite criticism¹⁰³⁷, 'the government did not face any challenge in renewing the order' annually.¹⁰³⁸

¹⁰³⁵ Alexander Horne and Gavin Berman, "Pre-charge detention in terrorism cases," House of Commons, UK Parliament, March 1, 2011, accessed July 27, 2011, <http://www.parliament.uk/briefingpapers/commons/lib/research/briefings/SNHA-05634.pdf>.

¹⁰³⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰³⁷ House of Lords, "Counter-terrorism policy and human rights (seventeenth report): bringing human rights back in," Publications, UK Parliament, 25 March 2010, accessed July 27, 2011, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/jt200910/jtselect/jtrights/86/86.pdf>.

¹⁰³⁸ Alexander Horne and Gavin Berman, "Pre-charge detention in terrorism cases," House of Commons, UK Parliament, March 1, 2011, accessed July 27, 2011, <http://www.parliament.uk/briefingpapers/commons/lib/research/briefings/SNHA-05634.pdf>, 4.

In January 2011, however, the period relapsed to fourteen days when the government failed to apply for a renewal. This is, however, not the end of the matter, as the Home Office review published shortly after reveals that the plan is that ‘emergency legislation extending the period of pre-charge detention to 28 days should be drafted and discussed with the Opposition, but not introduced, in order to deal with urgent situations when more than 14 days is considered necessary [...]’. In other words, the government is retaining for itself the power to reinforce the mechanism whenever it deems it necessary. It also recommends a variety of other mechanisms to compensate for the loss of the two weeks detention period, including an extension to how long an individual can be detained post-charge.¹⁰³⁹

Another mechanism of power introduced to defend society from terrorism is the authority given to the police to stop and search pedestrians and their vehicles to look for articles of any kind that could be used in connection with terrorism, whether or not the police suspect such articles are present. In January 2010, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) found this power, provided by Section 44-46 of the Terrorism Act 2000, to be in breach of the right to privacy provided by the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR)¹⁰⁴⁰. Despite this, and despite there being a variety of other mechanisms that allow police to stop and search suspects, the Home Office review decided there was too much risk involved in repealing the Section¹⁰⁴¹. Under consideration was ‘whether and how to create a more precise and specific power that could be used in more tightly defined circumstances.’¹⁰⁴² The Home Office found that use

¹⁰³⁹ UK Home Office, “Review of counter-terrorism and security powers: review findings and recommendations,” Publications, UK Home Office, January 26, 2011, accessed September 13, 2011, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/counter-terrorism/review-of-ct-security-powers>, 4.

¹⁰⁴⁰ “Gillan and Quinton v UK 4158/05,” European Court of Human Rights, January 12, 2010. For full text of ruling see: British and Irish Legal Information Institute, “Gillan and Quinton v UK 4158/05,” January 12, 2010, accessed on July 27, 2011, <http://www.bailii.org/eu/cases/ECHR/2010/28.html>.

¹⁰⁴¹ UK Home Office, “Review of counter-terrorism and security powers: review findings and recommendations,” Publications, January 26, 2011, accessed September 13, 2011, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/counter-terrorism/review-of-ct-security-powers>, 17.

¹⁰⁴² Ibid.

of the power is 'operationally justified' 'in exceptional circumstances.'¹⁰⁴³ Its final recommendation, thus, was 'Section 44 should be replaced with [a] new power'¹⁰⁴⁴ which is more limited than the current Section 44, but is still more extensive than other mechanisms that perform the same tasks of stopping and searching.

The Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act 2000 (RIPA) is another piece of legislation 'sometimes' used for terrorism prevention purposes that was reviewed by the Home Office in January 2011. It allows extensive surveillance of individuals in public places and also the interception of their communications. It also allows Covert human intelligence sources (CHISs) or, to put it more plainly, the power to form covert relationships with particular people solely for the purpose of getting information from them. 'At present', the Home Office says, 'there is no limit on the type of criminal case for which the RIPA techniques can be employed.'¹⁰⁴⁵ The 'no limit' character of these mechanisms of surveillance became evident in May 2010 when it emerged that local councils were using them to carry out surveillance on members of the public for a whole range of purposes from catching those who failed to pick up after their dogs to those who break the smoking ban.¹⁰⁴⁶

The Councils' wholehearted embrace of the new power saw them mounting the equivalent of eleven surveillance operations a day between May 2008 and May 2010, with 372 local authorities in Britain carrying out a total of 8,500 surveillance operations during this period¹⁰⁴⁷. Apart from catching smokers and lazy dog owners, councils also used the powers to spy on their own employees and check-up on employees' car parking, working times, and sick pay claims, and to spy on the wardens they themselves employ to spot crime. One of the most notorious cases occurred in 2008 when:

¹⁰⁴³ Ibid., 18.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Ibid., 19.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ibid., 26.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Alan Travis, "Councils carry out over 8,500 covert surveillance operations," *The Guardian*, May 24, 2010, accessed May 26, 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/may/24/councils-covert-surveillance-operations?INTCMP=SRCH>.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ibid.

Jenny Paton and her family in Poole, Dorset, found themselves the subject of a three week covert surveillance operation, including being secretly followed by council officials, after Paton was wrongly suspected of lying about her address to get her daughter into a particular school¹⁰⁴⁸.

Of the eight different mechanism of power introduced in relation to terrorism that the Home Office reviewed in January 2011, Councils' authority to use RIPA was only one of two mechanisms which it deemed should be curbed or curtailed. The other was the power acquired by the police under five sections of the Terrorism Act 2000 to stop members of the public from taking photographs. Deciding to curtail the powers, the Home Office declared with all seriousness that, 'the public [...] have a right to take photographs without fear of being stopped, questioned or searched by the police.'¹⁰⁴⁹

Clearly, powers that are introduced for the intention to pursue, prevent, protect and prepare British society in relation to terrorism do not retain their original intention, remit or scope for very long. Terrorism still dominates Western discourse to too great an extent for it to stop giving a damn about Homegrown Terrorists or Evildoers like the bourgeoisie of earlier centuries to whom what mattered were the mechanisms introduced to deal with the poor, lepers, plague victims, prisoners, or other 'abnormal' members of society. When it does get to the stage, when terrorism discourse undergoes a re-ordering and a new transformation what will remain are the laws, mechanisms of discipline, surveillance, monitoring, and knowledge production that--as is currently happening--will become part of the state apparatus further governmentalising sovereignty in an increasingly 'normalised' society.

Summary

The mechanisms of inclusion implemented by European states, specifically the United Kingdom, to deal with the 'new terrorist' are fundamentally different from the methods introduced by the United States in its treatment of the

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁹ UK Home Office, "Review of counter-terrorism and security powers: review findings and recommendations," Publications, January 26, 2011, accessed September 13, 2011, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/counter-terrorism/review-of-ct-security-powers>, 20.

Evildoers in captivity. These differences are a result not of the United States having more military strength, being more belligerent, or having a penchant for unilateralism when compared with European states. The differences, instead, are due to the differences in their *knowledges* of terrorism. The twenty-first century terrorist known in the United States is an Evildoer, a false-Muslim Arab barbarian driven by hatred of liberal values that Western civilisation—represented by the United States—holds dear. The Evildoer is foreign, and alien to the United States, and to the rest of humanity. As such, the United States excluded the Evildoer, cast him out of not just society, but of civilisation. In Europe, the twenty-first century terrorist is a Dangerous Muslim, an *enemy within* who is vulnerable to the ideology of the Evildoer and, if not normalised and made to conform, threatens the safety of its own ‘normal’ population. The knowledge/power relations that underpin a discursive formation such as terrorism mean that knowing the enemy differently constitutes different forms of power. In the United States’ treatment of Evildoers was seen the resurgence of a form of divinely ordained sovereign power last practised in Western societies when rebellion was still a sin and crime and transgression had not yet been separated. In the United Kingdom what is seen is a multiplication of the powers of normalisation; where discourses born of discipline are increasingly invading the right, and where law is being increasingly displaced by a discursively constituted norm. The powers of governmentality and that of a resurgent sovereignty have not worked together in tandem to such an extent in the history of Western civilisation. And not since the Devil has the presence of such an omnipresent enemy controlled and disciplined its populations so.

Epilogue

'Monty Python's Terry Jones has revealed that he would shy away from making the comedy *Life of Brian* today, because of a resurgence in religious belief.' ---- *The Guardian*, 10 October 2011

Western thought struggled to accept Norwegian Anders Behring Breivik as a terrorist because terrorism discourse today is so ordered that it is difficult, if not wholly impossible, for any other figure except the evil Muslim barbarian to be conceived of as a *true* terrorist. Certainly the laws that define 'terrorism' in Norway categorise Breivik as a terrorist¹⁰⁵⁰. But, an absolute singularity to which there appears no alternative such as the Evildoer-terrorist of today, requires much more than the sum of its legal, linguistic or theoretical definitions for the establishment of its whole *truth*. As Foucault argued, nothing can exist as an element of knowledge:

if on one hand it does not conform to a set of rules and constraints characteristic, for example, of a given type of discourse in a given period, and if, on the other hand, it does not possess the effects of coercion or simply the incentives peculiar to what is scientifically validated or simply rational or simply generally accepted, etc. Conversely, nothing can function as a mechanism of power if it is not deployed according to procedures, instruments, means, and objectives which can be validated in more or less coherent systems of knowledge.¹⁰⁵¹

In Norwegian law terrorism is broadly defined as the pursuit of a political, religious or ideological goal using violence or the threat of violence¹⁰⁵². But the knowledge that informs the law—that which exists at the point of linkage (*enchaînement*) between what is said and what is done about terrorism—in that knowledge, terrorism in the twenty-first century is violence threatened or committed against the Western civilisation by Arab/Muslim barbarians,

¹⁰⁵⁰ Police Security Service, Norway, "Definitions of 'terrorist act'," accessed September 28, 2011, http://www.pst.politiet.no/PST/Templates/Article_366.aspx.

¹⁰⁵¹ Michel Foucault, "What is critique?," in *The Politics of Truth*, ed. Sylvère Lotringer and Lysa Hochroth (New York: Semiotext(e), 1997), 52.

¹⁰⁵² Police Security Service, Norway, "Definitions of 'terrorist act'," accessed September 28, 2011, http://www.pst.politiet.no/PST/Templates/Article_366.aspx.

Evildoers. Anders Breivik's actions may have fallen within the limits of terrorism as defined in law, but what is stated in law and what Norway *knows* terrorism to be are different. The *Norwegian Security Service's Annual Threat Assessment 2011*, for instance, assumes terrorism to be 'extreme Islamism'¹⁰⁵³. Boldly headlined in the *Assessment* as the chief threat to Norway is:

Politically motivated violence – terrorism

Few individuals in Norway support extreme Islamism. Yet...¹⁰⁵⁴

Without hesitation or explanation, terrorism is stated as 'extreme Islamism'. The three main threats the *Assessment* sees as arising from terrorism confirm this *given* of terrorism: radicalisation of Muslims in Norway, Norwegian Muslims travelling abroad to train as terrorists, and extreme Islamists in Norway going global.¹⁰⁵⁵ In other words, in Norwegian thought of today, the terrorist is a *Dangerous Muslim*, the would-be Evildoer living within its communities, not the non-Muslim or secular terrorist defined in its laws. This becomes even clearer when we consider the *Assessment's* explanation of the second most dangerous threat that Norway faces:

Politically motivated violence – national extremism

As in previous years, far-right and far-left extremist communities will not pose a serious threat to Norwegian society in 2011.¹⁰⁵⁶

That the *Assessment* was emphatically proven wrong is not the point. What the heading, 'Politically motivated violence - national extremism', shows is a division between a form of politically motivated violence that is terrorism—committed by Muslims—and other forms of political violence perpetrated by non-Muslims and, therefore, also non-terrorists. These non-terrorist terrorists

¹⁰⁵³ Norwegian Police Security Service, "Annual Threat Assessment 2011," accessed October 12, 2011,

http://www.pst.politiet.no/Filer/utgivelser/trusselvurderinger%20engelsk/Unclassified_threat_assessment_2011.pdf.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 4-6.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

are 'national extremists' sub-divided into the categories of 'far-right extremists', 'far-left extremists', and 'anti-Islamic groups'¹⁰⁵⁷. All of them threaten or commit violence in the pursuit of specific political/ideological/religious goals, but none of them are Muslims and, therefore, are not *true* terrorists¹⁰⁵⁸. The inclusion of the third, 'anti-Islamic groups', in the non-terrorism category of political violence affects a specific category of political violence that is *not* terrorism when carried out against 'Islamic groups'. Whereas the law, broadly speaking, defines terrorism as sub-state political violence *per se*, the will to truth existing in the unspoken body of societal rules in Norway (and other Western societies) of today makes it difficult to conceive of the non-Muslim as a terrorist, or acts of violence committed by non-Muslims as terrorism.

The truth of the Evildoer became evident in the first two hours or so after Breivik's attacks began, when the public sphere on both sides of the Atlantic jumped to what the United Kingdom's *The Guardian* newspaper stated as 'the obvious conclusion': the attacks were being carried out against Norway by 'Islamic radicals'¹⁰⁵⁹. Television news stations, Internet editions of newspapers, and social media pundits began rolling coverage of the attacks, some calling it 'Norway's 9/11'¹⁰⁶⁰. 'Terrorism experts' appeared on all such platforms to

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ibid., 8-9.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁹ *The Guardian* newspaper first published the conclusion in an article by Peter Beaumont headlined 'Oslo bomb suspicion falls on Islamist militants', which appeared on 22 July 2011 as news of the attacks on the island of Utoya were just emerging. Later that afternoon it substituted the article with one headlined 'Norway attacks suggest political motive', also by the same author. See: Peter Beaumont, "Norway attacks suggest political motive," *The Guardian*, July 23, 2011, accessed September 15, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jul/23/norway-attacks-oslo-bombing-youth-camp>. There was no explanation for the removal of the article, nor any notification. The earlier article was simply substituted with the latter. The original article is available in cached form from news monitoring website *Ongo* at: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:K03_nAxCwoYI:www.ongo.com/v/1437250/-1/D9C05D426014974B/oslo-bomb-suspicion-falls-on-islamist-militants+peter+beaumont+guardian+norway+suspicion&cd=10&hl=en&ct=clnk, accessed September 15, 2011.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Brian Flynn and Simon Hughes, "Al Qaeda' Massacre: Norway's 9/11," *The Sun*, July 23, 2011. For a picture of the front page as it appeared on the day, visit: <http://twitpic.com/5u6n2l>, accessed September 28, 2011.

explain the many reasons that existed for 'Islamic terrorists' to hate Norway, ranging from the openness of its society and the degree of Norwegian freedom of expression to the exemplary liberalism of its governance.

What doubly clarified the degree to which terrorism has come to be accepted *only* as acts committed by Evildoers and no other was the rapidity with which Western terrorism discourse abandoned Breivik once details of his identity began to emerge just two hours after he began the attacks. The terrorism experts, who had so freely expounded on their theories of why terrorists would hate Norway enough to attack it, beat a hasty retreat then. Not because they had got the whodunit wrong by a very wide margin, but because Breivik—'tall', 'blonde', 'Nordic looking', 'native Norwegian'—could not be recognised as a coherent element of the present knowledge of terrorism. Even if motivated by politics/religion/ideology a terrorist who is neither Arab nor Muslim by birth or by conversion appears a falsehood in relation to the truth of the terrorist as an Evildoer. This explains the sudden paralysis in Western discourse when confronted by the non-Muslimness of Breivik, as witnessed in the chaotic scramble in the Western public sphere for the right term—Lone wolf? Mass murderer? Psychopath? Madman? Islamophobe? Rightwing Extremist?—to describe Breivik without using the word 'terrorist'. To be considered as belonging within terrorism discourse, the terrorist has to conform to the truth of the Evildoer. Anders Breivik did not. Hence, the struggle with which Western thought was confronted with in conceiving of, speaking about, and acting on Breivik as a terrorist.

The degree of truth that the knowledge of terrorism as committed by Arab/Muslims waging a Holy War against the Western civilisation has attained was also evident from Breivik's actions and in his own justifications for them. His aim, as stated in his own words was to draw Western political attention to the truth he knew today's terrorism to be: a war of conquest and destruction being waged by Jihadists (or Evildoers by their Arab/Muslim name) against the Western civilisation¹⁰⁶¹. Breivik found validation of this truth in the vast

¹⁰⁶¹ Andreas Breivik, "2083: A Declaration of European Independence". Full text accessed September 25, 2011, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/60849766/Anders-Behring-Breivik-Manifesto-2083—A-European-Declaration-of-Independence-By-Andrew-Berwick>.

body of terrorism literature published during the War on Terror—largely accepted as knowledge attained independent of power. In the 1500 page manifesto that Breivik published on the Internet shortly before he embarked on the violence are many carefully cited references to many of the same authors whose works were discussed in *Chapter Five* as making significant contributions to the production of the ‘true’ knowledge of terrorism as Arab/Muslim barbarians waging a Holy War against the Western civilisation. In seeking to change Norwegian government policies, which he interpreted as facilitating the conquest of Europe by Muslim Jihadists, Breivik sought to defend his society from an enemy that threatened not just its norms and values but also its very existence. When the Evildoer is the terrorist, how can anybody who defends civilisation from the Evildoer possibly be a terrorist himself?

Just as the Evildoer cannot exist as a coherent element of true terrorism knowledge without the mechanisms of power that speak of and act upon terrorists as Evildoers, it is difficult to use mechanisms of power against a terrorist who cannot be validated in true discourse as an Evildoer. The type of judgement and punishment that can be legitimately applied to Breivik, or the mechanisms of defence that can be rightfully exercised against him and other non-Muslim perpetrators of political violence, depends on whether or not they conform to the truth of terrorism. By October 2011, Norway had not yet brought a formal indictment against Breivik, but it was widely reported as a possibility that he may be charged with ‘crimes against humanity’ rather than, or in addition to, terrorism¹⁰⁶². Clearly, the status of Breivik as a terrorist is not a given in Norwegian thought.

Similarly, instruments of control that are designed for perpetrators of political violence who are not Evildoers cannot be deemed legitimate—or sufficient—when used in relation to the Evildoer. It is one of the central arguments of this study that the Evildoer is a juridically indiscernible figure who was made possible by, and has made possible, mechanisms of power that exist outside of the limits of sovereign power as delimited by the rule of law. Evidence to support this assertion emerged in how Western societies treated Osama bin

¹⁰⁶² “Police ponder new Andreas Breivik charge,” BBC News, July 26, 2011, accessed July 27, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14288941>.

Laden when he came within the reach of United States military personnel almost ten years after the hunt for him began.

'Bastard in the Sand'¹⁰⁶³: killing Osama, the law, and right

Shortly before midnight on 1 May 2011, in the darkness of what was a moonless night, two American Black Hawk helicopters flew across the Afghan border into Pakistan¹⁰⁶⁴. The aircraft travelled without lights and deliberately off the radar of Pakistani intelligence towards Abbottabad, a town north of the Pakistani capital Islamabad. Inside the helicopter were twenty-three United States Navy SEALs, the most elite and the best-trained killers among American military personnel. Their destination was a residential compound in Abbottabad where Osama bin Laden had been discovered hiding. Their mission was to kill him.

If all went according to plan, the SEALs would drop from the helicopters into the compound, overpower bin Laden's guards, shoot and kill him at close range, and then take the corpse back to Afghanistan¹⁰⁶⁵.

Except for one Black Hawk crashing into the compound, all did go as planned. About two hours after the mission began, a Navy SEAL had the infrared laser of his gun trained on an unarmed Osama bin Laden's chest. 'Nine years, seven months, and twenty days after September 11th, an American was a trigger pull from ending bin Laden's life', as *The New Yorker* magazine described the split

¹⁰⁶³ 'Bastard in the Sand' is the title of a song sung by Canadian comedian Martin Short on popular American television programme the *Late Show with David Letterman* on 16 May 2011 to mark the killing of Osama bin Laden. The song is a parody of the highly popular song 'Candle in the Wind' dedicated to British Princess Diana on her death by British musician Elton John. Martin Short dedicated 'Bastard in the Sand' to Osama bin Laden. As he sang live, his backing group were dressed as Navy SEALs, and pictures of Osama—and illustrations depicting the Devil in popular imagination—appeared on a large screen in the background. To view a recording of the performance, see "Martin Short Sings 'Bastard in the Sand'," YouTube video, 3:03, posted by "skill2u," May 18, 2011, accessed September 10, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G52W0m2EKjY>.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Nicholas Schmidle, "Getting bin Laden: what happened that night in Abbottabad," August 8, 2011, *The New Yorker*, accessed September 10, 2011, http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/08/08/110808fa_fact_schmidle?currentPage=all.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ibid.

second before the first shot was fired at Osama bin Laden¹⁰⁶⁶. The bullet hit him in the chest. As he fell backward, the SEAL fired a second round into his head. Osama bin Laden was dead. ‘For God and country’, relayed the SEAL, ‘E.K.I.A.’ [enemy killed in action]¹⁰⁶⁷. At dawn the following day, the United States military flew bin Laden’s body out to a thousand-foot-long nuclear-powered aircraft carrier sailing off the coast of Pakistan. Here ‘Bin Laden’s body was washed, wrapped in a white burial shroud, weighted, and then slipped inside a bag’—all done ‘in strict conformance with Islamic precepts and practices’—after which his body was thrown from about ‘twenty and twenty-five feet above the waves’ into the open Arabian Sea. Across America people gathered to celebrate¹⁰⁶⁸. President Barack Obama declared: ‘Justice has been done.’¹⁰⁶⁹

Prior to the emergence of the Evildoer it was not possible to speak of as *justice* the process by which one state sends specially trained assassins into the sovereign space of another, with neither permission nor notification, for the sole purpose of killing an individual enemy discovered to be hiding in that state. Nor would it have been possible to present casting out into the sea the dead body of an enemy as the logical conclusion of a long battle for *justice*. The limits of justice as it had been conceived prior to the Evildoer did not involve the assassination of the offender; it involved the rule of law, the judiciary, due process. But judicial power, by its very constitution, is limited to crime—it cannot be legitimately applied to actions beneath or beyond offences defined in law. Evil is not a crime; and Osama bin Laden was the Chief Evildoer. Judging and punishing Evildoers, especially Osama bin Laden, could be nothing but extrajudicial because the limits of modern sovereign power did not stretch far enough to accommodate evil. Osama bin Laden’s killing, like the treatment of prisoners taken into United States custody in the War on Terror, is evidence not of illegal behaviour by the United States, but the demonstration of an additional authority sovereign power has (re)assumed with the emergence of the Evildoer:

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Time*, “Celebrating the death of Osama bin Laden,” accessed October 12, 2011, <http://www.time.com/time/photogallery/0,29307,2068860,00.html>.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Barack Obama, “Address to the Nation,” The White House, May 2, 2011, accessed August 15, 2011, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2011/05/02/osama-bin-laden-dead>.

the right to punish sin and transgression. In American terrorism discourse Osama bin Laden and evil had a symbiotic relationship, as evident from the many references former President George Bush made to Osama the Evil One.

It was also a view often expressed in general public discourse. Influential British/American commentator Christopher Hitchens wrote, for example, that ‘Osama bin Laden was a near-flawless personification of the mentality of a real force: the force of Islamic jihad [...] this force absolutely deserves to be called evil’.¹⁰⁷⁰ The United States had never intended to punish Osama bin Laden as a terrorist—the ‘justice’ it spoke of bringing him to was always going to be death and not due process. Speaking a month before he was elected, President Obama promised: ‘We will kill bin Laden. We will crush Al Qaeda. That has to be our biggest national security priority’¹⁰⁷¹. When asked if President Barack Obama had done a good job in killing Osama, former United States Secretary of Defence, Donald Rumsfeld, replied: ‘Oh, my goodness. Yes, of course, how can you ask a question like that? Did you want him to *live*?’¹⁰⁷² In an interview broadcast on American news network *CNN* on the tenth anniversary of the 11 September 2001 attacks, both Rumsfeld and interviewer, Fareed Zakaria, were clear that the United States only had two choices in bringing Osama bin Laden to justice: kill him using drones, or kill him using SEALs, ‘those enormously competent, brilliantly trained and brilliantly equipped people’¹⁰⁷³. Sending the SEALs in was ‘the correct choice’, Rumsfeld said. ‘I think he [President Obama] did the right thing. They thought about it. They discussed it. They made the right decision. And the world is a better place because—’¹⁰⁷⁴ of it. The justice that was meted out to Osama bin Laden was not a justice based on the rule of law, it was based on *right*. Killing the Evildoer was the *right* thing to do; it did not have to be legal. Evil was beyond law, so was the right to punish it.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Christopher Hitchens, *The Enemy* (Amazon: 2011).

¹⁰⁷¹ Barack Obama, quoted in Kelli Arena, “Obama administration to ratchet up hunt for bin Laden,” *CNN*, November 12, 2008, accessed October 15, 2011, http://articles.cnn.com/2008-11-12/politics/binladen.hunt_1_tora-bora-bin-intelligence-officials?_s=PM:POLITICS.

¹⁰⁷² Donald Rumsfeld, “Interview with Donald Rumsfeld, Fareed Zakaria GPS,” *CNN*, September 11, 2011. Full transcript can be viewed at: <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1109/11/fzgps.01.html>, accessed August 14, 2011.

¹⁰⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Ibid.* The interview ended before Rumsfeld could finish his sentence.

When the news of Osama's death was announced, there was jubilation across the cities and towns of the United States¹⁰⁷⁵. Once the raucous celebrating ended, the celebratory gunfire ceased, and the Stars and Stripes were put away for another occasion, the question that American society asked itself was not simply: was it right to celebrate the death of another in such a manner? Rather, the question was: was it right to celebrate the death of an other, 'even as evil as Osama bin Laden', in such a manner? The wide acceptance of Osama bin Laden's death as justified, even if not wholly *just*, was not confined merely to American discourse. The Western world universally saluted the killing of Osama¹⁰⁷⁶ and, also almost universally, failed to condemn it. Evidently, although blatantly illegal, Western thought widely accepted the killing of Osama as *right*. This perception emanates from, and is validated by, the truth of terrorism, which is itself established by the same mechanisms of power that made the knowledge possible in the first place.

In the decision to disregard international law and liberal values as insufficient for punishing Osama bin Laden, for instance, was confirmation that terrorists exist beyond the realm of crime, in the domain of evil; in the casting out of his body into the sea was confirmation of his existence as a figure unworthy of being on the same territory as civilised human beings; in the announcement that Saudi Arabia did not want Osama bin Laden's body back was the confirmation of bin Laden's status as an outcast; and in the carefully orchestrated and well publicised administering of 'Muslim burial rites' before dumping him into the (Arabian) sea was confirmed both his *Muslimness* and the respect that the civilised nation of the United States accorded even a creature such as Osama bin Laden, the worst of 'the worst of the worst'. In these confirmations are validated the knowledge of the Evildoer, the same knowledge which is said to have made the mechanisms *necessary* in the first

¹⁰⁷⁵ Rachel Quigley et. al, "Together as one: Americans around the world gather to celebrate the death of Osama bin Laden," *Mail Online*, May 3, 2011, accessed September 15, 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1382652/Osama-Bin-Laden-dead-Pictures-USA-celebrating-death-Al-Qaeda-leader.html>.

¹⁰⁷⁶ "Osama bin Laden's death political reaction in quotes," BBC News, May 3, 2011, accessed September 15, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-13256956>.

place. With such power/knowledge relations at play the Evildoer cannot but be *true* and the actions, grounded in this truth, cannot but be *right*.

This truth about terrorism can, however, remain true only 'on the basis of political conditions that are the very ground on which the subject, the domains of knowledge, and the relations with truth are formed.'¹⁰⁷⁷ Truth, as is asserted in this study, is not an immutable abstract, and what is accepted as the *only* way of knowing terrorism now would not necessarily possess the same, if any, cognitive authority under temporally (and/or spatially) different socio-political conditions. This also means that the truth about terrorism can change *only* with changes in the socio-political conditions that both constitute and validate the truth about terrorism. Simply saying *or* doing something differently and calling it terrorism, or simply refusing to use the term evil to describe terrorism, cannot by themselves result in the exclusion of the Evildoer from terrorism discourse, or of terrorism from the discourse of the Evildoer, for that matter. Such attempts can be seen in the failed efforts to label acts such as the exposé by Wikileaks of a huge cache of United States diplomatic secrets as terrorism¹⁰⁷⁸, and the conscious rejection by senior officials of some Western governments of the concept of the War on Terror¹⁰⁷⁹. The gap that exists between what is said

¹⁰⁷⁷ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential works of Michel Foucault*, ed. James D. Faubion, vol. 3, 1954-1984 (London: Penguin Books), 15.

¹⁰⁷⁸ On 29 November 2010, Wikileaks, an Internet organisation that provides a secure forum for whistleblowers from governments and large corporations to publish their information, published a cache containing over 200,000 secret cables exchanged between United States diplomats and the State Department. With the publication of the cache, which Wikileaks did in conjunction with several Western newspapers, various US government officials as well as members of the public demanded that Wikileaks be declared a terrorist organisation. *Fox News*, one of the most popular sources of news in the United States, for example, asked its audience for an answer to the question: "Is Wikileaks a terrorist organisation?" Almost 65 percent chose the answer – "Yes – clearly their intention is to damage the United States of America". See *Fox News*, "Do you think Wikileaks is a terrorist organisation?," November 29, 2010, accessed November 30, 2010, <http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2010/11/29/think-wikileaks-terrorist-organization>. A total of 66,859 people participated in the poll.

¹⁰⁷⁹ David Milliband, "'War on terror' was wrong," *The Guardian*, January 15, 2009, accessed August 14, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/jan/15/david-miliband-war-terror>.

and what is done, however, ensures that the Evildoer remains the true knowledge of terrorism.

It is entirely possible, of course, that the discursive formation of the Evildoer can subsume within itself the discourse of terrorism to become a figure that is no longer a terrorist-Evildoer, but an Evildoer proper—as a truth that can exist independent of, or in place of, the figure of the terrorist. This possibility is glimpsed in the increasing frequency with which enunciative authorities within the discourse of terrorism derisively dismiss as ‘political correctness’ any practices that do seek to separate terrorism from the Evildoer and, therefore, from the Arab/Muslim barbarian and Islam. This is a process that seeks to exclude as a delusion, a folly, the proposition that terrorists are not necessarily Evildoers, or that Evildoer-terrorists are not necessarily Arab/Muslim barbarians waging a Holy War against the Western civilisation. It is also one that, at the same time, separates the Evildoer from terrorism—violence committed in the pursuit of a political/religious/ideological goal—by individuals or groups other than Muslims. It constitutes for the Evildoer an identity that is focused simply on his Muslimness, an ‘Islamic radical’ who is a dangerous enemy whether or not he had committed, or even threatened, an act of violence in the pursuit of his goals. Simply being an Islamic radical, in such conditions, is enough to be the Evildoer.

Donald Rumsfeld, speaking in the same interview with *CNN* referred to above, said one thing he would have done differently in the War on Terror would have been to call it by its name: a battle of ideas with ‘Radical Islam and Islamists’.

We’ve put a lot of pressure on terrorist networks. But for whatever reason, Americans are very reluctant to talk about radical Islam and Islamists. We don’t want to be seen as against a religion.

And so the Bush Administration didn’t do a good job. We were careful and words were always sensitive. And we never—you can’t win a battle of ideas, a competition of ideas unless you describe the enemy, say who it is, say what’s wrong with it, say what we do, and say why that’s right. We did that in the Cold War, and we defeated Communism. And we were tongue-tied over this.

And the Obama Administration is much worse—they won't even use the word¹⁰⁸⁰.

The *truth* about the Evildoer is clear in this discourse: they are Islamic radicals. Not simply terrorists. Only some of liberalism's more extreme and mistaken values—such as 'political correctness'—prevent this truth being properly spoken about, known, and acted upon. 'Political correctness', in this case the reluctance to wholeheartedly accept that the terrorist is always and necessarily an Arab/Muslim barbarian, is the falsehood on the basis of which the truth of the Evildoer is established. The proposition that political correctness is obfuscating the truth about what the present conflict *really* is—a war of ideologies with radical Islamists who want to conquer or destroy the Western civilisation—is not a fanciful notion or merely a discursive tactic. Anders Breivik, too, pointed to 'political correctness' as the main reason why Europe has been unable to name, speak about, and therefore properly confront the real enemy: Arab/Muslim barbarians who are waging a Holy War against the West. Coercing the Norwegian government into abandoning this 'political correctness' was one of Breivik's main motivations for the violence he perpetrated on 22 July 2011. Such an understanding of the new enemy of the twenty-first century does not require the Evildoer to be an object of terrorism discourse—the Arab/Muslim barbarian who is fanatical in his belief in Islam and in his hatred of liberal freedoms out to destroy the Western civilisation can exist here as its own discourse, a new 'new' enemy who does not have to be a terrorist. Whether terrorism will be subsumed in the discourse of the Evildoer, replaces it, or is replaced by it, depends on chance, and how the orders of discourse change along with the socio-political conditions that govern the truths of the present epoch.

Whether the Evildoer will survive future transformations in the orders of terrorism discourse is not, however, the matter of most consequence. What is more important is the present and future survival of the new mechanisms of

¹⁰⁸⁰ Donald Rumsfeld, "Interview with Donald Rumsfeld, Fareed Zakaria GPS," CNN, September 11, 2011. Full transcript can be viewed at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/jan/15/david-miliband-war-terror>, accessed August 14, 2011.

power and discipline that arose round the figure of the Evildoer and the untold dangers that he is said to represent.

Punishing evil: normalising new powers

The (re)assumption by sovereign power of the authority to punish sin and transgression represents a significant reconfiguration of how power is exercised in modern Western societies. Not since the Devil's politico-religious domination of Western societies ended with the separation of divinity and monarchy has sovereign power been able to reach so far beyond the limits that constitute the system of rule of law on which it is based. The exercise of this power is evident in the 'new' mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion introduced as necessary for defending civilisation from the Evildoer that were discussed in the final two chapters of this study. These mechanisms of power, validated not by law but by *right*, are increasingly becoming the norm as they are colonised and absorbed into the entire state system. Consider again the various 'new' mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion discussed in the preceding chapters that were implemented in response to the 'new' threats arising from the Evildoer: invading the sovereign space of others to hunt for Evildoers; the indefinite detention and torture of suspected Evildoers in Guantánamo Bay; and surveillance and monitoring of Dangerous Muslims within Western societies.

The norm of extrajudicial military invasion and assassination

First, take the military invasions of Afghanistan in 2001 and that of Iraq in 2003. The decisions to invade both countries were contentious and controversial. The latter triggered the biggest anti-war demonstrations in Western history. Over a million people are said to have marched in London alone, demanding that plans for the invasion be halted not just because it was illegal but because it was also perceived to be *wrong*. About a decade later, invading the sovereign space of other countries is now a commonplace activity for the United States Army. Investigative research has shown that the United States are conducting covert military operations in 120 countries¹⁰⁸¹. So routine, even mundane, have become

¹⁰⁸¹ Nick Turse, "The secret war in 120 countries," *The Nation*, August 4, 2011, accessed August 5, 2011, <http://www.thenation.com/article/162566/secret-war-120-countries?page=0,0>.

'evening raids' of the sort carried out in Pakistan to kill Osama bin Laden that a United States Defence Department official likened it to 'mowing the lawn.'¹⁰⁸²

Reports of drone attacks being carried out in countries such as Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia is now part of the regular global news cycle, and provokes little reaction from the wider public let alone the type of dissent surrounding the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. And, with the widespread accolade and salutations that greeted the extra-judicial killing of Osama bin Laden, the practice of sending 'kill teams' in to 'take-out' suspected terrorists in foreign countries, too, is beginning to appear little out of the ordinary. Just four months after Osama bin Laden's killing, the United States assassinated another 'Al-Qaeda leader', Anwar Al-Awlaki, and Samir Khan on 30 September 2011 in Yemen¹⁰⁸³. Al-Awlaki was commonly described as the 'bin Laden of the Internet', and Khan was the editor of the English language 'sophisticated terrorism online magazine' *Inspire*. Both men were killed by missiles—called Hellfire—sent in their direction by an unmanned American drone operated by the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) from 'a new base somewhere in the Arabian peninsula.'¹⁰⁸⁴ United States President Barack Obama described Al-Awlaki as 'a key al-Qaeda operative' behind a number of failed terror attacks in the United States and hailed the killing as 'another milestone in the broader effort to defeat Al Qaeda and its affiliates.'¹⁰⁸⁵ Both men were American citizens, and neither had been tried for, let alone indicted, for a crime. The Fifth Amendment to the American Constitution states that no person shall be deprived of life without due process of law. Yet, the killings were widely

¹⁰⁸² Attributed to an unnamed 'senior Defense Department official' in Nicholas Schmidle, *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁸³ "Islamist cleric Anwar al-Awlaki killed in Yemen," BBC News, September 30, 2011, accessed September 30, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15121879>.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Paul Harris, "How US tracked Anwar al-Awlaki to his death in Yemen," *The Observer*, October 1, 2011, accessed October 17, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/01/yemen-drone-killing-ibrahim-al-asiriri?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487>.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Mark Landler, "Obama hailed after Awlaki killing, but for how long?," *The New York Times*, September 30, 2011, accessed October 1, 2011, <http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/09/30/obama-hailed-after-al-awlaki-killing-but-for-how-long>.

praised by American political leaders¹⁰⁸⁶, and proved controversial only within the 'US legal left'¹⁰⁸⁷, some liberal media¹⁰⁸⁸, specific civil liberties organisations and among some vocal critics of United States foreign policy such as Noam Chomsky¹⁰⁸⁹ who, as discussed earlier in the study, is excluded from 'serious' terrorism discourse.

In European societies, 'with a few notable exceptions'¹⁰⁹⁰, the tactic went 'largely without discussion in popular or academic legal community.'¹⁰⁹¹ Recall the secret memoranda, discussed in *Chapter Six*, written by President Bush's legal advisors that 'justified' the extra-legal detention and torture of Enemy Combatants at Guantánamo Bay. Shortly after the killing of Al-Awlaki and Khan, it emerged that the same mechanism—a secret 'legal memo'—formed the

¹⁰⁸⁶ *Fox News*, "Washington Praises Killing of al-Awlaki," September 30, 2011, accessed October 15, 2011, <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2011/09/30/washington-praises-killing-al-awlaki>; See also: "Dick, Liz Cheney praise Anwar Al-Awlaki killing, say Obama owes Bush Administration an apology," Huffington Post, October 2, 2011, accessed October 15, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/10/02/dick-liz-cheney-obama-awlaki-apology_n_991062.html.

¹⁰⁸⁷ For a critique of the killings and their implications for American rule of law, written by Georgetown Law Centre Professor David Cole, see: David Cole, "Killing citizens in secret," *The New York Review of Books*, October 9, 2011, accessed October 16, 2011, <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2011/oct/09/killing-citizens-secret>. Among the Republican candidates running for the United States President in 2012 all but one candidate praised President Obama's decision to assassinate Al-Awlaki and Khan. Only Ron Paul was critical. See: Rachel Streitfeld, "Paul criticises Obama on al-Awlaki killing," CNN, September 30, 2011, accessed October 15, 2011, <http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2011/09/30/paul-criticizes-obama-on-al-awlaki-killing>.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Amy Davidson, "Question about killing Awlaki," *The New Yorker*, September 30, 2011, accessed October 15 2011, <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/cloread/2011/09/questions-about-killing-anwar-al-awlaki.html>.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Cian Murphy, "Chomsky takes Obama to task," *The Guardian*, October 13, 2011, accessed October 16, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/law/2011/oct/13/noam-chomsky-extradition?INTCMP=SRCH>.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Michael Ratner, "Anwar al-Awlaki's extrajudicial murder," *The Guardian*, September 30, 2011, accessed October 1, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cifamerica/2011/sep/30/anwar-awlaki-extrajudicial-murder>.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Ibid.*

basis on which President Barack Obama could ‘legitimately’ order the killing of American citizens without due process¹⁰⁹². The fifty-page memorandum, issued in January 2010, argued that ‘killing Awlaki was justified because America was involved in a state of war with Islamic radicals’, meaning that ‘militants like Awlaki are effectively high level enemy soldiers who represent a real threat to US forces and so can be killed legally.’¹⁰⁹³ The ‘legal grounds’ for indefinite detention in Guantánamo Bay was that the ‘Detainees’ were soldiers engaged in a Holy War against the Western civilisation, and thus were not entitled to the rights afforded to ‘normal’ Prisoners of War. The ‘legal grounds’ for killing Al-Awlaki and Khan was that they were soldiers in a Holy War against the Western civilisation, and thus were not entitled to the rights offered to ‘normal’ citizens of the United States. Clearly, the Evildoer—whether an American citizen or not—is widely accepted to be an *abnormal* individual outside the laws and norms of civilisation.

Although confined only to certain circles, the controversy surrounding the killing of the two American citizens has—perhaps unintentionally—strengthened the case *for* the extrajudicial killings of non-American Evildoers. As the debate was centred around the rightness or wrongness of killing American citizens in such a manner, the epistemic space was created in which the assumption could take hold that if the Evildoers were non-American, like Osama bin Laden, it was legitimate to assassinate them without due process. An *Agence France Presse* article widely published in news media across the world begins:

¹⁰⁹² Peter Finn, “Secret U.S. memo sanctioned killing of Aulqi,” *The Washington Post*, September 30, 2011, accessed October 15, 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/aulqi-killing-reignites-debate-on-limits-of-executive-power/2011/09/30/gIOAx1bUAL_story.html.

¹⁰⁹³ Paul Harris, “How US tracked Anwar al-Awlaki to his death in Yemen,” *The Observer*, October 1, 2011, accessed October 17, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/01/yemen-drone-killing-ibrahim-al-asiriri?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487>.

The killing of US-born al-Qaeda cleric Anwar al-Awlaki has rekindled the debate over how far Washington can go in hunting down and assassinating alleged terror suspects *who are American citizens* [emphasis added]¹⁰⁹⁴.

Barely two weeks after the killing of Al-Awlaki and Khan, for example, the United States killed another 'Al-Qaeda operative'. Yet again the method was airstrikes, again in Yemen, and the main target was 'the media chief for al-Qaida's Yemeni branch', Egyptian Ibrahim al-Bana and 'six other militants'¹⁰⁹⁵. This time there was no talk of extrajudicial killing in the Western public sphere, nor was there any explanation or attempts of justification put forward by United States officials. The targeted assassination of Evildoers no longer appears much of an exception, and is fast becoming widely accepted as the norm.

The norm of torture and extra-judicial detention

Now consider the second major 'new' mechanisms introduced to deal with the 'new' Evildoer—indefinite detention and torture of the enemy in geographical locations that exist outside of the reach of United States national and international laws. When evidence emerged of the torture and the denial of due process and rights to which the prisoners in Guàntanamo Bay (and other detention facilities set up by the United States) there was international outrage and condemnation. One of the first official actions taken by the newly sworn in President Barack Obama was to order the closure of the prisons especially set up for the Evildoers in Guàntanamo Bay¹⁰⁹⁶.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Agence France-Presse (AFP), "Awlaki killing reignites US debate on rights," *Al Arabiya News*, September 30, 2011, accessed October 14, 2011, <http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/09/30/169507.html>. The article also appeared in a vast array of newspapers and Internet platforms located in Western and other countries.

¹⁰⁹⁵ "Al-Qaida's Yemen media chief dies in US drone attack," *The Guardian*, October 15, 2011, accessed October 15, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/15/al-qaida-yemen-media-chief-killed?INTCMP=SRCH>.

¹⁰⁹⁶ "Obama orders Guàntanamo Bay closed", BBC News, January 22, 2009, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7845585.stm>.

Three years later, not only does Guantánamo Bay remain open, but the practice of imprisoning suspected Evildoers in detention facilities where the law cannot reach continue at new locations in countries such as Afghanistan¹⁰⁹⁷ where milder versions of the ‘enhanced interrogation techniques’ continue to be applied to the ‘detainees’. The mechanism is also expanding in ever more ingenious ways—such as holding suspected terrorist-Evildoers on no land at all—that is, detaining them without charge at sea. A significant example is the detention of Ahmed Abdulkadir Warsame, a Somali man the United States has charged with nine counts related to supporting Somali organisation Al Shabab, a designated terrorist group, and also Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula in Yemen.¹⁰⁹⁸ Prior to charging him, the United States held Warsame in the brig of the *U.S.S Boxer*, a big-deck amphibious assault ship for at least two months.¹⁰⁹⁹ His detention, according to senior officials in the Obama administration, ‘was justified by the laws of war’ but the officials declined to say:

whether their theory was that the Shabab are covered by Congress’s authorisation to use military force against the perpetrators of Sept.11, 2001 attacks; whether the detention was justified by his interactions with Al Qaeda’s Yemen branch; or *something else* [own emphasis]¹¹⁰⁰.

Another aspect to consider in the retention and expansion of mechanisms developed specifically for Evildoers is that they can now legitimately be applied to not just those who *do* terrorism but also those who *speak* it. Al-Awlaki was

¹⁰⁹⁷ Kimberly Dozier, “Terror suspects held weeks in secret,” *Marine Corps Times*, April 8, 2011, accessed August 12, 2011, <http://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/2011/04/ap-secret-detention-040811>.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Charlie Savage and Eric Schmitt, “U.S. to prosecute a Somali suspect in civilian court,” *The New York Times*, July 5, 2011, accessed August 12, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/06/world/africa/06detain.html?_r=1&partner=rss&emc=rss. The indictment can be viewed in full here: http://graphics8.nytimes.com/packages/pdf/world/Warsame_Indictment.pdf?ref=africa.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Spencer Ackerman, “Drift: how this ship became a floating Gitmo,” *Wired*, July 6, 2011, accessed August 12, 2011, <http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2011/07/floating-gitmo/#more-50999>.

¹¹⁰⁰ Charlie Savage and Eric Schmitt, “U.S. to prosecute a Somali suspect in civilian court,” *The New York Times*, July 5, 2011, accessed August 12, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/06/world/africa/06detain.html?_r=1&partner=rss&emc=rss.

regarded as a top target, and put on America's Most Wanted list of terrorists not only because he allegedly directed various failed terror plots against the United States, but also because his 'incendiary' sermons shared on various Internet platforms made him 'a significant terrorist inspiration.'¹¹⁰¹ Samir Khan who was killed in the same strike as al-Awlaki was a legitimate target because he was the editor of *Inspire*, an Internet magazine that publishes Al-Qaeda's 'evil ideology'. Egyptian Ibrahim al-Bana, killed in Yemen in October was a similarly legitimate target because he was 'Al-Qaeda's Yemen media chief.'¹¹⁰² Killing those who speak Al-Qaeda's 'evil ideology' is an expansion of mechanisms of control that were first developed for the purpose of controlling the Dangerous Muslim *within* Western societies from realising his potential as an Evildoer. These mechanisms now take in Dangerous Muslims *outside* of Western societies where they are put under surveillance and watched—not for the purposes of inclusion and normalisation as was the initial purpose, but to confirm they are Evildoers before or *after* killing them.

Know thy enemy, to kill him right

Mechanisms of surveillance against Dangerous Muslims, introduced in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in Europe were adopted by the United States to work in tandem with their mechanisms of exclusion. In October 2007, for instance, the United States House of Representatives passed the 'Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism Prevention Act of 2007' (H.R. 1955). The Act defines 'violent radicalisation' as 'the process of adopting or promoting an extremist belief system for the purpose of facilitating ideologically based violence to advance political, religious, or social change'¹¹⁰³. The definition

¹¹⁰¹ Paul Harris, "How US tracked Anwar al-Awlaki to his death in Yemen," *The Observer*, October 1, 2011, accessed October 17, 2011,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/01/yemen-drone-killing-ibrahim-al-asiriri?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487>.

¹¹⁰² "Al-Qaida's Yemen media chief dies in US drone attack," *The Guardian*, October 15, 2011, accessed October 15, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/15/al-qaida-yemen-media-chief-killed?INTCMP=SRCH>.

¹¹⁰³ Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism Prevention Act of 2007, S.1959/H.R. 1955, 110th Cong. (2007), GovTrack, accessed August 21, 2010, <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/billtext.xpd?bill=h110-1955>.

includes not just the promotion of ‘an extremist belief system’ but also its *adoption*. The Act, provides for the appointment of experts from ‘behavioural science, constitutional law, corrections, counterterrorism, cultural anthropology, education, information technology, intelligence, juvenile justice, local law enforcement, organized crime, Islam and other world religions, sociology, or terrorism’¹¹⁰⁴ to research, study, analyse and *know* the potential homegrown ‘terrorist’ in their midst. A university-based ‘Centre of Excellence for the Study of Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism in the United States’ would also be established under the Act to conduct social scientific research on those adopting or likely to adopt the process of violent radicalisation.¹¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, evidence is emerging that these mechanisms of surveillance are now being formally adopted by the United States as a legitimate war strategy. One striking example is Project Lawrence run by the Special Operations Command of the United States Army to ‘infuse its ranks with cultural and language specialists’ who are ‘inspired by the British officer T.E. Lawrence.’¹¹⁰⁶ As Edward Said argued, T.E. Lawrence, or Lawrence of Arabia is one of the most prominent figures in the ‘intellectual genealogy of Orientalism’ which has long informed Western conceptions of Arab/Muslims¹¹⁰⁷ and, which this study argues, has contributed to the construction of the Evildoer. Admiral Eric Olson, Special Operations Commander explained that he was seeking ‘the next Lawrence of Pakistan, Lawrence of Afghanistan, Lawrence of Mali or Lawrence

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁶ National Defence Industrial Association, “Wanted: more ‘Lawrences of Afghanistan’ and female Special Operators,” National Defence Industrial Association, February 8, 2011, accessed August 10, 2011, <http://www.nationaldefensemagazine.org/blog/Lists/Posts/Post.aspx?ID=304>.

¹¹⁰⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1978), 99.

of Indonesia¹¹⁰⁸ or ‘Lawrences of Wherever’ to be deployed in over fifty ‘high priority’ countries in the war against terrorism.¹¹⁰⁹

As part of the project, the Special Operations Command aims to ‘deploy teams of female “cultural support teams” in order to gain better insight into local populations’¹¹¹⁰ of the countries which are seen as containing large populations of Dangerous Muslims. Women are being sought because they ‘have access to the fifty percent of the population that male special operators cannot reach’, ensuring there is infiltration of the entire populations of these countries.¹¹¹¹ Preferably the Lawrences would be natives of Wherever-the-United-States-is Waging-War, recruited from among students and professionals living in the United States with temporary permits. The Lawrences’ ultimate reward for spying on their own people is a Green Card—the permission to become a citizen of the United States¹¹¹². It is the end-goal of the deployment of Lawrences that is the most fascinating: they will gain ‘better understanding’ of the targeted population so that the Army can *know* what it is doing in these places—‘shooting, moving and communicating’—is ‘*right*’¹¹¹³ [own emphasis]. In other words, infiltrate populations by covert means, send out spies into the communities and gather the knowledge that the United States requires to validate its actions as legitimate. According to Admiral Olson, since 11 September 2001, the Special Operations Command had made great strides in the realms of ‘shooting, moving, communicating’, increasing its abilities to ‘change targets on the way to an objective, the ability to sort out who is good

¹¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁹ National Defence Industrial Association, Special Operations/Low-intensity Conflict Division News 22, no. 2, April 2011, accessed August 10, 2011, [http://www.ndia.org/Divisions/Divisions/SOLIC/Documents/April 2011 Newsletter.pdf](http://www.ndia.org/Divisions/Divisions/SOLIC/Documents/April%202011%20Newsletter.pdf).

¹¹¹⁰ Stew Magnuson, “Wanted: more ‘Lawrences of Afghanistan’ and female Special Operators,” *National Defence*, February 8, 2011, accessed August 10, 2011, <http://www.nationaldefensemagazine.org/blog/Lists/Posts/Post.aspx?ID=304>.

¹¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹¹² United States Senate, “Hearing to receive testimony on U.S. Special Operations command in review of the defense authorisation request for fiscal year 2010 and the future years defense program,” United States Senate Subcommittee on Emerging Threats and Capabilities, Committee on Armed Services, June 18, 2009, transcript accessed August 12, 2011, <http://armed-services.senate.gov/Transcripts/2009/06%20June/09-48%20-%2006-18-09.pdf>.

¹¹¹³ Ibid.

and who is bad'. Now the command must concentrate on 'understanding' which 'must follow the shooting, the moving and communicating.' In Admiral Olson's words: 'You can shoot, you can move, you can network the battlefield, but how do you then know what you are doing is *right*?'¹¹¹⁴

Spectacle of the scaffold returns?

Libyan rebels on the ground and NATO forces in the air killed the country's former ruler of forty years, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, on 20 October 2011. The rebels had found the former leader hiding in a drain in the ground after NATO had bombed the convoy in which he was travelling¹¹¹⁵. Both sides vied to claim credit for the killing. Later it emerged that the rebels may have killed Gaddafi in cold blood¹¹¹⁶. When questions were raised by the international community about the legality of the killing, rebel leader Moustafa Zoubi, replied: 'Did anyone complain when the Americans shot Osama [bin Laden] in the head?'¹¹¹⁷ The rebels filmed Gaddafi's last moments, although the exact moment of execution was not available for viewing. Still, there was plenty of footage to play on television and computer screens across the world¹¹¹⁸. Newspapers across the world from Europe to Australia, Asia and the Middle East to the United States, carried pictures of Gaddafi, blood on his face and body, dead or dying¹¹¹⁹. Victorious Libyan rebels put his body on public display

¹¹¹⁴ Admiral Olson, quoted in Ibid.

¹¹¹⁵ Adam Gabbatt, "Gaddafi killed as Sirte falls – blog," *The Guardian*, October 20, 2011, accessed October 20, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/middle-east-live/2011/oct/20/gaddafi-killed-sirte-falls-live>.

¹¹¹⁶ "Does new video provide clues as to who killed Gaddafi?," BBC News, October 23, 2011, accessed October 23, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-15421772>.

¹¹¹⁷ Martin Chulov, "Gaddafi's corpse continues to attract impatient hordes," *The Guardian*, October 23, 2011, accessed October 23, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/23/gaddafi-corpse-attracts-misrata-hordes>.

¹¹¹⁸ Peter Beaumont and Chris Stephen, "Gaddafi's last words as he begged for mercy: 'What did I do to you?'," *The Observer*, October 23, 2011, accessed October 23, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/23/gaddafi-last-words-begged-mercy>.

¹¹¹⁹ "Gaddafi dead: the front pages – in pictures," *The Guardian*, October 21, 2011, accessed October 23, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/gallery/2011/oct/21/gaddafi-dead-front-pages/#/?picture=380756204&index=0>.

in a meat freezer for days¹¹²⁰ while they contemplated how to dispose of it¹¹²¹. As the body, 'stripped down to the waist and wearing beige trousers, [lay] on a bloody mattress on the floor of a room-sized freezer where restaurants keep perishables', Libyan people posed near it with their loved ones for pictures and videos¹¹²².

Hundreds of ordinary Libyans queued up outside [...] where the dead dictator was being stored as a trophy. A guard allowed small groups into the room to celebrate next to Gaddafi's body. They posed for photos, flashing victory signs, and burst into jubilant cries of "God is great".¹¹²³

This public spectacle of torture and punishment is another mechanism of power that appears to be returning with the Evildoer and the re-assumption by sovereign power of the right to punish sin. As discussed in *Chapter Six*, the use of torture was seen as right, even if not legal, when applied to the Evildoers. United States military personnel took trophy pictures of the torture, degradation and death of several prisoners taken in the War on Terror, which were later made widely available to the public on the Internet¹¹²⁴. When Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi leader who was sentenced to death was hung on 30 December 2006, videos of the execution were broadcast on Iraqi national

¹¹²⁰ Andrei Netto, Ian Black, and Luke Harding, "Muammar Gaddafi's 'trophy' on show in Misrata meat store," *The Guardian*, October 22, 2011, accessed October 23, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/21/muammar-gaddafi-body-misrata-meat-store?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487>.

¹¹²¹ Peter Walker, "What will happen to Gaddafi's body?," *The Guardian*, October 21, 2011, accessed October 23, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/21/what-will-happen-gaddafi-body?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487>.

¹¹²² Martin Chulov, "Gaddafi's corpse continues to attract impatient hordes," *The Guardian*, October 23, 2011, accessed October 23, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/23/gaddafi-corpse-attracts-misrata-hordes>.

¹¹²³ Andrei Netto, Ian Black, and Luke Harding, "Muammar Gaddafi's 'trophy' on show in Misrata meat store," *The Guardian*, October 22, 2011, accessed October 23, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/21/muammar-gaddafi-body-misrata-meat-store?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487>.

¹¹²⁴ A large cache of such pictures can be viewed from the Internet news website, *Salon*, archived under "The Abu Ghraib Files," February 16, 2006, accessed June 8, 2010, http://www.salon.com/news/feature/2006/02/16/abu_ghraib/print.html.

television¹¹²⁵. While the official video stopped short of showing the precise moment of his death, an amateur video was broadcast around the world on the same day, which included not just the sight of his death but also the sound of his neck snapping, as he was hanged.¹¹²⁶

After killing Osama bin Laden, President Barack Obama said releasing 'very graphic photos of somebody who was shot in the head' might be 'an incitement to additional violence' or 'a propaganda tool'¹¹²⁷. The decision not to release the photos was not unanimous. Before President Obama announced the decision, then head of the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) Leon Panetta promised their public display: 'We got Bin Laden and I think we have to reveal to the rest of the world the fact that we were able to get him and kill him.'¹¹²⁸ To make up for the public's disappointment in not being able to feast their eyes on Osama's lifeless form, the Pentagon released 'home videos' of Osama engaged in mundane tasks, such as watching himself on television¹¹²⁹. The videos were released without a sound, extending the exclusion of his words, a predominant practise in Western discourse as discussed in *Chapter Five*, well beyond death¹¹³⁰. He was ridiculed posthumously, first by a lie released by the White House, claiming he hid behind his wife to save his life, and next by the news released by United States officials of a 'surprising' discovery of 'a huge stash of pornography' under his bed. 'This is one of those discoveries that stunned everyone. In fact, it was *so* stunning that officials are worried that some people

¹¹²⁵ "Saddam Hussein executed in Iraq," BBC News, December 30, 2006, accessed October 23, 2011, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6218485.stm.

¹¹²⁶ LiveLeak, "Full Saddam execution video leaked from cellphone," December 30, 2006, accessed October 23, 2011, <http://www.liveleak.com/view?i=863ce7d4a3>.

¹¹²⁷ Barack Obama, "60 Minutes," YouTube video, 1:00, from CBS News on May 8, 2011, posted by "CBS," May 8, 2011, accessed October 23, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CwHfL1NdlqY&NR=1>.

¹¹²⁸ Jake Pearson, Lukas I. Alpert, and Bill Hutchinson, "Osama Bin Laden photos will be released, says CIA boss as White House weighs 'gruesome reveal,'" *New York Daily News*, May 3, 2011, accessed October 23, 2011, http://articles.nydailynews.com/2011-05-03/news/29523708_1_cia-boss-death-photos-osama-bin-laden-death.

¹¹²⁹ "Osama bin Laden: Pentagon releases home videos," BBC News, May 7, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-13323060>.

¹¹³⁰ "Osama bin Laden videos," BBC News, May 7, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-13323849>.

won't believe it,' an ABC News report said. 'The US did not want to *officially* release the news feeling that there would be suspicions it was planted. It was *not*, says the official.'¹¹³¹ In the absence of a dead body, people in Abbotabad flocked to view the compound in which Osama was killed. In what was described as 'a carnival atmosphere',

The curious of all ages milled about in front of the high walled compound, which was still sealed under police guard. An elderly man sold savoury snacks. Young children skipped between Western camera crews. One boy clutching a basketball just stared at the house.¹¹³²

Making a public spectacle of torture and punishment is not new, nor was it always illegal. In fact, prior to the separation of religion and political power, it was seen as 'the poetry of Dante written into laws.'¹¹³³ In the public torture and execution of criminals and sinners:

the fact that the guilty man should moan and cry out under the blows is not a shameful effect, it is the very ceremonial of justice being expressed in all its full force. Hence no doubt those tortures that take place even after death: corpses burnt, ashes thrown to the winds, bodies dragged on hurdles and exhibited at the roadside.¹¹³⁴

What the very public executions, and the posthumous humiliation and degradation of the bodies, shows is the extent to which the Evildoer's presence has allowed the anachronistic reanimation of sovereign powers, but also the return of means and methods of punishment that predated the separation of religion and sovereign power. Whereas the right to do so was written into law

¹¹³¹ "Osama bin Laden: the porn under his bed," ABC News, May 13, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://abcnews.go.com/WNT/video/osama-bin-laden-porn-bed-adult-videos-terrorist-bedroom-us-officals-politics-13601360>.

¹¹³² Declan Walsh, "Osama bin Laden's death: Pakistan locals flock to see villain's lair," *The Guardian*, May 5, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/05/osama-bin-laden-pakistan-locals-flock-house>.

¹¹³³ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1977), 34.

¹¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

during earlier times, it is now assumed by sovereign power in *place* of the law, or over and above the law. And, although widely represented as an example to dictators around the world, the purpose of such public executions is ‘to make everyone aware, through the body of the criminal, of the unrestrained presence of the sovereign.’¹¹³⁵ Today, when torture, execution without trial, and making a public spectacle of such executions are illegal, its purpose is to demonstrate the right that sovereignty has assumed on behalf of the people and of right, to punish sin.

It’s not the Evildoer, stupid

The changes in how power is exercised in the twenty-first century that have emerged around the Evildoer are perhaps best assessed away from its extremes such as torture and war, and at more regular sites of ‘normal’ daily life. As Foucault asserted, a more general and therefore a more accurate assessment of the extent to which a particular form of power stretches is best analysed at the extremities of its reach—‘its ultimate destinations, [...] where it becomes capillary, that is, in its more regional and local forms and institutions.’¹¹³⁶ Such an assessment also allows an understanding, in a new context, of what Foucault was referring to when he said the bourgeoisie ‘didn’t give a damn’ about the poor, the mad or the delinquents but were only interested in the mechanisms of power implemented to control them¹¹³⁷. While the Evildoer cannot exist without the mechanisms of power that constituted him, the mechanisms of power against the Evildoer can, and do, exist without him.

Across the world, the domains of politics and religion have come together more closely than they have since the eighteenth century, when it was in their very separation the discourse of terrorism first emerged. Religion is once again at the forefront of political power, be it in the exercise of sovereign power or in revolutions and rebellions against it. In the United States, the campaigns for 2013 presidential elections are getting into full swing and candidates’ faith is a deciding factor in their popularity with the electorate. One of the greatest slurs

¹¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹¹³⁶ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writing, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 96.

¹¹³⁷ Michel Foucault, *Society must be defended* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 33.

against the incumbent President Obama is that he is a Muslim¹¹³⁸, born as he was to a Muslim father and given the middle name Hussein. No Muslim, all potential Evildoers, can be allowed to play a leadership role in the United States; in a land which has no room for Arab/Muslim barbarians even in its maximum security prisons.

All Republican presidential hopefuls have thus taken care to distance themselves from Muslims and anything to do with Islam while at the same time proclaiming as loudly and as piously as possible one's deep belief in a faith other than Islam. Herman Cain, for example, stated that he was 'not comfortable' appointing a Muslim to his Cabinet or to a federal judgeship¹¹³⁹. Mitt Romney, meanwhile, appointed one of the 'apostate Muslim' authors referred to in *Chapter Five*, Walid Phares, as a foreign policy advisor¹¹⁴⁰. Any candidate who distances themselves from anti-Muslim sentiments are ridiculed by conservative voters. Candidate Ron Paul, for example, was booed during a Republican debate for saying that not all Muslims are responsible for the 11 September 2001 attacks¹¹⁴¹. One of the frontrunners, evangelical Christian Republican Governor Rick Perry has held a prayer meeting in which 30,000 people took part¹¹⁴², and has stated that 'my faith requires me to support Israel' in his policies towards Israel/Palestine¹¹⁴³. Michele Bahcman, too, is decidedly

¹¹³⁸ Wajahat Ali, "Muslims for America," *The Guardian*, October 22, 2008, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cifamerica/2008/oct/22/mccain-obama-muslim-powell?INTCMP=SRCH>.

¹¹³⁹ "Cain's message—Muslims need not apply", CNN, June 16, 2011, accessed on June 18, 2011, http://articles.cnn.com/2011-06-16/opinion/obeidallah.cain.muslim_1_american-muslims-mitt-romney-quran?s=PM:OPINION.

¹¹⁴⁰ Jarad Vary, "Meet Mitt Romney's Radical, Right-wing, Sharia-phobe Foreign Policy Advisor," *The New Republic*, October 24, 2011, accessed October 25, 2011, <http://www.tnr.com/article/politics/96519/romney-walid-phares-sharia-caucus-iowa-pawlenty>.

¹¹⁴¹ Jason M. Volack, "Ron Paul booed during debate," September 13, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2011/09/ron-paul-booed-during-debate>.

¹¹⁴² Ewen MacAskill, "Rick Perry's call to prayer draws crowd of 30,000," *The Guardian*, August 7, 2011, accessed August 8, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/aug/07/rick-perrys-call-to-prayer>.

¹¹⁴³ Justin Elliot, "My faith requires me to support Israel: Rick Perry's Christian Zionist foreign policy," *Salon*, August 11, 2001, accessed August 12, 2011, http://www.salon.com/2011/08/11/perry_israel_faith.

conservative and a born-again Christian who supports the proposition that America ‘was and to a large extent still is a Christian nation’, and has worked to establish school curricula guided not by the Constitution but by the Bible.¹¹⁴⁴

Religion has also been central in the revolutions against sovereign power in various North African and Middle Eastern countries in 2011. With each revolution in what has been dubbed the ‘Arab Spring’, the biggest question in Western thought has been: if democratic elections were held, would Islamists come to power? It was thus with the Egyptian revolution in January 2011¹¹⁴⁵; the Tunisian revolution earlier in January 2011¹¹⁴⁶ and during its first democratic elections in October 2011¹¹⁴⁷; and during the Libyan uprising¹¹⁴⁸ as well as following its liberation after the killing of Gaddafi¹¹⁴⁹.

¹¹⁴⁴ Ryan Lizza, “Leap of faith: the making of a Republican frontrunner,” *The New Yorker*, August 15, 2011, accessed August 23, 2011,

http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/08/15/110815fa_fact_lizza?currentPage=all.

¹¹⁴⁵ Jack Shenker, “Egypt protesters play down Islamist party’s role,” *The Guardian*, January 31, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jan/31/egypt-protesters-islamists-muslim-brotherhood?INTCMP=SRCH>; Jack Shenker, “Egypt activists threaten ‘million-strong’ protest to stop Islamists winning power,” *The Guardian*, June 23, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jun/23/egypt-activists-tahrir-square-elections?INTCMP=SRCH>.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Reuters*, “Tunisian Islamist leader returns after 22 years in exile,” *The Guardian*, January 30, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jan/30/islamist-ennahda-leader-returns-tunisia?INTCMP=SRCH>.

¹¹⁴⁷ Angelique Chrisafis, “Tunisia’s Islamist party leader seeks to allay fears of extremism,” *The Guardian*, October 21, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/21/tunisian-exile-rejects-claims-fundamentalists?INTCMP=SRCH>.

¹¹⁴⁸ Mahmoud Al-Nakou, “Libya: neither tribal nor Islamist,” *The Guardian*, February 27, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/feb/27/libya-democracy-freedom-extremists-gaddafi?INTCMP=SRCH>; Rod Nordland, “Islamists’ growing sway raises questions for Libya,” *The New York Times*, September 14, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/15/world/africa/in-libya-islamists-growing-sway-raises-questions.html?pagewanted=all>; “Fear over Islamists within Libyan rebel ranks,” BBC News, August 31, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14728565>.

¹¹⁴⁹ Mary Beth Sheridan, “Libyan leader hails wider role for Islam,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, October 25, 2011, accessed October 25, 2011, <http://www.smh.com.au/world/libyan-leader-hails-wider-role-for-islam-20111024-1mga1.html>; *The Seattle Times*, “Libya’s new path heads

In everyday life, spying and surveillance have become the norm in most Western societies. In the United Kingdom, for instance, where the *Prevent* programme discussed in *Chapter Seven* became the biggest spying operation in its history, surveillance has become all pervasive. Similar operations of spying on Muslims have since been uncovered in the United States. In August 2011 it emerged that the New York Police Department (NYPD) was spying on the city's Muslims with the help of the CIA¹¹⁵⁰. And, became evident over the course of July 2001, for example, that listening in on people's private conversations was widely practised by one of the world's biggest media companies, News International at its newspapers in Britain for the better part of the last decade¹¹⁵¹.

Moreover, throughout the year, evidence emerged that spying and surveillance of rebels in general—whether they were Muslim or not, violent or not—has become a norm in law enforcement as well as among big businesses. In July 2011, for example, it emerged that undercover British police officers had been spying on environmental activists for seven years, some establishing long-term relationships with activists in order to acquire information about their activities¹¹⁵². Similar surveillance activities against environmental dissidents were also carried out by French and British energy companies during the same

toward Islamic law," October 23, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011,

http://seattletimes.nwsources.com/html/nationworld/2016592625_libya24.html.

¹¹⁵⁰ "NYPD spying in Muslim areas – with CIA's help," *CBS News*, August 24, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011,

<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2011/08/24/national/main20096672.shtml>.

¹¹⁵¹ "Q&A: News of the World phone hacking scandal," BBC News, August 17, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-11195407>.

¹¹⁵² Rob Ewans and Paul Lewis, "Undercover police officer unlawfully spied on climate activists, judges rule," *The Guardian*, July 20, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2011/jul/20/police-spy-on-climate-activists-unlawful?INTCMP=SRCH>;

Rob Ewans and Paul Lewis, "Revealed: how energy firms spy on environmental activists," *The Guardian*, February 14, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2011/feb/14/energy-firms-activists-intelligence-gathering?INTCMP=SRCH>.

decade¹¹⁵³. Earlier in 2007, it was revealed that police in New York had spent more than a year spying on ‘would-be protestors’ ahead of President Bush’s second term elections.¹¹⁵⁴ German police, meanwhile, infiltrated protests against the established economic order by sending undercover officers to the demonstrations against the G8 summit in Gleneagles in 2007¹¹⁵⁵.

Law, whether international or domestic, is increasingly being cast aside to make room for disciplinary power. And it is not just those in authority that have taken this attitude to law. This became evident in the riots that broke out across several cities in the United Kingdom in August 2011 when the general lawlessness, looting and violence of rioters stunned the country and the world¹¹⁵⁶. The financial cost of the riots in London alone was estimated at 300 million pounds¹¹⁵⁷. Sovereign power appeared confounded when domestic laws were broken by the senseless violence of the rioters; and in response, imposed some of the harshest sentences handed down to offenders of similar crimes in its history¹¹⁵⁸. Yet, it was sovereign power that had involved the people, actively encouraged them to celebrate lawlessness in the unlawful killings of the various leaders and suspected ‘terrorists’ discussed earlier. The law, it appears, can only be cast aside by sovereign power and not those who rebel against it. The

¹¹⁵³ Angelique Chrisafis, “French energy company executive charged with spying on Greenpeace,” *The Guardian*, April 1, 2009, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2009/apr/01/greenpeace-france-nuclear-spy-edf?INTCMP=SRCH>.

¹¹⁵⁴ Suzanne Goldenberg, “NY police spied on anti-Bush protestors,” *The Guardian*, March 26, 2007, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/mar/26/usa.suzannegoldenberg1?INTCMP=SRCH>.

¹¹⁵⁵ Helen Pidd, “Germany sent five undercover police officers to G8 protests,” *The Guardian*, February 20, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/20/germany-undercover-police-g8-protests>.

¹¹⁵⁶ Adam Gabbatt, “London riots: the third night – Monday 8 August 2011,” *The Guardian*, August 8, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/blog/2011/aug/08/london-riots-third-night-live>.

¹¹⁵⁷ Vikram Dodd, “Cost of English riots much higher than first thought, Met police report suggests,” *The Guardian*, October 24, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/oct/24/england-riots-cost-police-report>.

¹¹⁵⁸ “Sentencing rioters: an alarming benchmark,” *The Guardian*, October 18, 2011, accessed October 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/oct/18/editorial-sentencing-rioters-alarming-benchmark>.

Evildoer-terrorist has allowed the techniques and discourses of discipline to invade right, and for normalising procedures to colonise procedures of law, to an extent not seen in Western history before. It has allowed the creation of a global normalising society in which a form of divinely ordained sovereignty and mechanisms of discipline, working in tandem, exercises forms of power and control that exist outside of all known limits of domestic and international law.

If it became widely known that the Evildoer does not exist, the world would surely be a different place.

Concluding remarks

The archaeological and genealogical analysis of terrorism provided in this study does not provide a solution to the problem that inspired it: the present knowledge of terrorism as an evil perpetrated by Arab/Muslim barbarians who hate liberal values and against whom Western civilisation must be defended. Neither does it claim to have found out what is true or what is false about the present discourse of terrorism, what is founded or unfounded, real or illusory, scientific or ideological. What it does is undermine some of the most dearly held convictions about one of the most omnipresent discourses of the present: that terrorism is an ontological certainty that exists outside of its discourse.

In analysing terrorism as a discourse, this study does not deny the reality of violence perpetrated on a daily basis for political, religious and other goals. A Foucaultian analysis does not entail, as many critics such as Charles Taylor, Jürgen Habermas have alleged, 'a universal assault on the notion of truth'¹¹⁵⁹. Using Foucault to analyse the history of the present of terrorism does not, therefore, mean that this study refuses to accept all truth and objectivity related to political violence. Rather, it demonstrates how complex power/knowledge relations make it possible for certain acts of politically motivated violence to be regarded as terrorism while excluding others from the discourse. Neither does the analysis deny causal values in the construction of the discourse of

¹¹⁵⁹ Gary Gutting, *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Scientific Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 272.

terrorism—what it does deny is that the most valid explanation of terrorism can be offered by bringing a whole group of derived phenomena back to a cause, a final authority valorised as a profound and unique agency.

Rather than denying causal values, what it shows is the existence of a complex and tight causal network formed that—instead of being saturated by a deep and necessary principle—comprises a multiplicity of relationships and differentiations between different types of relationships. As Foucault put it, ‘There is, therefore, nothing more foreign to such an analysis than the rejection of causality’¹¹⁶⁰. Using a combination of archaeological and genealogical methods, enabled this study to demonstrate the essential symbiotic relations that exist between knowledge and power. Like conventional histories, it shows that changes that have occurred in the discourse of terrorism are due to a wide variety of economic, social and political changes that have occurred in society during various epochs. What is different about this history of terrorism is that it maintains, like Foucault’s histories, that these causes cannot fit into any simple, unified teleological scheme.¹¹⁶¹

While this study does not offer solutions, it demonstrates that the possibility exists to *think otherwise* about terrorism. Any change in what is said and done about terrorism can only come with a change in what is possible to think about terrorism.

¹¹⁶⁰ Michel Foucault, “What is critique?,” in *The Politics of Truth*, ed. Sylvère Lotringer and Lysa Hochroth, trans. Lysa Hochroth (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2007).

¹¹⁶¹ Gary Gutting, *Michel Foucault’s Archaeology of Scientific Reason* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 271.

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