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**Janus Jihad: Contemporary Terrorism and its Implications for Canadian National Security**

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## ABSTRACT

*While terrorism has long existed, its nature has altered since the end of the Cold War. The attacks of 9-11 were part of the continuum of a religiously-inspired Islamist jihadi movement begun in the late 1970s. Globalization has enabled the jihadis, but United States foreign policy in the Middle-East has served as the primary catalyst and sustaining ingredient. Osama bin Laden, the spiritual leader of al-Qaeda, is theologically, politically and practically at the centre of the contemporary jihadi terrorist threat. His overarching political objectives are underpinned by a robust body of strategy and doctrine accessible to anyone with Internet access.*

*This paper is an exploration of the contemporary jihadi threat facing Canada today. Chapters I and II explain root causes and contextualize the academic debate, particularly as represented in the works of Bruce Hoffman and Marc Sageman. Chapter III postulates Canada faces a hybrid threat of a far adversary centered on Osama bin Laden and a near threat in the form of home grown terrorist actors. Chapter IV examines the current strategic posture of the Government of Canada. Chapters III and IV, in sum, contend two factors have altered significantly in the past decade, one external and one internal and that they require Canada to embrace a new paradigm. This paper argues that externally, the threat posed by non-state actors espousing a millenarian political agenda calls for a deliberate re-calibration of national security culture toward asymmetric realities. Internally, governance's increasingly complexities means that national security practitioners must at once demand a measure of greater clarity associated with national interests while preparing themselves for a future marked by greater ambiguity.*

*Chapter V offers policy recommendations relevant primarily to Canada but applicable to other states as well. Broad contours of grand strategy must be supplemented by cultural, structural and procedural enhancements that allow the Government of Canada to attain a level of flexibility and creativity necessary to adapt to the threat. This paper respects the notion of balance in this regard, but notes the important influence exerted by the United States as it relates to Canadian national security choices.*

*Without an appropriate, proportionate understanding of the threat, our national community will continue to downplay the challenge of radicalism and terrorism, and to pursue a course of freewheeling laxity in immigration, refugee and other social and security matters. The unrealistic belief that Canadians enjoy an unconstrained luxury of public choice – that virtually nothing can justify inconveniencing our freedoms – will paradoxically bring nearer and make more imposing the restrictions that our freedoms eventually face.*

The Fraser Institute Report: The Politics of Canadian Immigration Policies<sup>1</sup>

Terrorism has long been an enduring feature in politics and power relationships.<sup>2</sup> Its most threatening contemporary manifestation is Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda, popularized following the attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001 (9-11). While general consensus exists around the root causes of modern terrorism, the same is not true of how the threat is manifested.<sup>3</sup> Two leading scholars, Bruce Hoffman and Marc Sageman, hold different perspectives on the centrality of al-Qaeda leadership and the capabilities that flow from it. They both agree that today's radicalized Islamist threat is a danger to Western states and that national security agendas should adjust accordingly. Canada is not immune from this threat and has engaged in certain proactive homeland defence measures since shortly after the 9-11 attacks occurred. Domestically, increased cooperation with US authorities to strengthen North American defence protocols have

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<sup>1</sup> The David B. Harris. Fraser Institute Report, *The Politics of Canadian Immigration Policies. Chapter 8: Is Canada Losing the Balance Between Liberty and Security?*, 150.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.terrorism.history-research.com/history/early.php> Internet accessed 4 April, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> See for example: Christopher Ankersen and Michael O'Leary. *Understanding Global Terror* (Malden USA, Polity Press: 2007), Bruce Hoffman. *Inside Terrorism: Revised and Expanded Edition*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), Marc Sageman. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), Stewart Bell. *Cold Terror*. (Toronto: Wiley Publishing, 2004), John Robb. *Brave New War*. (Hoboken, N.J., John Wiley and Sons: 2007), and Benjamin R. Barber. *Jihad vs. McWorld*. (New York, Ballentine Books: 1996).

been supplemented by enhanced pan-Government of Canada tools to better track and eliminate sources of support. Canadian foreign policy has focused on a meaningful Whole-of-Government contribution to the War in Afghanistan to make that state more stable and less accessible as an al-Qaeda training and staging area. But the breadth of Canadian policy in relation to modern terrorism has been a collage of specific efforts and not a long term strategy. Canada's national security approach lacks the coherence and sophistication warranted by the threat of al-Qaeda's caliber. The failure to synergize domestic and international actions has, at best, wasted precious time in elevating our security posture to where it must be and, at worst, made the state more vulnerable both in the eyes of al-Qaeda and other like-minded Western nations struggling against Islamic terrorism. This directed research paper will argue that Canada must embrace new external and internal paradigms in its national security architecture as a function of both Islamist jihadi threats and changed internal governance realities.

The challenge of contemporary terrorism is its inherent complexity. It is deeply rooted in the fabric of an increasingly globalized world. Radical jihadis exploit modern state-based characteristics such as open borders, enforcement jurisdictions and streamlined checks and balances on enforcement mechanisms to pursue their aims. This paper is about the *Realpolitik* of 21<sup>st</sup> Century terrorism and what that should mean to government, and how government should respond. It is an examination of radical Islamism's threat and Canada's ability to defend its interests in general and specific ways. Canada's advanced Western democratic traditions and societal tolerance must be safeguarded not solely to preserve its values but as a bulwark against extremism itself. In this sense, today's

struggle is more about ideas and norms than terrain or resources. It is about a non-state entity challenging Canada's traditional notions of national security. This new threat represents paradigm shift for national security practitioners who, evidence suggests, have yet to fully internalize the current reality.<sup>4</sup> This is at the core of what this paper seeks to elucidate. A two-faced hybrid form of terrorism, a *Janus* jihad, threatens Canada's national security and remedies to this ongoing threat can only be developed within a conceptual framework that respects governance's realities. Specific policies and strategies are the ultimate outputs of this higher level of understanding of the threat.

Chapter I frames the issue by defining the many and contested root causes of radical Islamist terrorism within the context of globalization. Globalization and transnationalism underpin many aspects of radical Islamist terrorism but is not a root cause.<sup>5</sup> A combination of polarizing economic and social disparities, enhanced communication and information technologies and more accessible transnational movement all contribute

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<sup>4</sup> Open-source evidence of advances to Canada's National Counter-Terrorism Plan (NCTP) indicate that it was approved in 1989, revised twice (1997, 2000) and has been "Evergreen" (undergoing continuous revision) since then. *National Counter-Terrorist Plan Plenary IV Session "Canada's National Counter-Terrorism Arrangements*, Available from [www.cpha.ca/uploads/confs/2003-cfph/lesserwelshtheisson\\_e.pdf](http://www.cpha.ca/uploads/confs/2003-cfph/lesserwelshtheisson_e.pdf) Internet accessed 21 March, 2010. Moreover, it outlines the unclassified communications and policy direction to guide responders and senior government officials in dealing with terrorist incidents. It is indicative of where the Government of Canada stands on national security matters more generally. First, it is unlinked to any other GoC strategy or direction thus sits as an isolated document without wider context to national security arrangements. Second, it contains language such as "a terrorist incident may require a combined crisis management and consequence management response." There is no notion whatever of preventative, upstream self defence philosophies which seek to curtail threats before they are manifest resulting in a reactionary crisis and consequence response culture. That this document is the latest, openly accessible public safety guidance suggests a lack of urgency in promulgating crucial information to enable myriad actors in Canada's national security arena.

<sup>5</sup> Frank J. Lechner and John Boli. *The Globalization Reader* (Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 1. Globalization is defined as "the world is becoming a single place, in which different institutions function as parts of one system and distant peoples share a common understanding of living together on one planet...globalization is the process that fitfully brings these elements of a world society together." Globalization is noted to have begun in 16<sup>th</sup> Century Europe with the establishment of international trading routes. If globalization is the "what", transnationalization is the "how" in "relations and activities cutting across national territorial boundaries." (57).

substantially to the threat's evolution. In this context, globalization is an indispensable enabler to the contemporary threat. Historic and sustained animosity toward United States foreign policy, however, is at the core of much Muslim discontent, a fact being smartly leveraged our adversaries. Moreover, a series of precision attacks against United States interests in the Middle East and Africa between the years 1983-1998 emboldened al-Qaeda by proving the value of asymmetric doctrine in the battle-space and beyond. Terrorism can, and has, decisively shaped United States foreign policy. Terrorism will be defined, insofar as that is reasonably possible in the confines of this paper, and situated within the debate over modern terrorism in the past 130 years in order to understand its evolution. Lastly, a portrait of Islamism will be sketched, in order to disaggregate the extremist minority who hijack Islam from the benevolent majority. The core element of this new breed of terrorist, the extremist jihadi, thus emerges.

Chapter II explores two leading academic perspectives and the current nature of the terrorist threat, those of Bruce Hoffman and Marc Sageman. Hoffman argues that al-Qaeda's leadership remains centrally influential despite being dislocated as a result of sustained coalition pressure since 9-11. The effects of an attack emanating from an increasingly isolated but sophisticated al-Qaeda leadership are significant in consequence if not likelihood. On the other hand, Marc Sageman argues that central al-Qaeda leadership has been rendered impotent as a consequence of sustained regional coalition pressure. This makes any notion of centralized command and control largely irrelevant and results in a de-centralized and ad hoc threat inspired by al-Qaeda theology. Sageman's analysis takes into account Canada's homegrown terrorist group domestic



threat. Homegrown terrorists are dangerous because they come from within and are sometimes harder to detect than better recognized, more central elements.<sup>6</sup> What they lack in means is offset to a degree by their theoretical and realized potential operating within open society. Home grown terrorists present a threat whose consequence potential is lessened due to their relative lack of sophistication.<sup>7</sup> Hoffman's and Sageman's theses will be contrasted using the military axiom of what military forces require to conduct any operation: leadership, doctrine, training and equipment. Lastly, the threat will be assessed against an economic theory of agency in order to illuminate the challenges that both centralized and de-centralized models face in attempting to carry out operations.

Chapter III answers the question of what this all means to Canada's national security in practical terms. It will tie the hybrid jihadi characteristics together painting a portrait of both far and near threats to Canada's national interests. Jihadi terrorism threatens Canada across the spectrum of political, security, economic and social domains. Al-Qaeda's ideological bedrock prescribed by Sheikh Abdullah Azzam, subsequently expanded into grand strategy by Abu Bakr Naji spelling out al-Qaeda's long term objectives, are illustrated. Naji's treatise, *The Management of Savagery*, will be assessed as a sophisticated grand strategy, skillfully crafted to directly and indirectly attack Western

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<sup>6</sup> My comment of "coming from within" also refers to leveraging other democracies to attack Canadian interests.

<sup>7</sup> The attempted bombing in New York's Time Square on 3 May, 2010 is one such example where Pakistani-American Faisal Shahzad demonstrated a considerable lack of savvy in how he prosecuted this attack. The explosive device itself was poorly constructed, the vehicle could be directly linked to him through secondary vehicle identification number plates, he carelessly used a computer to purchase the vehicle capable of linking him to the Internet Protocol address and his overall tactics in attempting to flee drew undue attention to himself. Available from <http://www.abnews.com> Internet accessed 6 May, 2010.

interests in order to attain the long term goal of fragile state takeover for the eventual establishment of the Muslim Caliphate.

The far adversary will be shown to be a lower probability but higher consequence threat in light of its knowledge, skill and resources. The spectre of the use of weapons of mass destruction makes AQ Central extremely relevant to Canada's national security narrative owing to the catastrophic psychological, economic and social effects such an attack would impose on Canada. The near adversary, or home grown threat, will be assessed against the open record. Canada has experienced one direct encounter with this phenomenon in 2005/06 with the Toronto 18.<sup>8</sup> Similar groups have posed a greater recent threat as evidenced in attempts and attacks against Western democracies since 9-11.<sup>9</sup> Even relatively unsophisticated attacks harm the national interest to some degree. Demographic data analysis illustrates that Canada has a youthful and growing Muslim population that is economically underachieving relative to other immigrant groups. Chapter III deduces that, while the home grown threat is manifestly real, it is likely not as pervasive as some in the security community might advance for several reasons. That said, policymakers would do well to understand the fragility of the situation. Homegrown threats remain dangerous. In sum, Canada faces a hybrid threat. Far and near adversaries pose an aggregate risk overall. This reality must shape the contours of Canada's national security architecture if we hope not just to dampen the jihadi's full

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<sup>8</sup> Mitchell D. Silber and Arvin Bhatt. New York Police Department Report. *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat*. (New York: NYPD, 2007), 41. In 2005 and 2006, a group of 18, led by spiritual leader Qayyum Abdul Jamaal, were arrested on 2 June, 2006 and charged with terrorism related offences around plans to bomb several buildings in Toronto and assassinate Canada's Prime Minister.

<sup>9</sup> In particular, the attacks in Madrid, Spain on 3 April, 2004 and London, England on 7 July, 2007 demonstrate the intensity of the "homegrown threat" to states allied with the United States since 9-11.

threat spectrum but posture ourselves for further metamorphosis of asymmetric trends into the future.

Chapter IV frames the Government of Canada's current strategic posture to establish a baseline against which policy recommendations may be considered. Canada currently lacks a clear articulation of its national interests. From this flows an attendant lack of synergy in defining clear national objectives and priorities. A brief synopsis of Canada's current economic, social and military contexts will be outlined if only to suggest that it is both capable in some areas, and limited in others, to meet the threat. The overarching national security imperative for the Government of Canada is the United States in the context of North American security. Constrained as it is by the realities of a loose federation and national unity matters, Canadian political leaders' general tendency has been historically to view Canada as living in a "fireproof house" and this denies the fact that the United States will not accept a northern terrorist security liability.<sup>10</sup> Here the argument is made that many of the post 9-11 security-oriented decisions taken by the Canadian government likely have more to do with appeasing concerns in Washington than they do Canadian interests *per se*. This is explainable by the lack of a coherent national security strategy to build upon a national security policy and myriad other specific examples of an immature and undersubscribed national security architecture writ large. Notwithstanding, a balanced perspective is essential. The onus is on both political

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<sup>10</sup> Senator Raoul Dandurand, leading the Canadian Delegation at the League of Nations 5<sup>th</sup> Assembly in 1924, expressed the 'fireproof house' sentiment. He was saying that Canada was ostensibly free from the dangerous confrontations that Europe historically faced for two main reasons: geographic separation from Europe by an ocean and the benefits of sharing the longest undefended border with a most powerful United States. Available from <http://www.international.gc.ca/history-histoire/world-monde/1921-1939.aspx?lang=eng> Internet accessed 6 May, 2010.

leaders and national security practitioners to do all that they can to reduce uncertainty.

Chapter IV sets the stage for general and specific recommendations to better align government national security actions proportionately to the actual threat.

Chapter V addresses how to reduce the ambiguities of national security and maintain the initiative in the struggle against jihadi adversaries. Grand strategy is where successful outcomes begin and where action is currently lacking in Canada. I take an expansive view of several schools of grand strategic thought and advance the notion of a paradigm shift. The end of the Cold War ushered in an era of fractured states within which jihadis wish to operate. The difficulty is that the Government of Canada and its institutions have yet to depart from the state-centric paradigm in how they manage national security policy and execution. Existing culture, structures and processes are maladapted for the paradigm shift brought on by a post 9-11 environment. And this is the case despite the 2005 National Security Policy which places contemporary terrorism as the *prima facie* threat to Canada. The explanation for this dichotomy rests in culture.<sup>11</sup>

Turning to specific recommendations, Canada must have a broadly defined grand strategy to make sense of a complex world. This should occur following an internal government

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<sup>11</sup> Christopher M. Schnaubelt. "After the Fight: Interagency Operations." *Parameters Vol 35 no.4* (Winter 2005/2006: pp.47-61), offers the view that people, processes and structures contribute to interagency operations but that culture ultimately determines long run outcomes and it is for this reason that strong leadership and unambiguous direction begins at the highest levels of government. Even the United States, with its more mature national security structures, is struggling to overcome cultural impediments to comprehensive security approaches. Schnaubelt's article even calls for an "Interagency Goldwater-Nicholls" referring to the Department of Defence Reorganization Act of 1986 that had to be legislated upon the military for it to adapt following numerous high-profile failures (such as the aborted Iranian hostage rescue attempt in 1980). Schnaubelt's overall cultural views are widely supported by other scholars and authors such as John P. Kotter, an organizational change expert, who correlates organizational success to healthy cultures.

task force study on Whole-of-Government efforts to capitalize on a recent range of experiences. A broader national dialogue around the issue of balance between individual rights and collective security should also be engaged in. Canadians have only seen sporadic cases unfold in the mainstream media and as a result, they lack context, knowledge and voice on this core issue. The physical dispersion and virtual integration of the threat is so transnational in character that isolated, national counter terrorist actions are almost inconceivable. Multinational efforts are central in the new paradigm. For this reason, the government should retain sufficient flexibility in its strategic approach. To that end, Canada's Whole-of-Government (interagency) abilities are undersubscribed.<sup>12</sup> More enhanced and balanced investments across all national security portfolios are required to ensure key departments are equipped to contribute to complex security tasks both domestically and abroad. Moreover, reformation must begin with the creation of a National Security Council, properly resourced and mandated to fuse intelligence and operational inputs to deliver world-class decision support to national command authorities. People are the critical element in this. Underpinning these recommendations are three final ingredients; communication, urgency and leadership. Communication at the strategic, operational and tactical levels will support goal attainment by expanding knowledge sharing and stimulating a pan-governmental sense of shared responsibility.

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<sup>12</sup> There is an absence of a clearly definable Whole-of-Government definition in the Canadian context. The Treasury Board defines it as four spending areas: economic, social, international and governmental which are linked to outcomes. A useful definition can be found in the Australian Government's Report Connecting Government: Whole of Government Responses to Australia's Policy Challenges (2004) on page 1: "Whole of government denotes public service agencies working across portfolio boundaries to achieve a shared goal and an integrated government response to particular issues. Approaches can be formal and informal. They can focus on policy development, program management and service delivery." The term whole-of-government is largely Canadian and fails to capture the breadth of coordination needed to contend with contemporary problem sets. For the purposes of this research paper, I use the term "interagency" because it better captures the national and multinational, governmental and non-governmental aspects of joined up responses necessary in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

Any policies working to outright constrain the information domain fail to appreciate the new paradigm. Positive communication flows contribute to generating a sense of urgency critical to incentivize participants. Above all else, leadership is needed. Leadership carries initiatives to fruition and makes the whole greater than the sum of its parts. It is only on the backs of uncommon leaders that Canada's national security posture will grow to the next level to meet 21<sup>st</sup> Century threats head on.

The conclusion reiterates both the absence of panacea solutions and the important fact that the Government of Canada is not facing a revolution in governance affairs. That said, a deliberate re-calibration of processes, structures and culture is needed to re-boot the national security domain and bring policy and decision making into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. At the same time, it must be recognized that Canada, either alone or in concert with allies, will never defeat jihadi terrorism. The conflict currently being waged is more ideological than practical. While it does feature some of the more traditional aspects of defence and security actions, it is predicated on a higher level of understanding – a more nuanced and integrated application of the hard and soft power tools available to government.<sup>13</sup> In this war, like wars before, academics, financiers, scientists and diplomats play as crucial a role as counter-terrorist troops walking point in the dusty deserts of Canada's foreign policy. Under a coherent body of national strategies, the

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<sup>13</sup> Richard Armitage and Dr. Joseph Nye, Jr. *Implementing Smart Power: Setting an Agenda for National Security Reform*. Statement Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee April 24, 2008. In this statement, Nye and Armitage speak of soft power as “A big idea” predicated on three principles namely; US standing in the world matters for reasons of security and prosperity interests, that today's challenges can only be addressed with capable and willing allies and partners and that civilian tools increase the legitimacy, effectiveness and sustainability of US government policies. Soft power is thus the combination of hard (coercive) and soft (co-optive) instruments of national power into the application across one continuum national policy. Most importantly, Nye notes that these instruments exist in isolation today (as they do here in Canada) yet they lack cohesive rationale and institutional grounding to be effective.

talent and resources that Canada possesses could be much better employed and to greater effect for the benefit of all Canadians.

## Chapter I – A Smaller, More Accessible World

As the Cold War ended, a less stable world emerged under US hegemony. The nature of conflict altered, and the superpower bifurcation broke down, forcing reluctant humanitarian interventions by Western forces into places like Northern Iraq after Gulf War I, the Balkans, Rwanda and Somalia.<sup>14</sup> Wars of choice ceded to wars of necessity, often challenging long held notions of state sovereignty. The full weight of globalization was taking hold during this era.<sup>15</sup> Transnational travel restrictions in Asia and Eastern Europe eased as the Iron Curtain fell, the Internet expanded to households and personal communication devices proliferated.

Globalization is not responsible for radical Islam but it features prominently in the narrative. It can be understood as a cauldron mixing cultures, tastes and perspectives with increased trade at its core. To understand the difference in perspective between citizens of highly developed countries like Canada versus those of developing countries, it is useful to look briefly at trading cultures. This opens a window to broader cultural interpretations. Two dominant forms of trade regimes have developed since the 16<sup>th</sup> Century when Europe expanded global mercantilism. Capitalist Western democracies

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<sup>14</sup> Christopher Ankersen and Michael O’Leary. *Understanding Global Terror* (Malden USA, Polity Press: 2007), 218. The types of military operations conducted in the post Cold War era shifted from state on state military engagement to military operations other than war-type affairs of the Chapter VII United Nations “Peace Enforcement” ilk. Such operations pose unique challenges to military forces by blurring the combatant, non-combatant mix in what is sometimes referred to as “war against the people, war amongst the people and war to protect the people.”

<sup>15</sup> David Held et al. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford. Stanford University Press: 1999), 211 notes “by the late 1990s private capital flows to developing economies were higher relative to either their GDP or investment levels than during the 1970s.” Held reinforces his point in highlighting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) figures obtained by the OECD revealing that developing countries received USD \$83.5 billion in 1990, USD \$127 in 1994 and USD \$251.9 by 1996. Emerging markets were opening thanks to cash infusions from developed countries.



evolved based upon contractual trading regimes where explicit *quid pro quo* demanded necessary and sustained relationships among trading partners.<sup>16</sup> Less developed countries remain linked to the second method, reciprocity-based trading where explicit *quid pro quo* agreements cede to reciprocal arrangements among clan groups to assure mutual needs are satisfied.<sup>17</sup> Contracting societies evolved socioeconomically in favour of equal rights and democratic institutions as a function of protecting barter underpinnings while reciprocity-based cultures de-emphasize the individual in favor of shared responsibility toward the clan or sub-group.<sup>18</sup> This promotes a more heightened sense of community responsibility amongst Muslim communities than one might traditionally see in Western democracies.

This cultural difference is instructive to developing a macro psycho-social understanding of how populations view world events; more individualistic or more communal by foundation. Understanding that the citizenry of developing countries tends more toward economic collectivism as opposed to Western, open market individualism is important only insofar as it sheds a generalized light on the perceptual differences between people in different societies. This line of thought holds that cultures change very slowly so different collectivist versus individualist world views, centered in economic roots, will persist. A more progressive, democratic perspective would suggest globalization itself is melting away cultural predispositions in favour of a more egalitarian society. These two views both feature a deep-seated human need for community with its attendant fraternity,

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<sup>16</sup> James J.F. Forest. *The Making of a Terrorist: Volume Three – Root Causes*. (London. Praeger Security International: 2006), 192

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* Forest notes that Athens in 5<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. was a contracting society

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

solidarity and high level of intimacy and this suggests that foundational cultures will remain important at some level.<sup>19</sup> It is reasonable to conclude however that these same cultures will experience slow transitions away from homogeneity as globalization persists. A simplistic binary perspective of globalization's effects (good versus bad, rich versus poor) misleads our effort to set the context for jihadi terrorism. What is certain, however, is that Canada's multicultural mosaic is shifting dramatically. It is becoming far less homogeneous as more of the world comes to reside in Canada.<sup>20</sup> This is precisely what Barber says in *Jihad vs. McWorld* noting, "...the dangers democracy faces in a world where the forces of commerce and the forces reacting to commerce are locked in struggle."<sup>21</sup> We must be nuanced in our appreciation of terrorism as it exists in the complexities of a globalized world. Transnational terrorism can no more be destroyed than globalization can be turned back. Both genies are "out of the bottle," so the matter at hand is how to understand them both relationally and in context in order to advance our interests.

Globalization is here to stay. Its effects are both positive and negative but it is impossible to easily draw lines on a map to delineate who wins and loses. It enriches many and

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<sup>19</sup> Benjamin R. Barber. *Jihad vs McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World*. (New York. Ballentines, 1996), 298.

<sup>20</sup> 2006 Census information shows those born outside Canada was at its highest level in 75 years (since 1931's all-time high) with 6.2 million born abroad, or roughly one in five people or 19.8%. Foreign born Canadians are growing at a rate four times higher than the Canadian-born demographic. Information available from <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-557/p2-eng.cfm> Internet accessed 24 April, 2010.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 299. Former President Bill Clinton is cited in the same context when he stated "Mr. Barber is arguing that democracy and the ability to hold people together...is being threatened today by the globalization of the economy...(and by) a world people think they cannot control." Clinton recognized that democracy is all-important to overcoming globalization's negative impacts.

elevates the lives of some who would otherwise remain poor.<sup>22</sup> Alternatively, it exploits some forcing dramatic shifts in production patterns to disadvantage, or provide the appearance of disadvantaging, others.<sup>23</sup> In the end, globalization is an amorphous phenomenon that is difficult to quantify. In addition to driving economies, it is a marketplace of ideas, actions and counter-actions able to be manipulated by special interest groups to advance their interests. This is well understood by al-Qaeda and its adherents who lever globalization to good effect.

US foreign policy in the Middle-East has been a source of Arab discontent for decades for both direct and indirect reasons. The 20<sup>th</sup> Century placed American interests, people and resources onto Muslim soil,<sup>24</sup> but it was the Iranian Revolution of 1979 that acted as a turning point in radical Islam's development toward a jihadi philosophy. Culminating in the takeover of the US Embassy in Tehran, this event mobilized simmering anti-Western resentment into outright anti-American religiosity.<sup>25</sup> It unified many on the so-

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<sup>22</sup> James J.F. Forrest. *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training and Root Causes*. (Westport: Praeger, 2006), 33 notes that most effects contributing to terrorist inclinations are economically oriented in nature caused by things like tariffs. The second-order effects become reduced or perceived reductions to, quality of life and standards of living. He states, "Effects on daily lives are more likely to become a root of terrorism when people feel the immediate, harsh, highly visible hand of either an occupying power or a repressive regime."

<sup>23</sup> In Canada, the manufacturing share as it relates to nominal Gross Domestic Product has fallen from 25.5% in 1965 to approximately 15% in 2005. Statistics available at <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-010-x/2009008/ct103-eng.htm>. That said, the overall volume of manufactured goods produced over the past 40 years relative to total goods and services has remained approximately constant. This highlights the difficulty in drawing absolute deductions from globalization's complex web of re-structured economies in an adapting global economic marketplace.

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/udeid.htm> Internet accessed 15 February 2010. The aftermath of Gulf War I left sizeable stocks of pre-positioned military hardware in various Middle-Eastern countries. The US currently has approximately 2,000 troops, 24 KC-135 Refuelers and F-16 Fighters plus War reserve Materiel (WRM) stationed at Al Udeid Air Base in Qatar. US peak load capacity is assessed at 10,000 troops and 120 aircraft at that particular base. The issue here is not that these weapons are available to insurgents but rather that it represents an affront to Islamic sensibilities to see decadent westerners positioning the very tools of a dominant foreign policy on Muslim soil in a sustained manner.

<sup>25</sup> Cindy C. Combs. *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century: Fourth Edition* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2006), 212.

called “Arab Street” around an organizing principle of ridding Muslim and/or Arab lands of American political influence and economic exploitation. Different Muslim sects such as Shia and Sunni rallied around this mantra, dispensing with intra-Islamic tension on the matter of United States foreign policy. The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon crystallized discontent. As Hoffman states:

America was generally perceived as the great nemesis behind the problems in the region, due to its support for Israel and many local reactionary regimes, because it had distanced itself from all causes of liberty and freedom in the area.<sup>26</sup>

Longstanding support for Israel made the United States responsible on two fronts: first for the direct exercise of its Middle-Eastern foreign policy, and second, for that of Israel regionally. Attacks on United States interests in Beirut (Marine Barracks bombing 1983) and in Somalia (Mogadishu, Task Force Ranger, 1993) emboldened Osama bin Laden as al-Qaeda’s emerging leader. Asymmetric attacks changed United States policy, setting conditions for a global terror campaign that held a possibility of victory – military hegemony could be beaten through guerilla tactics.<sup>27</sup> In 1996 and 1998, bin Laden issued two *fatwas* (religious edicts) declaring war with the United States. The former focused

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<sup>26</sup> Bruce Hoffman. *Inside Terrorism: Revised and Expanded Edition*. (New York: Columbia Press: 2006), 91. Hamas’ Charter states that Israel seek “to demolish societies, to destroy values, to wreck answerableness, to totter virtues and to wipe out Islam...there was no war that broke out anywhere without their (the Jews) fingerprints on it.” Available from: Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. *Worse Than War: Genocide, Eliminationism, and the Ongoing Assault on Humanity*. (New York: Perseus Books, 2009), 498. The longstanding support of the United States toward Israel makes it, *de facto* interchangeable with Israel in Goldhagen’s quote.

<sup>27</sup> In the aftermath of both the Lebanon and Mogadishu actions, US forces were withdrawn from active, large-scale operations in those regions.

on United States occupation “all over the world generally, and in the Arab Peninsula specifically” while the latter focused on the Palestinian issue.<sup>28</sup> These edicts called on former fighters from Afghanistan and Bosnia to join in active jihad against the United States and its allies.<sup>29</sup> Osama bin Laden’s organizing ideology was clearly expressed as Islamist jihad and United States Middle-Eastern foreign policy, specifically its support for Israel, became a central tenet in his information campaign moving ahead.<sup>30</sup>

Full expression of bin Laden’s grievances took hold on 9-11 when al-Qaeda operatives attacked New York and Washington. Deeply wounded, the United States’ response under President George W. Bush was swift in declaring “Global War on Terror” and, backed with UN legitimacy, the US attacked Afghanistan to root out al-Qaeda and its leader bin Laden.<sup>31</sup> The first front was opened in October 2001. A fulsome appreciation of the threat or the scale of the challenges associated with such conflicts was yet fully understood.

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<sup>28</sup> Bruce Hoffman. *Inside Terrorism: Revised and Expanded Edition*. (New York. Columbia Press: 2006), 91.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 93 and 94. The Fatwa stated “The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies – civilians and military – is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Holy Mosque (Mecca) from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim.”

<sup>30</sup> Bernard Haykel. *Radical Salafism: Osama’s Ideology* available at <http://muslim-canada.org/binladendawn.html> Internet accessed 15 January 2010. 14<sup>th</sup> Century Islamic scholar Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya’s brand of Salafism declared fellow Muslims heretics if they did not share his views and allowed for declarations of war against Muslim rulers who did not follow Sharia Law. Salafists do not eschew technological advances per se but they abhor deviations from things not rooted in their conception of “the pristine Islamic age”. Lastly, Salafism is very binary; one is either a believer or a disbeliever.

<sup>31</sup> President G.W. Bush, in his *Twin Towers Declaration* declared at 1053 EST on 12 September, 2001 that “the US would use all its resources to avenge the worst ever attacks on American soil.” Available at <http://bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/september/12/newsid.htm> internet accessed 5 April, 2010. The Taliban Regime was a tertiary objective of this policy decision due to its support in harbouring Al Qaeda within Afghanistan allowing it to develop the means necessary to prosecute the attacks of 9-11.

Terrorism is inherently difficult to define because one's basic assumptions and axioms define an interpretive lens as do formative life experience and socio-economic standing. Moreover, terrorism is a tactic, ideology or pejorative term depending on one's perspective. Regardless, the 'idea' of terrorism itself is inherently semantically powerful. Given that the vast majority of people are untouched by terrorism, perception matters. This is why "winning hearts and minds" is important in this struggle and contributes to terrorism being a war of ideas, not territory.

To understand terrorism we must disaggregate its various dimensions. First, it is central to international disagreements in the form of state-sponsored terrorism.<sup>32</sup> In this context, numerous international conventions exist to control its exercise.<sup>33</sup> Second, states have national perspectives of terrorism and Canada defers to legislation such as the Anti Terrorism Act, which specified new offences in the Criminal Code (section 83.01).<sup>34</sup> Third, The United States' position is relevant owing to its global leadership role and while its government is elusive in offering a specific definition, several key themes

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<sup>32</sup> State-sponsored terrorism is the act or omission of an act by a state that supports terrorist activities. The United States Government lists four states who "repeatedly provide support for acts of international terrorism": Cuba (as of 1 March, 1982), Iran (as of 19 January, 1984), Sudan (as of 12 August, 1993) and Syria (as of 29 December, 1979) available at <http://www>.

<sup>33</sup> The United Nations has no accepted definition of terrorism explainable by the fact that its disparate member states cannot agree on one common definition. The UN has implemented 13 universal legal instruments to combat terrorism since 1961. Today's United Nations' Conventions are organized in five elements: Internationally Protected Persons, Hostages, Bombings, Financing and Nuclear. Available at: <http://www.un.org/terrorism/instruments.shtml> Internet accessed 15 April, 2010. The Arab Terrorism Convention and Terrorism Convention of the Organization of Islamic Conference exclude armed struggle for liberation and self determination from any definitions. Available at: [www.eyeontheun.org/facts.asp?l=1&p=61](http://www.eyeontheun.org/facts.asp?l=1&p=61) Internet accessed 15 April, 2010.

<sup>34</sup> Obtained from the Government of Canada's Sub-Committee Review of Canada's Anti terrorism Act, terrorist acts are defined in two parts. Part 1: "a series of offences enacted to implement international legal instruments against terrorism" and Part 2: "terrorist activity or omission undertaken in whole or in part for political, religious or ideological purpose, object or cause that is intended to intimidate the public or compel a person, government or organization to do or refrain from doing any act, if the act or omission intentionally causes specific harm." Available at <http://cmte.parl.gc.ca/Content/HOC/committee/391/secu/govresponse-e.html> Internet accessed 15 April, 2010.

dominate.<sup>35</sup> Lastly, the academic community is itself unable to reconcile a broadly accepted view.<sup>36</sup> Thus an attempt to definitively prescribe terrorism is challenging and confounding. Understanding terrorism requires that we see beyond acts and understand the “why and how” in order to establish policies and strategies to counter it in the first instance.<sup>37</sup> Despite the debate, there are three qualities that are fundamental to most definitions of terrorism. First, intimidation and fear are sought through a history of targeted violence designed to maximize symbolic value. Second, it seeks a political end. These are not privately-motivated ventures. Third, a media component is central to widely distribute terrorism’s effects to as broad an audience as possible. In combination, all three undermine public confidence in democratic institutions. This is why governments are generally aggressive in confronting the matter.

Terrorism, even if it was not understood under this specific term, has been a feature in some societies for over 2,000 years. Its roots can be traced back to the 1<sup>st</sup> Century when Sicarii Zealots murdered Jews who collaborated with Roman occupiers. In the 11<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> The United States State Department articulates the following descriptors: “networks...greatest threat to national security...globalized insurgency...subversion, sabotage, open warfare and terrorism itself...seeking WMD”. More interestingly, the State Department identifies three facets of terrorist organizations requiring hard and soft power attention, notably: leaders, safe havens (physical space, cyber space and ideological space) and underlying conditions (economic disparity, social conditions et al). Available at [www.state.gov/s/ct/enemy/index.htm#enemy](http://www.state.gov/s/ct/enemy/index.htm#enemy) Internet accessed 15 April, 2010.

<sup>36</sup> Several hundred definition exist in academe but Cindy Combs captures the aggregate essence in her definition: “a synthesis of war and theater, a dramatization of the most proscribed kind of violence – that which is perpetrated on innocent victims – played before an audience in the hope of creating a mood of fear, for political purposes.” Available from: Cindy Combs. *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century Fourth Edition*. (Upper Saddle River. Prentice Hall: 2006), 11.

<sup>37</sup> In contextualizing the state in a time of terror, Joseph Campos articulates a re-framing of terrorist adversaries by virtue of our claim that terrorism is an illegitimate use of force. In that sense, the interpretive quality of terrorism as a concept allows the state to create a story about state legitimacy, security and authority in carrying out its affairs. This is important because it enables the state to maintain actions and suggests a discourse understanding that support state legitimacy and effectiveness. Campos notes the ‘story’ created by President G.W. Bush shortly after 9-11 invoking old Western ”Wanted” posters or talking of a “long crusade” effectively framing the struggle in both law and order and religious terms. Available from: Joseph H. Campos II. *The State and Terrorism: National Security and the mobilization of Power*. (Aldershot, UK: 2007), 13.

Century, a rebel leader struggling for control of the Levant named Hassan-I Sabbah al-Hashshashin led small groups of men, unable to match the might of regional armies, on missions to assassinate local governors and military commanders as a function of destabilizing local governance in Persia.<sup>38</sup> In a more contemporary sense, David Rappaport's work has condensed modern terrorism into four waves. Each wave demonstrated patterns, exhibiting similar local aims and their effects were generally felt across multiple states in the developed world. They all tended to the notion of revolution although it was understood differently in each phase. While each was not successful, some, like the second wave, did bring about a measure of change.

According to Rappaport, the first Anarchist wave began in Europe and the United States in the 1880s and lasted about 40 years. It was a response to societal inequalities brought on by modernization. The second Anti-Colonial wave was born of the Treaty of Versailles and lasted from about 1920-1960. It resulted in the formulation of several new states such as Ireland, Cyprus, Israel, Algeria and Yemen, leaving colonialism in its wake.<sup>39</sup> The third, New Left wave began in the 1960s and endured until the 1980s combining nationalism with radicalism and is posited to have been stimulated by America's defeat at the hands of an inferior Viet Cong military employing guerilla tactics.<sup>40</sup> The Iranian hostage taking of the United States Embassy in Tehran ushered in the fourth, or Religious wave. Rappaport contends we remain in the grip of this phase which levers religion as an organizing principal for nothing short of a New World

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<sup>38</sup> <http://www.terrorism.history-research.com/history/early.php> Internet accessed 4 April, 2010.

<sup>39</sup> David C. Rappaport. "The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11." *Anthropoetics*, Vol 8 no. 1 (Spring Summer 2002: pp 1-20), 6.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*



Order.<sup>41</sup> I note the discord between Rappaport and Goldhagen insofar as religion and politics and the fourth wave is concerned. My position is more aligned with Goldhagen in that bin Laden's core motivation is political but this objective heavily exploits religion as a mobilizing agent as we see in Chapter III.

Several instructive deductions can be drawn from Rappaport's work. His very definitions of each wave articulate a viewpoint that speak to the problems of context associated with terrorism – one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter, as it were. Wave two could be described as soldiers of national liberation as opposed to anti-colonial terrorists.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, a case could be made that successive waves are less distinct from one another than they are just metamorphoses of one to the next.<sup>43</sup> Clear delineations defy terrorism's evolution as a continuum of extended grievance. It is also clear that some terrorist entities can be induced to enter the political arena as a function of their initial violence. Doing so reduces their propensity toward armed action in favour of exercising grievances in the political domain as illustrated by Hezbollah, Irgun and the Irish Republican Army, to name a few. Political incorporation takes time as governments delicately balance their legitimacy with the emergent profile of the terrorist organization.

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>42</sup> Examples of groups in each wave include: Wave 1 – Les Cagouleurs in France and Santo Caserio in Italy. In the United States, the Chicago Haymarket Bombing of 1886 and the Wall Street Bombing of 1920 provide examples of acts if less attributable to precise groups. Wave 2 – Irgun in Palestine, EKOA in Cyprus and the African National Congress in South Africa. Wave 3 – Black Panthers, The Weathermen and Symbionese Liberation Army in the United States, le Front du Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) in Canada and Black September in the Middle-East and Europe. Wave 4 – Al-Qaeda. Available from [http://www.americanthinker.com/2008/01/the\\_terror\\_scare.html](http://www.americanthinker.com/2008/01/the_terror_scare.html) Internet accessed 16 April, 2010.

<sup>43</sup> An excellent example of organizational metamorphoses is the Groupe Islamique Arme (GIA), a new left organization which became the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) in 1997 and has since become the nucleus for al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM). More broadly, Goldhagen suggests that cooperation of various entities ( Hamas, Hezbollah, al-Qaeda) under Iran's sponsorship elevates the aggregate Political Islamist threat both regionally and internationally. Available from: Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. *Worse Than War: Genocide, Eliminationism, and the Ongoing Assault on Humanity*. (New York: Perseus Publishing, 2009), 501.

The investments in discreet, third party interaction required would suggest this is easier accomplished in a more localized setting as opposed to a transnational one. More important, a degree of political attainability is required in what the terrorists seek. In the case of bin Laden, his aspirations of a Muslim Caliphate are sufficiently ambitious to rule out any such possibility.

Islam is a benevolent faith, elements of which have been co-opted by al-Qaeda and its adherents to advance their interests. It is thus important to distinguish where al-Qaeda is situated within Islam. This section will define the taxonomy of actors, from benevolent Muslim to malevolent jihadi in explaining how Islam is co-opted. Muslims follow the Qur'an, which are the teachings of the Prophet Muhammed. Islam is comprised of majority Sunni (90%) and minority Shia with a small percentage of Sufis and these constituencies range from secular to fundamentalist in their beliefs.<sup>44</sup> A broad category of Muslims believe that Islam's precepts should govern the social and political order, including Salafism.<sup>45</sup> Salafism is often confused with Wahhabism by virtue of the fact that Salafis adhere to the teachings of Abd Al-Wahhab, an Islamic reformer. Salafis seek a return from modern secular governance to Islamic states governed solely in line with first generation interpretations of the Prophet Muhammed's teachings and the Qur'an.<sup>46</sup> This is the theological link in al-Qaeda's grievance of Western government control over

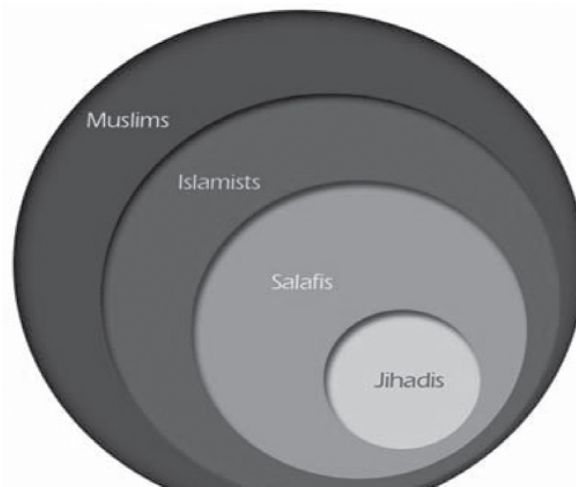
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<sup>44</sup> Brian Drinkwine, Colonel, United States Army. "The Serpent in Our Garden: Al-Qa'ida and The Long War." *United States Army War College Strategy Research Project*. (US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: pp 1-147), 13.

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/intro/islam-salafi.html> Internet accessed 23 March 2010.

<sup>46</sup> Brian Drinkwine, Colonel, United States Army. "The Serpent in Our Garden: Al-Qa'ida and The Long War." *United States Army War College Strategy research Project*. (US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: pp 1-147), 14.

modern Islamic states.<sup>47</sup> Jihadists draw their inspiration from a long list of militant clerics and theorists dating back to Sheikh ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328 AD) through to al-Qaeda's ideological inspiration, Sheikh Abdullah Azzam (1941-1989 AD).<sup>48</sup> Azzam's work was undoubtedly influenced by another prominent Islamic scholar, Sayiid Qutb (1906-1966). Figure 1.1 below is useful in visualizing the constituent elements discussed above.



**Figure 1.1**

Al-Qaeda's philosophy and organization draws from three main sources: Afghanistan Arabs and two Egyptian factions, the Islamic Group and the Egyptian Islamic Jihad. These two groups themselves drew their inspiration from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood whose philosophies were anchored in the works of Sayiid Qutb.<sup>49</sup> Qutb has

<sup>47</sup> The most prominent examples are Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

<sup>48</sup> Youssef Aboul-Enein, Lieutenant-Commander, United States Navy. "The Late Sheikh Abdullah Azzam's Books: Remedy for Muslim Victimization." *Combating Terrorism Center, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York*, 2.

<sup>49</sup> Paul Berman. *The Philosopher of Islamic Terror* (New York Times Magazine, March 23, 2003), 1 Available from <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/23/magazine/the-philosopher-of-islamic-terror.html?pag> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010. Qutb identifies the dangerous element of American life not in capitalist or foreign policy terms, but in its separation of church and state. As such, he defined the fault line between West and Islam along ideological terms. In his own words, "but in reality...the confrontation is not over

been compared to an Islamic version of John Locke.<sup>50</sup> His published work, *Milestones*, uses government illegitimacy as the test for exercising violence along internal and external fronts. Qutb's use of *Ijthad*, an Islamic tool used to define legal positions on specific issues where doctrine was silent, is important to justifying violence within Muslim countries.<sup>51</sup> The following two quotations, by John Locke and Sayiid Qutb respectively, illustrate the fundamental similarities in their views which paradoxically inspire the West and al-Qaeda in similar ways:

The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authoritative of man, but to have only the law of nature for his rule (Locke).<sup>52</sup>

This Din (faith) is a universal declaration of the freedom of man from slavery to other men and his desires, which is also a form of human servitude. Its purpose is to free those people who wish to be freed from enslavement to men so that they may serve Allah alone (Qutb).<sup>53</sup>

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control of territory or economic resources, or for military domination. If we believed that, we would play into our enemies hands and would have no one to blame but ourselves." *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>50</sup> Muqtedar Khan draws the parallels between the two along lines of advocating freedom and rising up from tyrannical leaders. Available from

[http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2003/0728islamicworld\\_khan.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2003/0728islamicworld_khan.aspx) Internet accessed 16 April, 2010.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* The reader must note that other Islamic scholar such as Professor Tariq Ramadan, Professor of Islamic Studies at Oxford and Senior Research Fellow at St. Antony's College (Oxford) take an opposite view allowing the individual to make personal interpretations of *Ijthad* based on their perspectives. I favour Qutb's perspective in this paper for two reasons: it contributes more directly to the collectively held beliefs of jihadis (but individuals may well arrive at supporting jihad based on individual rationalization according to Ramadan). Second, Qutb's views, when set against John Locke's offer a counterweight to anyone wishing to outright dismiss his teachings because of their radical bent. The similarity in perspective between he and Locke force more objective scrutiny on the matter at hand.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

Qutb was hanged by Egyptian authorities in 1966 yet his writings remain relevant to the jihadi discourse today. Viewed without bias, his foundational contentions underpinned by legal interpretations as opposed to theological logic extensions resonate. But his philosophies would be adapted upon by others.

Sheikh Azzam's work departs from the cold logic of Qutb representing a doctrinal extension of the jihadi narrative to be exploited for al-Qaeda's purposes. Azzam's writings and lectures on *al-Qaeda al-Sulba* (The Firm Foundation), ignored centuries of Islamic debate on warfare, reinterpreting the events of the Mujahadeen struggle against Soviet forces in Afghanistan to call for *fard ayn* (compulsory duty). His book, published in the late 1980s, prescribed an action plan for would-be jihadis or their supporters to follow:

- 1 – Islamic religious institutions throughout the Middle-East should send all students to fight the (Soviet) jihad, and support those students with a regular stipend
  
- 2 – Islamic Centers in the United States and Europe can maintain one fighter for between \$6,000-8,000 annually
  
- 3 – A \$27,000 donation opens a *madrassah* (school) in Pakistan,

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<sup>53</sup> Sayiid Qutb. *Milestones* (originally published in 1960s), 47. Available from [http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online\\_library/books/milestones/hold/chapter](http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/milestones/hold/chapter) Internet accessed 16 April, 2010.

while \$54,000 opens a medical clinic for 50 people

4 – There are thousands of needy muhajiroon (refugees) from Afghanistan and Peshawar

5 – Media is absolutely critical to publicize the plight of the Afghans, increase street outrage and to market the jihad to those willing to volunteer themselves and donate funds to the cause.<sup>54</sup>

Qutb's teachings were crucial to al-Qaeda in establishing its formative ideology but Azzam's doctrine moves one step further to define a pragmatic program. Osama bin Laden anchored al-Qaeda's theology to Azzam's version of Salafist Islam in the name of jihad. This formative ideology and al-Qaeda's grand strategy is expanded in Chapter III but the importance of Qutb and Azzam's works is two-fold. First, it illustrates the blend of politics and religion as a vehicle for justifying actions, even at the expense of the Qu'ran. Second, it demonstrates a window into al-Qaeda's "rapid-prototype" mindset where expedient linkages are established between theology and doctrine and widely promulgated for mass consumption.

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

## Chapter II – The Home and Away Adversaries

This chapter defines a cross-section of the contemporary threat debate based on differing views held by Bruce Hoffman and Marc Sageman. I render assessment of the validity of these academic perspectives on the basis of personal experience and judgment.<sup>55</sup>

Competing perspectives will be assessed against the military axioms of leadership, doctrine, training and equipment to reveal more overall weaknesses than strengths. Their versions of the threat will also be examined against economic agency theory as a means of analyzing the effectiveness of each perspective. Unpacking two ends of the jihadi spectrum allows further definition of the threat's characteristics to take shape, and thus made clearer and bolder on assessment of the threat to Canadian interests. In the end, I advance that both Hoffman and Sageman's views merit attention on the basis of intent and capability posing a credible threat. Canada must heed this fact if it hopes to maintain the initiative against the changing forces of Islamist jihadi terrorism and how it could affect this country.

Bruce Hoffman is a leading terrorism scholar and his book *Inside Terrorism* offers a comprehensive analysis of al-Qaeda. His central thesis is that al-Qaeda remains operationally viable largely due to the pivotal role played by al-Qaeda's leadership. This central facet of his viewpoint is the main point of departure from Sageman. Hoffman

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<sup>55</sup> The author has 21 years of service in the Canadian Forces, 11 with the Canadian Special Operations Forces community. He has commanded at the sub-sub-unit, sub-unit, training and unit levels in addition to commanding a Special Operations Task Force conducting combat operations in South-West Asia. He has operational experience in the Balkans, Africa and Afghanistan. He also served as an Emergency Response Officer and major event planner (Francophonie Games 2001 and G8 Summit 2002) with the Ottawa Police Service attaining the rank of Constable 1<sup>st</sup> Class. Lastly, he conducted several private military contracts as a civilian both in Canada and Colombia, South America.

believes that leadership is crucial to sustaining the organization's long term effectiveness. Examples such as Irgun's effort to establish an Israeli State and Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agonistan's (EOKA) struggle for Cypriot statehood make a compelling argument for the power of visionary, charismatic leaders in attaining successful organizational outcomes.<sup>56</sup> He reinforces this position in dissecting Japan's Aum Shinrikyo cult. Shoko Ashara, a non-descript, partially-blind convicted fraudster was able to create a 10,000 person-strong following with offices around the globe and financial assets in excess of USD \$1 Billion.<sup>57</sup> His group ultimately unleashed a deadly sarin gas attack in Tokyo on March 20, 1995 killing 2 and injuring 231.<sup>58</sup> Hoffman's contention that a leader's power is the nexus to an organization's success is thus rooted in historical precedence. Any unit of action requires leadership at some level.

Hoffman conceptualizes al-Qaeda into four separate but not mutually exclusive dimensions. AQ Central is the pivotal Command and Control (C2) node and likely still functions as a global coordination body, if not an actual command element from within Pakistan. AQ Central is populated by its highest reliability members charged with developing the most spectacular future plans.<sup>59</sup> Second in the taxonomy are AQ Affiliates. Relations between groups in places like the Philippines, Chechnya and Uzbekistan pre-date 9-11 but bin Laden's intent with regional Islamic affiliates is to

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<sup>56</sup> Bruce Hoffman. *Inside Terrorism: Revised and Expanded Edition*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 55.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 125. Author Robert Jay Lifton, being interviewed in relation to his book, *Destroying the World to Save It: Aum Shinrikyo, Apocalyptic Violence, and the New Global Terrorism*, noted that group members were not individually sociopathic but rather highly socialized into a religious faction which made them susceptible to overlook violence. Available at <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/Lifton/lifton-con4.html> Internet accessed 7 May, 2010.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.



shape their agendas in creating a global jihadi movement.<sup>60</sup> The third element consists of *AQ* Locals who comprise former fighters with previous al-Qaeda links and who may, or may not, have contact with *AQ* Central. Hoffman contends this group leverages a modicum of experienced former fighters to act upon “very nonspecific, virtually open-ended instructions.”<sup>61</sup> The final element is the *AQ* Network. They are homegrown self-motivated Islamic radicals with no connection to al-Qaeda or other terrorist groups yet are called to duty through ideology and admiration.<sup>62</sup>

Hoffman’s view holds that al-Qaeda presents a polarized, extremist and enduring threat to Western and secular Middle-Eastern countries but that it has transformed into “many al-Qaeda’s” whose amorphous nature makes them increasingly difficult to contain.<sup>63</sup> The absence of a more hierarchical, pre 9-11 al-Qaeda structure establishes a more ‘permissive’ operational culture, thus potentially increasing the randomness of activity.<sup>64</sup> Taken to its extreme, this more permissive approach could involve the use of weapons of mass destruction. Bin Laden is unequivocal in stating that al-Qaeda intends to obtain weapons of mass destruction for employment as a function of fulfilling *AQ*’s theological imperative and he has received approbation for the employment of weapons of mass destruction from a respected Saudi Cleric to do so.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* *AQ* in the Islamic Maghreb (*AQIM*), *AQ* in Iraq (*AQII*) and al-Shabab in Somalia are examples who best represent ‘the franchising’ of *AQ*’s brand.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 287.

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

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 282.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 271.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 274. The Nuclear Security Summit of 12-13 April, 2010 held in Washington with the participation of 47 nations (including Canada) focused on the threat of al-Qaeda seeking vulnerabilities in facilities, stockpiles, discarded materials and expertise to use in the fabrication of improvised nuclear devices or other weapons of mass destruction. The official communiqué articulates the threat: “Nuclear terrorism is one of the most challenging threats to international security, and strong nuclear security measures are the most

Insofar as state response is concerned, Hoffman urges a timely, full threat spectrum mindset that focuses not just on extremes but across the terrorism continuum from state-sponsored on one pole to amateurish ‘lone wolves’ on the other.<sup>66</sup> This view is supported by Simon Reeve in his study of the 1993 World Trade Centre bombing by Ramzi Youssef. He observes that Western security agencies are slow to determine new trends, and when they do react, long response times are the norm.<sup>67</sup> They are reactive rather than proactive. Hoffman warns of the thin divide between prudence and panic in the context of defending against weapons of mass destruction attack.

The main critique of Hoffman’s analysis rests in the all-encompassing nature of his four al-Qaeda categories – the collection of all actors under one umbrella in what he refers to as a “networked transactional constituency.” However, this line of argument lacks evidence and justification. He acknowledges al-Qaeda’s hierarchy gave way to a network structure as a result of Operation Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan 2001) but holds short of accepting any al-Qaeda leadership degradation as a result. Rather, he suggests that al-Qaeda’s reach has extended. He makes the case without substantive

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effective means to prevent terrorists, criminals, or other unauthorized actors from acquiring nuclear materials.” Available from <http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2010/April/2010041371855eafas0.6155773.html> Internet accessed 17 April, 2010. The reference to transnational criminal organizations is noteworthy in linking criminal and terrorist non-state actors under a unified threat space. It is also important to note that both Pakistan and India downplayed their belief that this threat was extant. This illustrates the layered complexity of tending to nuclear terrorism in the context of regional power dynamics, Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty negotiations and other factors.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 280. Hoffman suggests that ‘a focus on the extremes’ contributed to the intelligence failure of 9-11. He correctly points to two previous occasions where similar airliner come bomb tactics had been a terrorist modus operandi (Pakistan/Israel 1986 and France 1994).

<sup>67</sup> Simon Reeve. *The New Jackals: Ramzi Youssef, Osama bin Laden and the Future of Terrorism*. (Boston. Northeastern University Press: 1999), 263. The larger issue here is one of Western democracies and the premiums that are placed on individual rights and freedoms. I will address this tension in Chapter 4.

evidence based on a structural-ideological perspective: somewhere between organization and theology. In preserving the ‘al-Qaeda brand’ for everyone from the idealistic 18 year-old in Toronto to Osama bin Laden himself, Hoffman attributes an organizational legitimacy to virtually any act carried out in the name of Islamic fundamentalism. This extends to al-Qaeda a kind of hyper organizational effectiveness that is unsubstantiated by recent events. Neither the Madrid bombings (2004) nor the 7-7 London attacks (2007) conclusively placed AQ Central at the helm. Hoffman’s view would suggest that Tier 4 AQ Locals prosecuted these strikes. Post-strike analysis revealed that it was disaffected, motivated but ‘un-led’ men who orchestrated these attacks, outside the orbit of AQ Central.

Ascribing a “networked transactional constituency” narrowly invokes structuralism at the expense of context and obscures the dialogue for acts which are, at best, tied to al-Qaeda only ideologically. It aggregates all under one narrative and denies the nuance required when dealing with acts committed by persons or groups who have no al-Qaeda connection beyond reading data on the Internet. Being internally networked and possessing access to the world-wide-web should not grant the legitimacy that comes with association to al-Qaeda.

Marc Sageman’s view of the terrorist threat is more evolutionary in nature. His premise is that modern terrorism has evolved into a leaderless phenomenon because effective command and control between leaders and adherents has essentially been broken.<sup>68</sup> His

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<sup>68</sup> Marc Sageman. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 126.

view of successive waves of al-Qaeda adherents arrive at the conclusion that, while threats exist, they are largely based on a social phenomenon.<sup>69</sup>

According to Sageman, three waves of terror begin with the “originals”, a core group of bin Laden’s acquaintances who gave al-Qaeda its intellectual and operational rigor in the early years.<sup>70</sup> The second wave is comprised of pre 9-11 members who are mostly Western-educated Muslims. The final wave is what we are experiencing today. Lacking any connection to AQ Central, such homegrown terrorists are usually self-motivated amateurs linked through “small world networks” that lack formal indoctrination.<sup>71</sup> Randomly distributed, their strength lies in their lack of organizational coherence in that their dense inter-connectivity dampens the ability to surgically target any nodal structures to good effect.<sup>72</sup> Any chance of de-stabilizing small world networks rests in attacking ‘hubs’ which serve as connecting functions in some cases to wider jihadist structures.

From a strategic perspective, Sageman contends that due to “hostile internal environments,” al-Qaeda is in a consolidation, not an expansion, phase inhibiting AQ Central from exercising prescriptive command and control.<sup>73</sup> He argues further that the ‘AQ Franchises,’ referred to by Hoffman as ‘many AQs,’ are vain attempts to garner operational credibility but without the attendant resources, direction or interaction necessary to undertake coordinated operations.<sup>74</sup> He notes that a lack of organizational

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>71</sup> Marc Sageman. *Understanding Terror Networks*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004),140.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

discipline will continue to weaken the al-Qaeda brand despite its Internet lifeline.<sup>75</sup> The strength of Sageman's perspective is its grounding in what has actually transpired since 9-11. Analysis of various successful or foiled attacks supports the argument of disaggregation between AQ Central and apprehended group members.

Hoffman's and Sageman's perceptions of the al-Qaeda threat are distinctly different in a centralized versus de-centralized sense, but the common thread linking them is the importance of social networking.<sup>76</sup> Hoffman favors centralization with AQ Central still wielding power while Sageman supports de-centralization through his leaderless jihad model. To add fidelity, it is necessary to break down the component elements of what al-Qaeda requires to be considered operationally effective. As with military structure's forces, four basic elements are needed to fight: leadership, doctrine, training and equipment. Before translating these to what it may mean for al-Qaeda, the sub-components of each element are defined as follows:

Leadership relates to a commander's experience and judgment in allowing him to visualize the battle-space and communicate intent to subordinate commanders. The essential elements required to translate vision into action include strategy, plans and command and control. Doctrine is the body of knowledge related to policies, concepts,

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>76</sup> Social networks generally refer to systems of contact enabled especially by the Internet and modern communication devices. These networks allow for rapid exchanges of information and in the context of terrorism, this extends to what some scholars refer to as the merging of transnational criminal actors and terrorists. Leslie Holmes advances that both groups share a secret global underground space and leverage largely the same infrastructure to progress their aims. International smuggling, money laundering, counterfeiting and displays of violence result in periodic merge points, particularly within failed and failing states. Leslie Holmes. *Terrorism, Organized Crime and Corruption: Networks and Linkages*. (Northampton: Elgar Publishing, 2007), 32. I use the term in its broadest sense, from collective Internet site access to the possibility to punctual criminal/terrorist collaboration.

principles, tactics, techniques and procedures and methods of operating at a level beyond individual units of action. In its broadest sense, doctrine allows the disparate components of an organization to deliver and accept services from one another toward collective outcomes. Training provides for the ability to execute operations based on having rehearsed, practiced or otherwise war-gamed an activity. Equipment is the essential resources necessary to undertake the range of allocated tasks which include physical plant such as weapons, explosives and communication devices as well as other resources like money.<sup>77</sup> The following table demonstrates that both schools contain more overall weaknesses than strengths in the context of the terrorist threat in 2010.

<b>Factor</b>	<b>Hoffman</b>	<b>Sageman</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	Leadership equates to effectiveness. AQ Central remains crucial to overall organizational effectiveness in leading planning and targeting. Exert a level of coordination and control for de-centralized execution. Informational component very strong through the internet. <sup>78</sup>	AQ Central contained operationally. <sup>79</sup> Fully de-centralized to regional and local levels thus lacks pan-organizational coherence. AQ Central Provides only ‘spiritual guidance’ on the internet. Informational component very strong through the internet.
<b>Doctrine</b>	Ideology remains very strong. Resident for the most part in AQ Affiliates who provide essential local logistical and other support	Ideology remains very strong. AQ Doctrine has been co-opted by the Taliban (TB) in Afghanistan indicating a merging

<sup>77</sup> Source: author.

<sup>78</sup> Bruce Hoffman. *Inside Terrorism: Revised and Expanded Edition*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 285.

<sup>79</sup> Marc Sageman. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 132.

	and in AQ Locals who possess previous terrorism experience. These two groups ‘operationalize’ AQ Central’s plans. <sup>80</sup>	trend between the Insurgency and Terrorism domains. <sup>81</sup> Training coherence will erode moving ahead.
<b>Training</b>	Much more de-centralized since AQ was uprooted from Afghanistan. Obliquely states that sponsorship from Iran, Syria and others could play a role here. <sup>82</sup>	A temporary resurgence of AQ Central’s ability to train in Waziristan seen as unsustainable in the long term. <sup>83</sup>
<b>Equipment</b>	The robust financial resources of AQ Central and its ability to call upon support from AQ Affiliates and Locals suggests that proper equipment can be marshaled for attacks. Modern state sponsorship in the realm of WMD poses a distinct threat.	Third wave (HGTGs) “left to their own devices. AQ Central “reduced to accepting them (sic HGTGs) after the adherents declare themselves in an act of terrorism” ergo the inference is that independence of action equates to autonomy in resourcing. <sup>84</sup>

**Figure 1.2**

What emerges with strength in this analysis are the informational and ideological domains. This will ensure that far and near adversaries remain indirectly connected within the Internet’s “virtual safe haven.” This segment of the battle-space beckons Western security forces to pay greater attention to it. Leadership and training can both be

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<sup>80</sup> Bruce Hoffman. *Inside Terrorism: Revised and Expanded Edition*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 286.

<sup>81</sup> Marc Sageman. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 132.

<sup>82</sup> Bruce Hoffman. *Inside Terrorism: Revised and Expanded Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 265.

<sup>83</sup> Marc Sageman. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 132. Since the time of publishing, the PK military has conducted aggressive offensive operations in South Waziristan supporting Sageman’s view that the phenomenon of 2006-07 was temporary in nature.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 136. The Madrid Bombings of March 2004 were just such a case where evidence strongly suggests AQ Central knew nothing of the plot until it had been executed. In that sense, Sageman refers to HGTG acts as “an official initiation ceremony into the Al-Qaeda social movement.”

assessed as weak in either a centralized or de-centralized sense. This does not infer the threat itself is weak. The former due to AQ Central being under sustained coalition pressure and the latter due to a lack of experience, commitment or expertise. Hoffman's perspective privileges equipment and resources but the question remains if either can be actualized based on a weakened leadership dynamic. The doctrine aspect is strong in both schools owing to Internet connectivity and for other reasons that we will see later. This supports Sageman's perspective for long run threat sustainability (if not success) because extant doctrine, even if it is infrequently refreshed, should continue to inspire and enable small world network actors.

The more central question is whether my deductions of "current generalized weakness" mean the government can reduce its counter-terrorist efforts? Going back to the earlier definition of terrorism, does it suffice for al-Qaeda to simply be a threat-in-being? Is the *threat* of violence enough to force Western nations to marshal substantial resources as a result? In other words, are sporadic actions somewhere around the world sufficient to maintain global jihadi momentum in all Western countries? While the answer will be more evident at the conclusion of Chapter III, the nature of hazards and associated consequences brought on by terrorism in a globalized context suggest two things. First, the nexus between media coverage and terrorist activity ensures the message is widely disseminated, stimulating interest among theological adherents. Second, Western governments face a 'contagion effect' when an attack occurs outside of their borders. Public insecurity *vis a vis* jihadi terrorism is such that attacks in other countries or on other continents have spillover effects which can affect policy and generally result in



enhanced vigilance far from affected areas. Apathy is thus politically impossible, if not practically unwise, in today's security environment.<sup>85</sup> A tertiary concern is that terrorist techniques tend to adapt after each attack (as a function of reactive security measures) rendering the next attack different from its predecessor and therefore harder to proactively guard against. The trend analysis of countries that have experienced multiple attacks points to an increase in attack severity as well.<sup>86</sup> This is likely to remain so at least into the mid term until a better sense of threat trends is gained and points to the fact that western democracies have no true policy option but to tend to the threat.

This juxtaposition between Hoffman and Sageman regarding the fundamentals of an organization's ability to do violence speaks to more than merely the generalities of a centralized versus de-centralized approach. Looking at these characteristics through the lens of an economic agency theory, we see a crucial internal al-Qaeda vulnerability emerge. Agency theory, developed by scholars Barry Mitnick and Stephen Ross, holds that:

The principal-agent problem treats the difficulties that arise under conditions of incomplete and asymmetric information when a principal

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<sup>85</sup> Umar Farouk Abdul Muttalab's underwear bombing attempt on an American Airlines jet on December 25, 2009 resulted in the implementation of full body scanners at airports in many Western countries including Canada despite having no direct connection to the incident itself. The more recent 29 March, 2010 Moscow terrorist attacks by suspected Chechen "Black Widows" resulted in increased security postures in New York City and Washington and enhanced vigilance in major Canadian city transit systems. Available from: <http://network.nationalpost.com/NP/blogs/toronto/archive/2010/03/29/ttc-on-lookout-after-moscow-subway-bombings.aspx> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010.

<sup>86</sup> Friedrich Schneider et al. *The Economies of Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: A Survey*. Johannes Kepler University: Linz, 2008), 64. This paper caveats its findings in stating that it is impossible to identify definitive root causes for terrorism which varies by country. On the matter of airport security, new measures do improve security (12.2% reduction in skyjackings when metal detectors were introduced in the 1960s) but they result in *threat transference* – that is, the mutation of the threat into other forms or areas.

hires an agent. Agency Theory is directed at the ubiquitous agency relationship, in which one party [the principal] delegates work to another [the agent], who performs that work.<sup>87</sup>

Agency theory relates to leaders, subordinates and self-interested behaviors. More specifically, it is concerned with the alignment of objectives, risk sharing, and organizational efficiencies in the context of a dynamic environment where individual preferences tend to manifest in reaction to one's perceptions.<sup>88</sup> The dilemma between AQ Central, and whatever levels of control it exerts over distributed elements (Hoffman), or between the organic leadership of distributed elements themselves (Sageman) is noteworthy. The United States Military Academy study, *Harmony and Disharmony*, examining al-Qaeda's organizational vulnerabilities focused on precisely this point as it related to resource allocation and tactics. The report postulated that al-Qaeda's reconciliation of agency problems through mitigation strategies exposes operational vulnerabilities. For instance, more closely aligning objectives may result in the exercise of more prescriptive control which creates a tension with operational security.<sup>89</sup> Beyond this, ramifications for those who directly participate in attacks differ vastly from those who support them operationally, such as financiers.<sup>90</sup> Agency Theory amounts to tradeoffs which must be made within the organization as it relates to effectiveness and efficiency. This line of examination exposes key vulnerabilities around the nexus of

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<sup>87</sup> York University. "Theories Used in IS Research." Available from <http://www.istheory.yorku.ca/agencytheory.htm> Internet accessed 24 March 2010.

<sup>88</sup> Jamal al-Fadl, a one-time al-Qaeda operative, reportedly defected to US authorities after al-Qaeda discovered that he had stolen USD\$110,000 from the organization. James Mueller. *Foreign Policy*. (Januray-February 2010), 42.

<sup>89</sup> Faculty and Research Fellows. United States Military Academy. *Harmony and Disharmony* (West Point: Department of Social Sciences, 2006), 14.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

social networking and demonstrates the potential for adversary networks to be as prone to friction as governments are. Understood thus, governments and al-Qaeda are in a race to against the agency problem so adaptation is an important component to successful outcomes.

I conclude that two factors superimpose themselves on the agency problem to explain the overall paucity of terrorist attacks since 9-11. Firstly and in relation to Hoffman's thesis, AQ Central's de-stabilization since the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan has sufficiently isolated the core leadership as to render it incapable to directing any 'spectacular' operations of the 9-11 variety. The separation established between the brain trust and operational arms is simply too great for AQ Central to bridge and this is why no attack similar to 9-11's scale has been experienced since. Alternatively, and in relation to Sageman's hypothesis, the absence of bona fide leadership within and the hyper distribution of units of action decrease the chance of bringing together the planning, resources and coordination required for domestic terrorist acts to occur with any sophistication and frequency.<sup>91</sup> The agency problem of motivated self-interest simply exacerbates the challenges associated with distributed leader-follower relationships in either model.

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<sup>91</sup> Friedrich Schneider et al. *The Economies of terrorism and Counter Terrorism: A Survey*. Johannes Kepler University: Linz, 2008), 66 note that three distinct entities exist within terrorist organizations: leaders, recruits and support groups. Leaders are most militant and have very little flexibility in their ideological views. Recruits (from Sageman's perspective, distributed cells with their own leadership structures) are generally less militant because they are more driven by other external factors (i.e. social, economic) and are therefore more elastic in their views. They can be swayed by demonstrations of stronger security measures, tougher enforcement sanctions and the like. Support groups who generally do not partake in planning or execution are even more elastic in their views.

In relation to Sageman's perspective, two tertiary explanations may help explain why Canada has largely escaped post 9-11 attacks despite being statistically eight times more likely to suffer from homegrown terrorism than the transitional variant.<sup>92</sup> First, certain malignant influences may be lacking in Canada to create homegrown cells in important numbers. Secondly, Canada's relatively successful multicultural integration policies may be responsible for mitigating the threat in the first instance. Indigenous communities may be ideally balanced between home-country cultures blended into the Canadian mosaic to largely offset the risk. We look closer at Canadian demography in the next chapter, but further study would be required to validate this hypothesis. It may help explain the contrasting Canadian trend since 9-11, especially in comparison with European countries that have experienced terrorist attacks, such as Spain and the United Kingdom. However, becoming over-confident with the notion of security in this sense would be illusory. It is equally possible that Canada has been lower on the adversary's "target list" in relation to allies, or mechanisms like the Canadian Border Services Agency security certificates contributed to our "successes."<sup>93</sup> Policymakers may have become lulled into a sense of complacency by the mirage of satisfactory national security architecture and Canadians lack the awareness to know better.

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<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 35. The Fraser Institute Report, *The Politics of Canadian Immigration Policies*, 216, notes that in the aftermath of the Toronto 18 arrests, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police reported in the open press that they had disrupted approximately 12 similar cells in the preceding two years.

<sup>93</sup> Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) security certificates can be issued when permanent residents or foreign nationals (and not Canadian citizens) are assessed to be a danger to national security or a danger to a specific individual(s). The critique of security certificates is that they violate individual civil liberties and due process because the evidence is not made available to the accused or his/her counsel. The crux of the dilemma is balancing national security risk with Charter Rights. Based on the 23 February, 2007 9-0 Supreme Court ruling *against* the security certificate system, the government is studying what amended process may replace security certificates. Available at <http://www.ualberta.ca/centres/css/issues/securitycertificates.php> Internet accessed 7 May, 2010.

Hoffman and Sageman's views are important if we hope to understand the characteristics of al-Qaeda and its adherents. In looking at two distinctly different perspectives, we establish a rationale for why each is relevant. Even though I believe Hoffman over-emphasizes AQ Central's role moving forward, there is no denying that Osama bin Laden and his lieutenants have experienced significant past successes against the West. Moreover, despite the exaggeration of al-Qaeda's network effectiveness across its four constituent parts, the possibility of re-establishing cogent command and control links, if pressure on AQ Central were reduced, is daunting for Canada. Such synergies would greatly expand al-Qaeda operational capability the world over. And the question of weapons of mass destruction is particularly important in the context of AQ Central. Their access to funds, transnational contacts and raw material combined with millenarian motivations are reason enough not to become distracted from this threat stream.

Sageman's perspective is supported by most jihadi-inspired terrorist events since 9-11. As such, his views merit careful consideration. Canada has contended with such threats within our borders. The nature of Western democracy, for all of its strength as a political model, invites the possibility that more homegrown threats are lurking given the very freedoms we seek to preserve. Even the crudest jihadi terrorist attack would undermine Canada's interests. This is especially true given our interests with the United States. A causal link to Canada for an attack executed in the United States would have compelling repercussions to Canada's interests. I explore this in more detail in the ensuing chapter but the fact remains that any bilateral security policy asymmetries making Canada an easier staging ground for attacks on our southern neighbour would be nearly as

devastating as an attack in Canada itself. In this context, perception and reality merge as one. Both far and near adversaries pose a credible threat to Canadian interests. Chapter III will provide the wider context within which we can assess the nature and quality of the threat facing Canada today.

### Chapter III – Canada: Home and Inviting Land

This chapter defines the jihadi threat facing Canada in the current context. It begins by briefly outlining Canada's instruments of national power so that eventual policy recommendations benefit from a realistic resource appraisal, followed by an examination of al-Qaeda's grand strategy which exhibits a surprising level of intellectual rigour.<sup>94</sup> The implications of what this means to the far and near adversaries will be assessed. The current coalition operations in Iraq and Afghanistan will be seen to be exactly in line with what al-Qaeda purports as its long run goals of establishing regional dominance outside the boundaries of extant areas of operations like Afghanistan. Moreover, a more detailed examination of the homegrown threat will be undertaken with specific attention to Canadian demographic statistics to highlight the fact that conditions exist for more near adversaries to emerge. A portrait should thus develop against which coherent national security policy recommendations can be made.

Economically, Canada is a strong performer contributing 3.33% of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's total 30-state output. Canada is expected to be among the leaders in recovering from the global recession of 2008.<sup>95</sup> Possessing highly respected and well-regulated financial institutions, a strong currency and enviable resource base, Canada is blessed with sufficient economic capacity to assume an even

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<sup>94</sup> Abu Bakr Naji. *The Management of Savagery: The Most Critical Stage Through Which the Umma Will Pass*. (Translated by William McCants. Harvard University, 2006).

<sup>95</sup> Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. *Gross Domestic Product Projection Analysis* Available from [http://www.oecd.org/home/0,2987,en\\_2649\\_201185\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/home/0,2987,en_2649_201185_1_1_1_1_1,00.html) Internet accessed 24 March, 2010.

greater leadership role as a G8 and G20 state.<sup>96</sup> Canada is a middle-power state, part of an exclusive club of global leaders. This alone makes it an inviting target for worthy adversaries.

Canada's demography is changing significantly. Between the years 1991-2001, the Muslim population in Canada grew by 139.8% to 254,110 people with a median age of 28.5.<sup>97</sup> Muslims are better educated than the national average yet experience double the rate of unemployment.<sup>98</sup> The vast majority of Canada's current 700,000 plus Muslims contribute in meaningful ways to bettering society. A recent Fraser Institute Report commissioned shortly after the arrest of the Toronto 18 noted that although 80% of Muslims were "satisfied with their lives here," 12% condoned the actions of apprehended terrorists as "justifiable." This represented 84,000 Canadians who believed bombing federal institutions and murdering the Prime Minister *was acceptable*.<sup>99</sup> The Report's essence calls into question Canada's unwillingness to revise its immigration policies in the face of an emerging jihadi threat that is both, by definition and historically, related to an identifiable demographic. When confronted with unwanted asylum seekers, Canada is caught between a bureaucratic rock and a humanitarian hard place. Canadian Charter of Rights protections prevent not accepting every asylum seeker on Canadian soil and the United Nations Convention Against Torture prohibits deportation to countries suspected

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<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Government of Canada, Statistics Canada Website:

<http://www.12statcan.ca/english/census01/products/highlight/Religion/Page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=CMA&View=2a&Code=535&Table=1&StartRec=1&Sort=2&B1.htm> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010. These figures contrast with a national growth rate of 20% and a median age of 36.0.

<sup>98</sup> 6% of Muslim hold Masters Degree as compared to 2% of the Catholic population and they are unemployed at a rate of 14.4% against the current national average of 8.2%. Available from <http://www.torontomuslims.com/thinking/muslimsincanada.asp> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010.

<sup>99</sup> The Fraser Institute. *The Politics of Canadian Immigration Policies* available at <http://www.fraserinstitute.org/Commerce.../MassImmigration.pdf> Internet accessed 14 April, 2010.



of torturing prisoners.<sup>100</sup> Canada has a youthful and growing Muslim population that is underachieving in some respects. This internal dynamic requires careful management on the social and economic fronts.<sup>101</sup> This national issue is doubtlessly followed closely by homeland security officials the United States.

From a military and security perspective, Canada finds itself in a somewhat strategically vulnerable position with an ongoing buildup of the Canadian Forces occurring simultaneously with a sustained combat operations role in its sixth year in Afghanistan. At any rate, Canada's Land Forces are small with only three maneuver brigades able to deploy on varying states of readiness.<sup>102</sup> Post 9-11 investments in a new national security and public safety architecture continue to mature. The creation of a Department of Public Safety, an Integrated Threat Assessment Centre and, more generally, an immediate CAD\$ 7 billion infusion into the defence and security sectors following 9-11 were as much substantive national necessities as they were necessary symbols to show the United

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<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* Egypt, Morocco, Russia, China and Senegal are currently listed as banned for deportation. Other countries like the United Kingdom and Germany face the same situation yet they have proactively secured bilateral agreements to conduct prison inspections with these countries so as to balance timely repatriation with national due diligence. In 2003, Canada's Auditor General found a discrepancy of 36,000 in the number of asylum seekers ordered deported and confirmed departures. Canadian legal precedent is found under *Singh v. Minister of Employment and Immigration*.

<sup>101</sup> Canada currently has 53,000 unwanted refugees in the country. It hosts approximately 27,000 refugee claims per year. On average, it takes 4.5 years to remove unwanted refugees pending various levels of appeal. Available at <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/backgrounders/11/2010/2010-03-30c.asp>. Internet accessed 16 April, 2010. CSIS conducted 26,800 Front End Screening Program interviews in 2008/2009. These are designed to "identify and filter potential security cases from the refugee claimant stream as soon as possible in the determination process. This suggests CSIS is involved in virtually every refugee claimant although it is unclear how the approximately 50,000 backlogged cases factors into CSIS's figures or when exactly in the refugee claimant process interviews are conducted. Assuming a proportion of interviews occurs in Canada, it would contribute to a loss of control of a portion of negatively screened interviewees based on an inability to incarcerate until the appeal process runs its course.

<sup>102</sup> Of 19,500 Land Force officers and troops, only about 12,000 represent operationally deployable capability. The Land Force Reserve component is approximately 15,000 strong, nominally organized into 10 Brigade Groups but their operational value-added rests in individual to platoon (32 soldiers) augmentation. Available from <http://www.army.forces.gc.ca/land-terre/ata-asl/index-eng.asp> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010.

States that Canada was committed to North American continental security and fighting terrorism. How else could one interpret the uncharacteristic and decisive infusion of security funds from Prime Minister Chretien following an attack outside his own country. But how far should symbolism extend? The recent appointment of Canada's National Security Advisor, Lucie Morin, on 17 November, 2008 is instructive.<sup>103</sup> It seems logical that a blend of leadership excellence and subject matter expertise should combine in some measure to ensure leaders within the Government of Canada can fully undertake their important responsibilities. Based on Morin's impressive trade credentials, it is logical to conclude that broad experience carries greater weight than specific expertise, even on matters of national security. Nevertheless, Canada's hard power toolbox remains modest and its national security sector is somewhat immature and undersubscribed. National security vulnerabilities are thus accessible in the public domain.<sup>104</sup>

Al-Qaeda has a grand strategy. Stephen Ulph, a noted Senior Fellow at the Jamestown Foundation, in his testimony before the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence presciently noted the following on the matter of al-Qaeda's intellectual rigour and documentation:

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<sup>103</sup> Morin's background is international trade. In a sampling of experience, she was Deputy Minister International Trade from 2003-06, a Chief Trade Commissioner and a Director General of Trade Policy Development. A lawyer by training, Mme Morin does not appear to possess any security-related background germane to the job of National Security Advisor.

<sup>104</sup> Government of Canada. 2009 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada. Available from: [http://www.oag.bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl\\_oag\\_200911\\_07\\_e\\_33208.html#hd3a](http://www.oag.bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_200911_07_e_33208.html#hd3a) Internet accessed 16 April, 2010 addresses several weaknesses in the Department of Public Safety's (PS) leadership. To name a few shortfalls, PS lacks an all-hazards risk assessment mechanism, has a 39% vacancy rate (08/09), lacks experience and has yet to finalize a critical infrastructure security strategy. Canada's Counter-Terrorism Plan, Plenary IV reveals that the National Counter Terrorist Plan (designed to articulate to national security organizations *how* CT policy is implemented during crisis), originally approved in 1989 has undergone two revisions (1997 and 2000) and is "presently undergoing revision – Evergreen". Clearly, no revision of this capstone document since 9-11 demonstrates a distinct lack of national focus and urgency on the part of national security leadership.

It soon becomes obvious that these ‘doctrinal’ and ‘cultural’ works are meticulously composed and written for purposes specific to jihad. They form its life-blood, its intellectual infrastructure. They are in constant circulation. They amount to the entire educational program, a “curriculum of jihad” if you will, and with great skill illustrate to us the process of radicalization.<sup>105</sup>

Ulph’s core message is that al-Qaeda’s strategy, doctrine and academic debate serve three main functions: to serve as its ideological bedrock, to provide political validation and to ensure moral justification for its actions.<sup>106</sup> He suggests the West is ignoring this trove of valuable information. Moreover, these works are available to us as they must be open-source by definition in order to accomplish their goal.

Abu Bakr Naji is considered the father of al-Qaeda’s theology spelled out in the translation of his published work, *The Management of Savagery: The Most Critical Stage Through Which the Umma Will Pass*. This voluminous and impressive strategic document cogently explains al-Qaeda’s long term strategy and its philosophical underpinnings. In broad terms, Naji describes three stages through which the struggle will pass.<sup>107</sup> First, *Power Vexation and Exhaustion* is designed to disperse the concentration of Western forces by drawing coalition troops into specific areas “for

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<sup>105</sup> Stephen Ulph. Written Testimony before the United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 24 May, 2007, 1.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>107</sup> Abu Bakr Naji. *The Management of Savagery: The Most Critical Stage Through Which the Umma Will Pass*. (Translated by William McCants. Harvard University, 2006), xxx.

vexation operations” in order to establish the foundations for coming jihad beyond those borders. In classically military terms – these are economy-of-force operations.

Importantly, Naji highlights the US’ extra cost to operate and sustain itself in Afghanistan as compared to the Soviets in the 1980s.<sup>108</sup> The second stage, *The Management of Savagery*, refers to areas devoid of large concentrations of coalition troops otherwise engaged elsewhere. Here, al-Qaeda seeks to take control of failed or failing states by exerting governance to desperate populations. Sub-tasks include spreading internal security, providing food and medical treatment, securing the borders from invasion, establishing Sharia justice and raising indigenous forces. Naji leaves ample scope to establish alliances with those “who have not given *complete* (emphasis mine) allegiance to the administration [sic failing state authorities].”<sup>109</sup> In the third stage, *The Power of Establishment*, Naji confines al-Qaeda’s ambition to a maximum of two or three states that are ideally situated within a vulnerable regional context. This implies that appropriate demographic and social conditions favoring successful outcomes must form key components of the selection criteria. Naji goes so far as to mention Yemen. This stage seeks outright consolidation of jihadi power within existing state borders.<sup>110</sup>

Naji’s strategy goes beyond far flung regions and addresses the matter of attacking Western interests at home both indirectly and directly. His sophisticated appreciation of the West’s strategic Centre of Gravity – public opinion – is well developed:

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<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 15. Figures for costs vary but two sources offer credible estimates. To date, the US effort in Afghanistan has cost USD \$860 billion and can be understood in 2006 terms as costing USD \$390,000/soldier/year. Available from <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/01/weekinreview/01glanz.html> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010. Another perspective is the aggregate costs to the United States for both Iraq and Afghanistan projected out to 2017 will cost USD \$2.4 trillion. Available from <http://www.cfr.org/publication/15404/#p2> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 11(a).

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

This overwhelming power [Western military power] is also assisted by the cohesion (*tamasuk*) of the society in the central country and the cohesion of that society's institutions and sectors. The overwhelming military power (weapons, technology, fighters) has no value without the cohesion of society and the cohesion of (society's) institutions and sectors. But this overwhelming military power may become a curse to this great superpower if the cohesion of society collapses.<sup>111</sup>

Naji's appreciation resonates for several reasons. The first is its comprehensive approach in fighting Western interests both abroad and in their own countries which correlates to far and near enemies. He also exhibits sound logic in attacking the democratic pressure point of public opinion. The vexation operations phase is designed to literally bleed out Western resources in terms of human treasure, money, resources and will. To be clear, I am not suggesting that democratic debate is the problem – stifling that plays into bin Laden's hands. The point is that al-Qaeda, its adherents, and their insurgent offspring in theatres of operations deliberately target known national vulnerabilities in an effort to fuel the tone and sustainability of the debate.<sup>112</sup> It cleaves on the fault line between security and individual freedoms underpinned by democratic processes. In this way, Naji's strategy hopes to pull public opinion away from supporting both expeditionary

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<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 7(a)

<sup>112</sup> Taliban insurgents in Afghanistan often use human shields (women and children), homes and even mosques in operations against coalition forces to induce the possibility of collateral damage – one of Canada's key concerns relative to our efforts there. Available from: <http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8519507.stm> Internet accessed 22 April, 2010. The author has also personally dealt with such phenomena during operations in Kandahar Province in 2006/2007.

operations and strong state anti terror policies. And it seeks to do so from the strategic to tactical levels in a full-spectrum attack on the instruments of national power and unity of action.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, Naji's second stage correlates with Hoffman's model whereby AQ Affiliates in North Africa or Yemen establish an initial beachhead for AQ Central to exploit. In terms of direct attacks against Western states, Naji reinforces the need to attack economic interests, tourist destinations and media as a means to drain state resources through reactionary (and costly) enhanced security measures.<sup>114</sup> Al-Qaeda's strategy is forward thinking, audacious and comprehensive. The fact that it targets Canadian interests through engagement at home and abroad, and that these words have been translated into actions, supports the argument that both Hoffman and Sageman's views carry weight.<sup>115</sup> Elements of both the Hoffman and Sageman schools can be seen in Naji's grand strategic design.

The far adversary relates primarily to al-Qaeda Central but also involves 'affiliates' and 'locals' in the Hoffman school of thought. This threat is of a lesser probability (to

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<sup>113</sup> Strategically, al-Qaeda makes good use of real or perceived Western missteps, especially relative to collateral damage, by packaging world-class media products which are disseminated very quickly. At the tactical level (and based on my own experiences in Afghanistan), insurgent fighters often create the conditions for collateral damage to occur at the tactical level of war by shielding themselves with locals or leveraging infrastructure for combat operations in contravention of the Geneva Convention.

<sup>114</sup> The estimated cost of 9-11 is USD\$ 2.0 trillion and includes a wide range of factors such as, *inter alia*, human life, lost production, decreased financial market value and increased security. The airline industry portion is believed to be approximately USD \$40 billion. Available from <http://www.iags.org/costof911.html> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010. Alternatively, one must consider the potential costs of further airline industry shutdown when considering incremental security upgrades as part of the Cost-Benefit Analysis. RAND Corporation projects future shocks to US airline industry resulting in closure as follows (read cost/period of shutdown; all figures USD): 1.4 billion/1 day, 15.8 billion/1 week and 70.7 billion/1 month. James Chow et al. *Protecting Commercial Aviation Against the Shoulder Fired Missile Threat*. (Santa Monica: Library of Congress, 2005), 10.

<sup>115</sup> Canada has been named by Osama bin Laden himself and on al-Qaeda websites as a country which must be attacked due to its support of coalition efforts in Afghanistan. Available from [http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/1080788091951\\_67/?hub=TopStories](http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/1080788091951_67/?hub=TopStories) Internet accessed 23 April, 2010.

directly threaten Canadian interests) but higher consequence for reasons of sophistication and means. A highly integrated and spectacular attack of the 9-11 type would pose a major national setback along political, economic and social fronts. Politically, Canada can ill afford to be perceived by the US as a security liability. This would result in an indirect erosion of sovereign decision-making regarding homeland security legislation, regulation and implementation under pressure from the US to tighten security protocols on their northern flank.<sup>116</sup> The effects of a major domestic attack would be most pronounced on the economic front.<sup>117</sup> There would also be social costs. A major domestic attack would consume inordinate amounts of political leadership from those responsible to manage the country's affairs not to mention the loss of international prestige in failing to deter it in the first instance.

Taken to another level, an attack employing weapons of mass destruction would elevate all the aforementioned factors considerably. Evidence strongly suggests that AQ Central

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<sup>116</sup> Several examples exist. The now defunct practice of assisting US security agencies in their Extraordinary Rendition Process (as was the case of Mohammed Arar) is an example of measures that resulted from the post 9-11 atmosphere likely not to have been taken by Canadian authorities otherwise. Another is the recent implementation of document requirements when crossing the Canada-US border; something the Government of Canada tried to avoid. Lastly, the rapid implementation of airport security scanners (Rapiscan) in December, 2009, following the failed 'underwear bombing' on 25 December, 2009 is indicative of measures to which Canadian authorities likely submitted due to US imperatives.

<sup>117</sup> The most significant costs would be second-order resulting from border perturbations. A recent Congressional Report notes bilateral trade is worth USD \$ 533.7 billion/year with Canada exporting USD \$303.4 billion to US and importing USD \$ 230 billion/year. Beyond this, highly integrated industries would suffer additional indirect production costs. The same Report notes current industry costs for enhanced security measures adopted since 9-11 stands at between \$USD 7.5 billion and 13.2 billion per year so additional security measures can be considered in context.<sup>117</sup> History shows that economic impact of a single attack would ease within about two years. Terrorism reduces short-term consumption but its larger potential impact is on supply chain interruptions. Evidence suggests only those countries who face protracted terrorist campaigns are significantly economically affected at the national level. Spain's Basque Separatist Movement in the Basque Region is believed to have lowered its GDP by 12% points through the 1980s and 1990s. Israel's GDP decreased by 10% points in 2004 following the Second Intafada which began in late 2000. Friedrich Schneider et al. *The Economics of Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: A Survey* (Johannes Kepler University: Linz, 2010), 46.

has made numerous attempts to gain access to such weapons dating back to 1993 from Central Asia and Iraq,

Moreover, since that time [1996] incontrovertible information has repeatedly come to light that clearly illuminates al Qaeda's long-standing and concerted efforts to develop a diverse array of chemical, biological, and even nuclear weapons capabilities.<sup>118</sup>

AQ Central is significant to Canada's interests because it retains dangerous characteristics. It has knowledge, resources, very capable individuals and a fanatical motivation to succeed in operations. Author Daniel Goldhagen refers to al-Qaeda as "Political Islam that preaches and acts upon a lethal eliminationist political creed grounded in Political Islamists' understanding of Allah's commands and promises."<sup>119</sup> Al-Qaeda has network potential even if its ability to be realized at the moment is dampened. Al-Qaeda possesses a road map of where it intends to go in the form of Naji's grand strategy and a perpetual guiding star of this type provides all jihadis a degree of political-strategic unity of thought, purpose and action that matters a great deal. In difficult times of setback, strategy offers coherence within chaos. Even eschewing this logic, confronting an adversary who seeks an absolutist, new world order potentially

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<sup>118</sup> Bruce Hoffman. *Inside Terrorism: Revised and Expanded Edition*. (New York: Columbia Press, 2006), 272.

<sup>119</sup> Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. *Worse Than War: Genocide, Eliminationism, and the Ongoing Assault on Humanity*. (New York: Perseus Publishing, 2009), 208.



through apocalyptic means involving weapons of mass destruction should serve to focus national minds and resources toward the issue.<sup>120</sup>

The near adversary, or home grown variety, is also potentially harmful to the state. It is a higher probability but lower consequence threat. According to Sageman, we are in the process of witnessing the third wave of jihadis. He explains the evolution in three waves. The first wave represented the old guard who today comprise Hoffman's AQ Central, those who fought against the Soviets in Afghanistan in the 1980s and demonstrate unfailing loyalty to one another. The second was inspired by the first cohort, and fought in various regional conflicts such as Bosnia and Chechnya throughout the 1990s. The third wave consists mostly of second generation citizens of Western states who have sporadically reached out to AQ for more formal training but remain within their borders.<sup>121</sup>

Sageman contends the third wave takes time to mature when he states, "joining the jihad is a process, not a decision."<sup>122</sup> In other words, the process is evolutionary in nature. His thesis advances that would-be jihadis embark upon a continuum of activities that leads to action only for a small minority. This happens via a bottom-up process that is both

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<sup>120</sup> Jeff Victoroff. "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches" *The Journal of Conflict Resolution Vol 49 no. 1* (February 2005: pp 3-42), 25, draws upon the analysis of Harvard psychiatrist and author Robert J. Lifton whose contention that capability (resources, know-how etc.) and intent (desire, religious motivations etc.) combine within millenarian groups to form threats worthy of guarding against. Captured al-Qaeda operatives such as Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, Abu Zubaydah, Walid bin Attah and Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri attest to significant skill and expertise which, when combined with bin Laden's political objective of re-establishing the Muslim Caliphate, speak indicators of a millenarian organization.

<sup>121</sup> Marc Sageman. *Leaderless Jihad*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 50.

<sup>122</sup> Marc Sageman *Understanding Terror Networks*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 91.

political and religious and one that can only be understood in the context of individual and situational factors.<sup>123</sup> For a militant jihadi to manifest, several ingredients are needed. People, affected by a system within a given context, must interact in a precise manner for the correct toxic cocktail to form. These actors are generally people born and raised in Western countries thus socialized in a modern democratic context. Their reference points are our reference points. They compare themselves not against someone of their age in their parent's home country, but against someone of their age in this country.<sup>124</sup> This important precept to understanding home grown terrorists must be situated against the earlier statistical breakdown of Muslim demography within Canada to understand where that community is positioned moving forward. The social and economic indicators do not bode well.<sup>125</sup> This is not to suggest that all home grown terrorists are Muslim, but historical analysis of the over ten post 9-11 cells suggests that the majority of our attention should be focused there.<sup>126</sup> Canadian political leaders and national security practitioners must be alert to the potential risk factors moving ahead.

We turn to how radicalization of home grown citizens occurs. Marc Sageman's limited dataset of jihadis who have been interviewed reveal an interesting macro portrait.<sup>127</sup> The

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>124</sup> Marc Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 83.

<sup>125</sup> Stewart Bell, *Cold Terror: How Canada Nurtures and Exports Terrorism Around the World*. (Toronto: Wiley, 2004), xv. Bell cites internal CSIS Reports stating that al-Qaeda has distributed agents and sleeper cells distributed in major cities in Canada along ethnic lines (i.e. Algerians in Montreal, Egyptians in Toronto). Bell contends the threat to Canada is highly unpredictable. Stewart also quotes former CSIS Director Ward Elcock rationalizing that Canada is attractive to terrorists due to long and largely undefended coastlines, open societal democratic protections, proximity to the United States and limits on the state's ability to combat domestic terrorism.

<sup>126</sup> Mitchell D. Silber and Arvin Bhatt, *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat*. (New York City Police Department, 2007), 56.

<sup>127</sup> Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 93. The average age is 25.69 at the time of joining the jihad, 70% join in a country other than their country of

most crucial characteristic as to whether or not a potential jihadi enters the radicalization process relates to social bonding. Such bonds are reinforced in a three stage process of socially affiliating with like-minded individuals, becoming formally accepted to the jihadi structure and cementing one's ambitions through ideological acceptance.<sup>128</sup>

Analysis of convicted Canadian Millennium Bomber, Ahmed Ressay, supports this theory. Alarming, Canadian security officials were secretly listening in on many of the meetings held between Ressay and his disenfranchised colleagues for months prior to his arrest but could take no action based on the evidence at the time.<sup>129</sup> This case shows that Ressay followed all three stages noted above. He developed kinships with like-minded Muslims that became friendships in stage one. He undertook 11 months of training in Afghanistan in 1998 formalizing his acceptance into AQ. And his ideological drive was sufficiently robust to carry through with his planned attack in Los Angeles despite the arrests of three co-conspirators in the year leading up to the attack.<sup>130</sup> Ressay's case reveals a number of facts that are important for Canadians to understand. First, security officials have difficulty contending with the delicate balance between intelligence and evidence or individual rights and collective security. Second, unsophisticated al-Qaeda-inspired terrorist attempts resonate somewhat in Canada but exponentially more in the United States. Third, and most importantly, the Ressay event has indelibly imprinted in

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birth, 97% have adopted a Salafist ideology and the majority were unemployed at the time of embarking on the path to jihad.

<sup>128</sup> Marc Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 135. The NYPD Report, *Radicalization in the West* (which will be elaborated on further) refer to gathering places where like-minded would-be radicals gather as "radicalization incubators." "They become pit stops, hangouts and meeting places. Generally, these locations, which together comprise the radical subculture of a community, are rife with extremist rhetoric." Mitchell D. Silber et al. New York City Police Department. *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat* (New York: NYPD, 2007), 20.

<sup>129</sup> Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press ), 101.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

the minds of many in the United States that Canada presents a vulnerability to the United States insofar as it is perceived as a terrorist safe haven.<sup>131</sup> That there are many thousands of upset, disadvantaged individuals within society today who do not become jihadis demands we look closer into the situational factors of homegrown terrorism.

Sageman's statistical analysis indicates that feelings of moral outrage associated to the exercise of Western foreign policy, in a collective sense, serves as a catalyst drawing some individuals toward radicalization. A belief that disproportionate violence is being applied to largely helpless Muslims provokes strong sentiments of hostility that are sometimes channeled in a call to action. This relates directly to Abu Bakr Naji's *Management of Savagery* strategy where collateral damage reinforced by immediate public dissemination was seen as highly beneficial to the cause. Moral outrage in an individual sense is reinforced when an actor perceives that opportunities are diminished relative to a Canadian peer for reasons of racism, bias or just the poor fortune for having been born into the minority. Marginalized individual opportunities combine with like-minded disenfranchised peers in search of a reason to lash out at the nation responsible for denying them their due.

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<sup>131</sup> Shortly after assuming her duties, United States Homeland Secretary Janet Napolitano states some of the 9-11 terrorists had entered the United States from Canada. One month later, she clarified her position apologizing for the factual inaccuracy regarding 9-11 but went on to state "the fact of the matter is that Canada allows people into its country that we do not allow into ours." Such sentiment, coming from one of the most influential national security officials in the US Government, is likely pervasive. In response to her statement, Canadian Public Safety Minister Peter Van-Loan stated, "there are very real terrorist threats and some of them, we have to confess to ourselves in Canada, are home grown." He was referring to Momin Khawaja, an Ottawa Muslim arrested in association with the London 7-7 attacks and the Toronto 18. Available from: <http://www2.macleans.ca/2009/05/27/professors-napolitano-and-van-loan-conduct-a-seminar/> Internet accessed 18 April, 2010.

The New York City Police Department's comprehensive Report, *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat*, studied five international and five domestic cases of homegrown terror groups and arrived at a four-stage radicalization model largely consistent with Sageman's analysis. Its findings make several important conclusions. First, al-Qaeda provides inspiration but direct contact between AQ Central and homegrown actors is the exception not the rule. Second, distinct indicators and signatures can be discovered in each of the four stages of radicalization.<sup>132</sup> Third, European countries have largely failed to adequately assimilate second and third generation immigrants into their society creating the potential for radical viewpoints to develop.<sup>133</sup> Fourth, second and third generation immigrants within the United States tend to be more resilient to, but not immune from, radicalization's pull.<sup>134</sup> Fifth, the Internet is a key enabler. Sixth, individuals start along the radicalization path but nodes, with a defined leader, are required to complete the journey toward operational outcomes. Seventh, many fully radicalized actors fulfill their aspirations overseas (and not domestically) as Mujahedeen. Eighth, the events of 9-11 have not created this

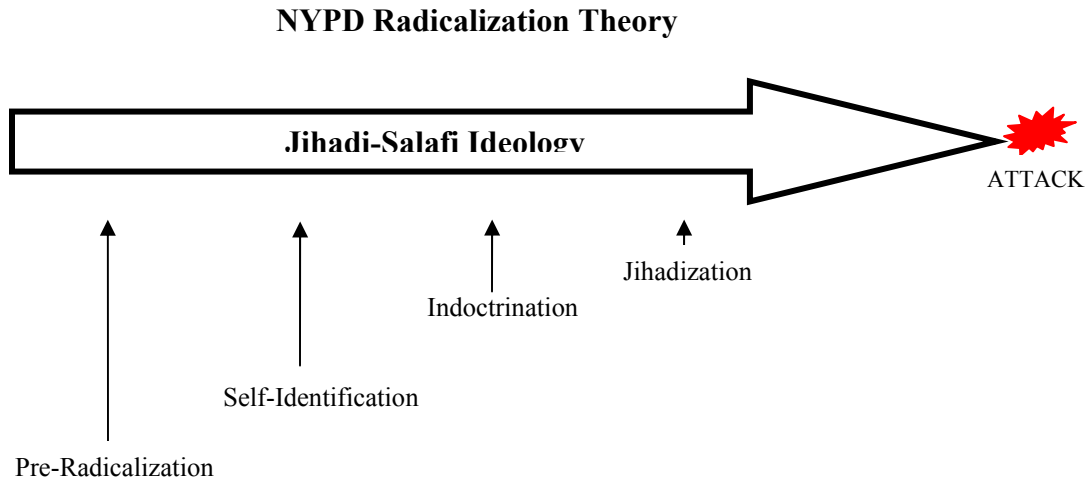
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<sup>132</sup> The New York City Police Department's Report *Radicalization in the West* outlines numerous indicators, some of which include: alienation from previous lifestyle including eschewing Western clothes and habits in a favour of traditional mannerism including beard growth. A change in social networks, greater social activism, spending more time at Mosque and a propensity to partake in "outward bound"-type activities in rural areas are other indicators (31).

<sup>133</sup> Friedrich Schneider et al. *The Economics of Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: A Survey* (Johannes Kepler University: Linz, 2010), 90. 98% of all European terrorist attacks from 1950-2004 occurred in six countries. France, United Kingdom, Germany, Greece, Italy and Spain. Larger populations promote the likelihood of domestic terrorism while strong social policies mitigate their presence. Moreover, "good institutions" modulate social discontent associated with economic deprivation relative to the mean population. Weaker governance (coalitions) or political transitions (Spain and Greece) are believed to play a role in promoting domestic terrorist activity. I suggest geography also plays a significant role in the European experience as compared with North America which benefits from geographically advantageous isolation from a troubled Middle East, Africa and South West Asia.

<sup>134</sup> Canada's similarity to the United States in the cultural and socio-economic domains (as compared to Europe especially) allow for a like deduction to be drawn in the Canadian context. I advance that Canada may even be less prone to this risk as compared to the United States but a more detailed exploration of this would be required to assess the relational similarities.

phenomenon but they have accelerated the rate at which it progresses by dint of its global nature and narrative. Finally, the Report notes the subtle and generally non-criminal nature of events in the radicalization process thus emphasizing the importance of intelligence as a discipline in combating it.<sup>135</sup>



**Figure 1.3**

**Source: NYPD Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat**

The near adversary poses a wicked problem to security and law enforcement officials.<sup>136</sup>

Events since 2001 in Canada, Australia, the United States, Spain and the United Kingdom

confirm that this phenomenon exists in ways that are generally similar.<sup>137</sup> Individuals

<sup>135</sup> Mitchell D. Silber et al. New York City Police Department. *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat* (New York: NYPD, 2007), 85.

<sup>136</sup> The term “wicked problem” was originally defined by Horst Rittel in defining problem sets within a social context that defy traditional, linear solutions. They have numerous governing characteristics such as: 1 – one does not understand the problem itself until one devises a solution. 2 – they have no stopping rule as in they continue to worsen over time. 3 – all potential solutions are neither right or wrong; they simply make the situation better or worse but do not solve it. 4 – every wicked problem presents unique and novel qualities. 5 – every solution is ‘one shot’ in its ability to affect outcomes and it will either worsen or ameliorate the issue. 6 – there are no given alternative solutions. Available at <http://cognexus.org> Internet accessed 22 March, 2010.

<sup>137</sup> Stewart Bell. *Cold Terror: How Canada Nurtures and Exports Terror Around the World*. (Toronto: Wiley, 2004), xxvii, former CSIS Director Ward Elcock echoed other directors going back to 1998: “I do

combine with “systems” (comprised of like-minded people), belief structures and a globalized marketplace of ideas and actions to potentially become dangerous homegrown terrorists. Western security forces operate from a position of informational weakness due to sheer volume and scale of the threat space. It is inconceivable to monitor, identify and track every elusive potential threat stream, a problem exacerbated by the limits imposed on intelligence collection methods. Moreover, the adversary’s rate of change is high, denying law enforcement and security officials the benefits associated with a predictable opponent.

Practically, the far and near hybrid threat is problematic not only because constituent parts pose individual risk, but because their synergies would make the whole more capable than the sum of their parts. In other words, AQ Central’s sophistication and means meeting homegrown terrorist’s mobility and local knowledge, in a long term process of collaboration, equates to an increased threat to national security. This merger would only be made possible through robust social networking however. The illustration below graphically represents the far adversaries as red arrows seeking to project effects from offshore and the near adversary as yellow stars. The hybrid coloured connectors represent both a greater threat to Canada and a vulnerability to the adversary that can be exploited by security forces. These connectors are important social networking hubs that would require activation for the two groups to converge.

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not believe that Canadians want their country to be known as a place from which terrorist acts elsewhere are funded or fomented. We cannot ever become known as some R&R (sic, rest and recreation) facility for terrorists. In other words, and I will be as blunt as I can be, we cannot become, through inaction or otherwise, what might be called an unofficial state sponsor of terrorism.” This is the strongest statement I have found in my research from a leading Canadian national security expert on the matter of Canada’s policy and philosophies regarding the al-Qaeda and AQ-inspired threat.



**Figure 1.4 Source: Author**

AQ Central's doctrinaire expertise, resources and sophistication and homegrown terrorism's ambiguity, mobility and self-motivation result in hazards to Canadian interests individually which are heightened as an aggregate.<sup>138</sup> It makes sense, then, that Canada's response should feature a tiered posture integrating defence and security stakeholders in the closest manner possible. This would represent a departure from long-held divisions within Canada's national security culture.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Tore Bjorgo. *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, Realities and Ways Forward*. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 223. Bjorgo notes several trends that emerge from Salfist jihadi terrorism: 1 - they are more lethal than antecedent threats. 2 - they are less dependent on state sponsorship. 3 - they are becoming increasingly non-secular. 4 - they have become more suicidal. 5 - they increasingly link to transnational organized criminal networks. 6 - they organize in more loosely affiliated groups and 7 - they allegedly strive to obtain weapons of mass destruction.

<sup>139</sup> Some examples include the Privy Council Office's separate secretariats of intelligence/security and defence/foreign policy without an overarching National Security Council to fuse information into decision-quality advice to the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Another example would be the Integrated Threat Assessment Centre which sits outside of Privy Council within the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, a Special operating Agency nominally controlled by the Department of Public Safety. In short, these dispositions represent a blend of pre-9-11 structure and post 9-11 initiatives that fail to synergize a layered defence system for the Government of Canada.



## Chapter IV – National Interests. What Interests?

This chapter situates Canada's contemporary governance challenges in order to contextualize the policy recommendations that follow in Chapter V. A brief historical look into the speeches of Mackenzie King at the outbreak of World War II reveals that an interagency (Whole-of-Government) mindset is nothing new. Canadian political leadership has been struggling to contend with complicated problems through a more holistic approach since the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, particularly in relation to international conflict. The contemporary state of Canadian governance and the search for definition of what interagency means in practical terms sets the context for policy and structural reforms.

A state's interests should unambiguously inform its domestic and foreign policy choices. Canada has difficulty with this concept. The Prime Minister's Office does not articulate Canada's national interests in a manner accessible to Canadians or government bureaucracy.<sup>140</sup> In examining the most recent Speech from the Throne to open the 3<sup>rd</sup> Session of the 40<sup>th</sup> Parliament, the first mention of national security appears on page 15 of 23 with a reference to the drawdown of Canada's current mission in Afghanistan followed by a one line entry on page 21 mentioning global security in the context of human rights.<sup>141</sup> For its part, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

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<sup>140</sup> Government of Canada. Prime Minister's Office (PMO) Website available at <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/default.asp> Internet accessed 22 March, 2010, lists the PM's current priorities as: strengthening our financial system, supporting families and communities, stimulating our economy, sustaining our fiscal advantage and staying the course on long term priorities. These are nothing more than short term political objectives.

<sup>141</sup> Government of Canada. Speech from the Throne to open the 3<sup>rd</sup> Session of the 40<sup>th</sup> Parliament available at <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/default.asp> Internet accessed 22 March, 2010.

lists economic opportunities, the Americas, Afghanistan and transformation as its four main priorities. There is a demonstrable incongruence between the Prime Minister's Office and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, at least in the open-source domain. There is no advantage to being coy about what Canada's national interests are. The machinery of government is disadvantaged in national security policy terms as a result of this lack of specificity and it does nothing to enhance government and public national security cultural awareness.

Reputed Canadian scholar and author Jack Granatstein argues that Canada consistently develops its policies from the heart and not the head.<sup>142</sup> He interprets Canadian national interests as protection of its territory and the security of its people, striving to maintain its unity and the protection and enhancement of its independence. Moreover, Granatstein adds the promotion of economic growth to support the prosperity and welfare of its people and working with like-minded states for the protection and enhancement of democracy and freedom.<sup>143</sup>

Granatstein's thesis, that political leaders have an obligation to lead Canada on the international stage, resonates. Such responsibility must suspend domestic political expediencies and provide sustained guidance in the formulation of policies to support those interests. In so doing, our values, which tend to muddy priority's waters, will be secured.<sup>144</sup> The International Policy Statement of 2005, released under Prime Minister

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<sup>142</sup> J.L. Granatstein. *The World in Canada: Diaspora, Demography and Domestic Politics*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 79.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

Paul Martin, better aligns with Granatstein's views in accordance with the realism school of national interests. Martin's national security priorities for the Government of Canada were the revitalization of the North American partnership in economic and security terms, building a more secure world through combating terrorism, stabilizing failed and failing states and combating proliferation. He adds increasing global prosperity and taking responsibility in the domains of international human rights and development.<sup>145</sup> This was an uncharacteristically robust Canadian step in the right direction to synergize the instruments of national power and stands as an example of the leadership needed in an uncertain world.

What these comparisons demonstrate are the tensions Rand Dyck refers to within Canadian political culture. He advances that "the sum total of the politically relevant values, beliefs, attitudes, identities and orientations in a society" drive policy formulation and in the Canadian context, these are heavily influenced by a more egalitarian and cautious approach.<sup>146</sup> Canada's recent history with minority government status complicates governance. It renders the task of eschewing political expediency, as a function of government survival, more difficult. Author Stewart Bell suggests that Canada lacks a national security culture either within society or within Canadian political institutions.<sup>147</sup> This can only be effectively countered<sup>147</sup> by connecting the dots between what Canada feels is important to its interests and the attendant tasks the nation must

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<sup>145</sup> Government of Canada. *International policy Statement*. (Her Majesty the Queen's Printer: Ottawa, 2005), 1.

<sup>146</sup> Rand Dyck. *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition* (Scarborough, ON: Thomas Nelson Learning, 2008), 1.

<sup>147</sup> Stewart Bell. *Cold Terror*. (Toronto: Wiley Publishing, 2004), 210.

undertake to secure those interests. A long term effort needs to be supported by robust debate around the issue, and so by definition, strong communications.

Canada does not have a clearly articulated vision of long term interests that it can translate easily into national security policy. A brief examination of political direction from the Prime Minister's Office through various departments is revealing. First, there is a discord between enduring long term national interests and shorter term political priorities. Undue attention to short term priorities distracts from enduring national interests and leaves open the possibility of misuse of finite resources within government. Second, the shifting nature of Canadian priorities creates potential friction between the legislative and bureaucratic levels of government as the latter attempts to accrue consistency in policy approach outside the bounds set by frequently altered national objectives. Third, Canada possesses scant documented national strategy. Fourth, no mechanism exists for refreshed assessments of global hazards in the form of a national security estimate against which policy and strategy can be adjusted. And fifth, Canada's academic community adds value in the elusive search for coherence in defining matters at the national level which seem to elude policymakers in certain instances.

How the Government of Canada approaches complex policy issues today lies in an interagency approach, otherwise referred to as joined-up, comprehensive or connected government. This is not a new phenomenon and the tendency to believe that we live in revolutionary times must be avoided. Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King spoke eloquently about many of the still-relevant governance precepts that he noted in a

radio address to the Canadian people just after World War II broke out. In it, he presciently covered the security, diplomatic, economic and informational domains spelling out the broad contours of what Canada's Grand Strategy would be in fighting Fascism. On coordinating the national effort, he stated:

This, [economic matters] next to our determination to prevent unnecessary wastage of human lives, affords the strongest of reasons why we should seek to avoid spasmodic action and unrelated activities. So far as it is possible, Canada's effort in this war must be a planned and concerted national effort.<sup>148</sup>

Even though the context of Canada's entry into "Total War," requiring the mobilization of her full breadth of instruments of national power, was different than today's context, King's remarks are noteworthy. His projection of Canada's objectives and engagement philosophy to the Canadian public was nothing short of essential to re-calibrate the national psyche for the challenges that lay ahead. Beyond the populace, he was clearly telling his own government that uncoordinated niche policy and execution would not suffice in light of the scope and scale of the threats Canada faced. Moreover, he was unambiguous in stating that Canada would follow a national strategy that had adapted the lessons-learned from the Great War into its approach.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> William Lyon Mackenzie King, Canadian Prime Minister. *The Organization of Canada's War Effort*, Broadcast from 31 October, 1939 Reproduced from *Canada At Britain's Side*, 1941, pp 43-56. Excerpt available from <http://www.junobeach.org/e/2/can-eve-mod-lon-ling-e.htm> Internet accessed 23 March, 2010.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* King stated: "Our actions have been controlled by the belief that, if we are to avoid the errors of hasty and confused action, such as the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure in the last war, the foundations must be well and truly laid. In what promises to be a long and exhausting struggle, our

Canadians have historically believed they are largely immune from outside attack. The two principal reasons for this are a blessed geographical separation from (Old) Europe and sharing a border and continent with a much larger and more powerful United States. This is the sentiment conveyed by Canada's lead negotiator, Raoul Dandurand, at the League of Nations in 1928 when he stated, "We live in a fireproof house, far from inflammable materials. A vast ocean separates us from Europe..."<sup>150</sup> A young country in 1924, Canada was flexing its newly-discovered, post Great War clout in defining for itself a new path by avoiding the militaristic tendencies that had plagued Europe for centuries. Less than 20 years later, United States President Franklin Delano Roosevelt would allay all doubt as to whether Canada could count upon their Southern neighbour to help defend our vast nation. In his Address at Queen's University on August 18, 1938, he stated:

I give you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire.<sup>151</sup>

Such a sentiment says much less about benevolent United States friendship than it does about securing one's own national interest by having a stable, non-threatening Canadian

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contribution will be all the more effective for careful planning." Canada's government was struggling with an interagency approach 70 years ago.

<sup>150</sup> Adam Chapnick. "On Protocols and Fireproof Houses: The Re-emergence of Canadian Exceptionalism." *International Journal*, Vol 61, No.3 (Summer 2006: pp 713-723), 717. Senator Raoul Dandurand was Government Leader in the Senate under Prime Minister Mackenzie King and Canada's lead negotiator around the Geneva Protocol made these comments at the Fifth Assembly of the League in 1924.

<sup>151</sup> Roosevelt, Franklin Delano. "Address at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada": Dissertation at Queen's University, August 18, 1938. Notes available from: <http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/7-2-188/188-09.html> Internet accessed 18 April, 2010.

partner to the North. This statement implicitly tells Canada, even today, that the United States will not endure a security liability to their North. The United States will compensate for whatever Canada neglects in securing itself within its comparatively modest means. They would however, much prefer a willing participant in both domestic and international security affairs. In the same Queen's University Speech, Roosevelt offered a realist critique of Canada's culture of security complacency:

We in the Americas are no longer a far away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or no harm...the vast amount of our resources, the vigour of our commerce and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose it or not.<sup>152</sup>

Still relevant 72 years later, Roosevelt was telling Canadian leaders to disabuse themselves of the "fireproof house" notion. Global peace and stability were at risk. This was a call for Canada to embark on constructive multilateralism by leaving attractive but unrealistic political idealism behind. Jack Granatstein captured the Canada-US defence dynamic one year after 9-11, when the Canadian Forces was at an operational low point having endured a decade of near persistent budget cuts:

Canada has no choice but to cooperate with the United States on hemispheric defence and the War on Terror. Hanging back would reduce Canada's leverage in negotiations with Washington and imperil

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<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

its sovereignty if the United States acted to protect itself from attack without working with the Canadian government and armed forces. Canada must, therefore, make a serious political and budgetary contribution to strengthen the Canadian Forces.<sup>153</sup>

It is clear that Canadian political inclinations, coloured as they are by persistent and valid questions of national unity de-emphasize investments in, and sustained commitment of, hard power. The history of the Canadian Forces is a continuum of rapid growth and in response to wars of necessity that the government could not avoid, followed by contraction.<sup>154</sup> It is equally clear that the United States will voice its concerns if it feels Canadian security measures proportionate to the risk, *as perceived by the United States*, are lax. This leaves very little manoeuvre room for Canada's Prime Minister in attempting to balance domestic realities with international security obligations. National unity and sovereignty are separate but not separable in this narrative. Facing transnational and domestic terrorist threats that have mobilized American will exacerbates this challenge significantly but make it all-the-more clear that complacency is not an option. Canada must remain decisively engaged in combating jihadi terrorism, as a function either of national desire, American influence, or both. In the interest of maintaining sovereign initiative, it behoves the government to continue perfecting its national security posture.

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<sup>153</sup> Jack Granatstein. "A Friendly Agreement in Advance: Canada-US Relations, Past, Present and Future." (*C.D. Howe Institute: The Border Papers, No 166, June 2002*), 1. Granatstein's connection between defence contribution and the linkage politics of other matters (i.e. softwood lumber) can be argued but there is no denying the nexus between bilateral security affairs and economic health as it relates to open borders. If the United States believed that a terrorist attack on their soil emanated from Canada (or if we suffered a major attack ourselves for that matter), it would likely close borders in the short term and institute more robust security measures in the long run further impeding smooth trade flows.

<sup>154</sup> Available from <http://www.cln.org/themes/can-military.html> Internet accessed 23 March, 2010.



Contemporary governance at the national level is a complex undertaking. Three key strains on modern governance were noted in a 1996 Government of Canada Report, *Managing Horizontal Policy Issues*. Financial problems are identified as a challenge: “For almost all governments public finance is the Damocles sword hanging over the heads of political leaders and threatening their capacity to govern.”<sup>155</sup> Permanent problems relate to those issues which cross portfolio boundaries and are in some cases, by definition, “wicked.” Certain policy issues, such as sustainable development, the environment and national security, are more intractable today than they were previously. Public skepticism about effectiveness and accountability undermine legitimacy and thus demand greater consultation.<sup>156</sup> These dynamics are illustrative of similar problems faced by political leaders in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, but several distinctions apply. The pace of events is more fluid and rapid today and information is more widely available owing to the effects of globalization. This compresses the distance between important enduring national issues and short term, less nationally significant and politically contested issues.

The reality of the information-rich environment simply renders decision-making far more difficult. This problem is necessarily exacerbated, by the very nature of liberal democracy underpinned by principles of accountability and ideological diversity. However, the oft-cited claim that government is harder to manage because it is bigger than before is misleading. The size of the Government of Canada in relation to

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<sup>155</sup> Government of Canada. *Managing Horizontal Policy Issues* December 1996, 1.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

government spending as a function of Gross Domestic Product has declined from a high-water mark in the 1960s.<sup>157</sup> Excluding defence budgets, the Government of Canada spends an average of five percentage points more than the United States on public programs.<sup>158</sup> This difference is instructive in relation to philosophical governance differences between Canada and the United States. The Government of Canada is more *economically* involved in the lives of its citizens when compared to the United States. By extension, it follows that the structures, processes and culture within the Government of Canada has adapted to this reality over time. A more challenging overarching political environment combined with a closer social welfare relationship to its people makes the government rightfully cautious in its approach. Caution's bedfellow is a process-oriented, mechanistic approach to governance and this does not translate well into affairs of national security. When speed and audaciousness subordinate themselves to programmatic, risk-averse approaches in protecting the state, a culture of *crisis response* pervades. Jihadi terrorism suggests that a proactive, "upstream" self-defence mindset is the only reasonable countermeasure, especially in the context of weapons of mass destruction. The Government of Canada currently possesses a culture of over-reliance on risk management-based processes and culture and this stifles the creativity required to anticipate future threats. Evidence of this can be found in several areas.

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<sup>157</sup> Stephen Ferris and Stanley L. Winer. *Just How Much Bigger is the Government in Canada? A Comparative Analysis of the Size and Structure of the Public Service in Canada and the United States, 1929-2004*. Journal of Canadian Public Policy Vol 33, No. 2 (June 2007: pp 173-206), 193.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

Prime Minister Harper's government promised early in their first mandate to untangle the complex web of rules that pervaded the bureaucracy.<sup>159</sup> Harper proceeded to implement the Federal Accountability Act of 2006 designed to strengthen accountability and increase transparency and oversight.<sup>160</sup> This philosophy is anecdotally referred to among senior government officials to be as much about "doing the right thing" as it is about "doing the thing right".<sup>161</sup> Such attitudes bleed into the national security narrative. The 2009 Auditor General's Report supports this contention in her critique of the Department of Public Safety and other departments and agencies charged with national security responsibilities.<sup>162</sup> Finally, the government's own articulation of what interagency consists of reflects a highly process-oriented, mechanistic culture devoid of nuance.

The Government of Canada's *Whole-of-Government Framework* is expressed across the economic, social and international "spending areas" with attendant strategic outcome areas which are sub-divided into corporate strategic outcomes. There are over 200 of these which are accomplished by over 400 program activities.<sup>163</sup> Graphically portrayed:

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<sup>159</sup> Government of Canada. Treasury Board Secretariat press release: *Canada's New Government Takes Action to Untangle Complex Web of Rules* (July 20, 2006), Treasury Board Minister John Baird stated, "We are following up on our commitment to untangle the paralyzing web of rules put in place by the previous government. This will ensure that tax dollars are better spent and deliver on our promise to provide the good, clean government that Canadians deserve and expect." He noted the need to strike an appropriate balance between oversight and flexibility in putting the right rules, not more rules, in place. Available from <http://www.tbs.sct.gc.ca/media/nr-cp/2006/0720-eng.asp> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010.

<sup>160</sup> Available from <http://www.faa.lfi.gc.ca/index-eng.asp> Internet accessed 15 April, 2010.

<sup>161</sup> This contention comes from the author's own experiences.

<sup>162</sup> In addition to the aforementioned shortfalls within the Department of Public Safety, she noted "uneven progress...much work remains...need for better intelligence and information sharing in Canada...16 separate cases where departments reported legal barriers to information sharing." Available from [http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/docs/parl\\_oag\\_200903\\_00\\_e.pdf](http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/docs/parl_oag_200903_00_e.pdf) Internet accessed 17 April, 2010.

<sup>163</sup> Government of Canada. Treasury Board Secretariat. *Whole-of-Government Framework* available at <http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/ppg-cpr/framework-cadre-eng.aspx?Rt=1039> Internet accessed 10 March, 2010.

Figure 1.1 — Whole-of-Government Framework

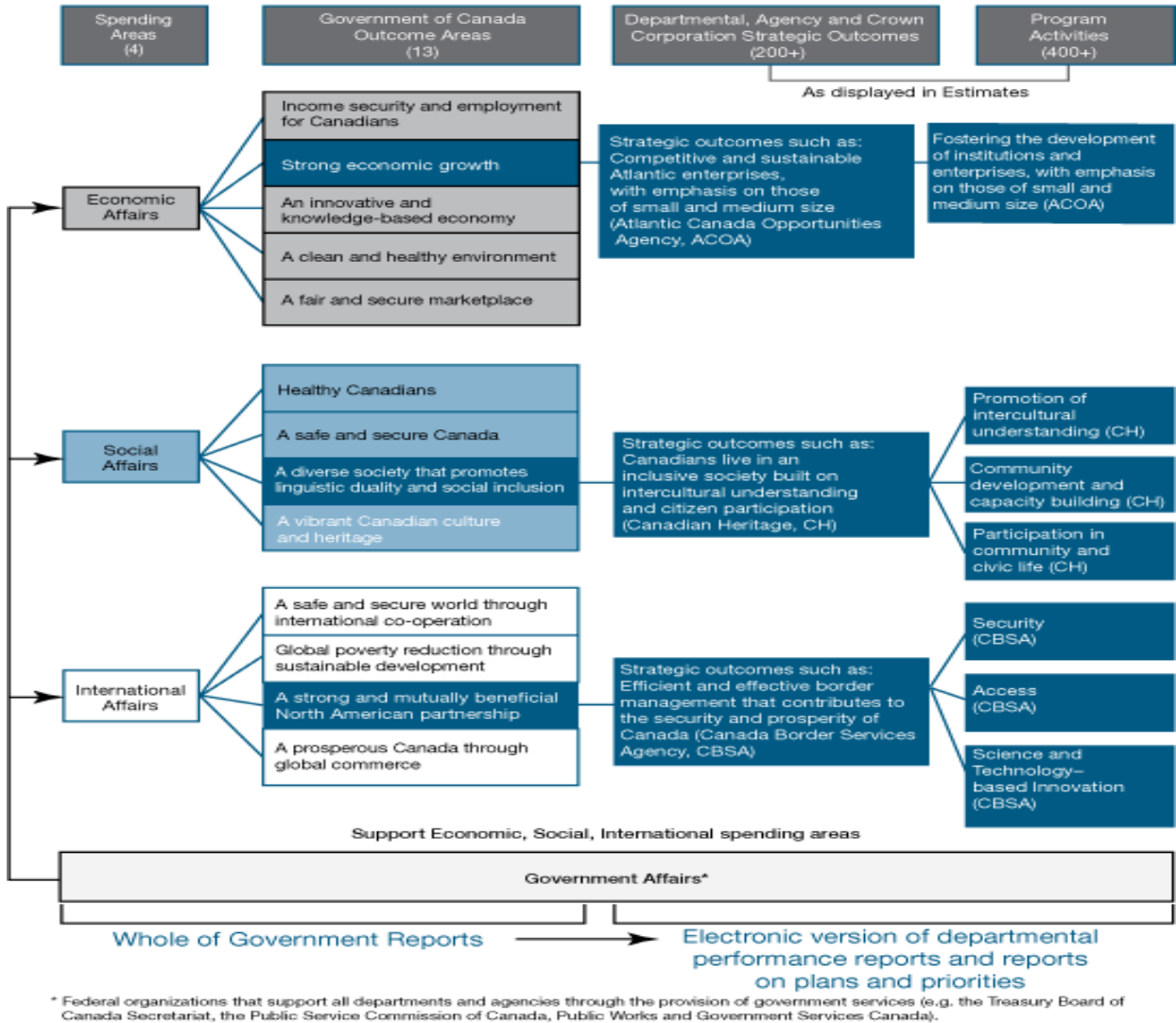


Figure 1.5

Source: Treasury Board Secretariat

This framework is illustrative of what the Institute on Governance, in its 2001 Report entitled *Government Decision Making in Canada: Players, Processes, Institutions, Central Agencies in Decision Making*, referred to as a shift. It noted “there has been a shift in recent years toward results-based management in the public sector in Canada.

This involves a focus on desired outcomes rather than simply inputs or outputs.”<sup>164</sup> The theory behind such a shift is designed to focus on the what (ie the result) and depart from prescribing the how (ie over centralization). But the Government of Canada is largely silent in providing greater context for what Whole-of-Government entails beyond process-centric models like the one above. In other words, the *philosophy* behind the process is absent. What we are left with is a highly mechanistic process with an overreliance on performance measurement. There is an absence of expressed desired outcomes (vice outputs) in relation to strategy. The conclusion of Canada’s 1996 Report on Task Force on Managing Horizontal Policy Issues concedes that process and structural enhancements are meaningless without correcting the culture.<sup>165</sup> This view is widely held by experts in change management.<sup>166</sup> Ultimately, culture speaks to people. Leadership, training, education and competence must converge, arming government with the depth of individual quality necessary to succeed in today’s complex environment.

All of this poses unique challenges to developing coherent policies and strategies in a high consequence, time sensitive threat milieu. National security practitioners must orient to a new strategic reality. Coherent, long term political direction in relation to pervasive threats is a thing of the past. Modern governance’s complexities simply no longer allow for it. Wishing for simpler times denies the realities of the complex world in which we live and those charged with securing the nation have to absorb and adapt to this reality. By definition, national security direction from the political level will

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<sup>164</sup> Institute on Governance. *Government Decision Making in Canada: Players, Processes, Institutions, central Agencies in Decision Making*: 2001, 3.

<sup>165</sup> Government of Canada. *Managing Horizontal Issues Report*. December 1996, 32.

<sup>166</sup> Among others, John Kotter, a leading change expert in the United States makes this case with conviction in two books; *Our Iceberg is Melting* and *A Sense of Urgency*.

continue to be ad-hoc in nature, but more can be done to provide robust grand strategic contours based on national interest which in turn can be given shape through strategy. The onus is therefore twofold. Political leadership must establish broad but unambiguous direction and national security practitioners must reform internal cultures which adapt to overarching ambiguity in translating political direction into coherent strategy. All of this suggests that the work of securing Canada in the face of *Janus* jihad will become more, not less challenging.

Governing, especially in times of conflict, is inherently challenging and this remains true today. Globalization's effects reduce the time available in the decision-action cycle in the face of an increasingly well informed populace. The internal dynamics of governance have changed and external factors have also shifted dramatically. Asymmetric national security threats, whose effects could yield disproportionately negative political, economic, social and diplomatic outcomes, are a reality. It is for this reason that traditional perspectives of how government interacts with its national security practitioners must be re-conceptualized. With these demands outlined, the policy recommendations designed to dampen the hybrid jihadi threat facing Canada must now be elaborated.

## Chapter V – Setting Conditions for Success

The political level is subject to democratic frictions that make formulating long term grand strategy difficult. The situation worsens in times of minority governments, when short-term thinking is inevitably required. But robust national security is impossible without sustained, non-partisan political engagement, leadership and follow-through. In light of these two tensions, the answer lies in balancing what is optimal against what is feasible in addition to strengthening systems below the political executive. This includes trying to minimize uncertainties and one way of doing so is with strategy. Grand strategy has a role in relation to terrorism. Barry P. Rosen provides a useful starting point:

A state's grand strategy is its foreign policy elite's theory about how to produce national security...A grand strategy enumerates and prioritizes threats and adduces political and military remedies for them. A grand strategy also explains why some threats attain a certain priority, and why and how the remedies proposed would work.<sup>167</sup>

A less national security-centric definition by Yale historian Paul Kennedy adds more depth to the question of grand strategy in a Canadian context:

The crux of grand strategy lies therefore in policy, that is, in the capacity of the nation's leaders to bring together all of the elements, both military and nonmilitary, for the preservation and enhancement

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<sup>167</sup> Barry P. Rosen. The Case For Restraint. *The American Interest* 3 (November-December 2007), 7.

of the nation's long term (that is in wartime and in peacetime) best interests...it operates at various levels, political, strategic, operational, tactical, all interacting with each other to advance (or retard) the primary aim.<sup>168</sup>

This more expansive definition is useful because it encompasses more than national security interests thus taking into account the additional complexities associated with formulating a national grand strategy. As Prime Minister Louis St Laurent outlined in his 1947 Gray Lecture, national interests should resonate consistently over time.<sup>169</sup> Another reason is because Canada has some “superpower” qualities. Being the fourth largest global natural gas producer and seventh oil producer is a factor.<sup>170</sup> Being one of five Arctic coastal states is another. Beyond this, Canada's standing as a G8 and G20 nation places it in a very select community of nations who have an obligation to demonstrate leadership at the global level. Moreover, Canada's need for grand strategy will increase, not decrease, in the future. Canadian grand strategy would articulate the broadest national objectives across diplomatic, informational, economic, social, military and environmental domains and do so along several dimensions. Owing to our unique relationship with the United States, a bilateral dimension would be essential and it would yield strong dividends in the national security portfolio. A regional dimension would

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<sup>168</sup> Honourable David Pratt. “Is There a Grand Strategy in Canadian Foreign Policy?” University of Calgary. *Centre for military and Strategic Studies: the Gray Lecture Series*. March, 2008.

<sup>169</sup> Prime Minister Louis St Laurent. *Gray Lecture on Rule of Law*. (1947), Available from [http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/.../kirton\\_rule-of-law\\_070121.pdf](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/.../kirton_rule-of-law_070121.pdf) Internet accessed 8 April, 2010.

<sup>170</sup> <http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2173rank.html> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010. Canada's estimated natural gas capacity is 170,900,000,000 cubic metres and it produces 3,350,000 barrels per day of oil.



cover South into the Americas and North into the Arctic. Finally, a global dimension would capture Canada's foreign policy ambitions.

Grand strategy would allow the Government of Canada to express its interests, underpinned by values that would form the basis of what "ends" are sought and how they are to be achieved. This would also serve to educate Canadians and more firmly root a sense of identity in the country. In sum, Canada can either be continuously buffeted by external forces or chose to develop a plan to shape these forces, to the extent possible, to suit its preferences.

If grand strategy is the canvass of threats and interests, strategy represents the selection of colours and applications of the design. Author Steven Metz defines grand strategy's subordinate, strategy, as "[attempting] to impose coherence and predictability on an inherently disorderly environment composed of thinking, reacting, conflicting and competing domains."<sup>171</sup> Strategy is a strictly human endeavor that is closely shaped by culture, especially in relation to assumptions, perceptions and understanding. More importantly, Metz argues that strategy requires a paradigm; a commonly understood lens through which new problems can be viewed.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Steven Metz. *Iraq and the Evolution of American Strategy*. (Washington DC, Potomac Books: 2007), xviii. Metz further mentions that strategy controls for risk, maximize effectiveness and generally enhance the probabilities for successful outcomes. Strategy, according to Metz, has horizontal and vertical dimensions. The former spans the instruments of national power (diplomatic, informational, military and economic) thus relates to cross-cutting policy issues referred to in Chapter III. The vertical dimension relates to projecting thought and action into the future..

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, xix. A central strategic paradigm can be thought of as a 'driver' of strategy such as the Soviet Union was to the United States and its allies during the Cold War.

Canada exists within a post Cold War paradigm which features, *inter alia*, accelerating globalization, failed and fragile states and jihadi terrorism. In accordance with Metz's model, this should be Canada's new paradigm. Non-state, asymmetric threats will dominate merging security and defence interests yet Canada's cannot deal with them unilaterally, especially offshore, given her modest instruments of national power. Despite this, Canada's grand and subordinate strategies should be seen as *necessary* for synergistic reasons, but *necessarily flexible* to adapt to engagements it chooses to pursue with like-minded allies. Engagements of choice, driven by a moral imperative to share the burden of international stability, will be a foreign policy staple. Canada's long-held assumption of living in a "fireproof house" no longer holds in the era of transnational jihadi threats and presents an impediment to creative systems thinking. While jihadis do not threaten the existence of the state *per se*, their characteristics make the threat significantly more serious to the national interest than any previous non-state-based threat. Given the reality of failed and failing state regimes, the minds of political leaders and national security practitioners in particular should shift assumptions and concentrate their efforts on new and comprehensive approaches.

The Government of Canada has signed onto the global struggle against jihadi terror.<sup>173</sup>

Chapter 1 of the 2004 National Security Policy (NSP) unambiguously establishes terrorism as the *prima facie* threat to Canadian interests:

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<sup>173</sup> Canada's response to the attacks of 9-11 was predicated on United Nations security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1368 adopted on 12 September, 2001 condemning the attacks and calling on all member states to take concerted action to bring the perpetrators of the attacks to justice. Available from <http://www.globalpolicy.org/empire/us-un-and-international-law-8-24/un-involvement-against-terrorism.html> Internet accessed 12 March, 2010.

Canada has always faced threats to our national security. As we move forward into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, we face new and more complex ones. Today, individuals have the power to undermine our security in a way that only hostile states were once able to accomplish. The September 11, 2001, attacks were a powerful example of this. The government is determined to pursue our national security interests and to be relentless in the protection of our sovereignty and our society in the face of these new threats.<sup>174</sup>

The most important element from this quote is its standing. It sets the stage, on page one of Canada's National Security Policy, for Government of Canada officials and the Canadian public to understand that terrorism is Canada's main threat. Secondly, it acknowledges terrorism's 'stateless' nature which implies the need for adaptive solutions to a new paradigm. Lastly, its powerful tone invokes a strong sense of determination in sustaining the task of securing the nation. This is necessary because Canada has been placed on the adversary's target list. Al-Qaeda was clear that Canada should be held accountable for assisting the United States in the ongoing conflict against Islamic extremism. Bin Laden's 12 November, 2002 statement bears this out, "I mention in particular Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Germany and Australia...you will be killed just as you kill."<sup>175</sup> Canada's National Security Policy broadly frames the far and near adversary into the seminal threat facing the nation. The new paradigm is established.

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<sup>174</sup> Government of Canada. *Securing an Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy*. Privy Council Office: 2004, 1.

<sup>175</sup> Translated version of Osama bin Laden's full statement available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle-east/2455845.stm> Internet accessed 2 January, 2010.

Sageman and Hoffman's perspectives are both instructive to what Canada must do in confronting modern terrorism. All states have limits to their instruments of national power and Canada's limitations are significant. This is precisely why clear strategies are required. Thoughtful analysis of where to invest in order to maximize benefit is essential and must be done in a holistic context. Canada must engage internationally and domestically to ensure appropriate policy responses are in place.

### International

First, Canada must not view its role in combating jihadi terrorism in isolation. The new paradigm must include the assumption that coalition support, in the widest sense of the word and not simply in regards to military coalitions, is the default setting. A "global synchronization" approach with key allies is essential given the transnational nature of the jihadi threat. Acting in concert with multilateral institutions is of the essence provided they are sufficiently nimble themselves. The international legitimacy that such an approach confers is essential in the long run struggle. Failing to account for 'global will' exudes a Western arrogance offering fertile ground for al-Qaeda to till at our expense. That said, Canada must play a role ensuring multilateral institutions and forums like the United Nations, G8/G20, North Atlantic Treaty Organization and others meaningfully adapt to a new world order. This task can only be successful if it is underwritten by an active Canada foreign policy credibility accrued by engagement at the strategic, operational and tactical levels. Having voice means building Canadian political

capital and this can only be done by shouldering an appropriate portion of the international burden.

Within the context of multilateral engagement, Canada must ensure that the rule of international law must be vociferously safeguarded. Losing the moral high ground is tantamount to succumbing to the perverted values and beliefs of the very threats we confront. However, this does not include the politicization of defence and security events for the purposes of political expediency. While a good measure of balance is needed to ensure the robustness of our democracy, diminishing returns ensue when incessant partisan critique interferes, playing directly into the hands of those Canada is struggling to deter. The new paradigm calls for leaders to internalize extant practices and question whether they contribute to national goals or agitate against them. A fine line separates preserving and undermining democratic processes.

All manner of support must be committed to helping address the Israeli-Palestinian issue. This central friction point in Middle-Eastern politics continues to fuel the jihadi agenda. Canada's influence on the matter is limited, but unqualified support for Israel generally, and tacit approval of issues such as settlement policies specifically, is harmful to our long term interests. Canada must make greater efforts, publicly and diplomatically, to alter the cycle of despair in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in an effort to show greater policy balance. Canada could also position itself to play a meaningful "honest broker" role between interlocutors. This raises the larger issue of lobby groups and the effect that they have on the political institutions in Canada. Much has been written about Canada's

failure to undertake meaningful immigration policy reform as a function of voter demography. While detailed analysis of this is beyond the scope of this paper, on issues relating to national security, it would seem that “politics” must be subordinated to good policy. Canada will only prosper by embracing immigration. But this must be done within the framework of immigration policies that allow security officials to readily identify and mitigate high risk individuals in the short term. In sum, political will must offset political expediency on matters of national security.

### National

At the national level, Canada should embark on a meaningful discourse on the balance between individual rights and national security along two tracks: one within government among national security stakeholders and another along a wider track incorporating the views of Canadians. Too many individual cases (Arar, Khadr, Arkat, Khawaja) are played out in the legal domain without the benefit of a wider conversation among Canadians. More must be done to understand the interdependencies between isolated events and their impact on wider national security matters. Today, border security measures, airline passenger watch lists, engagement in foreign insurgencies, national debt levels and even climate change, to name but a few, form parts of the national security portfolio. It seems that disparate issues are being hotly contested superficially only in Parliament, the media and by pundits. Two activities could mitigate these concerns. First, a government task force on interagency operations could be struck to leverage the lessons learned from Canada’s Afghanistan mission. Armed with an expert panel and

constrained timeline, this task force's recommendations could be enacted by law to force a generational leap institutionalizing interagency implementation. This effort would be supplemented by an education, awareness and consultative series of cross-Canada meetings undertaken by a mix of knowledgeable representatives from both the Senate and House of Commons reinforced by national security practitioners. Their objective would be to elicit feedback and dispense information regarding the balance between national security and individual rights.

Strong social policies are an essential component of a holistic national security policy. Creating a climate of competitive economic opportunity within a robust immigration framework will contribute substantially to mitigating the homegrown threat. Moreover, the government must avoid spasmodic, over-reaction to isolated incidents so as to avoid alienating minority communities. That said sound policy and effective strategies must favour collective security in careful balance with individual and community concerns. To this end, only leadership and communication can overcome strong special interest lobbies that cater to niche interests without any burden of responsibility to protect the wider public good.

The Government of Canada should activate a quadrennial National Security Assessment (NSA), National Security Policy (NSP) and National Security Strategy (NSS) development process. These would provide the pan-government basis for federal departments to produce subordinate strategies. The argument against such an approach generally holds that refreshed documents of this magnitude rarely differ enough from

period to period to justify the effort in the first instance. This line of reasoning can be countered on two levels. Firstly, threats, opportunities and risks are exceedingly dynamic in their pace of change and this trend will accelerate. More importantly, formulating such vision requires an intellectual rigor and pan-Government of Canada collaboration that would concentrate minds on this crucial subject matter. Promulgation would serve as a forcing function across all departments and agencies to ensure they remain on task further mitigating complacency that creeps into bureaucracies over time. Absent this, departments will continue to work at cross purposes as reported by the Auditor General in 2004, blaming poor interoperability within the Government of Canada on non-existent central direction.<sup>176</sup> The absence of grand strategy will result in subordinate strategies being developed ad-hoc, from the bottom up. Such an approach of commitments in fits and starts is sure to fail in the long run.

The government's current structure is under subscribed at the centre. The Privy Council Office's mandate is "...to help the government implement its vision and respond effectively and quickly to issues facing the government and the country."<sup>177</sup> Two secretariats are particularly concerned with national security matters: foreign policy and defence and security and intelligence. Each is responsible to consult upward, downward

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<sup>176</sup> Government of Canada. Office of the Auditor General. "Report on National Security, 2004 Chapter 3" pp: 30-40. In a separate analysis of government national security effectiveness commissioned by the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, Eric Lehre traces the failure to the Associate Deputy Minister Interoperability Working Group which formed in October 2001 to remedy the problems but disbanded in June 2002 without re-assigning this important task elsewhere. Lehre's analysis acknowledges technical, legal and funding constraints to effective performance but concludes that deficient government leadership is to blame for sub optimal progress.

<sup>177</sup> <http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/index.asp?lang=eng&page=about-apropos> Internet accessed 17 April, 2010.



and laterally, suggesting this is where interagency fusion occurs.<sup>178</sup> However, Privy Council is a central agency lacking formal authorities to exercise a meaningful role in translating grand strategy through policy into strategy. This could be remedied by creating a formal National Security Council, mandated, structured and resourced from all stakeholder departments thus setting conditions for strategic coherence to emanate from the centre. This would require balance with the principle of ministerial accountability but sufficient maneuver space is available to achieve central coherence without impinging upon departmental authorities. World-class, non-partisan professional security decision support to the Prime Minister and Cabinet is in order. The current structure is capacity limited for the inordinate demands it faces. Moreover, “the centre” has a tremendously important role to play in national security affairs but lacks the authorities necessary to fully exercise that role.<sup>179</sup> This is the only true remedy in overcoming internal government frictions associated with the agency dilemma.

More coherence and foresight must be devoted to enhancing Canada’s instruments of national power. Diplomatic, aid, military and informational arms must benefit from Canada’s strong global economic standing to better balance capabilities across all

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<sup>178</sup> Upward to Cabinet and the Prime Minister via the Clerk of the Privy Council and Cabinet secretaries, downward to various departments and agencies (who hold all accountabilities and risk) and laterally to international partners and organizations.

<sup>179</sup> I am not arguing for dispensing with the principle of Ministerial Accountability. Rather, the National Security Council (NSC) would move beyond “consultation and coordination” into bona fide “shaping” territory by promulgating national security assessments, national security policy and national security strategy. Moreover, the NSC could merge with CSIS’ Integrated Threat Assessment Centre (ITAC) to provide Canada’s national command authority (PM) with 21<sup>st</sup> Century decision support architecture which links the common operating picture with experts. Moreover, as the United States’ 9-11 Commission noted, the compartmentalized nature of modern bureaucracies agitate against rapid information distribution that allows for the threat’s dots to be connected. The NSC could manage this reality. NSC could also contend with what the US Homeland Security Policy Institute has called for: a joint Canada-US threat assessment mechanism, available from <http://www.prlog.org/10222610-homeland-security-experts-recommend-uscanada-joint-threat-assessment.html> Internet accessed 15 April, 2010.

portfolios. There is little point to infusing large sums of money in the military if foreign affairs and development are left behind. Terrorism's root causes eschew linear investment strategies. However, investments should come at a cost. Departments must be held to account in re-structuring their capabilities to better address asymmetric threats, in contrast to institutional tendencies which tend to replicate extant capabilities, many of which are maladapted to the threat. Strategic Review, the government's mechanism used to assess departmental spending, could be the forcing function to accomplish this. But without a robust body of national strategy documents, efforts will remain ad-hoc resulting in boutique capabilities challenged in the interagency domain. It is difficult for departments to re-structure well if they are left to define for themselves future roles and mandates.

The recent establishment of Canadian Forces operational commands for expeditionary and domestic operations should be adapted and built upon.<sup>180</sup> They should be amalgamated as separate commands under a unified Deputy Chief of the Defence Staff and expanded as standing Joint Interagency Task Forces (JIATFs). Doing so would capitalize on military planning and organizational expertise and synergize pan-governmental hard and soft power expertise at the operational level where strategic ends are translated into action in the field. Not designed to usurp individual departmental mandates, JIATFs would accelerate the distribution of interagency effects to the benefit of Canadian domestic or foreign policy initiatives. Transcending outdated notions of

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<sup>180</sup> Canada Command (CANADACOM) has responsibility for Canadian and North American defence matters while Canadian Expeditionary Forces Command (CEFCOM) deals with CF operations in the rest of the world. Available from <http://www.comfec-cefcom.forces.gc.ca/pa-ap/index-eng.asp> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010 and <http://www.canadacom.gc.ca> Internet accessed 16 April, 2010.

ownership to achieve this would require leadership and will at both the political and bureaucratic levels. Canada should take a lead from the United States military and consider appointing senior civilian diplomats as Deputy Commanders of such interagency elements. A subset of this is greater emphasis on the cyber domain. Canada's adversaries are operating in the "virtual commons" on a daily basis and this demands a more unified governmental response perhaps in the form of a standalone organization secretariat within the National Security Council.

A sense of mission and urgency in combating terrorism must pervade government officials. National security thinking must allow for the "unthinkable" - meaning public service culture must embrace those whose views challenge the status quo. This implicitly suggests that government's emphasis on accountability and risk management requires recalibration. Leaders must establish a framework within which subordinates can meet the tasks given to them. A civilian variation of the 'mission command' approach, where intents and end states are issued with attendant resources, is needed. Less prescription, less mechanical performance measurement and more creativity are of the essence. This will dampen external threat risk factors. Costly mistakes will be made from time to time and internal risk appetites in this regard will need to elevate. Ultimately, enhancing interagency capabilities will be done on the backs of empowered people who need to be superbly trained, educated and mentored. This implies far more joint education as well. Canadian Defence Academy institutions should be handsomely populated with students, at the appropriate experience levels, from departments *other* than national defence. A program of fellowships cross-pollinating employment in other-than-home departments

could be established. This would take some effort in identifying value-added employment billets but would serve well to break down the barriers of intolerance borne by ignorance. All of this involves revisiting structures and processes to streamline activities and recalibrate the mix between centralization and decentralization.

Intelligence is the *prima facie* ingredient to successfully countering terrorism but in Canada it is under-achieving due to poor structure.<sup>181</sup> Intelligence must elevate in importance toward a discipline and not merely a function as it is currently understood. Political and bureaucratic leaders need to better understand that intelligence is inherently weak if not well led. Leaders queue sensors into collection plans based on strategic direction and leaders ultimately bear the responsibility for making decisions based on intelligence. The time has come to simply stop blaming events on ‘intelligence failures’ and look instead at wider systems in order to understand where vulnerabilities in seeing, recognizing and exploiting threats are located.

Pressure must be gained and maintained against our adversaries. Kinetic and non-kinetic precision targeting at the strategic, operational and tactical levels of war aimed at critical social networking hubs and enablers is essential. This would occur largely in a transnational context thereby necessitating robust Canadian presence in allied and

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<sup>181</sup> Stewart Bell. *Cold Terror: How Canada Nurtures and Exports Terrorism Around the World*. (Toronto: Wiley, 2004), xx. “There are politicians who pay attention to security intelligence, such as MPs David Pratt and John Bryden, and senators such as Colin Kenny, but they are in the minority. CSIS reports are routinely forwarded to government ministers, but they seldom ever read the documents personally...The warnings about terrorist infiltration reach the politicians, but they chose not to listen. If they did, they might alienate some of their core voter support.” This further supports the previously-made case for a NSC; an organization of security professionals located at the centre of the government’s power structure and whose mandate would (indirectly) force recalcitrant ministers to begin paying attention to intelligence.

multilateral structures. Domestically, it is imperative that security forces err on the side of caution. Arrests of suspected terrorists should take place even at the risk of lesser probabilities of conviction in criminal court if it means foiling attack. This relates to a coherent communications and public engagement strategy. Ultimately, government's primary responsibility to protect its citizens requires continuous explanation of the delicate balance between individual rights and the collective security. There is no easy solution to this. Being overly aggressive as some European countries have been is damaging in the long run but being cautious is risky as well, especially when weapons of mass destruction are involved. High quality leaders working within streamlined structures and processes superimposed on a culture of excellence offers the best chance at successful outcomes.

Canada must reform its security culture and to do so, a sense of urgency is required. The opposite of urgency, complacency, is defined as "a feeling of contentment or self-satisfaction, especially when coupled with an unawareness of danger or trouble."<sup>182</sup>

Because Canada has not been successfully attacked by al-Qaeda or al-Qaeda-inspired terrorists since 9-11, a culture of complacency still exists. Kotter reinforces complacency's risk by stating "the complacent do not alertly look for new opportunities or hazards facing their organization."<sup>183</sup> A correlation between Kotter's thinking and a refreshed family of national security documents exists.

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<sup>182</sup> John P. Kotter. *A Sense of Urgency*. (USA. Harvard Business Press: 2008), 19.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

It is plausible to view law enforcement, at its most basic front-line level with officers on patrol, as a first line of defence against the contemporary threat. Many historic events such as the World Trade Centre bombings of 1993, the London 7-7 bombings and even the most recent 2 May, 2010 Times Square vehicle born failed explosive device are testament to the fact that attacks can be thwarted by “non traditional, national security forces.” The Canadian law enforcement community does not adequately bridge the federal-provincial-municipal divide. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canada’s federal police service is largely consumed with its “contract policing” obligations at the expense of both committing resources to its federal mandate and providing leadership and centralized training opportunities to provincial and municipal law enforcement agencies.<sup>184</sup> Since 9-11, police leaders have been calling for increased partnerships between all levels of law enforcement, moving beyond consultation to collaboration.<sup>185</sup> It is valid to question whether the Royal Canadian Mounted Police’s current division of policing responsibilities is adequate. Canada requires the best national policing services possible. Re-focusing the Royal Canadian Mounted Police on greater federal policing responsibilities would necessarily compel provinces to assume greater policing duties but this would accrue the dual benefit of strengthening both federal and provincial capabilities. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police could establish a much more fulsome national training centre for niche skill-sets with national security implications. There is

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<sup>184</sup> The Royal Canadian Mounted Police spends CAD \$1.6 billion annually servicing 8 provinces (not ON and QC), 3 territories and 192 municipalities recovering CAD \$1.1 billion from fees for service. Thus the RCMP spends CAD \$500,000.00 of a CAD \$ 4 billion annual budget on this service which it justifies based upon gaining value-added internal policing experience, benefitting recruiting and establishing common standards across the land. Contract policing consumes 47% of all uniformed personnel. Available at <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/fs-fd/pdfs/collectif-eng.pdf> Internet accessed 4 May, 2010.

<sup>185</sup> Chief of Police Jack Ewatski. “Strategies for Creating Law Enforcement Partnerships.” *22<sup>nd</sup> Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police* (28 May, 2007) Available from <http://www.cacp.ca/media/speeches/download/64/StrategiesforcreatingLEpartnershipsposting.pdf> Internet accessed 7 May, 2010.

no substitute for well-resourced national structures that allow provincial and municipal organizations to plug into for enhanced education and sharing of information across the tactical, operational and strategic domains. In short, municipal and provincial law enforcement must be drawn into a quasi-national security role themselves.

The government's Brown Report on Governance and Cultural Change within the Royal Canadian Mounted Police looked at internal issues.<sup>186</sup> This Report is mentioned because of the superb efforts accomplished by the task force members who cogently assessed internal problems and produced salient recommendations within a relatively short timeline. A similar model could be used for the government to examine Canada's national security architecture in an effort to better understand what actions could be undertaken to improve overall effectiveness.

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<sup>186</sup> The Report, *Rebuilding the Trust: Task Force on Governance and Cultural Change in the RCMP* was tabled on 14 December, 2007 by five eminent Canadians who had analyzed the institution over a six month period. Revising the context within which the task force undertook its work and reading the Report itself speaks to high quality input to political decision-makers in allowing a complex problem to be distilled into workable solutions.

## Conclusion

Globalization is accelerating and with it, the pace of change. Problems that have existed for many years such as the Israeli-Palestinian issue benefit from greater media coverage and are being increasingly exploited by our adversaries. Bruce Hoffman and Marc Sageman hold different views of this threat and the role played by Osama bin Laden, author of the attacks of 9-11. Each of their views has merit, but for different reasons. The far threat, understood on the basis of AQ Central's leadership, possess sophistication, means and millenarian intent but is currently being held in check due to sustained regional coalition pressure. If bin Laden were allowed to have freedom of action, the threat of weapons of mass destruction attack against Western interests would be significant. On the other hand, while the near threat has already been experienced in Canada, it remains elusive to assess. There is sufficient historical data since 9-11, however, to affirm with conviction that the threat is both real and potentially harmful to the national interest, albeit on a lesser scale. A brief look at Canada's demography suggests that attention must be paid to the near threat.

Canada faces a hybrid terrorist threat, both from al-Qaeda and its inspired ideological offshoots. The ideological underpinnings of these threats as offered by Taymiyyah, Azzam and Qutb have been fashioned into a coherent jihadi grand strategy that is playing out to this day in Afghanistan and elsewhere. The Canadian security community would do well to better understand the depth of this rationale as a function of attaining a higher level understanding of the threat itself.



The Government of Canada is capable of responding in a more meaningful and concerted manner to this threat. Rich in resources and talent, what lacks is coherence emanating from grand strategy and the culture, structure and processes necessary to realize Canada's national interests through strategy. This requires a paradigm shift from pre to post-9-11 national security culture. In that sense, a much broader public dialogue is required at the national level allowing political leaders frame policy against public desires and national obligations. A travelling joint committee comprised of Parliamentarians, Senators and subject matter experts could serve to stimulate this. Moreover, a concerted internal government analysis of Canada's national security architecture is in order. It is time to take stock of the full spectrum of people, structure and process in an effort to determine what solutions exist and what their second and third order effects would be. For the time being, solutions are being developed in an ad-hoc manner resulting in disjointed, boutique policy that fails to synergize stakeholder efforts. Part and parcel of this is the fact that Canada does not possess a National Security Council able to fuse across a broad range of portfolios developing strategy and providing execution decision support to the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Unfortunately, a culture of national security excellence has yet to be cultivated in Canada.

Ascribing to a "war on terror" is a dangerous construct. We can no more wage this war than we can a war on information. Canada's notion of "victory" must be re-calibrated toward seeking small victories within a complex geo-political context in what is certain to be a protracted struggle. Canada's policies and responses require forethought, balance

and unity of action if they are to succeed moving forward. This paper likely raises more questions than it answers in dealing with a wicked problem of the magnitude that jihadi terrorism presents. This fact is instructive in its own right. Much more study must be undertaken to increase our chances for long run success. This task must not be left solely to the academic community but must be embraced by practitioners alike. It is only when the all stakeholder constituencies merge under clear grand strategic thought that the true force of Canada's instruments of national power will be unleashed. Indeed, the myriad daunting challenges expected in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century would be well served by a more concerted Canadian effort, qualitatively and quantitatively, moving forward. Canada's future success as a global leader depends on it.

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