The State and Terrorism

National Security and the Mobilization of Power

Joseph H. Campos II

THE STATE AND TERRORISM

Homeland Security Series

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In the memory of my parents, Lawrence Eugene Campos and Shirley Mae Campos, whose strength, knowledge, and love have been guiding forces throughout my life. You taught me the value of independent inquiry and analysis.

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Introduction

Terrorism and the State

On 11 September 2001, the United States of America awoke to horrifying images of airplanes flying into the World Trade Center's Twin Towers. Within a span of forty-five minutes, the Twin Towers were reduced to rubble, killing 2752 people (www.cnn.com, 29 October 2003), and the United States was set on a path by George W. Bush's Administration to defend itself from the threat of terror. On 20 September 2001, President Bush addressed a joint session of Congress and delivered a speech that began with these words:

> Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done…On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars – but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war – but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning…(Bush, 2001: 1140)

As the speech progressed, President Bush made a comparison which spoke to the "true" nature of the way the state[1] views terrorism. In the following segment of the speech, Bush associated Al Qaeda with the mafia, intensifying the criminalization of terrorism in political responses:

> Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world – Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber – a democratically elected government… (Bush, 2001: 1141)

By invoking a reference to the mafia, and by suggesting that there exists an analogy between crime and terror, Bush created a distinction between the internal horrors of extreme capitalism – as represented by mafia crime – and the external horror of terrorism – as represented by outside forces attacking the state and its citizenry. Once this dichotomy was articulated, Bush was able to present and represent (re-present) the state's perception of terrorism as something outside the norms of state practices and a "true" threat to the welfare of the state, its citizens, and the entire "civilized" world. Bush continued the speech and classified the state's perception of terrorism while laying a framework for the "civilized" world to act.

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1   This text uses the term "state" to discuss the effects of statecraft. These effects are often perceived by the citizenry as a symbol of an actual entity. Thus, the term is used loosely to describe a perceived entity that continually struggles to find its own identity and relevance in an increasingly global and transversal world.

We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century…Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. *Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists*… But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows…This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight…Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what – we're not going to allow it…I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them…Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges…this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world…Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom – the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time – now depends on us. (Bush, 2001: 1142–4, emphasis added)

Within the course of the forty-one minute address, George W. Bush laid claim to legitimizing historical narratives and imaginations of the United States and structured the discourse regarding the attacks within the realm of national security.[2] In framing the attacks in the realm of national security, President Bush also situated the September 11th attacks within a discourse that focused on the moral authority of the "civilized" world in general, and America specifically.

President Bush continued to set the terms and parameters for future discussions and debates on issues regarding terrorism, national security, and international diplomacy as exemplified in his statement, "either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists…From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime." The use of the "with us, against us" set in motion a precise language to control the mechanisms for addressing terrorism and the attacks.

The emergence of national security discourse in regards to terrorism as a textual field, fortified by Bush's address, uses loaded vocabulary, metaphors, synecdoche, categories, and methods that delimit options and possibilities for discussion. The textual field of U.S. national security discourse frames terrorism as the main threat to the nation's security. Framing terrorism as a threat to national security produces and legitimizes power relations that act as a field of statecraft in which security becomes a commodity[3] within the control of the state. Here, U.S. national security discourse is made a field where its objectives, once articulated, are consistently and

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2   This text uses the term "national security" to describe values held by a government that focuses on securing the citizenry from threat, either real or imagined. These values result in actions that strengthen the state in the face of a threat and involves the creation of internal and external polices. It is imperative to note that the securing of the state and its citizenry becomes the highest priority and that sometimes policies instituted may conflict with individual rights purported to be protected by the state.

3   Commodity is used here in the Marxian (1976) sense that holds an object as the product of human, creative labor. I substitute the state for human labor and show that state control and power to create and produce ideas are manifested in terrorism as a commodity. In addition, I follow Marxian logic and believe that statist production over the meanings and effects of

purposefully maintained through time and space. Such discursive activity provides a site for power brokers to enhance and fortify the security state[4] and appropriate and control specific events, topics, ideological positions, and the human body as objects of national security.[5] Parallel to how Foucault described "madness," terrorism

> is constituted by all that was said in all statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its development, indicated its various correlations, judged it, and possibly gave it speech by articulating in its name, discourses that were to be taken as its own. (Foucault, 1972: 32)

The concept of terrorism did not enter the lexicon of the United States until President Richard M. Nixon's administration. The first formal recognition of terrorism as a category of national security occurred on 25 September 1972, with the establishment of a cabinet committee to combat terrorism. It was not until the Iran hostage crisis, however, that the United States was "reawakened" to the potentiality[6] of terrorism in the seizure and detention of fifty-three U.S. citizens during the administration of President James (Jimmy) E. Carter.

National security discourse, as a practice of statecraft, objectifies terrorism. As an object, terrorism is treated within a specific discourse that ensures that the state is made all encompassing, visible, and respected (Said, 1997). National security discourse constitutes, and is representative of, the construction of a privileged space where the state makes terrorism meaningful and terrifying at the same time. Terrorism is made meaningful in a process that legitimizes relations of power and sets up statist objectives – maintenance of secured borders, economies, and peoples. These statist objectives are solidified in stressing the terrifying aspect of terrorism as a direct assault against the authority of the state. In solidifying statist objectives, power is used as a practice that constitutes, legitimizes, produces and re-produces a host of knowledges and practices to ensure that certain modes of responses to terrorism are pre-conditioned and employed (Der Derian and Shapiro, 1989).

It is not the intent of this text to be a normative discussion on terrorism. Rather, the purpose of the text is to examine how terrorism is instrumentalized and appropriated as part of the national security apparatus, and how discourse is used to conceptualize, constitute, and produce understandings of terrorism. More specifically, I am

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terrorism are put in relation to other objects of state control – objects that are circulated in the imagination of the state and its citizenry.

4   This text uses the term "security state" to describe a specific entity that developed after the Second World War that holds the security of its citizenry, borders, and economies as the main goal of governance. This priority is articulated in the concept of "national security" (see footnote 2) that sets forth an idea of the "other" which poses threats to the state survival. The construction of security helps invigorate a national identity that is formed in reference to the "other." In this way, the state is the manager and enforcer of security.

5   The language of appropriation, management, and control is used in this text specifically for the reason that the state's appropriation of terrorism is done in the image of the state itself being privileged in its identity.

6   Here I use the term "potentiality" to refer to the threat that terrorism has to the safety and security of the state. The potential is not only in the threat of violence but also in the actualization of violence.

interested in how the concept of security, once articulated, influences and constitutes a discursive site that conditions responses to terrorism and is representative of the mobilization of power. The discursive site creates a mechanism for the state to go beyond the actual violence of terrorism and use that violence to strengthen and enhance the state. This is not to say that acts of terrorism are not real and horrible acts that cause immense suffering and trauma to individuals. This is not the aspect or discussion of terror upon which this text focuses. The goal of this text is to interrogate the state's conception of terrorism and reveal what interests and powers converge in the maintenance of the state. In doing so, this text also hopes to call attention to the fact that the concept of terrorism is transformed into a tool used, appropriated, and manipulated by the security state. Terrorism as a tool is used to articulate a story of the state that emphasizes state legitimacy in the deployment of violence.[7] National security discourse is the instrument through which the state articulates this story.

Within the security state, terrorists can no longer justify violence because the state now utilizes violence to achieve its own goals. In examining state's conception of terrorism, the following questions arise: how is the concept of terrorism mediated by actions and language? And, how is that mediation interpreted through discourse and put to pragmatic political uses of statecraft? As Klien, in George (1994), has noted, discourse

> is not a way of learning 'about' something out there in the 'real world'; it is rather a way of producing that something as real, as identifiable, classifiable, knowable, and therefore, meaningful. Discourse creates the conditions of knowing. (George, 1994: 30)

In the case of terrorism, state-mediated discourse creates the conditions in which terrorism comes to be "knowable." Stated-mediated discourse on terrorism is visible in foreign policies produced by the last four presidential administrations (Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton) as well as the current George W. Bush administration. A review of these policies suggests that terrorism was seen as a challenge to the state, but also used as a source for statecraft. U.S. responses to terrorism privilege statist violence while vilifying other forms of violence. This vilification of terrorist violence is evidenced in Bush's 20 September 2001, address:

> Our nation – this generation – will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail…I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war… (Bush, 2001: 1143)

In this privileged space, the state, world order, security issues, and military engagements are managed in, and through, a specific discourse – identified by tone,

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7 Once a story of the state is created, ideas, actions, and events are consistently incorporated into the corpus of the state and its story. The story is maintained through the constant investment by those in power to maintain the authority and legitimacy of the state – the security of the state. In this constant investment, ideas, actions, and events are cast within a specific contextualized frame where power and interests converge.

language, vocabulary, and symbolic images – produced by a specific historical, socio-political, cultural, racial, religious, and geographical context:

> we know that God is not neutral between them. Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice – assured of the rightness of our cause and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America. (Bush, 2001: 1144)

Within this discursive space, terrorism – both the act and the concept – is consistently managed by the state. It is politicized and made instrumental even while eliding and obscuring important determining contexts. This discursive space is also an ideological space that refigures and represents terrorism in ways that affirm a righteous sense of national security. Security becomes a prime directive and focal imperative for the state. This text examines how national security discourse is constructed in a manner that conditions counter-terrorism policies by framing terrorism in a specific light under which terrorism is transformed into an instrument that reaffirms the state.

National security discourse frames an idealized, highly rhetorical, and ideological visualization of how Americans should view terrorism. Framing the view of terrorism is accomplished through the instrumentalization of five components: the act, the actor, definitional variations, application of meaning, and the use of moral authority.[8] These five variable components are materialized through language, text, images, sound bytes, physical force, surveillance mechanisms, control of communication channels, and diplomatic pressure. Mechanisms of social and political control work in conjunction with the employment and engagement of a specific knowledge structure that is then used by the power structure, functionaries, and invested agents to maintain and secure state legitimacy.

As terrorism is made to conform to discourse's "reality," it moves towards notions of objectivity in the state's attempt to make objective that which is not. Here, Michael Shapiro's concept of *imaginative enactments* shows how the meanings produced are "not simply acts of pure, disembodied consciousness; they are historically developed practices that reside in the very style in which statements are made, of the grammatical, rhetorical, and narrative structures" (1988: 7).

Given this notion of discourse as a cultivated practice, it is useful to explore how those who control the tools of knowledge production regiment discourse's context, and how these tools are utilized to create the constitutive force of discourse. National security discourse manages the ways in which ideas are constituted, articulated, and operationalized in the production and re-production of security.

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8   These variables will be explicated in Chapters 4 and 5. However, a brief explanation is useful at this moment: the act is terrorism as the actual event; the actor is the terrorist; definitional variations will be addressed to reveal that there is no one overriding definition and that the variations are used to describe disparate events under the rubric of terrorism; application of meaning refers to the way in which statist meanings are applied to terrorism; and moral authority refers to the way in which the application of meaning a specific moral imperative is attached to terrorism which allows the state to manipulate, appropriate, and control the violence of terrorism.

In light of the production of security, at the site of politics, terrorism is engaged as a fully imagined hazard constructed by the state. Given the fully imagined hazards of threats to security, the question to ask is how *securityism*[9] can institutionalize its control and management of collective memory and imagination. Terrorism's threat is elevated in the mind of the collective community and managed as a decisive threat to the nation's security. National security discourse is used to manage terrorism both as an act and as a concept as it explores and frames the ways in which terrorism is constituted, actualized, and operationalized as an object of security.

This text demonstrates how the state utilizes discourse to administer the reality of the specific subject of terrorism. It explores how the state controls the understanding and context of the subject of terrorism and its meaning by defining the terms of engagement. By identifying and analyzing the terms of engagement, the text reveals how terrorism is made intelligible to the general citizenry, and how in this process discursive practices objectify terrorism as a management site for the state.

Specifically, the first chapter examines the notion of security within the state and its relation to national interests. National security is made an instrument to secure the state against threats. More importantly, in the construction of terrorism as a hazard/ danger/threat, the state makes terrorism relevant to the security of the state and its citizenry. In this way, security, as threatened by terrorism, is made an *imagined state of relevance.*[10] The first chapter explores this idea to show how terrorism is constructed in a specific way that is relevant to the security, maintenance, and survival of the state. As terrorism is maintained as being relevant, the idea of security for the state establishes an environment that controls ideas and demarcates the boundaries of discourse. In this sense the identification of the threat and survival of the state are mutually dependent trajectories. The state interest becomes national interest – state before nation, rather than the perceived construct of "nation-state" – which

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9 The notion of *securityism* is explored here as an idea that national security discourse works in a precise practice that creates an environment through which whatever idea is constituted goes unquestioned, or at least creates an environment in which individuals are unable (or afraid) to challenge the constituted idea. Put in another way, securityism is the concept created by the practice of discourse through which an unquestioned reliance on security in statecraft exists. Beyond this reliance, securityism includes people being unable to challenge security-for-security's-sake for fear of being labeled anti-security focused or at worst, anti-patriotic.

10 This idea will be fully explicated in the first chapter and will show how terrorism is made relevant to state survival, not a challenge to its survival. In this sense, terrorism is one of many issues that is made relevant to the state and used as a mechanism to strengthen the idea of the state. In short, imagined states of relevance reveal the practice of the state (power regime) to constitute, condition, and implement specific issues as relevant to its survival. Once constructed, an issue's relevance is consistently articulated and re-articulated for the consumption of the citizenry. The imagining of a specific issue interprets and casts that issue into framework that is useful to the state and constructs the issue's importance. In this way, the state focuses on the process of giving credibility, viability, and power to the issue. As it does this, the state entity enacts its power to produces and re-produces an issue as relevant/important to its authority and legitimacy. Once an issue's relevance is imagined and created, the state produces and re-produces, constructs and constitutes a gaze that supports and enhances the state by encouraging the articulation of precise practices.

in turn is translated into a war against terror. The second and third chapters review presidential rhetoric regarding U.S. responses to terrorism. The second chapter starts with a review of President Richard M. Nixon as he set the foundation for U.S. policy responses to terrorism. President Nixon framed terrorists as criminals who employed indiscriminate violence and created an environment in which punishment, not understanding, became the response to terrorism. Framing terrorists as criminals created an environment that suspended any possible justifications for terrorism and provided U.S. presidents with the ability to utilize immediate retaliation as one of the primary responses to terrorism. In addition, President Nixon laid the framework for the use of future presidential administrations by establishing the foreign policy responses of no-concessions for hostage takers, no negotiations with terrorists, and no escape from justice by bringing perpetrators to face punishment. Finally, in the language employed by President Nixon, the "civilized" and "moral" world was set in stark opposition to terrorism – a rhetoric employed by all subsequent presidents, most notably in the current speeches of President George W. Bush. This chapter also reviews how Presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald W. Reagan solidified the rhetoric and discourse surrounding terrorism.

The third chapter continues the analysis of presidential rhetoric in the presidencies of the post-cold war era. The responses of Presidents George H. W. Bush, William J. Clinton, and George W. Bush are analyzed. Although the administration of President George W. Bush is ongoing, the rhetoric is shrouded in the post-September 11, 2001 "war on terrorism" and reveals that the state manipulates, appropriates, and manages terrorism through a national security discourse. This chapter will examine the *Bush Doctrine* as it reveals how national security discourse maintained thirty years of presidential rhetoric on terrorism. To examine fully six years of absolute, all-encompassing rhetoric and discourse would do a disservice to the severity and importance of President George W. Bush's "war on terrorism" rhetoric. In addition, an analysis of President George W. Bush's administration is best left for another full-length project.

The fourth chapter starts with a discussion of the authority and legitimacy of the state and how the state sets a framework to manage the threat of terrorism. The state exercises its power through the regulation and management of facts and reality as integral elements of its legitimacy. National security discourse frames the political and social life of the state in terms of exclusion and inclusion, "us" versus "them" – a classification of good and evil. In this dynamic, terrorism is based on a theocratic understanding that reifies the practices of inclusion and exclusion. According to Connolly, in Der Derian and Shapiro (1989):

> the invention of terrorism to characterize non-state violence by those closed out of the system of states runs roughly parallel to the Christian definitions of polytheism, idolatry and sacrifice in the sixteenth century, for both justify ruthlessness against the other by concealing points of similarity between the other and itself, and both deploy this ruthlessness (or its rhetoric) to ward off signs that the system has begun to compromise its own preconditions of stability. Polytheism becomes a monstrous evil because Christianity insists upon the true universality of monotheism in a world in which it is not universal in actuality. Terrorism becomes a monstrous evil – an evil more monstrous than state-centered violence – because it threatens to expose self-subverting characteristics in the

global system unless it itself is defined to be the monstrous source of this subversion. (Der Derian and Shapiro, 1989: 334–35)

An exploration of this "us" versus "them" dichotomy leads to a discussion of the five components of terrorism by unpacking how the act (terrorism) and actor (terrorist) help frame the practice of national security discourse. The state views terrorism as a criminal, "evil" act that threatens the nation's security. Terrorism is made real while the meaning behind it is "attenuated perforce by our power to represent it for our purposes" (Said, 1997: 69). The actor (terrorist) becomes the key element as they utilize the violence in the act of terrorism to define "the possible measure of justified existence and necessary malice" (Rabinow, 1998: 48).

The fifth chapter investigates the other three components of terrorism: definitional variations, application of meaning, and the employment of moral authority. The fifth chapter examines how these three concepts work to create an understanding of the "us" in "us" versus "them" and focuses ultimately on how discourse functions to fix meanings of terrorism.

The existence of multiple definitions to describe terrorism by the state indicates the complexity of the issues in identifying the act and the actor of terrorism and highlights the state's deliberate efforts to control definitions of terrorism by excluding certain interactions and characteristics in favor of others. Definitional variations emphasize the fact that terrorism is a highly contested phenomenon. The adage "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" speaks to the complexity of terrorism when interpreted within socio-political and historical contexts. The state has difficulty in the application of definitions because, as Wieviorka (1988) suggests, terrorism is:

> possessed of a dual specificity: on the one hand, it necessarily associates ideology with practice, and its self-image with the bearing of arms; on the other, it is perpetrated by groups which are always relatively external to the movement of which it is an inverted image. (Wieviorka, 1988: 10)

This dual specificity of terrorism – the association with ideology and its enactment by external groups – encourages the state to keep definitions of terrorism flexible and malleable. The ideology and externality of terrorism makes it unpredictable and volatile for the state which allows multiple definitions to create a space that moves according to terrorism's fluidity. This fluidity of action and meaning fosters the state's ability to respond and control a variety of events as it makes them part of the terrorism motif. In the Foucauldian sense (1978 and 1979), it is through the existence of definitional variations that terrorism never poses a final legible face for the citizenry to decipher.[11] Definitional variations overwhelm the multifaceted

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11 What is interesting here is that even though definitional variations of terrorism never poses a final legible face for the citizenry to decipher, they also at the same time make a part of terrorism strategically visible for the consumption of the citizenry. In this partial/strategic expression of terrorism, the state ensures that its practices take on the aura of legitimacy and authority. Thus, the practices of statecraft continue the project of the state.

bodies that resort to violence for political reasons. The multiple faces as symbolic markers become illegible to the citizenry, replaced by the rhetoric of terror.

National security discourse utilizes a system of interpretation, techniques, and methods to create a definition and apply a meaning to terrorism that places it into a security context. It is in this integration that terrorism provides meaning for national security. As stated by Krause and Williams, security is meaningless in itself; for there to be meaning, "security presupposes something to be secured" (1997: x). Thus, security is produced as a justification for the existence of the state.

The state constantly appropriates and re-appropriates, interprets and re-interprets the forms and artifacts of terrorism in order to generate meaning and create a need for the continued use of a new discourse to confront and combat terrorism. The state is always in the process of managing issues to ensure its survival. Terrorism is thus made an object for the state's production. The attachment of meanings sustains relationships of domination by controlling the referential domain. Discourse serves its "ideological role by explicitly referring to one thing and implicitly referring to another, by entangling these multiple referents in a way which serves to sustain domination" (Thompson, 1984: 200).

The dominant discourse on terrorism is a discourse that holds the state as the supreme power, as it delimits the field through which one can address terrorism. Terrorism is constructed as a threat to the state, a threat to its citizens, a threat to the economic foundations of global capital, and a threat to the state's identity as a "moral" and legitimate entity.

The articulation of a moral threat allows security to embed itself into the mindset of the citizenry where terrorism is shown as an imminent, all encompassing threat. This threat, articulated as a terror against "us," is based on what "we" stand for and who "we" are as a political entity. Moral authority allows for the dominant discourses of security to be readily accepted by citizens of the state.

Examination of the act, the actor, definitional variations, application of meaning, and the use of moral authority, in the fourth and fifth chapters allows for an exploration of the main epistemological framework for the text in the sixth chapter. The sixth chapter presents discourse as something more than just text and speech. Discourse is a tool through which language, knowledge, and power intersect as part of the discursive practices that legitimize the state. Ideas set forth by Saussure, Foucault, Derrida, and Shapiro are examined to provide a framework for this text's claim of the state's appropriation of the act and function of terrorism. The main thrust of this chapter is to explore how language – enhanced by images – becomes the device that contextualizes terrorism's five components while articulating a field for the state to manage.

Discourse works in and through language to shape and mold the context in which words and meanings are applied, constructed, and constituted. Language provides a foundation, a constituted "truth," through which power and knowledge can interact and exercise their authority. Discourses are formations with distinctive characteristics consisting of practices and institutions that produce knowledge claims that the system of power finds useful (Foucault, 1979). A specific discourse serves a function: it brings objects into being by identifying them, delimiting their field, and specifying them (Foucault, 1972: 41).

National security discourse employs language that influences and implicates meanings and values. The state, through national security discourse, constructs and constitutes the body of knowledge surrounding national security and terrorism. Language is at the heart of any discourse and provides the tools through which meanings and values are applied to words in the construction of ideas and practices. This illustrates how language, knowledge, and power, along with the management of the five components – the act, the actor, definitional variations, application of meaning, and use of moral authority – take terrorism into security's fold through a specific, highly controlled "regime of truth." This "regime of truth" in the Foucauldian theory, is one of a fabricated reality based partly on the workings and interests of those who constitute and articulate the "truth".

The concluding chapter poses the question, "so what now?" This section addresses the question of whether, given the state's appropriation and manipulation of terrorism, there can be a tool through which terrorism is discussed and presented in a different light.

In addressing national security as a constituted discourse one is able to reveal how meanings are applied to terrorism as a subject, and how terrorism is developed as an object that can be manipulated. More importantly, the discourse of national security exposes how the subject/object is produced through a regulative process that constructs the object along specific modes of thought. In this construction, discursive modes develop environments where resources are deployed, commodities exchanged, and specific entities are privileged while other are marginalized.

In a discursive approach it is important to note the role the researcher plays in the development of ideas and criticism. Jürgen Habermas (1974) points to the fact that all researchers are subject to their own interests and knowledge, which shape their research, and that discursive approaches make researchers aware of how they are analyzing and interpreting the objects. In critical work, the acknowledgement of the self-reflective process provides the researcher an effective tool to investigate, define, and evaluate the object. In addition, acknowledgement of the self-reflective process in the discursive approach allows the researcher to rupture the constraints of self-interest and pre-established notions.

It is on this assumption that language needs to be studied with an understanding that issues are the result of an integration of a variety of forces and players. National security discourse shows "historically how effects of truth are produced in discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false" (Foucault, 1984: 88), and allows a thorough investigation into the object and overturns commonly accepted understandings.

The process of applying meaning is loaded with sets of preconceived notions. As a result, an object is an entity that has a variety of layers and presupposes an inherent multiplicity. Thus, the Nietzschean perspective that "the question 'what is that?' is an imposition of meaning from other viewpoint" (Nietzsche in Taylor, 1986: 204) has immense usefulness in the understanding of a field of multiplicity. Discursive approaches are able to build on this basic notion by examining the ways in which meaning and language are used to constitute an object that is not fixed but comprised of multiple layers.

Language is highly social, meaningful, and consistently entrenched in a social context that incorporates experiences and histories. In the existence of power relations, all interaction is subject to values and norms. Discourse is synchronic and diachronic in that it is connected to other events that occur concurrently or have historical relevance. This synchronic and diachronic nature is enacted in the intertextuality of discourse (Der Derian and Shapiro, 1989). Finally, given power relations and the intertextuality of national security discourse, multiple interpretations are possible as they are connected to the location and understanding of individual participants – speaker, listener, and viewer. Interpretations are loaded with the values brought to bear by the individual as they are a reflection of the individual's beliefs and knowledge structures.

Based on this, there are always multiple interpretations, and thus, it is in the production of language and knowledge that a specific discourse is created to form the basis of a discussion of a particular issue. Discourse in the simplest term is language in use as a form of social practice, a social process that is conditioned by other parts of society and constituted by what Foucault terms *orders of discourse* – interdependent social networks. Inherent within this view of discourse is the dialectic relation of structure/event, whereby discourse is shaped by structures, but also contributes to the shaping and re-shaping, the producing and re-producing of those structures.

Borrowing from Foucault (1995), it is important to note that security is not an objective fact which remains the same in all historical periods and means the same in all cultures. It is only within a definite discursive formation that the object – security – can appear at all as a meaningful or intelligible construct. It is only after a certain definition of "security" is put into practice that the appropriate subject – terrorists as current state knowledge defines them – can appear.

The framework of language, knowledge, and power is able to construct the reality of terrorism by producing meaning and legitimizing relations of power (Der Derian and Shapiro, 1989). Within these practices a host of knowledges are constituted, legitimized, produced and re-produced within the exercise of power to ensure that certain modes of responses are pre-conditioned and employed.

Discursive use of language to control and manipulate aspects of terrorism is based on "the prevailing construction of political discourse, the ways of putting controversy over power and authority into language, which is monopolized by a narrow notion of what is considered the political" (Shapiro, 1998: 17). It is through discourse that the world is made knowable.

Terrorism is constructed and re-constructed within specific uses of language. The language of security and threat is used to ensure that the meanings assigned to terrorism fall within the domain of national security discourse – meanings that allow the continued domination of discourse in how terrorism is understood, dealt with, and responded to. In this sense, language is "the mobilization of meaning in order to sustain relations of domination [and] commonly involves […] a splitting of the referential domain" (Thompson, 1984: 200).

As presented here, the ability of national security discourse to suggest how reality and truth are constituted permits an in-depth review of how the object – security and terrorism – has been consistently manipulated and controlled as a subject of

the state. In order to enhance this review, this text also employs the Foucauldian concept of problematization. Foucault's problematization informs the researcher to ask questions about a given idea and how that idea is formed by, and relates to, its surroundings. According to Foucault, problematization

> does not mean representation of a pre-existing object, nor the creation by discourse of an object that does not exist. It is the totality of discursive and non-discursive practices that introduces something into the play of true and false and constitutes it as an object for thought (whether in the form of moral reflection, scientific knowledge, political analysis, etc.).

> Problematization transforms the difficulties and obstacles of a practice into a general problem for which one proposes diverse political solutions. It is problematization that responds to these difficulties, but by doing something quite other than expressing them or manifesting them: in connection with them it develops the conditions in which responsible responses can be given; it defines the elements that will constitute what the different solutions attempt to respond to. (Foucault, in Soguk, 1999: 16–17)

Terrorists are made objects of problematization in the ways they are constructed within the "us" and "them" dichotomy. In national security discourse, terrorism problematizations are constructed and constituted as something knowable, which in turn facilitates the use of terrorism to secure the state. Terrorism in the realm of national security becomes a normalized site of engagement for the security state. The state is privileged with extraordinary access to discursive fields and forums. It is in part the mechanisms of these relations and types of access and control over discursive fields that empower the state vis-à-vis the discursive battles over meaning and identity of terrorism.

The site of engagement utilizes terrorism problematizations in practices of statecraft as it "incites a popular and institutional discourse" on terrorists; "inscribe[s] and represent[s]" terrorism as an issue for the security state's legitimacy; and "formulates and channels imaginable statist solutions" to the problem of terrorism (Soguk, 1999: 17). Within this site of engagement, this text poses significant questions for each of the five components in the context of uncovering the processes of problematizations. The goal of this text is to create a window into the ways in which terrorism is instrumentalized by the state, through a specialized national security discourse, as the state discusses, conceptualizes, constitutes, and produces meanings of terrorism. In doing this, this text hopes to call forth a new way of understanding the state's role in terrorism's constitutive nature.

Chapter 1

The State in a Time of Terror

> Danger is not an objective condition. It [*sic*] is not a thing that exists independently of those to whom it may become a threat. (Campbell, 1998: 1 italics as in original)

In a time of terror, in the face of terrorism, the state is confronted with a perceived challenge to its legitimacy and authority. Terrorism is constructed as an illegitimate action used by non-state actors or rogue states. The interpretive potential existent in terrorism allows a space for the hegemonic power to execute a specific story about security, legitimacy, and authority that applies the pejorative attributes of terrorism to non-state actors and rogue states.[1] Both non-state actors and rogue states that employ violence are constituted as not having legitimacy or authority in the eyes of the state. As such, the state takes the interpretive potential of terrorism, constructs and provides it meaning as a threat to the state's security. National security discourse is the language in and through which terrorism is mediated as a threat and legitimizes the creation and implementation of national security policies.

The state consistently articulates itself as a domain of security that is manifested in a variety ways and includes all features of the political. Security is the benchmark on which all aspects of society are based and judged. In the articulation of the security state precise practices of statecraft emerge that serve to legitimize the state and its actions in the face of terror. National security discourse ratifies perceived realities that the state maintains as necessary to its survival – realties that include economic, political, and health issues. In the ratification of these realities, the state sets forth a culture of security in which the citizenry is embedded. The culture of security makes the citizenry controllable and susceptible to the ideas of security put forth by the state. The role of national security discourse here is to hide particular practices of statecraft and make others visible.

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1 Although state sponsored terrorism is not a focus of this text, the concepts of legality and illegality deployed in the discussion of state sponsored terrorism are intriguing. In proclaiming that rogue states are part of the terrorist's network, the hegemonic power is dictating a specific sense of legality within the construction of a state's authority to employ violence. In the making of terrorism as part of the security domain of the state, terrorism is inextricably linked to the life of a state. All the hegemonic power needs to do is construct an image of a rogue state as antithetical to the legitimate construction of statist regimes. In doing so, the pejorative characteristics of terrorism are transferred to the rogue state and in turn also made an enemy to the survival and security of the state. The build up to the 2002 invasion in Iraq is evidence of the hegemonic power transferring the pejorative aspects of terrorism to a "rogue" state.

Given that the idea of security is constructed, it is possible to see how security can be challenged by terrorism. The state, in the construction of security, paradoxically creates environments in which insecurity prospers. The fostering of insecurity is in part based on security's construction in relation to an other – something that is not secure. As a result of this formulation of security in relation to insecurity, an environment is created that allows challenges to manifest. The state can not shed the fact that a realm of insecurity is a necessity for it to be secured. Said another way, the creation of security produces and re-produces insecurity. An example of this is seen in the development of the national security state that occurred in the United States after the Second World War.

The development of an idea of national security, mediated through a specific discourse, created an environment that supported the claims of states' legitimacy and authority based on the need to secure the artifacts of the state – borders, peoples, ideas, and, of course, violence. Artifacts of statecraft not only provide states their perceived legitimacy, authority, and sovereignty, but also facilitate the state's interaction within a global, interdependent, and intertextual world.[2] States created a security binary – the "us"/them" dyad – to maintain legitimacy and authority to ensure the continuation of the international statist system. This security binary is best evidenced in the creation of the U.S. national security state.

Through the decades of the cold war, the United States produced and intensified an international system through which politics were constituted as a clear binary of "us" versus "them" – a process that created the Soviet Union as a demonized other.[3] This demonized other became the entity against which the American state was secured (Campbell, 1998) as the Soviet Union was constructed as a challenger to U.S. democratic freedom and state supremacy.[4] The National Security Council (NSC) intensified the concepts of U.S. democratic freedom and state supremacy existent in the national security state. In April 1950, the NSC responded to a directive from President Truman to reexamine the U.S.'s strategic objectives in war and peace. The NSC came forth with document 68, which addressed growing concerns over the postwar redistribution of global-political power and what would become known as super détente and the Cold War. Document 68 enforces this concept as it states that

> two complex sets of factors have now basically altered this historic distribution of power. First, the defeat of Germany and Japan and the decline of the British and French Empires have interacted with the development of the United States and the Soviet Union in such a way that power increasingly gravitated to these two centers. Second, the Soviet Union,

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2   Intertextual is used to describe how an event can only be read and made meaningful in relation to other events. In the case of terrorism, its intertextual nature is revealed as it is constantly located within a relation to a variety of aspects of domestic and international life.

3   President Reagan's proclamation to the House of Commons on 8 June 1982, that Soviet Union was "the evil empire" is representative of how there is a need to create the other, but more importantly create a demonized other.

4   What is meant here is that the United States continually proclaims that it is the guardian of democracy and the freedoms attached to this democracy. In the role of guardian, the United States also assumes a level of supremacy whose main purpose is to ensure that the democratic state proliferates in its image.

unlike previous aspirants to hegemony, is animated by a new fanatic faith, anti-thetical to our own, and seeks to impose its absolute authority over the rest of the world. Conflict has, therefore, become endemic and is waged, on the part of the Soviet Union, by violent or non-violent methods in accordance with the dictates of expediency. With the development of increasingly terrifying weapons of mass destruction, every individual faces the ever-present possibility of annihilation should the conflict enter the phase of total war. (NSC-68, 14 April 1950)

Under the NSC-68 document, the state solidified its role as the "primary referent for security" (Krauss and Williams, 1997: 34).

The rise of the American security state is attributed to a security ideology framed in

Cold War discourse in a system of symbolic representations that defined America's national identity by reference to the un-American 'other', usually the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, or some other totalitarian power. (Hogan, 1998: 17)

The U.S. security state that emerged in the Cold War was founded conterminously with the idea of the state based on supremacy and security.

This chapter examines the formation of the security state in a world continually subjected to forces outside the state's domain, especially the real and imagined threats of terror and the rise of terrorism. It reflects on the current global environment and discusses how the state constitutes and re-constitutes its role in the creation of security. As the state re-constitutes itself in the face of "terror" – in the face of fear – security is made to refer to national security and the threat that terrorism poses to the state. In the face of terror, the state also captures the imagination of the general citizenry to ensure that the state is afforded a site to manage terrorism in the name of security for the citizenry. Security assumes multiple faces that range from economic security to statist security. National security discourse is shown, in this chapter, to occupy multiple faces and create an environment in which the concept of security becomes intelligible and made specific in national security discourse.

This chapter first addresses the questions: What is the state? How does the state function within the realm of security that it constitutes? and How does the state define itself and its mission within the realm of security? These questions become especially significant given the confines of the current global environment where the movement of money, weapons, thoughts, and people across "borders" make possible a host of activities and challenges to the conventional understanding of the state.

The State

It is generally accepted by the citizenry that the state is a tangible entity that has authority and sovereignty and exercises control over peoples, ideas, and territories. This accepted perception was manufactured through the assent of the modern state that involved territorialization, continuity of space, and homogenization of peoples. The state became "real" with the creation of an imagination of the citizenry based on

the formation of institutions and agencies that enacted specific practices and effects.[5] The formation of state effects afforded an environment that facilitated the general acceptance of the practices of a ruling authority. More importantly, states developed communities/national identities that became sites on which practices of statecraft were actualized. As a project of the state, a national community was developed as an image over time – an image that possessed shared values and ideals that were altered and passed through time – and space – an image of lived practices that existed before us and would exist after us (Paul, Ikenbury, and Hall, 2003; Anderson, 1983).

The state, as currently perceived, constitutes institutions and practices that legitimize its existence and that are instrumental in the creation of a national, cultural core. The cultural core is a set of stories and imaginaries that construct a meta-culture of the state. The citizenry takes ownership of this meta-culture which in turn informs their perspectives of the surrounding environment. As a result, the cultural core constructed a perceived majority and enhanced a specific identity to be processed and implemented. To witness the effects of a cultural core, incorporating historical narratives, one can turn to the development of the U.S. state.

The U.S. state is one of several examples of states whose histories can be investigated to elucidate the formation of a cultural core. However, the development of the United States is scrutinized based on its declaration that it is able to manage and coordinate public space via set rules and laws that delimit rights and situate networks of sociability and intelligibility.

The cultural core and historical narratives, coupled with the U.S.' unequaled strength in the world, created a specific hegemony that articulated the United States as the savior of the world, purveyor of democracy, and the beacon of hope – American exceptionalism reiterated. American exceptionalism (explicated further in Chapter 5) was taken as a birthright that maintained the United States as the only power capable of enacting democracy and maintaining world peace. American exceptionalism is based on the logic of a state that finds its foundation in the idea of legitimized democratic processes. The logic of the legitimized democratic process required a level of interdependence as individuals came together for safety and protection. The formation of a secured and protected environment transformed itself into a site for the manifestation of ideological and cultural expression of the United States as a unique and innovative state in space and through time. The United States manifested itself as the perfect union of democratic ideals from ancient civilizations and the "modern" sentiments of security and state formation. American exceptionalism was a natural progression of a state that embodied all positive aspects and attributes and actualized a specific image of a mission to spread and defend the ideals of a secured, democratic state to facilitate other states but also to ensure an environment of security and prosperity. American exceptionalism also encompasses the ideal that the exceptional is also exempt from the rules it promotes. The inclusion/exclusion dyad is prevalent within the employment of the exceptional mission.

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5   What is meant here is that by establishing specific effects of the state, institutions and agencies, the citizenry actually feels it can witness the state in action. The perception here is that if there are effects of a state (military, taxation, government, etc.), then there must be an actual entity that produces these effects.

In the mission to ensure an environment of security and prosperity, security of the state is made logical and rational. In the rationality of the state, violence is controlled and managed by the state. Violence was no longer viewed as being uncertain and unstable as long as it was part of the statist system. In the face of terrorism, however, violence is again viewed as uncertain and unstable as terrorists attempt to take control over the statist use of violence in an illegitimate manner. The uncertainty of violence in terrorism is made relevant to the existence of the state. The state utilizes terrorism's relevance to create a "theater of terror" in which fear is confronted with fear, and individuals maintain the credence of the social contract in hopes of maintaining laws and liberty (Juergensmeyer, 2003: 119).

Within statist logic of violence, the state set forth specific ideas of territorial and communal sovereignty. In doing so, the state consistently put into motion a set of practices that was designed to maintain and perpetuate concepts vital to its existence. A host of activities – economy, health, security – are made viable to the control and operationalization of the state. Such practices invite new issues that the state is forced to address in order to maintain the image of the state as a legitimate, solidified process. The ideology of the state is to create its own *raison d'être* by fixing in the minds of the citizenry all meanings of safety.

In working to solidify its control, authority, and legitimacy, the state reveals itself as a movement, always in search of new resources through which it can exercise and enact its power. In this sense, terrorism becomes a site through which the state can enact its practices of statecraft. Thus, the state as a movement can no longer be viewed in and through traditional concepts that anchor the state in historical origins.

State formation has undergone dramatic changes and contradictions within the past thirty years. Security, however, maintains its status as a site for the practice of statecraft. U.S. security began to challenge old conceptions of what "we" were trying to defend. Given the absence of a clear and present threat to vital state interest, security became the tool through which the state was legitimized in a site where:

> oceans are the puddles and sovereign national frontiers…markings on an old map, the daily realities of interdependence everywhere contradict the idea of sovereign autonomy. (Barber, 2003: 55)

The ideas of the effects of globalization espoused by Barber are furthered by Campbell (1992), Connolly (1991), Dillon (1996), and Walker (1993), who construct a position which enables an exploration of how identity politics has fostered the current state of affairs in the global environment. They warn of the need to be critical of the power of identity politics in international relations and national security. These theorists critique a state structure that was constructed in a manner that systematically reified the state as:

> an historically specific spatial ontology, a sharp delineation of here and there, a discourse that both expresses and constantly affirms the presence and absence of political life inside and outside the modern state as the only ground on which structural necessities can be understood and new realms of freedom and history can be revealed. (Walker, 1993: ix)

The artifacts of the world critiqued consistently labor to re-produce themselves in order to maintain semblance of the historical state project – a project that roots itself in the world of eighteenth- and nineteenth- century enlightenment philosophers of statism and progress. The current environment is not a collection of static entities among which spatiotemporal relations are reified or polarized. In the current environment, theories, philosophies, histories, imaginations, and memories interact and intermingle. In order for there to be a clear "here and there," reality must consistently be radically distorted. Thus, the state faces an increasing contradiction in its project of maintaining legitimacy and sovereignty in an environment where the very questions of sovereignty and legitimation "of various forms of inclusion and exclusion, are no longer adequately answered in the territorial terms we have inherited" (Walker, 1993: 21–2).

As a result of the development of transversal spaces and international communications, the state is revealed as never having been a singular entity designed with total and absolute control over a given contiguous territory or cohesive community. Rather it now consists of a "post national" form of identity and organization that still witnesses the adherence to state effects while confronting the affects of a global, interconnected world (Appadurai in Yager, 1996). The coherence of the nation state is in a constant state of flux as global migration and the formations of diasporic communities challenge the traditional perceptions of what a nation-state entails. Thus, the nation state can no longer maintain the idea that it had territorial integrity, nor a single cultural community that shared the same values. Within the process of deterritorialization, "the relationship between state and nation is an embattled one" (Appadurai in Yager, 1996: 48).

As states attempt to negotiate the growing conflict between maintaining the myth of a nation and the juridical forms of a state, the constant state of flux present in contemporary societies requires, and will increasingly require, new concepts of security to be enacted and circulated. "Security" can no longer reside only in the dichotomy of inside/outside, where there is a clear distinction between an "us" and a "them." Because of the permeability of borders, and mingling of cultures and languages within the state, the concept of security becomes a process of constituted relations in which the threat is not only external, but must also be internal. The state as an entity struggling to exercise its authority, however, still attempts to ensure its security against the precept of an external other.

The relevance to internal security of identifying the other is revealed in the idea that through the inscription of the other's foreignness, it is state-controlled "foreign policy [which] helps produce and reproduce the political identity of the doer supposedly behind the deed" (Campbell, 1992: X). Campbell's scrutiny of the state's production of a "doer behind the deed" is developed further in Simon Dalby's representation of the state as "a political entity that needs investigation in terms of its supposed provision of security, rather than having its provision of security taken for granted as a starting point for analysis" (Dalby in Krause and Williams, 1997: 24).

Given the historical foundations on which the concept of the state has developed, it is not difficult to envision how the modern conception of the state projects an entity that lives and controls. What becomes interesting are the contradictions that arise between the role of the perceived, conventional state and its existence within the

processes of the global environment. Once the notion is accepted that the state is not a single tangible entity, but rather a series of institutions and agencies that manage thought, time, and space through the creation and implementation of practices, then interrogation of the processes of statecraft becomes possible.

The state, therefore, must be problematized along with certain key concepts – economic processes, international treaties and organizations, and power – that have been taken as "truths" without question. Necessary questions to ask are: does the state, as is commonly perceived, have significance in the current environment? And, how does the state work for its survival when confronted with credible challenges from the processes of globalization?

Based on the proposition that the state is not a tangible entity but produces tangible effects, it may be useful to view the idea of the state through the metaphor of story. In this vein, a story normally has a beginning, a middle, and an ending. In addition, a story has an author as well as a reader. The reader helps derive a story from the written text. Without a reader, the total story does not exist, for the purpose for which it was created was to be read and made into a story. In the same way, the citizenry that is the subject of state practices becomes the reader of the story of the state and takes its role in solidifying and providing sites for the enactment of statecraft practices. The story metaphor also helps establish the way in which the state composes multiple faces, legible to the citizenry through variations on the plot and the existence of multiple streams of plot development. In addition, the state also produces sub-narratives which are illegible to the citizenry. Finally, the story metaphor illuminates the possibility that the state, like a story, is not a tangible entity but is, rather, an idea/thought/conception of reality comprised of words and beliefs that in turn constitute and construct its own story, a self-perpetuating mythical structure.

The story metaphor is also useful in unpacking the ways in which the state confronts transversal forces in the production of "spatial practices" (de Certeau, 1988: 114). Michel de Certeau suggests that stories organize places and link them together in spatial trajectories (1988). The plot of the story of the state is constructed through a linking of spaces that recognize the sites of "practiced places" (1988: 117) – habitual readings of the state. The state lives within these sites of "practiced places." In the enactment of practices of statecraft, the state constitutes and constructs public sites for the spatial state as it "opens a legitimate theater for practical actions" (1988: 125).

The forces of globalization compress the time-space relation between states and diminish the absolute sovereignty and authority of the state. States are no longer able to act unilaterally without experiencing serious ramifications of non-cooperation in the international environment. The events of 11 September 2001, for instance, are important in the sense that they can be viewed as a reaction to the U.S.' unilateral stance, but also in the way the state had to shift its perceived view of the world in response to the terrorists' acts. September 11th is also important in its function as a catalyst for solidification of security as the main referent in the practices of statecraft. Finally, the ramifications of September 11th and the subsequent military actions, especially the later pre-emptive attack on Iraq, changed the perception of the United States in the global environment. As the United States attempted to claim

moral and legal authority, American exceptionalism lost its perceived legitimacy in the international community.

Imagined States of Relevance

In the state's attempts to maintain its legitimacy and authority within the international community, it appropriates specific issues and ideas as relevant to its survival. In this sense, terrorism is a made an object of the story of the state. Terrorism and its effects on the security of the state are constituted as relevant to the state's continued survival, and managed within the confines of statist practices.

In order to accomplish this task, the state creates a specific language and discourse that maintains the idea of the state as providing security for its citizens in all realms of statist practice. Here, terrorism is shown to affect human security – a security that emerges from the "conditions of daily life – food, shelter, employment, health, public safety" (Mathews, 1997: 51). With the focus on the affect of terrorism on the entirety of security, security and terrorism are made imagined states of relevance for the general citizenry. In imagined states of relevance, national security discourse is constituted as a steady murmur of memory – a discourse that is constantly present but at times in the background quietly producing itself so that it may be made vocal and active at any moment to justify any action. National security discourse is also present in re-enactments that actualize stories and histories of the state. For the United States, these stories and histories "recall[s] the way[s] in which America's foreign ventures have often moralized about the country's mission in a faithless world" (Campbell in Slater and Taylor, 1999: 223).

The actualization of these stories and histories allows the state to dictate and stipulate specific responses that adhere to the constituted ideals of the public arena. This is not the Glissantian (1989) concept of "encounters," where one's experiences are articulated in a way that allows others to hear them while facilitating the sharing of their own experiences in a dialogue. Instead, security as an imagined state of relevance is maintained as a necessity of the state to ensure that it provides for the welfare and safety of the citizenry. Security in this light is not a sharing of experience but rather an elaborate story that consistently articulates the state's role in providing the mechanism to secure the public domain. These stories and histories were enacted when President George W. Bush stated forcefully, "there's an old poster out West, as I recall, that says, 'Wanted: Dead or Alive'" (http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-3.html), or when he described the war on terrorism as a crusade, noting that: "this crusade, this war on terrorism is going to take awhile" (http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html). These comments by Bush set in action the American purpose that both shaped and gave meaning to terrorism based on two specific aspects of the American historical imagination – those of law enforcement and a religious/moral crusade.[6]

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6   Within the American statist imagination reside a variety of stories that give meaning to the American state. These stories are enacted when the state needs to assert its authority and legitimacy. In this case, President George W. Bush is explicitly calling forth two stories of the American state. The first story is that of the American "Wild West." This story reminds

The concept of terrorism moved into the public arena where it was formulated as a threat based on statist imaginaries of the other. These imaginaries focus on the security/insecurity of the state versus internal/external threats. They also postulate a field of security that operates to ensure the production of historical continuities. The state attempts to maintain the notion of security, revealing that the security/insecurity dichotomy is more than a simple embodiment of a nation's will to fight terrorism. The state constitutes national security discourse as a tool that articulates and re-articulates precise practices, histories, and knowledges through the maintenance of the historical imagination in the production of imagined states of relevance. The aforementioned historical imaginaries of law enforcement – specifically the American West where good/law triumphed over evil/lawlessness – and religious virtue – specifically the Christian world set against the Muslim world – are employed to mobilize the citizenry and solidify the state. In and through the state's discursive maneuvers, national security discourse is used to inscribe and prescribe specific agency to issues and events. It is in these maneuvers that imagined states of relevance[7] are constituted, delimiting debates and suppressing "alternative modes of expression – and thus in the process preempting practical possibilities for change" (Der Derian, 1987: 60).

The story of the state is wrought with suppression of "alternative modes of expression." In the suppression of "alternatives modes of expression," the state constitutes a realm of security that appropriates and manipulates a variety of issues, including terrorism. In doing so, the state constructs imagined states of relevance that are the convergence of knowledges, powers, histories, institutions, and agents. It is in the convergence of these categories that a practice of statecraft is revealed. Once constructed, an issue's relevance is consistently articulated and re-articulated, produced and re-produced for the consumption of the citizenry. Imagined states of relevance are accepted by the citizenry based on constituted realities that represent more the imagination of the state than the citizenry's actual experience of the state (Anderson, 1994).[8] The use of the concept of the imagined states of relevance does

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the citizenry that during American expansion the west was wild and "uncivilized" – just as terrorism is wild and uncivilized within the 21st century. It was only with the appearance of the gun-wielding sheriff that law and order were bought to the west which allowed civility to take hold and security to flourish – military wielding U.S. state to allow civilized states to flourish in the face of terrorism. The second story is that of the United States' Christian roots. Within this story, the values of Christianity lay a solid foundation on which civility thrives. The crusade motif is the re-enactment and vocalization of Christian values triumphing over the "barbaric" Muslim infidels. Thus, within this second story, the fight for security against terrorists, who just so happen to be Muslim, is justified within a long tradition of fighting against these "barbaric infidels." On this basis, people like Samuel Huntington are able to effortlessly claim that there exists a *Clash of Civilizations*.

7 Imagined state of relevance is the process by which any event or issue is imagined and made relevant to the survival of the state. In this way gay marriage, social security, health issues, and abortion can be made a referent for the state to secure itself as a legitimate state.

8 In this sense it is important to stress the fact that in creating the relevance of an issue, the state must constitute and maintain specific "facts" and ideologies about the issue that represent the state's imaginary of how the issue is relevant. As a result, the citizenry

not suggest that the issues or events brought into discourse are not real events or real issues that have grave consequences. Instead, use of imagined states of relevance addresses the fact that these events are interpreted within a modus operandi that casts issues in a specific light.

The "imagined" represents the ability of those in power to bring forth and control issues as central to the survival of the state. Those in power imagine the ways in which an issue is made to be important and then constructs its importance. Following this path of conceptualizing the "imagined," through the construction of a host of practices, the "imagined" is made relevant to the state structure demanding total attention and respect.

The state entity constitutes, conditions, and implements how an event or issue is made relevant and important to its existence. In doing so, the state entity focuses on the process of giving credibility, viability, and power to a specific event or issue. As the state bestows credibility, viability, and power, the state entity enacts its power to produce and re-produce an issue as relevant/important to its authority and legitimacy. By recognizing that an issue's relevance is imagined and created, one can then interrogate how that relevance is produced and re-produced, constructed, and constituted. It can be seen that issues are viewed under a gaze made to support and enhance the power regime by encouraging the articulation of precise practices. Statist structures and mechanisms instruct and orchestrate the application of issues as imagined states of relevance.

The practices of statecraft produced in relation to terrorism as an imagined state of relevance are the creation and enactment of specific practices. It is in these practices of statecraft that the power structure is also made relevant to the citizenry. Thus, imagined states of relevance are not only the making of an event or issue relevant to the survival of the power structure, but are also the making of the power structure relevant to the survival of the community. The state (power structure) in the process of imagining terrorism's relevance creates its own relevance in the process. In this way the state continues to present itself as the only viable, legitimate, and authoritative entity to provide security for its populace.

As part of the imagined states of relevance and employing security through national security discourse, the state constructs an environment in which all actions, responses, and non-responses are conditioned in light of the security of the state, and gain credibility and relevance or lose credibility and are made irrelevant. Security takes on a host of knowledges, practices, and ideologies that create an environment of securityism and dictate the adherence to specific government's responses, which are relentlessly implemented when the defined/prescribed security is threatened.

Security

In the global environment, traditional practices of statecraft bring forward, rationalize, and make important certain agents, actors, and ideas, while disabling others. A variety

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participates in this imaginary based on the state's perception of this relevance, not on actual experience.

of issues – security, immigration, economy, and military – become sites in which the perception of the state is enacted. The changing global environment is consistently challenging mainstream perceptions of the state to undergo a re-evaluation as transversal spaces of dynamic convergence are transformed and manipulated. These dynamic convergences manifest in counter hegemonic ideas – terrorism being one of the visible ways that counter hegemonic ideas are expressed.

The forces of globalization[9] have subjected the national security state to a global interpenetration and intermeshing of political, social, economic, and military forces that strain the practices of statecraft. Soguk (1999) notes that such activity

> requires the coordination of activities across localities, lest activities in one locale potentially disrupt the activities in other locales. As Arjun Appadurai suggests, 'People production needs of one nation-state can mean ethnic and social unrest for its neighbors, creating open-ended cycles of ethnic cleansing, forced migration, xenophobia, state paranoia, and thus further ethnic cleansing'. (Soguk, 1999: 45)

Because of the level of oversight necessary to carry out such coordination, the images and identities of the sovereign nation state currently are subject to significant assessments as to their strength, vulnerability, and viability. In the presence of globalization, time-space compression and the relevance of transversal spaces diminish the significance of the distance between peoples, and as a result, of states. The forces of globalization, with an emphasis on deterritorialization, are, as argued by Appadurai, "one of the central forces of the modern world" (1996: 37). Appadurai continues, "state and nation are at each other's throats, and the hyphen that links them is now less an icon of conjuncture than an index of disjuncture" (1996: 39).

In response to the transversal forces at play, the state attempts to transform itself through continued maintenance of the inside/outside dyad, assuming traditional conceptualizations of security built upon this dyad. Despite the fact that security has become a global issue, the internal structures of the state are still viewed as the bedrock of security while everything outside is in the realm of uncertainty and chaos. Campbell (in Slater and Taylor, 1999) states that:

> Although the global inscription of danger in the United States foreign policy was something that long preceded the Cold War (e.g. the strategies of 'manifest destiny' in the nineteenth century), it was in the post-WWII period, when numerous overseas obligations were constructed, that the identity of the United States became even more deeply implicated in the military capacity and external reach of the state. In this sense, the Cold War needs to be understood as a disciplinary strategy that was global in scope but national in design. As a result, the Cold War can be understood as an ensemble of political practices and interpretative dispositions associated with the (re)production of political identity. (Slater and Taylor, 1999: 227)

As long as the state continues to build this inside/outside dichotomy, it stresses the possibility of outside military threats and emphasizes the relevance of military

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9   Globalization is understood here as a process of increasing intensity and extensity of relationships between organizations and agencies, agents and groups, and individual and community.

capabilities to respond to possible hostilities. While the inside/outside dyad is maintained, the state neglects globalization's perpetuation of inequalities worldwide (Hurrell and Woods, 1999). Herein lies the problematic for the state – the state does not acknowledge that globalization is also an inside occurrence that brings about internal changes to the state.

The effects of globalization on the economic and social life of states create an uncertain and problematic environment through which multiple sectors interact and converge with one another. Globalization increases the opportunity for the state's mechanisms of power to rearrange social boundaries along historical lines, calling forth historical narratives and national imaginations, while combating the transversal tendencies of intermeshing effects. The contradiction of the existence of states within the global environment lies in the fact that the fluidity of globalization and the maintenance of boundaries are cohabitants of a socio-spatial environment. The state is made a code word – a legitimizing force that predetermines specific enactments – for a complex set of juridical revisions that encompasses laws and social networks. Everything is done in the name of the state and its juridical authority.

The effects of the state are continually actualized and re-actualized, on the interior through constant fluctuations in jurisdiction, and on the exterior through the regular flows of people, goods, information, and violence. The problem that states do not acknowledge is that "states today have a monopoly on the ability to legitimize violence, but they do not have the ability to monopolize violence" (Deudney in Lipshultz, 1995: 97). The existence of terrorism as an outside threat generates the state's ability to legitimize violence.[10] The state, as one of its strategies, combats the increasing number of participants in the execution of violence by allowing the privatization of security providers. Security becomes a public/private partnership, as the state no longer has the capacity to be the national security state. The state no longer has monopoly control over the products of security and thus becomes one of the nodes in a highly contextualized and networked world (Dillon, 2003). Put another way, the transformation of the state,

> having primarily to do with the global economic system, affects material conditions within states – safety, welfare, sovereignty – in ways that serve to undermine the traditional roles of governments, making them less willing or able to protect their citizens from those forces or provide services that might mitigate their impacts. These transformative forces also have effects on the capabilities of states, by creating contradictions between the accustomed practices of governments and the responses needed to buffer against those forces, as illustrated by the demise of the Soviet Union and the endless fiscal troubles suffered by the United States. (Lipshultz, 1995: 15)

With external and internal forces at play between globalization and security, it is important that the state recognize the transformations of the world outside and of the state inside. Globalization and security relate to one another in the

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10 The state is able to show that because there is an illegitimate use of violence that threatens the fabric of civilized society, it must assume its authority to employ legitimate violence in order to secure the citizenry.

detachment of security from territoriality…the enmeshment of security in global networks…the creation by globalization of a new security agenda…and the diminished capacity of the state to provide security for its citizens. (Clark, 1999: 114)

With the development of a new form of the security state – one that utilizes both the public and private sectors in the pursuit of security – an interesting question to pursue is how security discourse ensures a conceptualization of what is useful in the state's struggle to maintain legitimacy and relevance. Security discourse employed by the state helps shape policies and practices, permitting some possibilities to flourish while prohibiting others to come to the foreground. It is important to note that security discourses:

> are neither strictly objective assessments nor analytical constructs of threat, but rather the products of historical structures and processes, of struggles for power within the state, of conflicts between societal groupings that inhabit states and the interests that besiege them. (Lipshultz, 1995: 8)

Lipshultz highlights not only the priorities of the state but also the state's self-representations and identities as it is shown how security discourse is reflective of internal agencies and constituencies, struggles and triumphs, histories and ideologies. Security is made an integral part of the state and thus is produced as a national interest that becomes national security.

The predominant discourse on security in the United States is one that enhances the idea of an inside/outside dialectic in response to the "global contingency" – understood as "the erasure of the markers of certainty and the rarefaction of political discourse" (Campbell, 1998: 19). The global contingency brings about the globalization of security which

> requires a change in the nature of the security state itself, not simply the setting in which it finds itself… this is not a necessary condition of multilateralism or internationalism. States can opt into, or out of, collective defense and collective security arrangements without experiencing fundamental change to themselves. In sharp contrast, it is this focus on the simultaneous transformation of the state and its environment that sets globalization apart from those other threats. (Clark, 1999: 109)

The battle to maintain imagined states of relevance is also seen in the fact that the tension between the demands of identity and the practices that constitute it "can never be fully resolved, because the performative nature of identity can never be fully revealed" (Campbell, 1998: 11). The processes of identity formation are crucial as a core foundation in the establishment of the security state. As noted by Campbell (1998), it was through the making of foreign and security policy that the United States re-inscribed its identity during the Cold War. This re-inscription of identity, through security and foreign policy, is again revealed in the United States' treatment of the "threat" posed by international terrorism since 11 September 2001.

In order to work against challenges to its identity brought about by globalization, the state pursues securitization to mobilize the population in the state's performance of specific practices aligned with perceived notions of the state. The continued

development and implementation of security ensures the domination of the national security state. It also ensures the belief in the idea of the nation state.

The performative aspect of security within space and time is revealed in its enactments – movements that are consistently in flux in order to maintain a specific identity. The struggle of the state is in the fluidity of identities within the emerging "realities" of the state. Thus, the state is constantly in a process of becoming. The state's constant articulation of danger produces feelings of insecurity among the citizenry in relation to the unknown and also promises the triumph of possibilities – possibilities here being the ability of the state to provide protection and security for the citizenry. The level of identity is important in the discourse of security, as security discourse makes use of a "notion [that] what 'we' are is intrinsic to an understanding of what 'we' fear" (Campbell, 1998: 85). One sees here that state control and management of security is a response to fear that is made knowable in the constitutive characteristic of the state.

Knowledge, then, also becomes a constituted mechanism that can be used to foster politically viable narratives. Current statist discourse lacks the ability to address adequately the internal problematics of an interdependent world. In this current discourse, one sees that:

> if our existing vocabulary of politics were adequate to the local-global challenge which humankind now faces…there would be no need to argue for a retrieval of politics and revivification of political imagination. (Dillon, 1996: 201)

Based on the inability of current statist discourse to address these problematics, forming a new way of examining the global situation provides a variety of possibilities to explore the role of the state in the utilization of security.

The concept of the other in combination with that of security, as the main subject of analysis, enables creative discussion and an ability to maneuver between the ethical self and the non-ethical as portrayed in the critical theorists' treatment of the state. Through a new way of examination, one is able to focus on sub-narratives, narratives, and meta-narratives and bear witness to the ways they are utilized in the creation of a constituted site on which to enact the problems of, and challenges to, the state. The discursive construction of danger and fear becomes a useful tool for clarifying how narratives of security, and of the other, are articulated and made realistic within legitimizing acts of discourse (Milliken in Weldes, Laffey, Gusterson, and Duvall, 1999). Campbell adds that

> danger is not an objective condition. It is not a thing which exists independently of those to whom it may become a threat….Nothing is a risk in itself;…it all depends on how one analyses the danger [and] considers the event. (Campbell, 1998: 1–2)

Security from danger and fear becomes a site of statecraft practices that can be, and are, controlled and managed. The promise of security – in the face of fear, in the face of terror – assists in the construction of a national security state. The problematizations of danger and fear are persuasive forms of security discourse that appropriate and manage popular perceptions. It can be argued that these problematizations also unpack the ascendancy of fear and danger over other forms of security – be they

health, social welfare, economic, or environmental concerns. In addition, security's problematizations incite a specific national security discourse that stabilizes and statizes how antithetical ideals – such as terrorism – are made a problem for the state. Finally, through the concept of security it becomes possible to formulate and regiment statist solutions in response to terrorism (Soguk, 1999).

Given the exercise of statist practices through the articulation and ascendancy of national security responses to terrorism, the meaning of security is deliberately left open by the state. Here, national security discourse as part of the imaginary of the state can be challenged and questioned to reveal the processes at work in the production and re-production of terrorism as a threat to the state.

The constant need to articulate and re-articulate, produce and re-produce practices and knowledges of the state is evident in national security discourse. The effects of the state employ a security discourse that lays the groundwork for what it poses as a rational, "civilized" world based on the rule of law. The security discourse employed manifests state power, policies, and ideology. In doing so, the discourse calls forth the historical imagination of a "civilized" world power that honors the perceived rules and regulations of the international community. As terrorism is mobilized into the discourse, it is represented as a new force in the international community that threatens the nation's security and must be addressed. National security discourse, at least in the United States, is increasingly made a terrain on which security statecraft is enacted. It has begun to subsume all practices of statecraft that in turns leads to the emergence of an Orwellian security state.

A provocative question emerges when a state brings forward, rationalizes, and makes important certain agents, actors, and ideals while disabling others. The provocative question posed now is whether the state is a continuation of the national security state articulated in the Cold War, or a new concept of a state that is attempting to respond to the challenges of a globalized world while still holding on to remnants of the national security state. The attempt to hold on to remnants of the national security state would institute new forms of control utilizing a variety of performers – public and private – while maintaining certain aspects of power over security.

Questions must be raised as to the authenticity of the state in order to unpack the contingencies at play in the current incarnation of the state. Thus, security, as one of the contingencies, is maintained as a site on which the authenticity of the state is constructed. It is the argument of this text that the state is in fact a concept that attempts to transform and manipulate transversal spaces. Specifically, the state attempts to transform threats to security, explicitly terrorism, as part of statist realities. In doing so, the state also mobilizes public and private vectors in its pursuits of security. The state is a never-ending project that enacts new forms of control over security through the use of public and private performers and for the maintenance of the state's legitimacy and authority (Ashley, 1988; Campbell, 1998; Dillon, 1996; Soguk, 1999).

Recasting terrorism as a tool of the security state conceals the struggle of the state to maintain the traditional, value laden notion of the national security state – a morally charged and authoritative state – while negotiating the realities of the globalized world. Security in the broadest sense

[is] the totality of knowledge, technology, and institutions which protect, defend, and preserve the biological existence of human life; and it is the process which protects and perfects collective peace and prosperity to enhance human freedom. (Krauss and Williams, 1997: 10)

The dependence on freedom to counterbalance the other/an outside is an example of security's hold on society. The price paid for the creation of security is the manifestation of the extensive nature of the state's desire to maintain an idea of security within the citizenry. In this scenario, the preservation of security solidifies the identity and historical imagination of the state as the sole source for security in the face of insecurity. Utilizing national security discourse, the practices of statecraft move to narrate a specific story regarding security. As noted by Soguk (1999), the practices of a state are never made visible and must proceed in silence, lest they reveal that identities and states are not a natural presence. It is important to note that the discourse is

rendered vulnerable by its attempts to make visible the place from which social relation would be conceivable by its inability to define this place without letting its contingency appear…without hereby making apparent the instability of an order that it is intended to raise to the status of essence. (Homi Bhabba in Soguk, 1999: 39)

The narrative of security continues to ensure that these practices proceed in silence. Silencing practices in turn incorporates a host of other sub narratives – the economy, health, criminality, etc. – so that security becomes a totality that incorporates smaller parts. Identity, authority, and power are called into the service of securing the state as the state reanimates "traditional" concepts of statecraft. In this way security maintains the state's experience and actions as the referential point for codes of intelligibility – codes that make sense of the "madness" (insecurity) of the current world system that desires a strong and authoritative state (Hall, 1985). The codes of intelligibility produce a security structure of knowledge within an environment of experienced threats.

Codes of intelligibility create, among others, a policy of inclusion and exclusion, specifically in the creation of the terrorist other. To forefront the necessity for security, the other is made an external entity. The excluded becomes an integral part of the internal, however, as terrorism becomes a necessity for security, something against which the state must be secured. As a result, the act and actor of terrorism are simultaneously excluded and included in the security narrative. Without the act or actor of terrorism, there can be no call for security against the insecurity they bring (Agamben, 1995).

The act of terrorism is not viewed, under this rubric of U.S. securitization, as a symbolic act designed to influence change based on injustice or maltreatment. The terrorist event is mobilized into American public discourse as a threat to the nation's security. Through this mobilization, the threat of terrorism to national security is made real while the meaning behind the event is "attenuated perforce by our power to represent it for our purposes" (Said, 1997: 69). As terrorism is controlled and made real in the national security context, the discourse spawns "uses of language, rhetoric and argument that are frightening in their capacity for mobilizing public

opinion" (Said, 1987: 13). As Edward Said claims, "terrorism has acquired an extraordinary status in American public discourse. It has displaced communism as public enemy number one" (1987: 13). As terrorism is assumed into the public narrative, the public's conception is manipulated as part of a silent enactment of statecraft practices, since

> prevailing discourses are not parts of persons' conscious awareness. Persons' perspectives are pre-scripted in the sense that meanings, subjects, and objects are sedimented in the dominant and thus most readily available discursive practices. (Shapiro, 1988: 19)

The process of inclusion/exclusion in identity formation of the public sphere works to create a conceptualization of the "us" in the realm of national security. Here, the state utilizes discourse to fix meanings of terrorism – meanings which when examined demonstrate how security is commodified as a primary function and practice of the state. In this process, identity is always precarious and contingent. Here we see the creation of a Deleuzian "plane of contingency" whereby the security identity of the state is based on a variety of concepts and actions. These actions working in tandem create a moment in time where security is maintained and brought into the consciousness of the public as a referent for the state. The state, here, must consistently work to ensure that this precarious and tenuous "plane of contingency" is maintained and perpetuated.

The precarious and contingent nature of identity is especially enticing as a tool for unpacking a discussion of national security discourse, as it illuminates how discourse is used to enable the manipulation and construction of its own reality. The complexity involved in identifying the terrorist and the state community plays a critical role in how terrorism is conceptualized by the state, and reflects deliberate efforts to control interactions and characteristics.

Defining the identity of terrorism within security discourse allows for the creation of a state-induced conception that can be controlled to move and change as terrorism's fluidity is expressed. Security and insecurity become the multifaceted faces that are illegible to the citizenry and which allow for the continued manipulation and appropriation of the concept of terrorism. This continued manipulation of illegible faces is seen in the specific ways that security and insecurity manifested themselves in U.S. responses to the 1972 Munich Olympic Massacre, the 1979 Iran Hostage Crisis, the 1991 Gulf War, the 1993 World Trade Center Bombings, the 2001 World Trade Center attack, and ultimately the 2001–2006 "War Against Terrorism." Throughout the progression of U.S. responses to terrorism in disparate situations, security – in the form of national security discourse – has paved the way for the appropriation of terrorism to strengthen the state.

National security discourse utilizes a precise system of interpretation, techniques, and methods to create a definition and apply a meaning to terrorism which places it into the context of national security. The integration of terrorism into national security discourse permits the raising and answering of questions as to how terrorism affects security. It is in this integration that terrorism provides meaning for national security.

Security in an age of transversal spaces is in fact a site of contention where the national security state, formulated in the Second World War and articulated in the Cold War, transforms itself and fosters a "new" state that is just one of multilevel nodes in a highly contextualized and networked global environment. The following two chapters will reveal how presidential rhetoric on terrorism formulated a site for the practices of the national security state to exercise its role as the main nodal point in the highly contextualized and networked global environment.

Chapter 2

National Security Discourse on Terrorism in Cold War Presidential Rhetoric

In "Life During Wartime," published in *Time* just a few scant days after the second anniversary of the September 11th terrorist attacks against the United States, writer Nancy Gibbs argued that "this week two years ago we lost for good the sunny sense that our world was safe". (*Time*, 15 September 2003) Situating her remarks within the context of the current war on Iraq, she further suggested that "had 9/11 not rewired our reflexes, no President could have launched a discretionary war against a country that had not attacked us or an ally first". (*Time*, 15 September 2003) Her assertions that on 11 September 2001, the United States lost the "sunny sense that our world was safe" and that the terrorist events "rewired our reflexes" is on some level accurate. There is no doubt that the tragic events of 11 September 2001, had a profound influence on the way the American public viewed the world and the "dangers" inherent within it. However, it could be argued that the terrorist attacks on September 11th tapped into an American imagination of xenophobia and isolationism that had historical credence and viability within the story of the American state. The first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993; the domestic "terrorist" attack on the Murrah Oklahoma Federal Building in 1995; the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in 1998; the *USS Cole* attack in the Yemen port in 2000; and the September 11th terrorists attacks in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania have brought the issue of terrorism to the forefront of American public interest.

The idea that the response to September 11th was a rewiring of U.S. policies and reflexes stems from the fact that the George W. Bush administration's handling of the events of September 11th was indeed swift, wide-ranging, and decisive. This was also predicated on the fact that the citizenry acquiesced to the fear and terror that allowed the state to maneuver in the ways it did. Administration officials attributed responsibility for the attack to Osama bin Laden and the Al Qaeda terrorist network. A full-scale campaign was launched, using all elements of national and international power to eliminate Al Qaeda and its world-wide support network. A U.S. military operation, Operation Enduring Freedom, was launched on 7 October 2001, against the Taliban Regime – which was "proven" to have harbored the Al Qaeda organization since 1996. This was the beginning of a series of calculated U.S. movements to broaden the "war on terrorism," some of the movements relying on traditional U.S. policy responses, and some, like the War in Iraq, being based on policies but taking dramatic liberties in the "defense of freedom."

The "defense of freedom" propelled the American consciousness on terrorism in a particular direction, and the governance of the country pursued a course where

preemptive measures were hailed as heroic and justified in the name of national security to ensure another terrorist incident did not occur on U.S. soil.[1] In addressing Gibbs' comment, it is useful to suggest that while the public perception may have been rewired, the policy formations and responses to international terrorism were rather re-energized and amplified. Use of the term "rewired," suggests that new policies that had never been part of the U.S. repertoire were formulated to deal with international terrorism. A review of the Nixon, Carter, Reagan, Bush, Clinton, and Bush presidential administrations' responses to terrorism and employment of national security discourse support's the claim that terrorism, in and through discourse, has been and is made a site of statecraft practice. Thus, responses to terrorism initiated by President George W. Bush are a re-energizing and amplifying of past foreign policy practices through use of discourse that holds terrorists and terrorism as unique and specific threats to national security.

At the end of this review of presidential responses to terrorism, it becomes clear that each president strategically framed U.S. responses to terrorism within a highly specialized national security discourse and employed similar policy response options in dealing with international terrorists. The review of six presidential administrations also reveals that the way terrorists were brought into the imagination of the American public followed similar lines.

It becomes useful at this point to speak briefly on the structure of U.S. policy responses that have formed the framework for U.S. foreign policy against terrorism. Past administrations have employed a range of measures to combat terrorism, from diplomacy, international cooperation, and constructive engagement to economic sanctions, covert action, protective security measures, and military force. The U.S.' anti-terrorism policies from the Nixon administration in the 1970s through the Clinton Administration in the mid-1990s focused on deterring and punishing other state sponsors of terrorist groups. The passage of the landmark Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act[2] of 1996 signaled a shift in policy, as the Act created a legal category known as Foreign Terrorist Organizations. (FTOs) and banned funding, granting of visas, and material support for perceived FTOs.

Despite the seeming departure from "traditional" policy mechanisms, in fact the passage of the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act merely added another policy tool to the existing framework for combating terrorism. Diplomacy, economic sanctions, economic inducements, covert actions, rewards for information program, extradition, international conventions, and military force have all been tools in the U.S. policy response arsenal. The use of diplomacy and constructive engagement can be seen in all presidential administrations from Jimmy Carter through George

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1   Prior to the attacks of September 11th, the U.S. historical imagination would not have held preemptive measures as heroic or acceptable for the United States to pursue.

2   The Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 was initiated in response to the tragedies in Oklahoma City and the World Trade Center. The Act amended federal habeas corpus laws; expanded the circumstances under which foreign governments that support terrorism may be sued for injuries; attempted to sever international terrorists from their sources of financial and material support; addressed immigration-related terrorism issues; and adjusted the restrictions on possession and use of materials capable of producing catastrophic damage in the hands of terrorists. (http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/96-499.htm)

W. Bush. Diplomacy is often viewed as the least likely tool to widen the potential for conflict. Diplomacy also provides the aura of legitimacy in the international community. George W. Bush's drastic, and at times, desperate attempts to win support from the international community, represented by the UN Security Council, give credence to the necessity for diplomacy.

Diplomacy is usually the first tool employed in responses to terrorism, followed shortly by economic sanctions after the commencement of diplomatic means. Economic sanctions can either be unilateral – U.S. bans on trade and investment with Iran and Cuba – or multilateral – international sanctions placed on Libya after the Pan Am 103 bombing. Prior to the passage of the 1996 Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, economic sanctions were primarily used against state sponsors of terrorism once a state was identified as having collaborated in a specific incident. After 1996, economic sanctions could be used against individuals or organizations proven to have ties to terrorism. On 23 September 2001, George W. Bush signed Executive Order 13224 which froze the assets of twenty-seven individuals and organizations suspected to be affiliated with Al Qaeda. This number had risen to 243 by October 2002. In addition, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1373 on 28 September 2001, which required all states to limit terrorists and terrorist organizations by freezing their assets and denying them safe haven. As with diplomatic mechanisms, sanctions require international cooperation to be fully effective.

The role of diplomatic and non-diplomatic tools in the repertoire of U.S. policy responses toward terrorism is revealed in presidential responses. Starting with responses from President Nixon, one is able to examine how terrorism first entered presidential rhetoric. Engaging with President Nixon's responses reveals the foundation for United U.S. policy responses, as President Nixon was the first to classify terrorism and frame terrorists as criminals who employ indiscriminate violence, creating an environment in which punishment, not understanding, became the hallmark response to terrorism.[3] The concept of terrorists as criminals was intensified in the creation of a rhetorical base that removed all possible justification for their actions.

In addition, President Nixon laid the framework for later presidential administrations to follow by establishing foreign policy responses of no-concessions for hostage takers, no negotiations with terrorists, and no escape from justice. Finally, in the language employed by President Nixon, the "civilized" and "moral" world was set in stark opposition to the world of terrorists – a rhetoric employed by all subsequent presidents, most notably by President George W. Bush's handling of Afghanistan and Iraq.

All subsequent presidents continued the use of the rhetorical base set forth by President Nixon, while intensifying the negative image of the terrorist. Terrorists were, and still are, portrayed using the rhetoric of insanity and unpredictability, and

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3   Based on a review of presidential rhetoric since World War II, Nixon was the first president to categorize specific events as terrorism. This is based on a review of presidential rhetoric prior to President Nixon. In addition, President Nixon's own rhetoric did not employ the term "terrorist" until the 1972 Munich Olympic killings.

as having the capacity to unleash advanced technological resources that threaten the nation's security.

President Richard M. Nixon

Although President Carter's administration was the first to deal with terrorism directly aimed at the United States, it is useful to inspect briefly the responses crafted by President Nixon on terrorism, specifically regarding a string of airline hijackings in 1970. The year 1970 saw several airline hijackings affecting a variety of countries. On 10 February 1970, three Arab "terrorists" attempted to hijack an El Al Boeing 707 at the Munich airport, Germany, but were thwarted by the pilot, who fought with a terrorist in the terminal lounge. In the course of this struggle, one Israeli was killed and eleven others were wounded. On 21 February 1970, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. (PFLP) blew up a Swiss airliner just after it took off from Zurich, Switzerland, killing all forty-seven people on board. (*Time* and *Newsweek*, 21 September 1970)

The violence continued. On 6 September 1970, also known as "Skyjack Sunday," multiple acts took place at Dawson Field, in Jordan. TWA, Swissair, and BOAC airplanes, along with four hundred plus hostages, were hijacked by the PFLP and directed to the Jordanian airport. The British, German, and Swiss governments agreed to the PFLP's demands and released terrorists from their control. (*Time* and *Newsweek*, 21 September 1970)

In his response to the previous hijackings and the 6 September 1970 hijackings, President Nixon immediately set a standard in which these acts – acts which would eventually be deemed as terrorism – was further defined in a specifically negative light by calling terrorism a cancer and a vicious crime. In a 16 September 1970 address to Kansas State University, President Nixon started with a description of democracy and quickly moved to discuss the recent string of Palestinian hijackings. President Nixon stated,

> as they held their hundreds of passengers hostage under threat of murder, they sent shock waves of alarm around the world to the spreading disease of violence and terror and its use as a political tactic. That same cancerous disease has been spreading all over the world and here in the United States. (Nixon, 1970: 758)

In describing the hijackings as a cancerous disease, President Nixon not only made reference to the destructive nature of what would become an act of terrorism for a nation's security, but he also implied that it must be combated through a variety of responses, just as cancer is treated through a variety of medical procedures. In addition, the cancer metaphor was useful for suggesting that non-state sponsored violence. (terrorism), in the view of the United States, has multiple manifestations, each requiring a different response, just as there are multiple manifestations of cancer that required different remedies. This idea of the multiple manifestations of non-state sponsored violent acts. (terrorism) was reiterated in the *New York Times* on 17 September 1970, in a front page article entitled "President Urges End to Violence and Intolerance: Makes a strong appeal for the restoration of civility in American

society." Within this article, Robert Semple, Jr. stated that "the President asserted that a 'cancerous disease' of 'terror' had spilled over onto university campuses, creating chaos". (17 September 1970, page 1, column 1)[4] In this view, the construct of violence and terror as cancer is utilized to transfix onto future acts of terrorism the properties of cancer as an extremely aggressive, indiscriminate, and terminal disease. Through the transfixing of cancerous properties, the rigorous and aggressive procedures which produce "necessary suffering" in the patient to combat cancer are similarly transfixed onto procedures to combat terror and violence. President Nixon's metaphorical use of cancer to describe terror and violence set the stage on which future responses to terrorism were seen as rigorous and aggressive, lethal and severe as the acts of terrorism themselves. This metaphor foreshadowed future presidential administrations' use of military action as a lethal mechanism to surgically" remove terrorist and the perceived conditions that fostered terrorism.

President Nixon continued his address to the audience at Kansas State University by urging that the United States steadfastly maintain "the role of law among nations. A nation that condones blackmail and terror at home can hardly stand the example in putting an end to international piracies or tensions that could explode into war abroad". (1970: 759) He then went on to situate, for the state, the dichotomy between the world of terror and violence and the "moral" world – a dichotomy which is prevalent in the rhetoric of all subsequent administrations – by stating that

> the time has come for us to recognize that violence and terror have no place in a free society, whatever the purported cause of the perpetrators may be. And this is the fundamental lesson for us to remember. In a system like ours, which provides the means for peaceful change, no cause justifies violence in the name of change. (Nixon, 1970: 759)

In this statement, President Nixon formed the foundation of U.S. foreign policy towards terrorism: the removal of all humanity from terrorists and any possible justifications for terrorist acts. President Nixon also laid out a specific characterization of terrorists by emphasizing that

> those who bomb universities, ambush policemen, hijack airplanes, who hold their passengers hostage, all share in common not only a contempt for human life, but also the contempt for those elemental decencies on which a free society rests – and they deserve the contempt of every American who values decencies. (Nixon, 1970: 759)

This statement also reflects how terrorism would be used as a descriptive of all future violent acts against the state, whether domestic or international in origin. In addition, the use of morally charged words such as "free society" and "decencies" afforded President Nixon, and future presidents, the latitude to vilify those who perpetuated terror and violence and call for all "decent" Americans to hold contempt for them while stressing the dangers of inaction against those who perpetuated terror:

> Their existence is not new. What is new is their numbers, and the extent of the passive acquiescence, or even fawning approval, that in some fashionable circles has become the

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4 Terrorism farmed as "cancerous disease" in this article is evidence of how rhetoric is translated and transmuted into practices as discourse.

mark of being 'with it'…what corrodes a society even more deeply than violence itself is the acceptance of violence, the condoning of terror, the excusing of inhuman acts in a misguided effort to accommodate the community's standards to those of the violent few. (Nixon, 1970: 759–60)

With the foundations set for a new framework on how the United States would address non-state acts of terror and violence, it is interesting to examine how the discourse on terrorism and security unfolded in the infant stages of national security discourse development. In observing discussions regarding acts of terror and violence in *Time* and *Newsweek* of the air hackings of 6 September 1970, one can see that national security discourse was still developing in its appropriation of terror. Both addressed hijackings in language only slightly hinting at the dramatic, binary language that President Nixon had initiated and which progressed through all subsequent presidential administrations. The cover of the 21 September 1970 edition of *Time* carried the caption *Pirates in the Sky* over a tri-split cover photo that showed the two airplanes, hostages being released, and the fiery end to the ordeal. *Newsweek* carried the caption *The Hijack War* over a bi-level photo with the flaming night sky and the Swissair plane in daylight. Despite the lack of dramatic, binary rhetoric, the theme and tone of both the *Time* and *Newsweek* articles expressed great concern over the increasing activity of "fanatic" Arab guerrillas.[5] *Time's* coverage of the hijackings also reflected the problematic of the state remaining civilized in the face adversity by suggesting that:

> if such threats are carried further – in the nation or in the world – it is safe to guess that "the system" will not be destroyed. Rather it will be rendered less civilized by the searches and the armed guards that will be necessary to make it function. (21 September, 1970, 17)

Here, the paradox of the security state rears itself again – the constant state of *si vis pacem, para bellum* – if you want peace, prepare for war. (Manicas, 2003) The state, especially in the employment of national security discourse, is consistently in the process of re-articulating its civility and authority against the foreign, uncivilized other that is presented as an immense threat, both physically and morally. As the development of national security discourse progressed, the paradox for the security state and the uncertainty of how to enact such a discourse would no longer be problematic as a specific site was established in which the state would control and manipulate the terrorist other.

It is important to note that despite the lack of dramatic, binary language that would come to symbolize national security discourse and its appropriation of terrorism, there were significant discursive elements already in place before such a

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5   What is interesting here is that even Time and Newsweek had yet to prescribe the word "Terrorism" to acts of terror and violence. This is based on the fact that Terrorism and Terrorist had not entered the lexicon of U.S. national security discourse. It was not only until the Munich Olympic Massacre in 1972 that President Nixon prescribed and actualized the terms Terrorism or Terrorists to non-state acts of terror and violence. "Guerillas" was still the word utilized to describe the perpetuators of the hijackings, which in itself is problematic for the state given the level of perceived legitimacy bound in the word Guerillas.

discourse was specifically articulated and animated. Two additional *Time* stories on the Middle East reflected the then existent discursive elements in place in 1970. A 7 September 1970 article entitled "The Middle East: Persuasion Amid Peril," stated that negotiations in the Middle East were based solely on the two superpowers' desire to see progress, as the "U.S. and the Soviet Union told their respective allies that it was time to stop stalling and get on with negotiations". (7 September 1970:16) In addition to the intention of the two superpowers being the only hope from progress, calling forward a host of questions as to the civility of the Middle East, the article was accompanied by a political cartoon by Graysmith of the *San Francisco Chronicle* that echoed this sense of incivility. In this cartoon the representative of the United Arab Republic. (UAR) is presented as the antithesis of the Israeli representative. The UAR representative is unshaven and sports two guns on his back, not exactly the image of "western" civilized character entering negotiations. Senator George McGovern also foreshadowed the foregrounding of civility as a site of distinction between "us" and "them" in a speech to the U.S. Senate floor on 18 July 1970. The *New York Times* reported on 21 July 1970. (page 2, col. 3) that Senator McGovern in hopes of showing that he was "hawkish" on the Middle East called for Palestinians to be present at the negotiations. However, prior to any negotiations:

> the Arab Governments should 'accept responsibility for the acts of aggression committed from bases' in their territories, and thereby assume responsibility for the terrorism of Palestinian commando groups. (*New York Times*, p. 2: col. 3)

In suggesting that Arab governments take responsibility for the "terrorism of Palestinian commandos," Senator McGovern helped further the discursive formations that eventually became national security discourse with its reliance on the binary civilized/uncivilized world.

As national security discourse developed, specifically in the formation of the inside/outside binary, the uncivilized notion of the terrorist continued to strengthen. An example is seen in the continued coverage by *Time* of the remaining 54 hostages held by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestinian. (PFLP) from the 6 September 1970 hijackings. *Time's* 28 September 1970 edition had a cover sporting red, white, and green. (the colors of Palestine) with a massive figure of a masked Arab holding a gun, and the caption "Showdown in Jordan, The Arab Guerrillas." What becomes fascinating in the discursive moves of this cover, as well as the body of the article, is how the Arab guerrilla is presented in such a suggestive manner as to remove him from humanity. The cover, with the proclamation "The Arab Guerrillas", and the sketch of a guerrilla, coupled with the text's support for King Hussein and the placement of culpability on the PFLP for the failure of progress to Middle East peace, provided a solid foundation for the development of national security discourse along the lines of the binary distinction of the "civilized" and "uncivilized" worlds. The Arab Guerrilla is not even afford an actual photograph but yet is depicted as a sketch suggesting the malleable nature that all Arabs could fall into the category of this character. Thus, the existent discourse that prevailed despite the non-ascription of terrorism is that even though Guerillas could be positive elements in search for

freedom, the character of the Arab Guerilla is still presented and re-presented as a problematic figure, uncivil and sub-human.

President Nixon administration's second annual foreign policy report to Congress on 25 February 1971 not only highlighted the Nixon Doctrine, but also focused on hijacking and the kidnapping of diplomats. (in October 1970, Quebec Minister Pierre Laporte and British diplomat James Cross were kidnapped by the Front de Libération du Québec) This report reflected the development of President Nixon's policy formation as it expanded the administration's awareness of terror and violence to include the hijacking of aircraft and the kidnapping of diplomats and to ascribe the word "terrorism" to acts of terror and violence. The expanse of the administration's awareness is reflected in President Nixon's comments that "terrorist groups in several countries have now adopted the practice of kidnapping foreign officials and ransoming them for political and judicial concessions from their own government". (1971, 336) The mention of kidnappings of diplomats was also accompanied by an emphasis on the gravity of kidnapping by stating that

> the international community needs to recognize this crime for what it is, an assault upon international amity and cooperation. We need an agreement between the nations of the world which will guarantee the punishment of those who commit such crimes, wherever they go and whatever motives they profess. (Nixon, 1971: 336)

Despite the addresses made and the formal reports released on terrorism in the first two years of President Nixon's administration, the citizenry was ill prepared for the manifestation of terrorism that took place against Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games. On the morning of 5 September 1972, eight Arab terrorists, from the *Black September* group killed two Israeli athletes and took nine more hostages in the Olympic athletes' dormitory. President Nixon quickly responded to reporters' questions about the assault by adhering to the concept of terrorists as criminals when he stated, "we are dealing here with international outlaws of the worst sort who will stoop to anything in order to accomplish their goals, and who are totally unpredictable". (1972: 857) In addition, President Nixon sent a message to Prime Minister Golda Meir that stated "this tragic and senseless act is a perversion of all the hopes and aspirations of mankind which the Olympic Games symbolize". (1972: 858) This sentiment can also be seen in the news coverage surrounding the Munich Games, which hailed the triumph of the human spirit and then immediately shifted to the tragedy that ensued. Nowhere is this more apparent than on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*. The 11 September 1972 edition of *Time* had on the cover a photo of Mark Spitz, the highest decorated gold medalist who set seven world records in swimming and won seven gold medals at the 1972 games. Spitz's photo is taken at the apex of the butterfly stroke, symbolizing strength and rising success, and is captioned: "An Olympian Wave of Records." Similarly, *Newsweek's* 11 September 1972 edition shows the legs of a runner poised in the ready blocs – an image also representing strengthen, agility, readiness, and the potential for success. The hopes and dreams of humanity, so often attached to the concept of the Olympic Games, quickly turned to shock and disbelief. The 18 September 1972 covers of both magazines reflected this change as *Time* chose to show the Olympic rings, not as the

colorful five-interconnected and unified set of rings, but rather as a gray distorted chain encompassing photos of the terrorists and an Israeli coffin. *Newsweek* chose to show Israelis burying their dead. In addition, the text of the articles no longer toyed with concepts of commandos to describe terrorists. The members of *Black September* were clearly labeled terrorists. Given this picture of a blight to humanity, represented by talk of the destruction of Olympic ideals, the concept of terrorists as criminal, inhumane, and diseased intensified within the realm of national security discourse.

Based on the terrorist events that occurred during Nixon's administration, a foundation was laid to vilify terrorists within U.S. foreign policy responses and an environment created in which terrorists were viewed as the inhumane opposite to the free world and civilized people. In addition, in his response to the Munich games attack, President Nixon built the foundation for interpreting terrorism as a direct challenge to a nation's security.

On 25 September 1972, President Nixon intensified the importance of the threat of terrorism to the nation's security by directing William P. Rogers, the Secretary of State to establish a cabinet committee to combat terrorism. Secretary Rogers, the chair of this newly formed committee, provided the committee with immediate cachet and an agenda:

> the committee will consider the most effective means by which to prevent terrorism here and abroad, and it will also take the lead in establishing procedures to ensure that our government can take appropriate action in response to acts of terrorism swiftly and effectively. (Rogers, 1972: 912)

The need to combat terrorism was reiterated in a 27 September 1972 statement in which President Nixon chastised terrorists claiming that, "the use of terror is indefensible. It eliminates in one stroke those safeguards of civilization which mankind has painstakingly erected over the centuries". (1972: 922) Here it becomes clear that in order to protect the state, terrorists and their actions must be relegated to the status of the barbaric and uncivilized, for terror threatens:

> more than the lives of the innocent. It threatens the very principles upon which nations are founded. In this sense, every nation in the United Nations, whatever its ideological assumptions, whoever its adversaries, wherever its sympathies, is united with every other nation by the common danger to the sovereignty of each. If the world cannot unite in opposition to terror, if we cannot establish some simple ground rules to hold back the perimeters of lawlessness, if, in short we cannot act to defend the basic principles of national sovereignty in our own individual interests, then upon what foundations can we hope to establish international comity?…There are those who would tell us that terror is the last resort of the weak and the oppressed, a product of despair in an age of indifference, and that it seeks only political justice. This is nonsense. The way to seek justice is through negotiation. The time has come for civilized people to act in concert to remove the threat of terrorism from the world…let us not be disrupted or turned away by those who would loose anarchy upon the world; let us seek no accommodations with savagery, but rather act to eliminate it. (Nixon, 1972: 922)

The rhetoric employed by President Nixon to combat terrorism set the pattern whereby terrorists would be consistently separated from the "civilized" world under all subsequent presidential administrations. Terrorists were, and still are, characterized as vicious criminals who are cancerous to the "civilized" world, capable of indiscriminate violence against innocents, and deserving of quick and severe punishment. Along with this polarization, it was projected as necessary that states follow the lead of the United States in order to be considered part of the "civilized" world. Given the urgency set forth by the discourse that placed terrorism as a continual threat to all states' security, states were thus obligated to work together within a framework controlled by the United States.

President Nixon's discourse set in motion another crucial aspect of U.S. foreign policy, that of not permitting any justification for terrorist acts. In removing all possible justification for terrorist acts, President Nixon gave full power to the "civilized" world to respond immediately and provided a clear example of how the state utilizes terrorism to distract attention from internal problems within the state, with an approach that continued through all subsequent presidential administrations.[6]

President James E. "Jimmy" Carter

The policies and discourse initiated by President Nixon continued through Ford's administration and were intensified in President Carter's response to the Iranian hostage crisis. President Carter's response maintained a no concessions and no negotiations policy, while at the same time attempting to resolve the issue via diplomatic means by calling upon the "civilized" world to join in economic and diplomatic sanctions. Carter's administration used the idea of a "civilized" world laid out under Nixon's administration to exert pressure on other states to accept U.S. foreign policies without question.

Carter's presidency was the first to witness the United States as being confronted with a siege on its territory and citizens by a terrorist threat from the outside. President Carter could easily have framed the seizure of the U.S. Embassy and the holding of hostages as an act of war and an attack on U.S. property. Instead, he framed the situation in terms of terrorism. (President George W. Bush later utilized both categorizations when he framed responses to 11 September 2001, in Afghanistan and Iraq) This choice made by President Carter called attention to the power terrorism had come to hold in the imagination of the American people. The idea of terrorists, as constructed through the perception of the U.S. security state, especially since the 1972 Munich Olympic massacre, had conjured images of insane people pursuing illegitimate actions against the legal, morally charged international standard. The concept of terrorism aroused uncertainty and fear: No one was safe when individuals pursued irrational and non-logical means of expression. The nation's security was at risk, but more importantly, the citizenry was at risk, or so the story unfolded.

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6   Whether it was the turmoil surrounding the Vietnam War, student protests in the 1970s, or the economy in the 1972 re-election bid, Nixon utilized the acts of terrorism to strengthen the state and remove attention from statist problems.

On 4 November 1979, Iranian militants stormed the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, Iran, and took embassy personnel hostage.[7] A crisis in the United States security began – a crisis that would consume the U.S. national consciousness for the following fourteen months. A White House address on the state of the hostages in Iran on 9 November 1979, conveyed President Carter's thoughts on the situation; it stated that the president

> is pursuing every possible avenue in a situation that is extremely volatile and difficult. His efforts involve many countries and individuals. Many of these efforts must of necessity be conducted without publicity, and all require the calmest possible atmosphere. (Carter, 1979: 2103)

Here one sees for the first time the use of rhetoric addressing terrorism within the discourse of national security and projecting a need to withhold information from the public to ensure that the security of the state is not further weakened.[8] The address concluded with a specific warning that the government expected "every American to refrain from any action that might increase the danger to the American hostages in Tehran". (1979: 2103) With this statement, the public was brought into the fold of national security discourse to become appropriated figures in the development of U.S. foreign policy. This was accomplished by providing statist agency to the U.S. citizenry. By requesting "every American to refrain from any action," President Carter deployed a democratic historical imagination that in turn gave a certain perceived power to the U.S. citizenry. This sentiment was needed to address a series of protests against Iranian students that turned violent across the United States. It was a sentiment epitomized in *Time*'s 19 November 1979, article entitled "We're going to Kick Your Butts." The fact that statist authority was lent to the citizenry is representative of the necessity of incorporating the general citizenry in order to legitimate state action. Shortly after this address, massive protest stopped, yellow ribbons became the main form of protest, and on 8 December 1979, the *New York Times* reported on peaceful protest in the form of anything from prayer vigils to New York cabbies driving with their headlights on at mid-day. 8 December 1979 was the thirty-eighth anniversary of Pearl Harbor and the *New York Times* stressed that demonstrations were signs of United States unity in the face of the crisis: "Thirty-eight years ago today Pearl Harbor united this nation....I don't think anything united

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7   The Jimmy Carter Library and Museum website describes the Iranian Hostage Crisis in the following manner: "This terrorist act triggered the most profound crisis of the Carter presidency and began a personal ordeal for Jimmy Carter and the American people that lasted 444 days". (www.jimmycarterlibrary.org) The naming of the hostage crisis as as terrorist act calls forth a host of knowledges and practices. It is also evident that the Carter administration did indeed deem this crisis along the lines of terrorist acts.

8   Despite the idea of the democratic imagination consistently promoted in the U.S. state, where terrorism is involved, the state takes great care to control information available to the citizenry. This is best exemplified in George W. Bush's comments regarding the detrimental role conspiracy theories represent to the function of the state in handling terrorism. (*In Plane Sight* at www.informationclearinghouse.info)

us as much since then until the Iranian students took the hostages". (New York Times, 8 December 1979: 27)

The shift from violent protest to peaceful unity revealed the state's ability to control its citizenry by providing information that seemingly upheld the citizenry as a main component in the democratic state. The need for a democratic active citizenry[9] was again reiterated in a 28 November 1979 presidential news conference. President Carter notified the public that he wanted to inform them as fully as he could, but there "may be some questions tonight which I cannot answer fully, because of my concern for the well-being of the hostages". (1979: 2167) President Carter then proceeded to restate the policy set forth by President Nixon that the United States would never yield to blackmail. In addition, President Carter admonished the terrorists by stating that

> the actions of Iran have shocked the civilized world. For a government to applaud mob violence and terrorism, for a government actually to support and, in effect, participate in the taking and holding of hostages is unprecedented in human history. This violates not only the utmost fundamental precepts of international law but the common ethical and religious heritage of humanity. There is no recognized religious faith on Earth which condones kidnapping. There is no recognized religious faith on Earth which condones blackmail. There is certainly no religious faith on Earth which condones the sustained abuse of innocent people. (Carter, 1979: 2167–168)

The moral authority expressed in the condemnation of Iran and the Shiite religion facilitated solidification of public opinion and permitted President Carter to stress the supremacy of the civilized world and the United States. This solidification of public opinion is witnessed in the protests that ensued right after the embassy seizure and the support that continued to be garnered epitomized by the smash popular music hit "Tie a Yellow Ribbon Around the Old Oak Tree."[10]

Despite general consensus and support for the hostages, there were occasions when citizens expressed frustration with perceived U.S. inaction. Public frustration was best exemplified in the desire of Bob Diaz, a thirty-one year old Vietnam veteran, to seek to renounce his U.S. citizenship. The *New York Times* reported on 25 November 1979, that Bob Diaz was greeted by Chares Perez, District Director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, in an attempt to have Bob Diaz reconsider his desire to renounce his citizenship. This story reveals two interesting aspects of the state in action: the first is that the state, as represented by the District Director, attempted to suggest reconsideration to Diaz and then informed him that he needed

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9   What is meant here by a democratic active citizenry is that the citizenry must accept the story of democracy and the role of the citizenry in its governance. It is important to note that even though there is an imperative placed on a democratic active citizenry, the information provided by the state is limited and consistently controlled.

10   "Tie a Yellow Ribbon," was recorded by Tony Orlando and Dawn in February 1973 and made a comeback in 1979, 6 years after being recorded. "The yellow ribbon as a symbol of loyalty was a natural to express the nation's feelings for the 52 American hostages held in Iran, and when they returned after 444 days of captivity on 20 January 1981, the song was played throughout the land as a joyous homecoming theme". (http://www.superseventies. com/1973_1singles.html)

to go abroad to an American Consulate to file a "Request for the Renunciation of Citizenship" form; the second is that this story was relegated to obscurity on page 15 and allotted 21 words. The state, in its attempt to control the citizenry, obstructs action as it enforces statist regulations and limits information.

The enactment of the state and its control of moral supremacy are evidenced in statements made as President Carter continued his news conference. In his remarks, President Carter made specific claims, references, and policy announcements regarding terrorism but also stressed the U.S.' desire to achieve a peaceful settlement using diplomacy and international law rather than other, more aggressive remedies. He went on to state that

> any claims raised by government officials of Iran will ring hollow while they keep innocent people bound and abused and threatened…grave consequences which will result if harm comes to any of the hostages…we will persist in our efforts, through every means available, until every single American has been freed. (Carter, 1979: 2168)

While expressing concern over the lives of the hostages, President Carter took the opportunity to address his energy policy, couching his rhetoric in terms of national security. President Carter stated that he believed the root cause affecting the situation in Iran was that

> our entire nation is vulnerable because of our overwhelming and excessive dependence on oil from foreign countries. We have got to accept the fact that this dependence is a direct physical threat to our national security, and we must join together to fight for our nation's energy freedom. (Carter, 1979: 2168)

In the face of a national security threat, other aspects of government, in this case a new energy policy, are brought into the domain of security. The telescoping of issues reveals the power employed in a discourse surrounding national security.

This mobilization into the domain of security is representative of the state's power to construct an environment that uses a threat to manipulate and control other aspects of the state – social, political, and economic – and reveals the power of such discourse. Although fully justifiable, the concepts of safety, security, and concern for the well being of the nation and the hostages were brought into the framework and control of the state as it articulated and circulated an image of the state in the face of terror. The process of control was again exercised as President Carter assured the citizenry that he was doing everything in his power to free the hostages and "at the same time, protect the honor and the integrity and the basic principles of our country. That's all I can do, but I am doing it to the best of my ability, and I believe we will be successful". (1979: 2173)

On 12 December 1979, 44 days after the seizure of the embassy and its personnel, President Carter used the Iranian crisis to support the need for a strong military. In a statement about U.S. defense policy, he commented that

> recent events in Iran have been a vivid reminder of the need for a strong and united America, a nation which is supported by its allies and which need not bluff or posture in the quiet exercise of our strength and in our continued commitment to international law and the preservation of peace. Today, regardless of other disagreements among ourselves,

we are united in the belief that we must have a strong defense and that military weakness would inevitably make war more likely. (Carter, 1979: 2233)

Subsequently, the state developed specific terminology to exercise its authority and ensure its survival by working to guarantee the strength and security of the state. As President Carter worked to ensure the strength and security of the state, he again called upon the democratic historical imagination of one voice "united in the belief that we must have a strong defense." To intensify the idea of one united nation responding with one voice to the threat posed by terrorism, President Carter emphasized that since the beginning of the crisis, he had been pursuing all legal means with the United Nations and the International Court of Justice. However,

> Iran today still stands in arrogant defiance of the world community. It has shown contempt not only for international law but for the entire international structure for securing the peaceful resolution of differences among nations. In an irresponsible attempt at blackmail, to which the United States will never yield, kidnappers and terrorists, supported by Iranian officials, continue to hold our people under inhumane conditions. (Carter, 1979: 2277)

President Carter continued to apply pressure on other states, as Iran could not be allowed to "flaunt with impunity the expressed will and law of the world community". (1979: 2278) On 21 December 1979, he reiterated the threat this crisis posed to the civilized community and to the legitimacy of the state in that

> the lives of over 50 innocent people are at stake; the foundation of civilized diplomacy is at stake; the integrity of international law is at stake; the credibility of the united nations is at stake. And at stake, ultimately, is the maintenance of peace in the region. (Carter, 1979: 2278)

As President Carter's rhetoric continued to shape the formation of a national security discourse regarding terrorism, the administration began the process of creating multiple definitions as to what actions were to be viewed as terrorist threats and how specific actions were to be controlled. As the Iranian hostage crisis unfolded, the Soviet military movement into Afghanistan commenced. On 28 December 1979, President Carter remarked that the United States

> reserves the right to protect our citizens and our vital interests in whatever way we consider appropriate in keeping with principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. But our preference is now, and has been from the beginning of this crisis, for a quick and a peaceful solution of this problem through concerted international action". (Carter, 1979: 2287)

During these remarks, he moved effortlessly to admonish the Soviet Union.

President Carter's admonishment of the Soviet Union over its incursion into Afghanistan was based on the fact that "such gross interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is in blatant violation of accepted international rules of behavior". (1979: 2287) Just as President Carter rejected all possible justifications for terrorism as laid out by President Nixon, he did again by citing and rejecting the Soviet Union's justification of its acts. The relevance here for the perception and understanding of

the state is that any action perceived to be outside the legitimate authority of the state is viewed as evil, criminal, and illegitimate, with no possibilities for justification. President Carter iterated this idea when he stated that "Soviet efforts to justify this action on the basis of the United Nations Charter are a perversion of the United Nations that should be rejected immediately by all its members". (1979: 2287) The language employed to condemn the Soviet incursion was in the same tone as that used to discuss and codify the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Iran – as illegal and uncivilized actions that went against the will of international law and civilized nations. The use of similar language created an environment in which disparate actions could be combined under one systematic policy formation. Both the Iranian and Soviet governments were "perversions" of the international legal system of the "civilized" world. President Carter was adamant as he urged the community of nations to realize that "Soviet military action beyond its own borders give[s] rise to the most fundamental questions pertaining to international stability". (1979: 2287)

As the Iranian hostage crisis progressed into 1980, President Carter remained consistent in the rhetoric employed except that the possibility of a military option was increasingly explored. During an interview on 11 April 1980, he mentioned that he had reserved

> the right to use any means permitted under international law. And since we are a seriously aggrieved party, with our own nationals being held and our own Embassy grounds being taken, this would not foreclose the option of using military force if I decide it's necessary. (Carter, 1980: 660–61)

The clearer the option to use military force became, the clearer became the connection between terrorism and national security. In another question and answer session on 12 April 1980, President Carter pleaded with U.S. allies to honor sanctions against Iran and to "stand together in this condemnation of terrorism, a threat to our country, to all of us, and particularly the smaller nations who don't have the economic or political or military power to protect its interest". (1980: 669) The reliance on pre-ordained notions and apparatuses of a "civilized" world created an environment in which the United States and its allies were in the right and anyone who opposed them was in the wrong – this rationale of right versus wrong would be reiterated in the presidency of George W. Bush, in whose rhetoric nations were either "with us or with the terrorists."

The national security interest expressed in the first few months of the Iranian hostage crisis continued into April 1980, when President Carter again stated that the United States had the power to reply with any means deemed necessary.

> We are the subject, as a nation, through our Embassy, of invasion of American territory – the Embassy compound is American territory – American nationals, citizens, have been captured by international terrorists…so under international law, we have the right to act as we choose to redress those grievances, just as though our continental United States was invaded. (Carter, 1980: 745)

Shortly after this comment, on 24 April 1980, President Carter authorized the use of military force in an attempt to rescue the American hostages.

Due to several problems at the refueling stop, some 200 miles from Tehran, the mission was recalled. In the midst of the mission and to protect it, a bus of Iranian civilians was detained as they passed the refueling site. The language employed by President Carter to discuss the detention and eventual release of the bus passengers emphasized again the moral authority claimed by the United States as a "civilized" state. President Carter mentioned that the occupants of the bus were released unharmed and that the U.S. action

> is in sharp comparison to the ghoulish action of the terrorists and some of the Government officials in Iran, in our Embassy this weekend, who displayed in a horrible exhibition of inhumanity the bodies of our courageous Americans. This has aroused the disgust and contempt of the rest of the world and indicates quite clearly the kinds of people with whom we have been dealing. (Carter, 1980: 793)

From April to October 1980, President Carter persisted, in his discourse on the hostage crisis, in stressing the moral authority of the United States in this situation and continued attempts to find a solution. The last significant statement came in the 1980 presidential debate in Cleveland, Ohio on October 28. President Carter recounted his efforts to eliminate international terrorism by attempting to

> stop all air flights – commercial air flights – to any nation involved in terrorism or the hijacking of airplanes, or the harboring of hijackers…not to permit the spread of nuclear weapons to a terrorist nation…not to make any sales of material or weapons to a nation which is involved in terrorist activities. And, lastly, not to deal with the PLO until and unless the PLO recognizes Israel's right to exist and recognizes U.N. resolution 242 as a basis for Middle East peace. (Carter, 1980: 2488–89)

The Iranian hostage crisis was the longest single incident faced by the United States and deemed a terrorist act since the creation of President Nixon's Cabinet Committee to Combat Terrorism. The extended period of time, 14 months, created a situation ripe for the entrenchment of many of the policies and interpretations of terrorism that originated in the Nixon administration. President Carter intensified the notion that terrorism has no justification and at the same time fully developed a U.S. foreign policy characterization of terrorism as violating international law and the "ethical and religious heritage of humanity." By stressing that no religious faith would "condone kidnapping and blackmail" or the "sustained abuse of innocent people," he was able to overlay a western perspective on the world and, in doing so, he established the legitimacy of the "freest nation on the Earth" to do whatever was necessary to protect its citizens, property, and position in the world.[11] Not only was it necessary, in the terms of this discourse, but it was the U.S. duty.

President Carter's solidification of the characterization of terrorism and terrorists entrenched U.S. responses to terrorism along the order of diplomatic responses, economic responses, followed by military responses. His defeat in the form of a failed

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11 The U.S. and Western democracies were "the civilized world" that confronted perversions of international law and civility at every turn – terrorists in Iran and Soviets in Afghanistan.

military attempt to rescue the hostages paved the way for subsequent administrations' use of weaker and shorter diplomatic measures and stronger military operations.

President Ronald W. Reagan

President Reagan continued use of the same discourse while intensifying negative images of terrorists as he framed perceptions of terrorists using terms that suggested insanity, unpredictability, and the capacity to unleash advanced technological resources which threatened the nation's security. By emphasizing that there was no way for the global community to completely eradicate terrorism, President Reagan distanced himself from potential political damage because of increased terrorist activity. The global community, with the United States in the lead, would have to concentrate efforts on winning one battle at a time. President Reagan's discourse concretely placed terrorism within the control of the state and authorized the development of responses to terrorism based on what I term War, Terror, Crime or WTC[12] rhetoric, encompassing an amalgamation of war and security strategy. Within the WTC rhetoric employed by President Reagan, it became clear that the United States would continue to fight whatever battles existed in the midst of a war that could not be won, just fought.

From the beginning of President Reagan's administration, terrorists were severely condemned. In a news conference on 29 January 1981, he responded to a question asking how he planned to back up election statements regarding swift and effective retribution for future terrorist attacks, by stating

> that's a question that I don't think you can or should answer as to specifics. This is a big and powerful nation. It has a lot of options open to it, and to try and specify now just particularly what you should do I think is one of the things that's been wrong. People have gone to bed in some of these countries that have done these things to us in the past confident that they can go to sleep, wake up in the morning, and the United States wouldn't have taken any action. What I meant by that phrase was that anyone who does these, violates our rights in the future, is not going to be able to go to bed with that confidence. (Reagan, 1981: 56–7)

President Reagan's response continued the discourse set forth by President Nixon and carried on by Presidents Ford and Carter. Based on President Carter's failed attempt at a military operation after a prolonged effort to reach a diplomatic and economic solution, President Reagan stated clearly that immediate military options were now part of U.S. foreign policy regarding terrorism. The slaying of Lt. Col. Charles R. Ray, assistant Army attaché in Paris on 18 January 1982, in a car bomb explosion, was the first act labeled terrorism in President Reagan's administration. It elicited harsh statements and characterizations of terrorists as vicious murderers. The murder of Lt. Col. Ray "reinforces our determination to stamp out international terrorism and prevent similar tragedies in the future". (1982: 31) President Reagan

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12 War, Terror, Crime or WTC represents the discourse that flourished within presidential rhetoric from Nixon through Bush. It is also recognized that WTC could be "World Trade Center" which galvanized the WTC rhetoric from Nixon to bush.

went on to say that "terrorism is the hardest thing to curtail" and that the only way to defend against it was to infiltrate terrorist groups and know their plans in advance. He also admitted that the United States had been trying to infiltrate groups but that "in the last few years that's been made more difficult. We are doing our best to try and correct something like that". (1982: 32) He then shared his characterization of terrorists by asking:

> why would anyone want to park a car with a bomb in a street where they don't even know the people that are going to be killed and blow them up? That's exactly why they have the word 'terrorist.' Their belief is – there isn't a motive in the individual that they're killing. The great, senseless cruelty and tragedy of it is simply to create terror by making people generally feel unsafe. (Reagan, 1982: 32)

The idea of "senseless cruelty" was reiterated in *Newsweek*'s 1 February 1982 edition that cited French President François Mitterrand ordering a massive investigation into this "cowardly attack." *Time*'s issue of the same date had the title "Murder on Boulevard Emile-Augier: An American diplomat is another victim of terrorism." Interesting in the *Time* article is that *Time* constructed this slaying as terrorism based on limited knowledge and on an unsubstantiated claim by the Lebanese Revolutionary Faction that they were responsible for the slaying "because of American 'crimes' against the Lebanese people". (1 February 1982: 54) In addition to treating these two popular news magazines' coverage, the slaying of the American diplomat was covered by the *New York Times*, which stated that this was a "dastardly act" and that the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction claimed responsibility for the murder. (1/19/82: A-1)

On 18 February 1982, President Reagan elaborated on his description of terrorists, stating, "those who perpetrate these cowardly acts should never doubt that every nation considers an attack on any diplomat a crime against mankind which will not be tolerated in any land". (1982: 191) In this statement, President Reagan maintained the segregation between "civilized" states and terrorists and the states that support terrorists.[13] This was again emphasized in a June 10, 1982 remark that terrorist acts were

> flagrant violations of human dignity and rights and are a threat to the conduct of normal international relations. In accordance with our national legislation, we stress the need for the most effective co-operation possible to prevent and suppress this scourge. (Reagan, 1982: 761)

In 1983, the Caribbean and Central America, coupled with Beirut, became major concerns for President Reagan's administration, which began framing disparate acts as terrorism. The beginning of President Reagan's administration discourse appropriating and manipulating terrorism into the realm of national security occurred with his claim that Grenada was a sophisticated air storage base under construction and

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13 One must look at the fact that at the time of the slaying of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Robert Ray in Paris, Brigadier General James L. Dozier was in the midst of a 42-day captivity by the Red Brigades terrorist group in Italy.

not just a producer of nutmeg. The Caribbean and Central America were presented as threats to the United States when President Reagan proclaimed that what was a stake in these countries "[wasn't] nutmeg…it [was] the U.S. national security". (1983: 373) What is interesting about the issues raised by the state concerning "Marxist" leaning governments in the Caribbean and Central America, is that at the same time President Reagan was declaring them a threat to national security and the U.S.' fourth border,[14] *Time*, on 2 May 1983, stated that despite Washington's stance, U.S. action might be overkill as the country needed a new airport.[15] In addition, Washington's response may have, in fact, brought

> sympathy votes from every island in the Caribbean. The prospects of a U.S. invasion was almost a compliment, as if the ultimate accolade in the Third World is to be invaded by the U.S.. (*Time*, 2 May 1983: 39)

Despite this apprehension in *Time*'s coverage of 2 May 1982, the power of national security discourse was revealed when both *Time* and *Newsweek* covered President Reagan's address to a joint session of Congress with *Time* hailing the speech as "the best of his presidency, forceful yet temperate". (9 May 1983, 20) *Newsweek* solidified the perception/imagination of the threat by declaring that President Reagan had "painted a picture of a region where vital American interests were at stake, where communism was on the march—and where only deepened United States involvement could hold the line against a row of falling dominos". (9 May 1983: 20) President Reagan also made the connection with terrorist actions, saying "it is the guerrilla militants who have so far refused to use democratic means, have joined the voice of the people of El Salvador, and have resorted to terror, sabotage, and bullets, instead of the ballot box". (1983: 374) Here, non-democratic guerrillas fighting internal civil wars were demonized and thrown into the category, "non-civilized." "Terror, sabotage, and bullets" became the mantra for the Reagan administration to define and describe local, internal uprisings in other countries as non-democratic and as carrying potential serious threats to the nation's security.

While President Reagan was making the case for the classification of actions in the Caribbean and Central America as terrorist actions that threatened U.S. national security, terrorists again attacked U.S. interests with the bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. In a statement on 18 April 1983, regarding the bombing of the U.S. Embassy that morning, President Reagan informed the citizenry, "our Embassy in Beirut was the target this morning of a vicious, terrorist bombing. This cowardly act has claimed a number of killed and wounded." As President Reagan discussed the bombing, he also stressed the criminal nature of the attack: "This criminal attack

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14 President Reagan proclaimed to a joint session of Congress that "El Salvador is nearer to Texas than Texas is to Massachusetts. Nicaragua is just as close to Miami, San Antonio, San Diego, and Tucson as those cities are to Washington, where we are gathered tonight". (7 May 1982) President Reagan addressed Congress not to "resolve a crisis" but to "prevent one."

15 What may account for the apprehension expressed in the *Time* article could be coverage of the April 18, 1983, American Embassy Bombing in Beirut. Here, "real" terrorism was confronted by a disparate act being labeled terrorism.

on a diplomatic establishment will not deter us from our goals of peace in the region. We will do what we know to be right". (1983: 550–51)

The concept of right – a concept that fits with the dichotomy of "civilized" states and terrorists – was pursued by President Reagan as he expressed the fact that the United States would remain committed to helping the Lebanese government recover

> full sovereignty throughout all of its territory. The people of Lebanon must be given the chance to resume their efforts to lead a normal life, free from violence, without the presence of unauthorized foreign forces on their soil. And to this noble end, I rededicate the efforts of the United States. (Reagan, 1983: 551)

The sense of "the noble" was revisited throughout Reagan's administration and was the basis for the entrenchment of the idea of the "civilized" state battling the evils of a superpower nemesis and terrorism – a broader concept which would again be revitalized in the George W. Bush administration and the classification of the "axis of evil." Pursuing the right with the noble was reiterated in President Reagan's radio address on 18 April 1983, regarding the embassy bombing in Beirut. He gave a warning to the "terrorists":

> We don't know yet who bears responsibility for this terrible deed. What we do know is that the terrorists who planned and carried out this cynical and cowardly attack have failed in their purpose. They mistakenly believe that if they're cruel enough and violent enough, they will weaken American resolve and deter us from our efforts to help build a lasting and secure peace in the Middle East. Well, if they think that, they don't know too much about America. As a free people, we've never allowed intimidation to stop us from doing what we know to be right...but along with tragedy, there were inspiring moments of heroism. (Reagan, 1983: 577)

The American democratic historical imagination conjoined with the moral authority employed in national security discourse to create a framework which allowed the United States to hold as true and noble any course pursued in the battle against "the evils of the world." Evidence of this union is witnessed in the last part of the above statement. In the face of tragedy. (violence produced by terrorism), the American democratic historical imagination provided. (and still provides) a spacio-temporal site for the production of heroes. This creation of heroism allows the discourse of national security to gain hold in the consciousness of the citizenry enabling continued manipulation and appropriation of terrorism.[16] President Reagan cemented this celebration of heroism by again stressing the barbaric and vicious nature of terrorists, when he commented at a ceremony honoring the victims on 23 April 1983,

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16 In the manipulation of the American democratic historical imagination, the creation of heroes calls forward, and plays on, all positive aspects of the U.S. state's development. The land of "the free and the brave" is deployed to concentrate the gaze and will of the citizenry against a singular enemy that threatens the security of the state. This creation of heroes is epitomized in the George W. Bush administration's use of heroic images and rhetoric to define and describe the actions of the rescue workers in the 9/11 attacks, as well as the construction of Jessica Lynch as a hero during the 2003 Iraq War.

let us here in their presence serve notice to the cowardly, skulking barbarians in the world that they will not have their way. Let us dedicate ourselves to the cause of those loved ones, the cause they served so nobly and for which they sacrificed their lives, the cause of peace on Earth and justice for all mankind. (Reagan, 1983: 578–79)

Another disparate appropriation of terrorism was enacted in state treatment of the downing by the Soviet Union in 1 September 1983 of Korean Airlines flight number 007. Although it was clear that this was not act of terrorism, President Reagan's rhetoric treated it as a terrorist act, using the same language to describe the event and the Soviet Union as he had used to describe terrorists and terrorism.[17] The Deputy Press Secretary conveyed President Reagan's feelings regarding the downing of KAL 007 on 1 September 1983, thus: "Words can scarcely express our revulsion at this horrifying act of violence … demanding a full explanation for this appalling and wanton misdeed". (1983: 1221) President Reagan's 2 September 1983, remarks on the issue also used the language of terrorism:

In the wake of the barbaric act committed yesterday by the Soviet regime against a commercial jetliner, the United States and many other countries of the world made clear and compelling statements that expressed not only our outrage but also our demand for a truthful accounting of the facts. (Reagan, 1983: 1223)

President Reagan then moved from using language employed to describe terrorists and their acts, to outright naming the downing a terrorist act. He claimed:

the world notes the stark contrast that exists between Soviet words and deeds. What can we think of a regime that so broadly trumpets its vision of peace and global disarmament and yet so callously and quickly commits a *terrorist act* to sacrifice the lives of innocent human beings? What could be said about Soviet credibility when they so flagrantly lie about such a heinous act? (1983: 1224, emphasis added)

This was the first time a situation that was clearly not a terrorist act was directly labeled as such.[18]

By labeling or naming this act terrorism, President Reagan was able to apply all the value-laden terms and conditions created through the use of national security discourse to appropriate, manipulate, and control the concept of terrorism. Although national security encompasses a variety of issues – health, education, social welfare – it is only in mobilizing these issues within what is vaunted to be the most heinous of concepts, terrorism, that they are ensured priority status in the realm of national security. In addition, issues that are not normally thought of in the realm of security are made tools of the security state. This was evident in his 3 September 1983, radio address where he called "this murder of innocent civilians…a serious international issue between the Soviet Union and civilized people everywhere who cherish

17 A transcript of President Reagan's comments was reprinted in The *New York Times* on September 3, 1983. Thus, creation of a discourse on the KAL 007 incident was initiated.

18 Rhetoric used to discuss the Caribbean and Central America was similar in tone and language to that used to discuss terrorism. However, Soviet actions in the downing of KAL 007 were actually named terrorism.

individual rights and value human life". (1983: 1224) The use of value-laden terms sets up the moral authority of the United States as a "civilized" state that holds sacred human values and rights at its core. The language used to describe the Soviet Union and the downing of KAL 007 got much bolder and more aggressive as President Reagan told the American people on 5 September 1983, of

> the Korean airline massacre, the attack by the Soviet Union against 269 innocent men, women, and children aboard an unarmed Korean passenger plane. The crime against humanity must never be forgotten, here or throughout the world. (Reagan, 1983: 1227)

To emphasize the criminality of the situation, not only did President Reagan remind the public that there were 269 innocent men, women and children on board, he also pointed out that this was not the first time such an incident had occurred.

> In another tragic incident in 1978, the Soviets also shot down an unarmed civilian airliner after having positively identified it as such. In that instance, the Soviet interceptor pilot clearly identified the civilian markings on the side of the aircraft, repeatedly questioned the order to fire on a civilian airliner, and was ordered to shoot it down anyway. (Reagan, 1983: 1227)

President Reagan ended his address by returning to the set dichotomy between good and evil, civilized and barbaric, in that

> this attack was not just against ourselves or the Republic of Korea. This was the Soviet Union against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere. It was an act of barbarism, born of a society which wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations. (Reagan, 1983: 1228)

Popular news magazines narrated the horror and shock in their declaration in the story titles of "a ruthless ambush in the sky" and "atrocity in the sky". (*Newsweek*, 12 September 1983: 16; *Time*, 19 September 1983: 18) President Reagan would continue the same rhetoric until he switched his focus to Grenada on 25 October 1983, and the invasion that would follow. In a letter to the Speaker of the House and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, President Reagan discussed the deployment of forces in Grenada. Several events occurred in Grenada, starting with the assassination of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, several cabinet members, and civilians on 12 October 1983. After receiving a request from the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States for immediate assistance from "friendly countries," President Reagan responded that,

> in view of the overriding importance of protecting the lives of the United States citizens in Grenada, I have authorized the Armed Forces of the United States to participate along with these other nations in this collective security force. In accordance with my desire that the Congress be informed on this matter, and consistent with the War Powers Resolution, I am providing this report on this deployment of the United States Armed Forces. (Reagan, 1983: 1512–13)

President Reagan's response to, and ambiguous deployment of military forces in Grenada in 1983, solidified the way in which disparate situations were labeled under the guise of terrorism and made controllable by the state. Under President Reagan's administration, Cold War rhetoric informed U.S. foreign policy responses in order to manipulate and control public opinion and approval, ensuring that the threat to national security was emphasized. Thereby, the administration engineered a citizenry agreeable to aggressive action by the state. Terrorism was still a relatively new concept for the U.S. citizenry, and he used national security discourse's appropriation and manipulation of terrorism to argue for the existence of an increasing terrorist threat to the United States and to bargain for more defense money from Congress.

As the United States focused on the Caribbean, American loss of life in Lebanon increased with the use of a truck bomb to attack the Marine barracks in Beirut. Over 200 sleeping U.S. soldiers and 50 French soldiers were killed in their barracks. President Reagan informed the nation that U.S. military personnel were in Lebanon because the Middle East

> is key to the economic and political life of the West. Its strategic importance, its energy resources, the Suez Canal, and the well being of the nearly 200 million people living there – all are vital to us and to world peace. If that key should fall into the hands of a power or powers hostile to the free world, there would be a direct threat to the United States and to our allies. (Reagan, 1983: 1517–18)

President Reagan concluded his address by explaining that it is "our moral obligation to assure the continued existence of Israel as a nation". (1983: 1518)

The use of rhetoric surrounding the U.S. moral authority permitted greater latitude and fostered greater concern for the citizenry over national security. The use of moral authority also allowed terrorists to be framed in specifically negative terms as President Reagan announced,

> we have strong evidence that the attack on the Marines was directed by terrorists who used the same method to destroy our embassy in Beirut. Those who directed this atrocity must be dealt justice, and they will be.…If terrorism and intimidation succeed, it'll be a devastating blow to peace and to Israel's search for genuine security. (Reagan, 1983: 1519)

Although President Reagan mentioned Israel's security and interests, he quickly associated Israel's needs and security with U.S. security and stressed, "we are a nation with global responsibilities. We're not somewhere else in the world protecting someone else's interests; we're protecting our own". (1983: 1520) Israel was set forth as a "civilized" nation in the midst of "incivility," a "moral" reflection of the United States in the "immoral" Middle East.

In this same address to the nation, President Reagan segued into the Grenada issue, making a connection between Grenada and the "terrorist" Iranian hostage crisis, again alluding to the invasion of Grenada as a response to terrorism:

> These small, peaceful nations need our help. Three of them don't have armies at all, and the others have very limited forces. The legitimacy of their request, plus my own concern for citizens, dictated my decision. I believe our government has the responsibility to go to

the aid of its citizens, if their right to life and liberty is threatened. The nightmare of our hostages in Iran must never be repeated. (Reagan, 1983: 1521)

The terrorist connection was continued as he described what was found on Grenada:

> As it turned out, the number was much larger, and they were a military force…which makes it clear a Cuban occupation of the island had been planned…a warehouse that contained weapons and ammunition stacked almost to the ceiling, enough to supply thousands of terrorists. Grenada, we were told, was a friendly island paradise for tourism. Well, it wasn't. It was a Soviet-Cuban colony, being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy. We got there just in time. (Reagan, 1983: 1521)

The connection between terrorist incidents and Grenada was again directly made when President Reagan stated that

> the events in Lebanon and Grenada, though oceans apart, are closely related. Not only has Moscow assisted and encouraged the violence in both countries, but it provided direct support through a network of surrogates and terrorists. It is no coincidence that when the thugs tried to wrest control over Grenada, there were 30 Soviet advisers and hundreds of Cuban military and paramilitary forces on the island. (Reagan, 1983: 1521)

As President Reagan dealt with terrorism abroad and near the "fourth border". (1983: 373), the discourse employed continued to strengthen the dichotomy between the "civilized" world and terrorists while it painted terrorism as a new form of warfare. Two weeks after the bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait on 12 December 1983, President Reagan placed terrorism between being at peace and being at war.

> The thrust of the history of this country is that we've recognized a clear distinction between being at peace with other states and being at war. We have never before faced a situation in which others routinely sponsor and facilitate acts of violence against us while hiding behind proxies and surrogates which claim—they claim they do not fully control. (Reagan, 1983: 1748)

He then stressed the dichotomy, once again, and stated that we needed to recognize

> that the worst outcome of all is one in which terrorists succeed in transforming an open democracy into a closed fortress…For terrorists to be curbed, civilized countries must begin a new effort to work together, to share intelligence, to improve our training and security forces…to hold increasingly accountable those countries which sponsor terrorism and terrorists activity around the world. (Reagan, 1983: 1748)

In 1984, President Reagan's rhetoric underwent an interesting shift when he pronounced that terrorism might have some underlying causes. Such a pronouncement could have threatened the ideal set forth by Presidents Nixon and Carter that there was no justification for terrorism. In a 26 April 1984, message to Congress regarding proposed counter terrorism legislation, President Reagan announced that

we must recognize that terrorism is symptomatic of larger problems. We must dedicate ourselves to fostering modernization, development, and beneficial change in the depressed areas of the world. We must renew our commitment to promoting and assisting representatives and participatory governments. We must attack the problem of terrorism as a crime against the international community whenever and wherever possible, but we must strive to eradicate the sources of frustration and despair that are the spawning places and nutrients of terrorism. (Reagan, 1984: 1388)

Although this statement had the potential to set a new path for counter terrorism policies – a path that recognized root causes of terrorism and vowed to repair those causes – President Reagan's classification of terrorism as a crime continued the policy founded in national security discourse from the previous three presidential administrators. The question to address here is why, when the opportunity opened itself to treat terrorism as something fostered by "frustration and despair," action was not taken to overturn twelve years of policy formation that treated terrorism as an evil, criminal element. Within the formation of national security discourse, there are moments where contrasting views are given voice. However, these contrasting views are not permitted to solidify within the practices of statecraft. The fact that this insight into terrorism's roots in "frustration and despair" existed but was ignored, speaks to the power of the state in the maintenance of perception of the other. This is seen in the way President Reagan's comments did not take hold. Terrorism was not subsequently viewed differently as being "symptomatic of larger problems." Thus, at the point of possible departure, the acts of the "criminal other" were maintained. This reveals the convergence and evolution of discourse within counter terror policies that developed the classification of terrorism as a crime against the ideals of law and process – civilization, morality, and democracy.

The concept of law and process was reiterated in a 21 October 1984, presidential debate with Walter Mondale in Kansas City, Missouri, where President Reagan was asked about the lack of swift retaliation against terrorists. His response was that

in dealing with terrorists, yes we want to retaliate, but only if we put our finger on the people responsible and not endanger the lives of innocent civilians there.…but we are not going to simply kill some people to say, 'Oh, look, we got even. We want to know that when we retaliate that we are retaliating with those who are responsible for the terrorist acts. (Reagan, 1984: 1595)

By insisting on evidence, President Reagan intensified the idea that there was a specific dichotomy between the "civilized" world and terrorists. President Reagan warned:

you've got to be able to get some evidence as to where are the bases from whence come these terrorists that you could strike at. And at the same time, you have to recognize that you don't want to just carelessly go out and maybe kill innocent people. Then you're as bad as the terrorists. (Reagan, 1984, 1844)

The use of war terminology to describe terrorism was increased as President Reagan stated,

the United States is tonight a nation being attacked by international terrorist who wantonly kill and seize our innocent citizens as their prisoners in regards to the TWA hijacking on June 14, 1985, from Athens to Rome, and the killing of Navy diver, Robert Dean Stethem. (Reagan, 1985: 778)

This statement fortified earlier statements made in March 1985, that "international terrorism is indeed a form of warfare" and that "the allies will win the war against this insidious disease". (1985: 373) The application of war terminology exemplifies the flexibility of discourse to move as terrorism moves. WTC rhetoric brings forth specific ideals of supremacy and nationalism that can be mobilized in the fight against terrorism. The alignment of terrorism with WTC rhetoric continued with President Reagan's statement on June 20, 1985, regarding the attack that killed and wounded several Americans in El Salvador and the bombing in Germany the previous day:

> This atrocity, like the bombing earlier yesterday in Frankfurt, Germany, is further evidence that the war which terrorists are waging is not only directed against the United States, it is a war against all of civilized society. This is a war in which innocent civilians are targets. This is a war in which innocent civilians are international victims, and our servicemen have become specific targets. This cannot continue. (Reagan, 1985: 800)

This statement not only reflected a direct movement to describe terrorism as an act of war but also brought in all the value-laden terms used as part of U.S. counter terrorism policy. The state consistently employed the language of moral authority and legitimacy in its counter terrorism policies. The above section reflects this as it focused on "civilized" and "innocent civilians."

In a statement regarding the release of the TWA hostages on June 30, 1985, President Reagan directly warned terrorists to "be on notice, we will fight back against you, in Lebanon and elsewhere. We will fight back against your cowardly attacks on American citizens and property". (1985: 886) The rhetoric allowed President Reagan to maintain a national security discourse to keep the United States and its actions within the realm of civilized, law-abiding countries of the world.

President Reagan continued in his characterizations of terrorism and terrorists as a criminal menace, as "monsters". (1985: 899), and as "the antithesis of democracy". (1985: 1019) with the statement, "where democracy seeks to consult the common man on the governance of his nation, terrorism makes war on the common man, repudiating in bloody terms the concept of government by the people". (1985: 1019) Here WTC rhetoric was combined again with portrayal of a battle between a "civilized" nation and terrorism which permitted the United States to claim consistently the rights of the victim while maintaining its role as leader of the "civilized" world.

Toward the end of 1985, another major terrorist incident occurred that again allowed the United States to test the waters of international law. On 7 October 1985, the Italian cruise ship, *Achille Lauro*, was hijacked and an American, Leon Klinghoffer, killed. President Reagan informed the citizenry that Egyptians had arranged for the hijackers to leave on an Egyptian aircraft in exchange for the release of the hostages. He expressed to reporters that either the United States had jurisdiction because of the American casualty or Italy had, because the *Achille Lauro* was an Italian registered ship. President Reagan explained:

apparently, from what we know so far…the Egyptians did not know that a hostage had been murdered, that there'd been a crime committed at that time, before they were turned over to the PLO, which evidently was the arrangement, would get them off the ship and free the hostages. (Reagan, 1985: 1219)

President Reagan responded to a question about taking military action: "we're going to try to do this in a legal manner. The time for action, which could have been taken by us, is passed and was ended when the rescue was made". (1985: 1219)

Despite the rhetoric employed, the United States did take action and with the help of Israel and Italy intercepted the hijackers' plane over international waters and forced them to land at an airbase in Italy to await legal proceedings in an Italian court. On 10 October 1985, the Deputy Press Secretary announced,

the President directed that U.S. forces intercept the aircraft and escort it to a location where the terrorists could be apprehended by those with appropriate jurisdiction. U.S. F-14 aircraft, flying from the carrier Saratoga, detected the aircraft in international airspace and intercepted it. They instructed it to follow them and escorted it to the military airbase in Sigonella, Italy". (1985: 1230)

U.S.' action was hailed by the American public as *Newsweek* reported,

It was the week America finally fought back – and won. After three days of terror, tragedy and intrigue, U.S. intelligence gave Ronald Reagan a chance to bring the hijackers of Italian liner Achille Lauro to justice. (*Newsweek*, 21 October 1985: 3)

The full article in the same issue ran the headline: "Getting Even: As Reagan draws the line against Mideast terrorism, Americans celebrate a moment of unblemished success". (*Newsweek*, 21 Octoboer 1985: 20) *Time* also expressed this jubilation by writing,

"Thank God we finally won one!" exulted Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York. "It's a glorious day in American history," agreed Republican Congressman Robert K. Doran of California. "WE GOT 'EM" shouted a headline in USA Today. Kevin Kirby, 28, a Detroit garage attendant echoed countless other American as he declared "It's about time. We needed to prove we were not going to sit and take it anymore". (*Time* 21 October 1985: 22)

As the United States rejoiced in its victory over the uncivilized other, the rhetoric surrounding terrorism served to strengthen the state by focusing on the authority and legitimacy of the civilized world. The *New York Times*, in an 31 October 1985, edition reiterated this line of reasoning as it recounted the testimony of Klinghoffer's widow:

Marilyn Klinghoffer**,** whose husband was slain in the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship, delivered an impassioned plea here today for a worldwide commitment to combat terrorism, which she called "the gravest danger confronting the civilized world." "I believe that my husband's death has made a difference in the way that people now perceive their vulnerability," Mrs. Klinghoffer told the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations. "I believe that what happened to the passengers on the Achille

Lauro, and to my family, can happen to anyone, at any time, at any place". (*New York Times,* 31 October 1985: B8-1pg)

Shortly after President Reagan's address mentioned above, the United States admonished the Italian government after discovering that a notorious Palestinian terrorist, Abu el Abbas, implicated in the incident accompanying the hijackers on the intercepted aircraft and was released because the Italian government thought evidence against him was lacking. As a result, the United States "issued a warrant for Abbas' arrest, charging him with violation of 18 U.S.C. 1203, hostage taking, as well as piracy and conspiracy to commit both offenses". (1985: 1241) In a 28 October 1985, issue of *Newsweek*, a photograph of Abu el Abbas is presented in the fashion of a "Wanted poster" such as an American might have seen when the "West was won." This deployment of U.S. historical imagination to conjure up the justice and "truth" of lawmen in the "American West" would be used by President George W. Bush to legitimize his "war on terrorism."[19]

Brushing over Washington's condemnation of Italy's inaction with Abbas, President Reagan quickly turned U.S. attention to Libya and Mu'ammar Gaddafi, a move facilitated by attacks on the Rome and Vienna international airports on 27 December 1985. Libya and Gaddafi captured the attention of the United States, as rhetoric swirled and minor military altercations followed, until the bombings of TWA flight 840 and a West Berlin nightclub on 3 April and 5 April 1986, respectively. Four Americans were killed on flight 840, and one American serviceman was killed and several others wounded at the disco La Belle Club in West Berlin. These acts revived the dichotomized rhetoric utilized in the past as the Press Secretary stated that,

the President condemns the attack on innocent air travelers aboard TWA flight 840 as a barbaric action of wanton international terrorism…although a group calling itself the Arab Revolutionary Cell has claimed responsibility for placing the bomb aboard the aircraft, we have not ruled out any terrorist group, organization, movement, or individual as a potential perpetrator. (1986: 421)

President Reagan revealed at a news conference on 9 April 1986, that,

we have considerable evidence, over quite a long period of time, that Qadhafi has been quite outspoken about his participation in urging on and supporting terrorist acts—a kind of warfare, as he has called it. Right now, however, I can't answer you specifically on this other, because we're continuing with our intelligence work and gathering evidence on

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19 What must be noted is that despite *Time* and *Newsweek* iterating adulation for U.S. success in capturing the perpetrators of the Achille Lauro hijacking, both in their October 28, 1985, issues, questioned the net effects of U.S. action in attacking Gaddafi. *Time*'s article had the headline: "The Price of Success: Reagan's coup breeds anger in Egypt, crisis in Italy, disarray in diplomacy". (10/28/85: 22) In addition, *Time*'s cover read: "Hijack Fallout" with photos of President Reagan, Craxi, Mubarak, and Arafat, each with individual quotes. What becomes interesting is that just as President Reagan's comment in 1984 discussing the possibility that terrorism was symptomatic of greater issues and problems, the effects of these questions were never permitted to change discourse surrounding terrorism.

these most recent attacks, and we're not ready yet to speak out on that. (Reagan, 1986: 439)

President Reagan responded with a direct insult to Gaddafi in his answer to a question regarding why Americans were being targeted:

we know that this mad dog of the Middle East has a goal of a world revolution, Moslem fundamentalist revolution, which is targeted on many of his own Arab compatriots, and where we figure in that, I don't know. Maybe we're just the enemy because – it's a little like climbing Mount Everest – because we're here. (Reagan, 1986: 439)

The Gaddafi conflict escalated until the United States took military action on 14 April 1986. President Reagan addressed the nation, informing the citizenry that:

at 7 o'clock this evening, eastern time, air and naval forces of the United States launched a series of strikes against the headquarters, terrorist facilities, and military assets that support Mu'ammar Qadhafi's subversive activities. The attacks were concentrated and carefully targeted to minimize casualties among the Libyan people with whom we have no quarrel. From initial reports, our forces have succeeded in their mission. (Reagan, 1986: 468)

He then detailed that he had repeatedly warned Gaddafi that he would respond if the United States discovered that he was indeed culpable of any more attacks on Americans. He announced that Gaddafi was connected to the West Berlin nightclub bombings. President Reagan started the announcement with similar rhetoric and discourse to that which had surrounded all previous administrations' handling of terrorist events, but he also stressed his administration's policy that insisted on crucial and undeniable evidence:

This monstrous brutality is but the latest act in Colonel Qadhafi's reign of terror. The evidence is now conclusive that the terrorist bombing of La Belle discothèque was planned and executed under the direct orders of the Libyan regime. On March 25th, more than a week before the attack, orders were sent from Tripoli to the Libyan People's Bureau in East Berlin to conduct a terrorist attack against Americans to cause maximum and indiscriminate casualties. On April 4th the People's Bureau alerted Tripoli that the attack would be carried out the following morning. The next day they reported back to Tripoli on the great success of their mission. (Reagan, 1986: 468)

The "monstrous brutality" echoed in the coverage of *Time*'s 14 April 1986 issue, which focused on the bloodshed of three innocent civilians, one of whom was a baby girl. *Time* also called the act a "shadow war" conducted by terrorist and linked those terrorists directly to Gaddafi. Terrorists were portrayed as surrogates whom Gaddafi could easily use to fight the United States. The benefits for terrorists who bombed the TWA flight were proclaimed as the "killing of Americans and the attendant notoriety" they received. (4/14/86: 34) *Newsweek* reverberated with "monstrous brutality" in its 21 April 1986 issue when it stated that "Reagan Target[ed] a 'Mad Dog'". (3)

Based on this "monstrous brutality," President Reagan then stressed the fact that the evidence against Gaddafi was irrefutable and that he was an enemy not only of the United States, but of Africa, Europe, the Middle East, and the Western

Hemisphere. He then boldly claimed, "today we have done what we had to do. If necessary, we shall do it again". (1986: 469) The *New York Times* on 15 April 1986, quoted Secretary of Defense George Schultz in pointing out that:

> The President has just described an act of self-defense on the part of the United States. The action was proportionate to the sustained, clear, continuing and widespread use of terror against Americans and others by Qaddafi's Libya. As the President said, we must remember, and of course Europeans particularly remember, that tolerance or appeasement of aggression has historically brought more aggression. In Qaddafi's case what we have seen over a period of years, and escalating in recent months, is a continuing increase in the use of terror. So this is not a question of something that we have done being countered by something he has and so on. It has been an escalation by Qaddafi that has called forward this act of self-defense on the part of the United States. (*New York Times* 15 April 1986: A-13)

Despite the claim of moral superiority and civility, the discourse surrounding U.S action in Libya experienced brief erosion as both *Time* and *Newsweek* had the following synopsis for their specific articles:

> America escalates its war on terrorism in 11 minutes over Tripoli: the swift nighttime strike leaves more victims: stirs more threats and raises more questions, one in particular: How effective will the raid against Gaddafi prove to be? (*Time*, 28 April 1986: 3)

> A New Kind of War: The President's raid in Libya brings a wave of euphoria, but the cost of escalation may be high. (*Newsweek*, 28 April 1986: 2)

> Arab Terrorism: The Reagan administration is attacking the symptoms rather than the root causes of Middle East Terrorism…The use of military force may at best bring temporary relief; at worst, it could create more hostility and more terrorists. Why not spend a small fraction of our defense budget to sponsor *serious* peace efforts in the Middle East?. (*Newsweek*, 28 April 1986: 11)

Again, as in the 1985 question posed by *Time*, issues were raised within the discourse surrounding terrorism as both *Time* and *Newsweek* questioned the cost and effectiveness of such attacks. In fact, *Newsweek* in a 7 April 1986 issue special report, explored possibilities to explain "why they hate, why they kill". (25) What is interesting here is how national security discourse may allow for some questions to be raised but, at the same time, ensures that the legitimacy of the state always triumphs. This triumph is based on the legitimacy that the liberal democratic state maintains as its moral right, even duty. A 14 April 1986, issue of *Time* proclaimed that that there exists a "moral right, indeed duty" for democracies to defend themselves. (50) Thus, when one reexamines questions as the possible effects of the *Time* and *Newsweek* articles, it is revealed that a specific state legitimacy is in fact being articulated even in the posing of the question. The state is still the purveyor of possible solutions even if it seemed to be looking at different means to curtail terrorist violence. The state has the moral authority and the superiority in the realm of the political.

President Reagan continued to proclaim moral superiority when he admonished critics who believed military action was unnecessary and suggested that the United

States should have ignored Gaddafi. He responded to his critics, suggesting that the number of dead increased while the United States ignored terrorists and that

> for us to ignore by inaction the slaughter of American civilians and American soldiers, whether in nightclubs or airlines terminals, is simply not in the American tradition. When our citizens are abused or attacked anywhere in the world on the direct orders of a hostile regime, we will respond so long as I'm in this Oval Office. Self-defense is not only our right, it is our duty. It is the purpose behind the mission undertaken tonight, a mission fully consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. (Reagan, 1986: 469)

On 15 April 1986, President Reagan revealed that, "two of our servicemen are missing. But let us be clear, yesterday the United States won but a single engagement in the long battle against terrorism". (1986: 472) He continued to describe the incident, reverting back to WTC rhetoric while still employing value-laden language, stating that the United States would continue to battle terrorism since it is

> the preferred weapon of the weak and evil men. And as Edmund Burke reminded us: "In order for evil to succeed, it's only necessary that good men do nothing." Yesterday we demonstrated once again that doing nothing is not America's policy; it's not America's way. (Reagan, 1986: 472)

He also used this opportunity to re-establish a connection between Central America and terrorism – one of the main appropriations of terrorism used in national security discourse – as he stressed,

> this archterrorist. (Qadhafi) has sent $400 million and an arsenal of weapons and advisors into Nicaragua to bring his war home to the United States…We do not underestimate the brutality of this evil man, but Colonel Qadhafi ought not to underestimate either the capacity or legitimate anger of a free people. (Reagan, 1986: 472)

The connection between terrorism and Central America in the United States foreign policy was again made explicitly clear when President Reagan addressed the Heritage Foundation on 22 April 1988. He stated, "the march of freedom, especially in Central America, and the fight against terrorism – are directly related". (1986: 500) To ensure the connection, President Reagan made clear the connections between the Sandinistas and terrorists through the statement:

> the Sandinistas have provided refuge for all sorts of international terrorists. Members of the Italian Government have openly charged that Nicaragua is harboring some of Italy's worst terrorists. And we have evidence that in addition to Italy's Red Brigades, other elements of the world's most vicious terrorists groups – West Germany's Baader-Meinhof gang, the Basque ETA, the PLO, and the Tupamoros – have found haven in Nicaragua. They have actively supported the Salvadoran rebels and have frequently used terror, including the killing of four of our marines in a café last summer. And these are the same rebels who celebrated the Challenger explosion and said our astronauts were war criminals and deserved what they got. (Reagan, 1986: 500–01)

After the pronounced list of terrorist groups that found refuge in Nicaragua, President Reagan tied it back to Libya and showed a photo of Daniel Ortega and Mu'ammar

Gaddafi united with raised fists. This picture was used to show their solidarity and that Libya and Nicaragua were "trying to build a Libya on our doorstep. And it's the contras, the freedom fighters, who are trying to stop them". (1986: 501) In a subsequent speech on 7 May 1986, he shared his interpretation of the difference between freedom fighters and terrorists. He proclaimed that there was no similarity between the two and that:

> the people that are customarily called freedom fighters are fighting against organized military forces. Even if it is in a civil war, it is war. Terrorists, as I said before, are people who deliberately choose as a target to murder and maim innocent people who have no influence upon the things that they think of as their political goals. And, therefore, those people must be treated as to what they are, and that is they are base criminals. (Reagan, 1986: 564)

This distinction made by President Reagan was important as it reiterated the ideal of a "civilized" world/cause within a framework of violence. What is extremely useful about this statement, within the framework of this text, is that this concept of a "civilized" cause constituted within a framework of violence opens a host of opportunities to challenge the use of WTC rhetoric employed by the administrations of Carter through George W. Bush. If in fact we lend credibility to the distinction proposed by President Reagan, then the use of WTC rhetoric legitimizes the causes, concerns, and actions of terrorists "against organized military forces," as the United States proclaimed that it is within a "war" with terrorism.

The remaining two years of President Reagan's administration saw use of the same rhetoric regarding terrorism, with the addition of a few speeches and the announcement of several pieces of anti-terrorism legislation, including the *Omnibus Diplomatic Security Act of 1986*, law H.R. 4151. The only major new announcement regarding U.S. terrorist policies occurred on 19 May 1988, when he answered questions about the Iran-Contra Affair and about the United States relying on France to obtain the release of the hostages in Beirut while President Reagan condoned a deal with the terrorists. President Reagan responded to the reporter stating:

> We were not dealing with the Khomeini or with the Iranian Government. Some individuals had sought a meeting with us on the basis of better relations in the event of the passing of the Khomeini and that it would be a new government. And they had an idea of a different kind of government and a relationship with us. And at one time, asking us to prove our credentials, they made the proposal of us violating our policy and selling, really, a token force of weapons to them, and also that they could use those to build some prestige for themselves with the military, which they would need if they were to become important in the next government
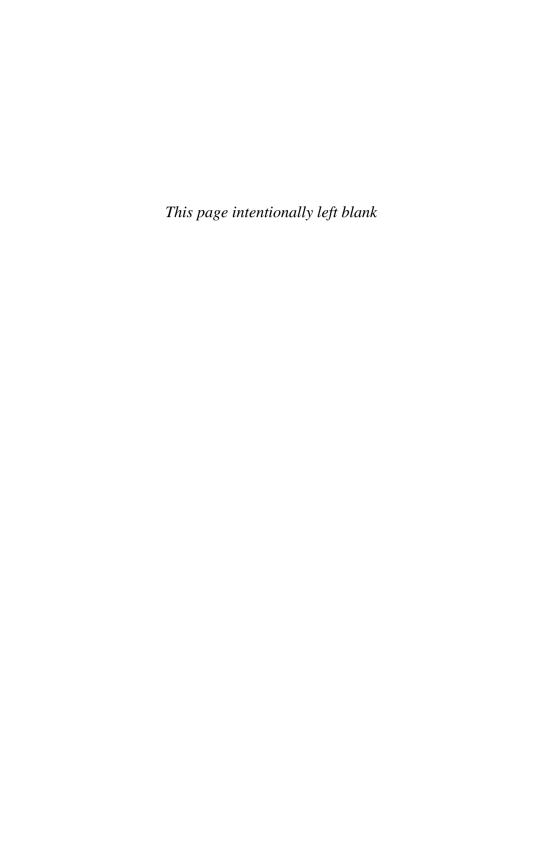
> Well, I said back to them that, yes, we could do that, even though it was against our policy of providing weapons for nations that supported terrorism. But they had made it plain that they did not support terrorism. And I said we have kidnapped now some Americans held hostage by an organization, the Hizballah, that we understand has a relationship with the Government of Iran, and said maybe you would have some influence, that if we did this, you could be helpful to us to try to get some of our hostages freed.

Now, we argued right in this room about it, and some people said that would appear to be trading arms for hostages. Well, no, because we weren't giving them to the government, and we weren't…giving them, I should say, to the kidnappers…And I likened it to if a child who was kidnapped. I don't think that that you should pay ransom, but if I found there was another individual that could get that child back for me in return for my doing something for him, that would be all right. And this was much the same point. (Reagan, 1988: 613)

President Reagan's two-term administration ended with the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland on 29 December 1988. He sent a final warning to terrorists that "we know definitely that it was a bomb, we're going to make every effort we can to find out who is guilty of this savage and tragic thing and bring them to justice". (1988: 1664) In his New Year's Eve, 31 December 1988 radio address, President Reagan again warned terrorists and set the foundation for the continuation of his policy in Bush's administration.

The pledge we made to seek the truth and punish the guilty is a sacred one which George Bush shares. Indeed, President-elect Bush knows as thoroughly as anyone in the world today the nature and problem of terrorism. As chairman of this administration's task force on terrorism he oversaw a report that is the toughest statement to date on the need for strong action—including, when warranted, military action—against terrorists. That report ought to be giving some people sleepless nights right about now. (Reagan, 1988: 1665)

President Reagan's final statement on terrorism continued the use of specialized language within the realm of national security. The use of the term "sacred pledge" speaks to the heart of the dichotomy set up between the moral and "civilized" world and terrorists. Throughout his eight years in office, he reaffirmed past presidential administrations' framings of terrorists in the image of criminals and uncivilized people. He deemed them to be murderers, while he informed the nation that there was no rationale for their actions. President Reagan projected a much more vivid description than previous presidents had, one that propagated the use of national security discourse to control and appropriate terrorism.

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Chapter 3

National Security Discourse on Terrorism in Post-Cold War Presidential Rhetoric

Based on President Reagan's description of terrorists, terrorists became classified as "cowards," "barbarians," "insane lunatics," and "monsters." This vein of description did not stop with just terrorists but moved to include sponsors of terrorists as the "strangest collection of misfits, loony tunes, and squalid criminals." By couching terrorists and their supporters in this framework, President Reagan was able to mobilize greater public approval and acceptance of statist mechanisms used to combat them. In this way, coupled with consistent proclamations that terrorism was a threat to the security of the "civilized" world, President Reagan created an environment in which terrorism was viewed as an ongoing process – not unique events as President Carter had determined the Iranian hostage crisis to be – to which responses might vary based on the situation. No longer was a military option viewed as the last response, but the United States was fighting a "war" and thus, small battles were conducted with military options to be explored as a first response.

While President Reagan consistently touted the idea that terrorism was a threat to the security of the nation and democracy, he was able to manipulate a variety of non-terrorist actions and bring them into the framework of terrorism within national security discourse. This permitted the elision of the concepts of terrorism and war employed throughout Reagan's administration. President Reagan's creation of a very specific framework within which all threats were potential artifacts of terrorism and national security discourse was used to set forth an environment which permitted the Gulf War to assume legitimacy in the mindset of the citizenry.

President George H.W. Bush

The blurring of lines within the Reagan administration's appropriation of terrorism continued during the Bush administration as Saddam Hussein and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait were couched in terms of terrorist activity. Before President Bush could enter into the discourse of war with Iraq, however, his administration commenced on the tail of the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 and with Americans still being held hostage in Lebanon. President Bush was required to address concerns surrounding terrorism and the remaining hostages in Lebanon. On 21 January 1989, he replied to questions regarding rumors that other countries wanted to help with the hostage situation and stated:

> we keep hearing rumors that countries want to have improved relations with the United States. I wanted to make clear to them that good will begets good will…but people have,

in the past, facilitated the release of our citizens, and I'd love to see that happen again. And I wont forget it.(Bush, 1989: 5)

Immediately President Bush continued the warnings and promises of the use of force employed by President Reagan, saying that:

> we're not going to escalate the currency of holding Americans hostage. We're not going to have people feel that we are going to make concessions in order to free those precarious lives. We simply can't….the United States will stay strong, and occasionally Presidents are called upon to use force in one situation or another around the world. And this President will be no different. (Bush, 1989: 5)

Six months later, hostage Lt. Colonel William R. Higgins was executed on 31 July 1989. Higgins was the chief of the U.N. peacekeeping force in Lebanon and had been held captive since 17 February 1988. President Bush's response captured the tenets of previous administrations but also created the possibility of breaking down the dichotomy of "civilized" states and "barbaric" terrorists that ran rampant in Reagan's administration when he stated:

> the taking of any hostages was not helpful to the Middle East process. The brutal and tragic events of today have underscored the validity of that statement. I wish to go beyond that statement with an urgent call – to all parties who hold hostages in the Middle East – to release forthwith, as a humanitarian gesture, to begin to reverse the cycle of violence in that region. (Bush, 1989: 1046)

The framing of the possibility that hostages could be released as a "humanitarian gesture" set the stage for the Bush administration's attempt to find diplomatic solutions first and foremost. *Time* echoed this sentiment in an article with a synopsis that read: "George Bush works diplomatic channels and ponders a military strike".(14 August,1989: 2)

This possible new vision of the world and terrorists seemed to be advancing when President Bush announced in August 1989, that his administration was moving to create a better working relationship with Iran. In his view, the new leadership in Iran could mark the beginning of a new relationship with Washington.

> I will just leave it stand that a clear and good signal would be the release of American hostages, and there are many ways that countries who are estranged can get back together, from diplomatic relations or wide array of other things. (Bush, 1989: 1084)

President Bush continued to suggest that relationships could be restored, as he stated:

> Look, we don't have to be hostile with Iran for the rest of our lives. We've had a good relationship with them in the past. They are of strategic importance. They would be welcomed back into the family of law-abiding, non-terrorist-sponsoring nations. (Bush, 1989: 1084)

At the same time President Bush was calling for the possibility of better relations with Iran, he employed language that conveyed the idea of the persistent dichotomy

of the "civilized" world against terrorists in the strategic importance for national security. Thus, the underlying message was still very much a continuation of past policies and discourses. This is seen in the *New York Times* coverage of possible dealings for hostages:

> The challenge for President Bush in the Middle East hostage crisis goes beyond whether he can save eight Americans. It lies also in whether he should take the risky and perhaps cold-blooded steps that some people believe are essential to end hostage-taking. It is not clear whether Mr. Bush has a plan extending beyond the fate of the Americans currently held prisoner in Lebanon, and it may be that no President would or could accept the political and moral burdens associated with trying to stop the cycle of terrorist violence. To do so, some people argue, would require a President to "devalue the hostages," Washington shorthand for making the captives' lives secondary to the national interest, and, if necessary, accepting their deaths to help achieve the larger goal of eradicating terrorism. According to this view, a deal to free the current hostages, as important as that is, would still leave the United States vulnerable to more kidnappings, unless the Administration also strikes at the factors that make Americans valuable targets. Even a successful rescue mission offers no guarantee that the terrorists will not simply seize more hostages. (*New York Times*, 9 August 1989: A-6)

Despite the desire to have latitude in dealing with the hostage issue, President Bush continued to make clear his concept of terrorism at his address to the U.N. on 25 September 1989. President Bush stressed that:

> we must join forces to combat the threat of terrorism. Every nation and the United Nations must send the outlaws of the world a clear message: Hostage-taking and terror of random violence are methods that cannot win the world's approval. Terrorism of any kind is repugnant to all values that a civilized world holds in common. And make no mistake: Terrorism is a means that no end, no matter how just that end, can justify. (Bush, 1989: 1251–2)

Within one statement President Bush reiterated the main tenets of U.S. foreign policy towards terrorism founded in previous administrations and called upon the language of national security discourse.

The ways in which terrorism is appropriated (use of war, terror and crime rhetoric) can be seen in how President Bush responded to a question on 30 May 1990, regarding whether he felt that Israeli bombs directed at Palestinians were acts of terrorism. President Bush responded in an ambiguous manner that:

> we spoke out on the recent violence in the Gaza. And please note my last comment calling for peaceful resolution to these questions as opposed to violence and international terror. And that's the way I would respond on that. (Bush, 1990: 847–48)

The idea of legalized terror, alluded to in this statement, was again suggested in condemnation of heads of state at the Houston Economic Summit. On 10 July 1990, President Bush announced that the heads of state renewed their commitment to make no concessions, to demand that governmental support of terrorism end, and to punish terrorists in accordance with international law and national legislation (1990: 981).

Shortly after the Houston Summit, this suggested resolve and unified commitment would be tested with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990. Immediate response followed as governments evacuated citizens from Iraq and sanctions were imposed. On 5 August 1990, President Bush announced that the world community supported the demand for Iraq to withdraw completely from Kuwait: "What's emerging is nobody seems to be showing up as willing to accept anything less than total withdrawal from Kuwait of the Iraqi forces, and no puppet regime" (1990: 1100).

President Bush immediately moved into a description of the Iraqi action and deemed it to be "brutal, naked aggression."[1] *Newsweek* named Saddam Hussein "Baghdad's Bully" (13 August 1990: cover). President Bush then made a statement bringing the situation home to the United States by his announcement that there existed potential danger to Americans still in Kuwait. The naked aggression and concern over Americans in Kuwait were framed within President Bush's announcement that these are "outlaws, international outlaws and renegades" and that all sanctions would be used to "isolate Saddam Hussein" (1990: 1101). Here we see how the concept of the dichotomy between "civilized," law abiding nations and "terrorist," non-law abiding nations was used to bring appropriations of actions into the realm of national security discourse and the treatment of terrorism.

This idea was pushed further in a *Wall Street Journal*, 6 August 1990, editorial that suggested that Saddam Hussein did the world a favor in invading Kuwait. The editorial continued to suggest that the invasion was the first major act of aggression in the post-cold war era and that it would characterize how nations "define their interests in a new world order, and what it may portend for piracy and terrorism" (A-12).

On 8 August 1990, President Bush announced the deployment of forces into Saudi Arabia to assist the Saudi Arabian Government in defense of its homeland. President Bush again described Iraq's action in Kuwait as an "outrageous and brutal act of aggression," and announced the four guiding principles of the U.S.' policy for peace:

> First, we seek the immediate, unconditional, and complete withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Second, Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored to replace the puppet regime. And third, my administration, as has been the case with every President from President Roosevelt to President Reagan, is committed to the Persian Gulf. And fourth, I am determined to protect the lives of American citizens abroad. (Bush, 1990: 1108)

This provided President Bush with the means and public approval to deploy military forces to the Gulf region. National security discourse during the Bush administration accorded terrorism to Hussein and then moved to attach terror and war rhetoric to the process. *Newsweek* also made this connection of Iraq and terrorism as it stated:

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1   Although the Iraqi incursion in Kuwait was illegal in terms of international law and the international response was deemed a legitimate response, one could also argue that Bush administration's non-response to indications of Hussein's intent can be viewed as contrary to international law.

When he needed American help in his war with Iran during the mid-1980s, Saddam Hussein promised Washington he would get out of the business of sponsoring terrorism. To show good faith, he forced the infamous Abu Nidal to decamp from Baghdad to Libya. But now that George Bush is the Great Satan, the welcome back is out again for international hit men in Baghdad….Whether Saddam takes the terrorist option now or bides his time, Baghdad did not become a convention center for terrorists overnight. After the August 1988 cease-fire with Iran ended that war…Saddam sought to restore Iraq's historic "natural state" as patron of Pan-Arab radicals, says Brian Jenkins….Apparently, Saddam considers terrorists an essential part of the coalition of forces that will one day enable him to rule the Arab world. For their part, the terrorists are only to happy to pursue weapons and money from the man many radical Arabs view as the 20th-century Saladin (*Newsweek*, 3 September 1990: 41).

What is intriguing about this *Newsweek* article is the way that a historical imagination is portrayed for the Iraqi state. The article ends with comment about radical Arabs viewing Saddam Hussein as the twentieth century Saladin. Saladin, also known as *Salah ad-din Yusuf Ibn Ayyub* (Righteousness of the Faith, Joseph, Son of Job), was the Kurdish Muslim sultan of Egypt, Syria, Yemen, and Palestine in the twelfth century. He counterattacked the Third Crusade and captured Jerusalem in 1187. More importantly, the Muslim historical imagination about Saladin is not given credence in the U.S.' historical imagination. Instead, the United States employs a positive historical imagination of the "Wild West" where law and justice triumphed in the end or the American exceptional state. Instead, a great hero of the Muslim world is bastardized in the connection to radical Arabs and Saddam Hussein and is not given the reified and privileged space that U.S. historical imagination is afforded.

Using the "Wild West" historical imagination, the United States worked to form a coalition for military action while the global community moved towards a coalition on U.N. sanctions.[2] The United States and its allies entered into the Gulf War with a high expectation of total success. Despite the United States and its allies' military success in the war, Hussein was not removed from power and remained available as a threat to U.S. national security. Violation of security expectations was a deciding factor in President Bush's loss of the 1992 presidential election and is representative of the dangers present in using national security discourse to [mis]appropriate terrorism and apply meaning to non-terrorist activities.

Despite the potential problems with such a misappropriation, especially when it resulted in military actions, the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations continued to develop the state's use of national security discourse to manipulate and appropriate terrorism within the constituted reality of national security.

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2   The use of the U.S. historical imagination, specifically the "Wild West" that needed to be conquered and tamed, can also be seen in the way in which the United States involved itself in Central and South American conflicts. This is especially true in the U.S. involvement in Nicaragua and Panama.

President William J. Clinton

The importance of creating a national security character continued in the presidential administration of William Clinton. On the morning of 26 February 1993, President Clinton addressed an audience at American University, stating that

> over the past year I have tried to speak at some length about what we must do to update our definition of national security and to promote it and to protect it and to foster democracy and human rights around the world….The world clearly remains a dangerous place. Ethnic hatreds, religious strife, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the violation of human rights flagrantly in altogether too many places around the world still call on us to have a sense of national security in which our national defense is an integral part. And the world still calls on us to promote democracy, for even though democracy is on the march in many places in the world, you and I know that it has been thwarted in many places, too. (Clinton, 1993: 207–08)

An hour after this address, the World Trade Centers (WTC) were subject to a terrorist attack that left six people dead and several hundred wounded. President Clinton responded as had his predecessors – utilizing concepts of criminality, horror, and terror – suggesting that the United States would do everything it could to ensure that the perpetrators of this crime were brought to justice. In an address to the nation on 27 February 2003, President Clinton stated:

> I want to say a word to the good people of New York and to all Americans who have been so deeply affected by the tragedy that struck Manhattan yesterday. A number of innocent people lost their lives, hundreds were injured, and thousands were struck with fear in their hearts. (Clinton, 1993: 215).

As with previous presidents, President Clinton was able to set a stage in which the ideals of the good and moral were opposed to the evil and corrupt. In addition, President Clinton also developed the notion of community as "thousands of Americans were struck with fear in their hearts" (1993:215). This fear was echoed in the 27 February 1993, edition of the *New York Times* as it stated:

> The phenomenon is well known in Belfast, Lima, Bogota and Beirut, but if the explosion that rocked the World Trade Center today was indeed caused by a car bombing, as the F.B.I. believes, it would be the largest such attack in American history, experts said. Not since 1975, when 11 people were killed at La Guardia Airport, has anyone used a bomb, delivered in any fashion, to kill so many civilians in the United States. It is unknown whether a terrorist group was responsible for the explosion today. (*New York Times*, 1:24–1).

The *New York Times* continued to focus on the production of fear in the 28 February 1993, edition that stated:

> If confirmed as an intentional act of political violence, the Trade Center explosion would signify that America has lost its innocence as a place relatively immune to the kind of bombings and other terrorist acts now sadly routine elsewhere around the world. That's a genuinely alarming prospect, given the fragility of daily life in big American cities

dependent on expressways, bridges, tunnels and mass transit systems. Even the possibility of more such attacks warrants immediate attention at the highest levels of government.

And that chilling possibility raises further questions: How well do Federal law enforcement and intelligence agencies now coordinate their efforts with one another and with local police? What new laws and regulations might further limit access to explosives and detonation devices? How might law enforcement agencies at all levels build up counterterrorism units to prevent disasters?

The goal of terrorists, Police Commissioner Raymond Kelley said yesterday, is to promote fear. "Fear is a type of weapon to which we should not submit." True enough. But defense against fear requires, beyond rhetoric, careful planning, coordinated management and determined leadership, from Washington on down.(New York Times, 28 February 1993: 4:14–1)

Within this statement lies the heart of rhetoric's manifestation of a discourse that enables practices of statecraft that plan, coordinate, and disburse responses to specific issues. This sentiment also resonated in *Newsweek*'s cover story for the 8 March 1993 issue, which had a cover photo of grief-stricken worker being escorted by two police officers. The caption for this covers read: "Terror Hits Home." Based on this level of fear, President Clinton needed to address the severity of this event but he also needed stress the power of the state to provide security for its citizenry. As a result, President Clinton continued his address and stated:

the full measure of Federal law enforcement will be brought to bear….Americans should know we will do everything in our in power to keep them safe in their streets, their offices, and their homes. Feeling safe is an essential part of being secure, and that is important to all of us. (Clinton, 1993: 215)

The dependence on law enforcement and international cooperation was the focal response to the WTC bombings in 1993. On 4 March 1993, in response to a question by a reporter regarding concern for the safety of Americans and based on how U.S. foreign policy decisions might affect terrorism, President Clinton announced the arrests of suspected individuals involved in the bombing. In response to an actual question regarding foreign policy decisions' effects on terrorism, President Clinton stated: "I don't think the American people can afford to be afraid. I think we all have to be concerned about the risks to our people's safety" (1993: 238). This notion of developing concern for safety and foreign policy was reiterated in a press conference with President Mubarak of Egypt on 6 April 1993:

I think the important thing is we do know that there was nothing specific related to the World Trade Center bombing that was given to the United States. We know we have stepped up cooperation, and we know we intend to do more in the future. And the United States has to review a lot of its policies in view of what happened at the World Trade Center to try to make sure we are doing everything we can to minimize the impact of terrorism in this country. (Clinton, 1993: 411)

As a result of international cooperation in the apprehension of suspects, the alleged mastermind of the 1993 WTC bombing, Ramzi Yousef, was extradited from Pakistan

in 1995 and on 8 January 1998, was sentenced to 240 years in prison. In addition to Yousef's sentencing, six other conspirators, among them Egyptian Sheik Omar Abdid el Rahman, had received life sentences two years prior.

The sentencing of Ramzi Yousef on January 1998, has been hailed as one of the justifications used by terrorists in the bombing of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania on 7 August 1998. Before President Clinton's response to these bombings is addressed, the responses to the 1995 Oklahoma City Bombing by Timothy McVeigh must be scrutinized as it had a strong effect on the creation of stricter penalties and actions against terrorist attacks. In addition, the fear experienced as a result of the World Trade Center bombing of 1993, would be intensified within the framework of the terror in America's heartland. On 19 April 1995, around 9:03 a.m., the Murrah Federal Building in downtown Oklahoma City became the subject of a "terrorist"[3] attack – an attack on U.S. soil. The Murrah Federal Building was teeming with activity as people started their work day; parents had just dropped their children off at day care; and individuals went to the building to attend to their business. A massive bomb inside a rental truck exploded, destroying half of the nine-storey building.

For nearly two weeks, an astonished nation watched as the bodies, especially those of children, were pulled from the rubble. This two-week period culminated with massive special reports in both *Time* and *Newsweek* that appeared in their 1 May 1995, issues. The loss of American innocence in the heartland was exacerbated by the loss of "true" innocence as represented by the images of dead children being taken from the wreckage. *Newsweek*'s cover featured the image of firefighter carrying a baby with just "Okalahoma City, April 19, 1995" appearing. Inside this issue of *Newsweek* is a sketch of the image on the cover, but this time the baby has the words "American Innocence" on its stomach (23). In addition, on that same page there is a political cartoon that shows the bombed-out building and two people, one who asks: "how many hurt?" The other responds: "260 Million Americans."

At the end of the arduous process, 168 people were dead in the worst "terrorist" attack on U.S. soil (up until that point). Upon receiving word of the tragic events in Oklahoma City, President Clinton remarked that:

> the bombing in Oklahoma City was an attack on innocent children and defenseless citizens. It was an act of cowardice, and it was evil. The United States will not tolerate it. And I will not allow the people of this country to be intimidated by evil cowards. (Clinton, 1995: 552).

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3   I use quotation marks here as the U.S. framed this event within the discourse of terrorism. This framing of the Oklahoma City bombing as terrorism is evidence of the definitional variations that surround terrorism and the subject of the fourth chapter of this text. I would argue that this bombing does not fit the frame of terrorism, as the way I construct terrorism is based on the incident having an international component or a component of political significance. It is debatable that the act of Timothy McVeigh was based on a desire to foster political change, although some contend that Timothy McVeigh was expressing his discontent with the federal government, especially the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearm Agency's handling of the Waco, Texas incident.

The address ended with a call upon the moral superiority of the United States in President Clinton's request that:

> I ask all Americans tonight to pray – to pray for the people who have lost their lives, to pray for the families and the friends of the dead and the wounded, to pray for the people of Oklahoma City. May God's grace be with them. (Clinton, 1995: 552)

Again, as with previous presidents, terrorists are framed within the language of "good versus evil," and lacking honor as they are "evil cowards." In addition, the references to prayer and the grace of God emphasize the dichotomy between the morally superior state and the evil cowardice of the "inhumane," morally inept terrorists. God is on the side of America, for God blesses America, or so the closing speech act of most presidential addresses claims: God Bless America. Such a proclamation is levied without any space for denial or contestation.

Immediately following the attack, news media speculated that this was the act of Middle Eastern terrorists. The reports led the nation to believe this was the work of the "evil" other, foreign terrorists. On 21 April 1995, *The Washington Post* proclaimed:

> the devastating car bomb explosion in Oklahoma City sent shock waves reverberating around the world today, with governments and world leaders expressing sympathy and renewed determination to launch a global crusade to stamp out the scourge of terrorism" (*Washington Post*, 21 April 1995: A.23).

It soon became clear, however, that this was not the act of foreign terrorists but that there was a strong possibility that the perpetrators were home grown. In responses to news correspondents on 21 April 1995, President Clinton responded to a question about whether this was a foreign threat or something within our national borders, as follows:

> I have never and the Justice Department has never said that it was a foreign threat. But the most important thing that you understand is that even though this is a positive development, this investigation has a lot of work still to be done in it, and therefore it would be – it would be wrong to draw any conclusions. There have been lots of twists and turns in this investigation. But I would say to the American people, we should not assume, as I said yesterday, that we should not assume that any people from beyond our borders are involved in it. We should not assume anything, except what we know (Clinton, 1995: 568).

What becomes interesting is that even though Timothy McVeigh was apprehended ninety minutes after the explosion for driving without a license plate, detained, and discovered to be responsible for the bombing by 21 April 1995, President Clinton's response still had a sense of uncertainty. The issue here is whether and how the "evil" other could be something home grown.

In order to deal with the prospects of the "evil" other being home grown, President Clinton stated, on 23 April 1995, that as Americans we needed "to purge ourselves of the dark forces which gave rise to this evil" (1995: 574). What is concealed in this statement is the idea that a moral country must remain moral to ensure the credibility

of the state and the sustaining of its moral authority. The question then became how could the United States, "home of the brave and land of the free," produce an evil that had been relegated to the outside other?

Remarks given on the 23 April 1995, to a news reporter at the press conference in honor of the visit of Brazil's President Fernando Cardoso on 20 April 1995, reiterated this. In response to a question regarding American citizens being afraid that terrorism could strike their town as it had in Oklahoma City, the heartland of the United States, President Clinton stated:

> I would say, first of all, that we are working very hard to strengthen the ability of the United States to resist acts of terror. We have increased our efforts in law enforcement, through the FBI and the CIA…. We have increased our capacity to track the materials that can be used to destroy people. I have sent legislation to the Congress, as you know, that would increase this capacity even further. I have done everything I could and our administration has to bring home suspected terrorists for trial from Pakistan, from Egypt, from the Philippines, from elsewhere. We are moving aggressively...

> I would say to the children of this country, what happened was a bad thing, an evil thing, but we will find the people who did it, and we will bring them to justice. This is a law-abiding country. And neither the leaders nor the citizens of this country will permit it to be paralyzed by this kind of behavior. (Clinton, 1995: 557)

Given the massive destruction perpetrated by the Oklahoma City Bombing, coupled with the unrealized potential devastating effects of the 1993 WTC bombings, the United States moved to develop broad sweeping policies in the fight against and prosecution of terrorists. These policies were pursued precisely because the Okalahoma City attack was cast within the parameters set for international terrorism. Here, a "domestic terrorist's" act was appropriated within the discourse of national security and used to enhance the effects of the state in regards to terror. This allowed the Oklahoma City attack to be preserved as an attack against the national security of the United States and thus preserved the outward gaze of U.S. discourse on terror. Given the appropriation of the Oklahoma City attack within the national security discourse, stricter penalties were actualized in the passage of the landmark *Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act* of 1996.

The *Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act* provided for broad new federal jurisdiction to prosecute anyone who committed a terrorist attack in the United States or whoever used the United States as a planning ground for attacks overseas; it banned fundraising in the United States that supported terrorist organizations; allowed U.S. officials to deport terrorists from American soil without being compelled by the terrorists to divulge classified information: barred terrorists from entering the United States in the first place; and required plastic explosives to contain chemical markers so that criminals who used them – like the ones that blew up Pan Am Flight 103 – could be tracked down and prosecuted; enabled the Government to issue regulations requiring that chemical taggants be added to some other types of explosives so that police could better trace bombs to those who make them; increased controls over biological and chemical weapons; toughened penalties over a range of terrorist crimes; and banned the sale of defense goods and services

to countries determined not to be cooperating fully with U.S. antiterrorism efforts. As President Clinton signed this bill on 24 April 1996, he stated, "the United States remains in the forefront of the international effort to fight terrorism through tougher laws and resolute enforcement" (1996: 632).

However, President Clinton also mentioned that the bill did not go far enough to guarantee safety. President Clinton had asked Congress for "increased wiretap authority in terrorism cases," "increased access to hotel, phone, and other records," and "longer statutes of limitations," for U.S. law enforcement. These requests were not part of the final bill made law in April 1996. Despite these exclusions, as well as some problematic changes to immigration policies, President Clinton maintained that this was a

> real step in the right direction. Although it does not contain everything we need to combat terrorism, it provides valuable tools for stopping and punishing terrorists. It stands as a tribute to the victims of terrorism and to the men and women in law enforcement who dedicate their lives to protecting all of us from the scourge of terrorist activity. (Clinton, 1996: 632)

In addition to the creation of new means of addressing terrorism, as represented in the signing of the *Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act*, President Clinton still utilized "traditional" policy tools. On 5 August 1996, President Clinton signed the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act. This was designed to continue to place pressure on Iran and Libya to end their support of terrorist organizations.

> Terrorism has many faces, to be sure, but Iran and Libya are two of the most dangerous supporters of terrorism in the world. The Iran and Libya sanctions bill I sign today will help to deny those countries the money they need to finance international terrorism. It will limit the flow of resources necessary to obtain weapons of mass destruction. It will heighten pressure on Libya to extradite the suspects in the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. (Clinton, 1996: 1254)

President Clinton continued his remarks by suggesting that the United States was fighting a war on three fronts: the first was abroad through the development of closer cooperation with allies; the second was on the domestic front through the establishment of comprehensive tools for law enforcement; and the third was the improvement of security in airports and on airplanes (1996: 1254–5). He also went on to state that fighting terrorism was an international concern and that

> last week in Paris, with America's leadership, the G-7 nations and Russia agreed on a sweeping set of measures to prevent terrorists from acting and to catch them when they do. We have seen that when we pool our strength we can obtain results. We will continue to press our allies to join with us in increasing the pressure on Iran and Libya to stop their support of terrorists. We already have acted ourselves, through our own sanctions, and with this legislation we are asking our allies to join with us more effectively. (Clinton, 1996: 1255)

Despite all these new attempts with landmark legislation and the continued use of foreign policy tools to combat terrorism, the United States was again the target of

terrorist attacks on 7 August 1998, at the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. President Clinton's response was unusual in that he did
not immediately pursue diplomatic means as the initial response. Instead, on 20
August 1998, just two weeks after the attacks, President Clinton ordered military
operations to strike at terrorist-related facilities in Afghanistan and the Sudan. In
an address to the nation, President Clinton stated that he ordered the attack on the
facilities "because of the imminent threat they presented to our national security"
(1998: 1460). He continued to discuss the objectives of the strike and stated that
"our mission was clear: to strike at the network of radical groups affiliated with
and funded by Osama bin Laden, perhaps the preeminent organizer and financier
of international terrorism in the world today" (1998: 1460). *Newsweek*'s 31 August
1998, issue had a special section entitled: "At War Abroad and at Home."[4] The
caption quoted President Clinton:

> Let our actions today send this message loud and clear: There are no expendable American
> targets. There will be no sanctuary for terrorists. We will defend our people, our interests
> and our values. We will help people of all faiths in all parts of the world who want to live
> free of fear and violence. We will persist and we will prevail. (Newsweek, 31 August
> 1998: 17)

As President Clinton discussed the reasons and objectives for the strikes, he also
turned to discuss Osama bin Ladin and the potential for greater terrorist attacks on
the United States as he stressed how

> a few months ago, and again this week, bin Ladin publicly vowed to wage a terrorist war
> against America, saying, and I quote, "We do not differentiate between those dressed
> in military uniforms and civilians. They're all targets." Their mission is murder and
> their history is bloody. In recent years, they killed American, Belgian, and Pakistani
> peacekeepers in Somalia. They plotted to assassinate the President of Egypt and the Pope.
> They planned to bomb six United States 747s over the Pacific...The most recent terrorist
> events are fresh in our memory. Two weeks ago, 12 Americans and nearly 300 Kenyans
> and Tanzanians lost their lives, and another 5,000 were wounded, when our embassies
> in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were bombed. There is convincing information from our
> intelligence community that the bin Ladin terrorist network was responsible for these
> bombings. Based on this information, we have high confidence that these bombings were
> planned, financed, and carried out by the organization bin Ladin leads. (Clinton, 1998:
> 1461)

In emphasizing the potential for greater terror, President Clinton also established
the justification for pursuing military action against Afghanistan and Sudan as part
of an attempt to limit the power and reach of bin Laden and his terror network.
President Clinton continued his address to the nation by suggesting that in all
previous responses to terrorism, the United States had sought to build an international

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4   The "at home" here refers to the Monica Lewinsky scandal that captured the American
imagination even while two of the U.S. embassies in Africa were bombed. *Newsweek*'s
subheading for this special section read: "Commander in chief or philanderer in chief? As Bill
Clinton struggles to save his presidency, the whole world is watching" (31 August 1998: 18).

coalition against terror. However, he then stated that "there have been and will be times when law enforcement and diplomatic tools are simply not enough, when our very national security is challenged, and when we must take extraordinary steps to protect the safety of our citizens" (1998: 1461). President Clinton ended his address by utilizing language based upon the historical legacy initiated by President Nixon and articulated through all subsequent presidencies – the language of the good and moral versus the evil and unjust.

> My fellow Americans, our battle against terrorism did not begin with the bombing of our Embassies in Africa, nor will it end with today's strike. It will require strength, courage, and endurance. We will not yield to this threat; we will meet it, no matter how long it may take. This will be a long, ongoing struggle between freedom and fanaticism, between the rule of law and terrorism. We must be prepared to do all that we can for as long as we must. America is and will remain a target of terrorists precisely because we are leaders; because we act to advance peace, democracy, and basic human values; because we're the most open society on Earth; and because, as we have shown yet again, we take an uncompromising stand against terrorism. (Clinton, 1998: 1462)

Despite President Clinton's claim that "there have been and will be times when law enforcement and diplomatic tools are simply not enough," the military response by the United States encountered criticism from the international community. Many countries questioned the rationale for the attacks on Afghanistan and Sudan, especially once it was revealed that the target in Sudan which was supposed to be a factory that made weapons and chemical agents was in fact a pharmaceutical factory with no ties to Al Qaeda or terrorist weapons. Saudi Arabian First Deputy Prime Minister Crown Prince Abdullah Ibn Abdul-Aziz expressed the necessity of fighting terrorism within the framework of the United Nations. He expressed these concerns by stating:

> Although the Kingdom condemns the recent bombings of American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, it still believes that the sole way to combat terrorism should be by means of international action within the framework of the United Nations (ArabicNews.com, 25 August 1998).

Even within the United States the reaction was mixed. While *Newsweek* touted the American presidency at war, it also made light of the situation and also ran a cartoon on page 15 of the 31 August 1998 issue that had bin Laden yelling "DEATH TO THE GREAT SATAN." Bin Laden is then hit by a missile as a fighter pilot (made to resemble Bill Clinton) says, in reference to President Clinton's troubles with Monica Lewinsky, "Never mess with a guy with serious girl problems." This is representative of the fact that while the United States was facing some serious credibility issues in the international community as well as being the target of attacks, the citizenry preferred to focus on the Monica Lewinsky ordeal. However, in the midst of scandal superseding horror, the *New York Times* did focus on the value of U.S. counter measure strikes but also focused on the possible consequences as they wrote:

> The barrage of missiles that fell on Afghanistan and the Sudan this week was a small battle in a war without a foreseeable end, American leaders are warning – not the moral

equivalent of war, but war itself, and one that could last as long as the struggle against the Soviet Union. "This is, unfortunately, the war of the future," Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright said. "The Osama bin Laden organization has basically declared war on Americans and has made very clear that these are all Americans, anywhere." The national security adviser, Samuel R. Berger, said: "This is an evil that is directed at the United States. It's going to persist." The Under Secretary of State, Thomas R. Pickering, said, "We are in this for the long haul."…Their enemy is a man, not a state, backed by acolytes, not armies. In this war, where high-tech weapons may prove less effective than pickups packed with dynamite, Mr. bin Laden, the exiled Saudi terrorist living in Afghanistan, represents something different – something that Milt Bearden, a former senior C.I.A. official, calls "Terror Inc". (*New York Times*, 23 August 1998: 1,1)

What is witnessed in this passage is a deep concern for the fate of the United States in an ever-changing world. This concern is vocalized, as all other concerns in the past, as maintaining a distinct binary between the forces of good and civilized and the forces of evil and uncivilized. What is also fascinating is the attempt to set this dyad on the basis of state vs. individual. Thus, the power of the state is privileged over the evils of non-statist entities.

Given the progression of responses by the United States toward terrorist acts throughout the previous six presidential administrations, the responses by President George W. Bush did not rewire American sensibilities but rather re-energized and amplified them. The re-energizing had its basis in the Clinton administration's use of force in response to the 1998 attacks on the U.S. embassies in Africa and the 1996 passage of the *Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act*. Through these two acts, President Clinton set the stage on which the Bush Doctrine was being enacted.

President George W. Bush

The national security discourse on terrorism in the George W. Bush administration is shrouded in post-September 11, 2001 rhetoric. This text realizes that rhetoric employed after 11 September 2001 is too immense for a brief review. As a result, the following commentary concentrates on *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (a.k.a. *Bush Doctrine*), released on 20 September 2002, by Condoleezza Rice, National Security Adviser to President Bush. Although formally released on 20 September 2002, the strategic doctrine was not a new concept paper, but rather had its roots in the year that followed 11 September 2001, which saw a plethora of speeches, interviews, and proclamations that augured the security strategy.

The document released on 20 September 2002, contained nine sections that were delivered by President Bush in the following speeches: "Overview of America's International Strategy," and "Champion Aspirations for Human Dignity," West Point, New York, 1 June 2002; "Strengthen Alliances to Defeat Global Terrorism and Work to Prevent Attacks Against Us and Our Friends," The National Cathedral, Washington, D.C., 14 September 2001; "Work with Others to Defuse Regional Conflicts," Berlin, Germany, 23 May 2002; "Prevent our Enemies from Threatening us, Our Allies and Our Friends with Weapons of Mass Destruction," West Point,

New York, 1 June 2002; "Ignite a New Era of Global Economic Growth through Free Markets and Free Trade," Monterrey, Mexico, 22 March 2002; "Expand the Circle of Development by Opening Societies and Building the Infrastructure of Democracy," Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, D.C., 14 March 2002; "Develop Agendas for Cooperative Action with the Other Main Centers of Global Power," West Point, New York, 1 June 2002; and "Transform America's National Security Institutions to Meet the Challenges and Opportunities of the Twenty-First Century," Joint Session of Congress, Washington, D.C., 20 September 2001.

Before a review of the Bush Doctrine is pursued, it is useful to examine the first nine months of Bush's presidency to show how 11 September 2001, intensified President Bush's conceptualization of terrorism rather than revamping, reorganizing, and redirecting it. Within the first nine months of the Bush administration, there were only four times when President Bush mentioned the effects of terrorism on global security. In an exchange with reporters while on vacation in Meridian, Texas, on 13 August 2001, President Bush responded to several question regarding a recent suicide bombing in Israel in the following manner:

> these terrorist acts, which are despicable, will prevent us from ever getting into the Mitchell process…My administration has been calling upon all the leaders in the Middle East to do everything they can to stop the violence, to tell the different parties involved that peace will never happen and, so long as terrorist activities continue, it will be impossible to get into Mitchell or any other discussion about peace under the threat of Terrorism…Europe and moderate Arab nations must join with us to continue to send a consistent message that there will be no peace unless we break this cycle of violence. And the United States is doing everything in our power to convince the parties, but I want to remind people there must be the will…I will invite the respective parties to come and see me at the appropriate time. We've got a long way to go; I recognize that. And it's so important for there to be the will, the desire. (Bush, 2001: 957–59)

What this response reveals is that prior to 11 September 2001, the United States under President Bush sought multilateral cooperation in attempting to combat terrorism. Multilateral cooperation, with the United States taking the lead, was seen as the principal means of dealing with terrorism. This response is also interesting in light of the adumbrated language employed as President Bush spoke about the will and desire that must exist in the fight against terrorism. The will and desire of a just nation becomes the hallmark of the *Bush Doctrine's* responses to terrorism and the importation of disparate acts into the fold of terrorism – the rationale for launching a preemptive war in Iraq.

On 12 June 2001, at a press conference with José Maria Aznar, President of Spain, in Madrid, President Bush announced that the world had to address the

> new threats of the 21st century if we're to have a peaceful continent and a peaceful world. Those new threats are terrorism, based upon the capacity of some countries to develop weapons of mass destruction and, therefore, hold the United States and our friends hostage. (Bush, 2001: 641)

This statement could be found in any of the five previous administrations and maintained the thirty plus years of policy formation initiated in the Nixon

administration and carried forth through all subsequent administrations. Terrorism was still seen as a threat to the United States and the "civilized" world.

The threat of terrorism to the United States and the "civilized" world came to the forefront at 8:46am on the morning of 11 September 2001, when American Airlines flight 11 was crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center. The ensuing two hours forced the United States to confront the "evils" that the rest of the world had long confronted. As the United States coped with horrific images and memories of 11 September 2001, the subsequent year bore witness to a series of speeches that tested the attitude, resilience, and will of the American public towards enforcing the strategic interests of the United States through the maintenance of ideals long held sacred in American cultural core and mythical history – ideals that stressed universal notions of freedom, democracy, liberty, justice, and virtue. The sentiments of these speeches were encapsulated in the new National Security Strategy of the United States (Bush Doctrine) released on 20 September 2002, and begun with following paragraph:

> The great struggles of the twentieth century between liberty and totalitarianism ended with a decisive victory for the forces of freedom—and a single sustainable model for national success: freedom, democracy, and free enterprise. In the twenty-first century, only nations that share a commitment to protecting basic human rights and guaranteeing political and economic freedom will be able to unleash the potential of their people and assure their future prosperity. People everywhere want to be able to speak freely; choose who will govern them; worship as they please; educate their children—male and female; own property; and enjoy the benefits of their labor. These values of freedom are right and true for every person, in every society—and the duty of protecting these values against their enemies is the common calling of freedom-loving people across the globe and across the ages. (www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf, introduction cover letter)

In stressing the victory of liberty over totalitarianism and the concept that peoples everywhere want to live in freedom, the Bush Doctrine represents a very specific interpretation of the realities of international politics in the post-cold-war, singular-superpower world. The interpretation of global politics represented in the Bush Doctrine emphasizes U.S. liberal/democratic principles, use of extraordinary power, and desire to foster and encourage global economic security.

Although it could be argued that the Bush Doctrine continues an uniquely American exceptional tradition that can be traced to the Truman Doctrine and even further back to the Monroe Doctrine where the United States exercised security strategies to ensure the perpetuation of an environment conducive to American democratic principles, it is beyond the scope of this text to explicate that connection. The connection of the Bush Doctrine to the Truman and Monroe Doctrines is an interesting project for the future. What is important for this text is the fact that the Bush Doctrine, as a response to a massive crisis of conscience and ideology, calls forth the use of "good and bad" that had been staples of the past 30 years of presidential rhetoric regarding terrorism.

The use of "good and bad" terminology is revealed in the third paragraph of the Bush Doctrine's introduction where is it clearly stated that "shadowy networks of individuals can bring great chaos and suffering to our shores for less than it costs

to purchase a single tank. Terrorists are organized to penetrate open societies and to turn the power of modern technologies against us (www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss. pdf, introduction cover letter)." Defending peace and freedom in the face of "bad" or "evil" entities as articulated in the Bush Doctrine continued the hallmark of the U.S. role in the twentieth century as it focused on the inherent terror and fear in terrorism. As the defenders of peace and freedom, and as the main source of liberty, democracy, and virtue, the United States under the Bush administration was able to set forth an ideal that legitimized the comprehensive, unyielding, and total use of every tool in the U.S. arsenal. The Bush Doctrine not only fortified the use of military power, economic power, intelligence capabilities, and homeland defense, but it did so in a way that attempted to elevate the power of the state and make its decisions beyond reproach. Whatever the virtuous state deems suitable to maintain and spread freedom and democracy is acceptable within the confines of statist production.

In the virtue of spreading democracy, liberty, and security to all regions of the world, the Bush Doctrine, separated into nine subsections – Overview of America's International Strategy, Champion Aspirations for Human Dignity, Strengthen Alliances to Defeat Global Terrorism and Work to Prevent Attacks Against US and Our Friends, Work with Others to Defuse Regional Conflicts, Prevent Our Enemies from Threatening Us, Our Allies, and Our Friends with Weapons of Mass Destruction, Ignite a New Era of Global Economic Growth through Free Markets and Free Trade, Expand the Circle of Development by Opening Societies and Building the Infrastructure of Democracy, Develop Agendas for Cooperative Action with Other Main Center of Global Power, and Transform America's National Security Institutions to Meet the Challenges and Opportunities of the Twenty-First Century – is able to construct a site where the use of extraordinary power and control is manifested through the employment of preemptive incursions as a form of self-defense, the will to pursue assertive unilateral military action if necessary, and a belief that "it is time to reaffirm the essential role of American military strength. We must build and maintain our defenses beyond challenge (www.whitehouse.gov/ nsc/nss.pdf, page 29). For the U.S. state, the site at which extraordinary power and control are manifested is based on the following perceived realties: that the power contained in U.S. military and economic primacy is unchallenged and unwavering; that threats in the contemporary period are no longer based in statist formations and come from "shadowy" figures and elements whose main goal is the destruction of freedom, liberty, and democracy; and that all peoples want to partake in the democracy and freedom which also hold the American model as the prime objective. In order to ensure the world is made ripe for Pax Americana and justifies military strength and power as a mechanism to "assure our allies and friends; dissuade future military competition; deter threats against U.S. interests, allies, and friends; and decisively defeat any adversary if deterrence fails" (www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss. pdf, page 29). Pax Americana becomes the rallying cry to ensure that all perceived realities and threats are acted upon to ensure that the friend/foe, us/them, inside/outside relationship is maintained and reinforced.

The totality of U.S. interests, ideologies, responsibilities, realities, and threats witness the mobilization of power to support active and expansive strategic interests and dominance in a willingness to employ military force. Within this contextualized

reality, Pax Americana fabricates calculations of global power relationships and threats. Imminent threats are utilized to focus the citizenry's gaze on statist realities in order to preserve U.S. supremacy. In the preservation of U.S. supremacy, the Bush Doctrine can hail "you are either with us or against us."

Chapter 4

Once They Were Human

Examining terrorism from the vantage point of the post-September 11 world – a world in which the discussion about terrorism is filtered along pre-determined lines formed through national security discourse – one consistently encounters the implementation and maintenance of American cultural and political hegemony. From this vantage point, it is clear that American hegemony is colored by, and advances through, the conflation of terrorism and ideology. An imagined state of relevance has been constructed about terrorism's relation to the state and the state's relation to a world in which it must fight to maintain its hegemony.[1] In examining terrorism as an imagined state of relevance, one is able to investigate the power structure in control of U.S. foreign policy and unpack the effects of the United States' exercise of power. One can then witness the state's desire to construct and surrender to this constructed relevance.

The re-articulation of American cultural hegemony facilitates the creation of imagined states of relevance through practices including policies, media, and films. An example of the re-articulation of American cultural hegemony can be seen in Boeing Corporation's advertising. Two commercials, aired domestically in March 2004 on CNN, proclaim the "privilege" of Boeing to defend the freedoms we (the citizenry) love and the "mission" Boeing has to protect our way of life (see appendix A). The text and images applied in the commercials enact a series of hegemonic ideas that repeatedly articulate the United States as the defender of freedom, the light of the world, the exceptional. As noted by Said (1983), one witnesses that American hegemony is:

> adding to itself the prerogatives given by its sense of national identity, its power as an implement, ally, or branch of the state, in its rightness, its exterior forms, and assertions of itself, and most importantly, by its vindicated power as a victor over everything not itself. (Said, 1983: 14).

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1   What is interesting here is that the American hegemonic state consistently attempts to exercise its authority and spoils of "winning" the cold war as the only remaining military superpower. The problematic for American hegemony is that the global environment does not support a uni-polar, hegemonic power. As a result, as the United States attempts to exercise its authority it is consistently faced with the "reality" of a multi-polar world, where there exists economic, political, environmental, and religious diversity. In response to this diversity the United States searches for ways in which a variety of issues can be controlled and manipulated for the survival American hegemony. Terrorism is one node in this inter-networked nodal system. Terrorism is made a tool of the state as it is presented as the ultimate threat to the state's security.

National security discourse, as seen in these Boeing ads, is employed to validate the use of military power to achieve victory over the other. Such validation reifies the state based on the real and the imagined. American hegemony uses national security discourse, including the violence of terrorism, as a site of statecraft. This guarantees that selected meanings, ideas, narratives, histories, and images are solidified in such a way that the collective self demonizes everything that is not itself. This creates a mapping of the other that results in the silencing of that other. Borrowing from Žižek (1989), in the mapping of the other, national security discourse ensures that:

> the multitude of 'floating signifiers', of proto-ideological elements, is structured into a unified field through the intervention of a certain 'nodal point' (the Lacanian *point de caption*) which 'quilts' them, stops their sliding, and fixes their meaning. (Žižek, 1989: 87–8)

The state invokes practices and policies to ensure that the imagined terrorist becomes a nodal point in the process of identifying the other. The concept of terrorism as a nodal point intersects a variety of security issues in the forming of national security interests. It is in this intersection that an anti-drug television campaign can make a link to terrorism to encourage individuals to stop using drugs.[2] Drugs, immigration, fear, and violence, to name a few, are all issues that are managed under the rubric of national security. These issues are constructed as sites of statecraft with terrorism utilized as the link to national security. Such a conceptualization expands the state's discourse of terrorism by solidifying the state (self) and the terrorist (other). The identity of the self and the other, especially in regards to national security and terrorism, becomes a

> process of creating a highly selective, reshaped, or completely fabricated record of memories of the past….It is a valuable mechanism of control, since it effectively blocks any understanding of what is happening in the world. (Chomsky, 1987: 124)

Here, the self is fortified whilst the other is silenced and relegated to a place that carries importance only for the maintenance of the self.

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2   The US government's Office of National Drug Control Policy sponsored the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign (NYADMC), as part of the "war on drugs" efforts. During the 2002 Superbowl, the (NYADMC) launched an ad campaign that explicitly linked the "war on drugs" to the new "war on terrorism."

The two ads are entitled *I Helped* and *AK47*. The *I Helped* commercial features American teenagers making claims about their culpability in murdering Colombian families, kidnapping people, blowing up buildings, and ends with the statement, "drug money supports terror. If you buy drugs, you might too." The *AK47* commercial features the camera following a faceless man who buys several items, including a box cutter, that could be used in a terrorist attack. This commercial ends with the statement, "where do terrorists get their money? If you buy drugs, some of it might come from you."

The linking of the "war on drugs" with the "war on terrorism" intensifies the effects of drugs on the state's security while at the same time makes terrorism a commonplace phenomenon that is then easily associated with all pejorative forms of society.

The problem of terrorism for the state is that sometimes terrorism attempts to give voice to that which must remain silent – struggles for independence, insurrectional movements that challenge hegemonic statist authority, and movements that attempt to reveal marginalized and disenfranchised peoples' discontent. Terrorists are made to be representatives of marginalized, suspicious, sinister elements external to the state. This projection is based on a perception of the state as the only "legitimate" entity to express desires and control. The state also assumes the role as the only legitimate site that can be violent. In this sense, terrorists are the

> shadowy existence of those who are condemned to lead a spectral life outside the domain of the global order, blurred in the background, unmentionable, submerged in the formless mass…this shadowy existence is the very site of political universality…asserted when such an agent with no proper place, 'out of joint', posits itself as the direct embodiment of universality against all those who do have a place within the global order. (Žižek in Butler, 2000: 313)

To counter terrorism's potentially representative and transformative nature, the act and the actor are taken out of an unfamiliar context – the context of struggles for independence, struggles against oppressive regimes – and made a familiar function of the state which can be controlled and managed. As terrorism is brought under the control of the state, specific attributes are attached – war, terror, and crime (WTC) – to establish the structure for identifying the self/other. The other in this structure will always be an illegitimate, even illegal actor, which reduces the potentially representative and transformative nature of terrorism in the sight of the state. Terrorists are simply made violent/uncivilized criminals in the view of the state.

Crime signifiers are important to this construction because crime is regulated, constituted, defined, and constructed within the realm of the state. As a result, the state appears to have control over the criminal subject – terrorist – and asserts its authority and power over it. The extension of this is that terrorists are now considered "unlawful enemy combatants" who have no rights under international treaties or conventions.[3] Terrorists, as unlawful combatants, are viewed as outside the laws and rights of the statist system. The state constructs the laws and sets forth moral grounds through the lens that constitutes crime as the antecedent to state legitimacy and existence. Within this construction of crime as the antecedent, however, crime is reincorporated within the state's framework. The problem for the state is that control over the network and framework of terrorism is substantially different from the state's control over domestic crime. It is for this reason that terrorists are continually portrayed as outside the rights and privileges of the law. Terrorists, therefore, are political enemies excluded from the political arena, while at the same time made subject to the rules and regulations of the same political arena.[4]

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3   In this way, struggles for independence, insurrectional movements that challenge hegemonic statist authority, and movements that attempt to reveal marginalized and disenfranchised peoples discontent are delegitimized when they are conjured and defined within the realm of terrorism.

4   This can be seen in Giorgio Agamben's (1998) concept of the dialectic of the inclusion and exclusion which can also be seen as an expansion of Foucault's idea of reintegration. In

The state finds it problematic to define, control, and constitute the realm where terrorism operates. National security discourse is employed to bring to terrorism some semblance of being subject to the internal mechanisms of the state. In doing so, the state attempts to render terrorism as a controllable phenomenon. Terrorism becomes an object of the liberal-democratic state that possesses the condition of possibility – the possible destruction of the state system by the potential challenges terrorism possesses.[5] The existence of a condition of possibility depends on terrorism being conceived by the state as an object that must be managed based on the malleability and possibility of its description in its challenges to the state. Terrorism's challenge to the state is converted by the liberal democratic state into sites for strengthening the control and legitimacy of the state. Posited in the simplest way, terrorism is made a nodal object for the state in which thoughts, feelings, emotions, gazes, and perceptions about terrorism can be articulated by the state.

The condition of possibility in terrorism as an object for the state also solidifies the terrorist's role as a subject. As a subject for the state, terrorists are re-inscribed as entities that affirm the existence of the state.[6] It is imperative to understand, however,

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this sense, terrorists are under the "spell of the law" as they are subject to the laws of the state (international law) and thus *included* within its framework while at the same time they are unable to use the law to vocalize despair or enact change and thus *excluded* from the law.

5   What is meant here by *conditions of possibility* is not only that terrorism is the result of a variety of socio-historical events that make it possible for terrorism to exist. More importantly, the *conditions of possibility* are used to focus on the fact that terrorism for the state constitutes a site where there is a perceived challenge to the state. If terrorism is allowed to continue, it will become the prerequisite on which other action will be based as a challenge to the state. In this view, terrorism conditions an environment in which other challenges to state's legitimacy could be based and thus possible.

6   This re-inscription of terrorists as entities that affirm the existence of the state is seen in the creation of the "us"/"them" dichotomy that informs the identity and "reality" of the state as it informs the identity and "reality" of the terrorist other that exists outside the realm of decency and statist functions. The rhetoric of George W. Bush's administration surrounding the "war" on terrorism and Iraq's ascendancy as a main component in the proliferation of international terrorism is a prime example of how the state has constructed a specific entity as relevant to its survival under the auspices of terrorism and terrorism's potential challenge to the survival of the state. On 19 April 2004, the Whitehouse released a report to commemorate the 100 days of progress in Iraq entitled, *Results In Iraq: 100 Days Toward Security and Freedom*. This report was broken down into ten subsections, each touting ten successes or reasons for the United States' involvement in Iraq. Of most interest to this text is the subsection entitled, *10 Ways the Liberation of Iraq Supports the War on Terror*. The following is a sample of five of the ten reasons. One will notice how Iraq and terrorism are constructed in a precise manner as to legitimize the state's perception of terrorism and those who allegedly support it:

1) With the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime, Iraq is no longer a state sponsor of terror. According to State Department reports on terrorism, before the removal of Saddam's regime, Iraq was one of seven state sponsors of terror. 2) Saddam Hussein's regime posed a threat to the security of the United States and the world. With the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime, a leader who pursued, used, and possessed weapons of mass destruction is no longer in power. 4) A senior al Qaida terrorist, now detained, who had been responsible for al Qaida training camps in Afghanistan, reports that al Qaida was intent on obtaining WMD assistance from

that terrorists are made the subject of the state in a manner that is never fully constituted, never fully stable. In other words, terrorists are never fully identified as having consistency and exact characteristics that make them an already constituted subject with already fixed attributes. As a result, the state is consistently able to apply whatever attributes to terrorists it deems necessary. The lack of a constituted subject ensures that terrorists never gain plural identities which can be defined as autonomous subjects. The terrorist's identity as the "other" is thereby guaranteed to remain singular at a given moment – an externally fixed singular identity that the state in turn controls and manages in order to solidify the state's role in the maintenance of security. If terrorism was allowed to fully constitute itself, the state could not appropriate, manipulate, and control its meanings and effects. This does not mean that a variety of meanings cannot be fixed to the terrorist other. On the contrary, the lack of a fully constituted identity permits fixing of a variety of meanings by the state as differing situations arise. The meanings applied further strengthen the state and ensure its survival in the face of terrorism.

In the object/subject dynamic of terrorism, terrorism is transformed from a political process with the attributes of historicity and textuality, into an apolitical monstrosity that has no credibility or legitimacy. This apolitical construct lacks any possibility of "explanation or mitigating circumstance" and is "isolated as well from representations of most other dysfunctions, symptoms and maladies of the contemporary world" (Said, 1988: 47).

The state ensures that this apolitical monstrosity is maintained by constructing the idea of terrorism that supports the state. As a result, by 1980, terrorism had become, at least for many in the United States, a "fully formed object of more or less revealed wisdom" (Said, 1986: 831). In order to fully explore the role terrorism plays in the creation of the object/subject dyad for the state, this chapter will review how the state produces its legitimacy through constructing the act and the actor, terrorism and terrorist, object and subject.

Authority and Legitimacy

As stated in the introduction, this text's goal is to reveal how the concept of terrorism is controlled and managed through its appropriation in national security discourse to enhance the mobilization of state power. One of the main arguments of this text is that this appropriation legitimizes the state. This chapter explores how the

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Iraq. According to a credible, high-level al Qaida source, Usama Bin Laden and deceased al Qaida leader Muhammad Atif did not believe that al Qaida labs in Afghanistan were capable of manufacturing chemical and biological weapons, so they turned to Iraq for assistance. 7) The al Qaida affiliate Ansar al-Islam is known to still be present in Iraq. Such terrorist groups are now plotting against U.S. forces in Iraq. 10) Saddam Hussein's Iraq provided material assistance to Palestinian terrorist groups, including the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, HAMAS, and the Palestine Islamic Jihad, according to a State Department report. (www.whitehouse.gov, 4/19/04).

consequent authority of the state relies on a particular truth-value[7] based on national memory and historical narratives. These memories and historical narratives are articulated in specific practices of the state. Terrorism possesses a duality that at once strengthens state legitimacy and challenges its infallibility. Terrorism's meanings, uses, and effects are instrumental to movements that attempt to give voice to that which is marginalized and often silenced. However, terrorism is also instrumental for the state as a tool to call forth its own power as it confronts terrorism's threat. The execution of laws and justice, in response to terrorism, are the practices of a state's self-legitimating agenda.

Here, the authority of a state is validated by the international community based on a shared understanding of statist formations. In international relations, power and authority are maintained as the sole enterprise of the state. Power and authority are the *raison d'être* that justifies all means in the pursuit of ends that strengthen the power and privilege of the state. Violence is just one tool, and an accepted necessity, of state practices. The power and authority of the state justifies violence as long as it is used for the maintenance of state legitimacy.

State legitimacy is not established on a basis of human virtue with innate authority over lesser beings. The power regime, in order to maintain the stability of the state, sets aside ethical concerns of justice. Instead of acting in accordance with the dictates of justice, law, or ethics, the power regime will do whatever is necessary to preserve its own power and authority, which indirectly preserves the order of the state. As a result, there exists an inherent problematic within the current conceptualization of the state, especially in relation to the exercise of violence. This problematic for the state is epitomized in how the United States engages in a "war on terrorism" to preserve the state's conception of justice and freedom. This in turn is viewed as a process that strengthens the state by preserving its conceptualization of justice and freedom.

The current state system relies on an appearance of legitimacy that gains its authority from precise practices based on justice, laws, and ethics. Violence employed by the state must be shown to be based on the same justice, laws, and ethics the state claims to follow in order for its legitimacy to cohere. The virtuous state exercises virtuous violence in pursuits of justice and law. But violence and terror deployed by those deemed as terrorists are constructed as unjust and lacking a righteous realm, thus becoming both a challenge to the state and a consolidator of the state's legitimacy.

Martha Crenshaw proclaims, "on balance, terrorism assists in the demise of regimes already distressed" (1983: 8). The fear inherent in such thought is that terrorism produces challenges to the story of the power regime and exerts immense stress on statist systems. This distress is in response to the revelation that violence and terror no longer solely belong to the domain of the state. Hence, terrorism challenges the state by revealing that states no longer have a monopoly on violence.

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7   What is meant here by truth-value is that the state attempts to present an idea as absolute and always true. However, claims are rarely "true" and thus always subject to indeterminacies of meaning and may be definitely correct or definitely incorrect only in some situations.

If violence can be deployed in an effective manner to produce fear within the state, then the power structure is malleable and can be changed. This fear, as Benjamin Barber suggests, "is terrorism's only weapon, but fear is a far more potent weapon against those who live in hope and prosperity than those who live in despair with nothing to lose" (2003: 21). Barber conjures the metaphor that the fear produced by terrorism is a "contagion" that infects the body of the state. Once the body of the state is infected, its immune system takes over calling into question the security of its body and enacting provisions that in turn limit its own legitimacy. The existence of terrorism raises questions as to the power, control, and authority of the state. The questions raised by terrorism are:

> Can the United States really remedy the pathologies of a global interdependence it helped create, and which has eroded the sovereignty on which it depends, by deploying the traditional strategies of the state – above all, overweening military power in the supposedly innovative form of preventive war? Can old regimes born in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contend with the globalized malevolence they have inadvertently helped create – without first creating benevolent forms of interdependence that replace global disorder with lawful order? Can international governance come about through the anarchic process of markets and war? Can fear defeat fear? Can a politics of nation-states (America vs. Iraq, South Korea vs. North Korea, Palestine vs. Israel) contend with a world comprised more and more by a wide variety of nonstate actors (al-Qaeda, Shell, Greenpeace, OPEC, Bertelsmann, Hezbollah)? (Barber, 2003: 57)

Although these questions posed by Barber are provocative in nature, there is concern that underlying the formation of these questions is a reliance on traditional understandings of the state.[8] The state is perceived as the sole source of popular governance possessing the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. Questions such as these call attention to the potential problems of the state in the current global environment. This global environment is wrought with non-state actors that challenge the authority of the state. These questions also entertain the possibility that the state, in the face of fear, can still maintain and control legitimizing practices over violence and terror.

Raising questions of terrorism's potentiality reveals how the state manages terrorism to combat fear and violence. In this way, terrorism is transformed from a challenge to the legitimacy of the state and, in its appeared challenge, in fact, becomes a supporter to the power regime and legitimator of the state it is challenging. This idea is revealed in Hannah Arendt's (1970) discussion of the contest of violence whereby

> the contest of violence against violence the superiority of the government has always been absolute; but this superiority lasts only as long as the power structure of the government is intact – that is, as long as commands are obeyed….Everything depends on the power behind violence" (Arendt, 1970: 48).

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8 Although these questions may appear to challenge the state, the formation of the questions reify the state and address the state within its own realm. As a result, these questions solidify the existence of the state by the very virtue of their reification of the state as the sole authority to address and combat terrorism.

Protecting the authority and legitimacy of the state is a rationale that facilitates violence against terror and manages the effects of terrorism for its own benefit. In order for terrorism to effect real change, the power structure would have to be shown to be powerless, or at the very least, losing its power/legitimacy. Terrorism only succeeds if it shows the "sudden dramatic breakdown of power that usher[s] in revolutions" and reveals "how civil disobedience – to laws, to ruler, to institutions – is but the outward manifestation of support and consent" (Arendt, 1970: 49). Terrorism is presented by the state as a credible threat to the security of the citizenry. The threat to the citizenry nullifies any possible support for the goals of terrorism. The fear produced by terrorism and its manipulation by the state is presented in such a way that enhances the desire for security and thus the desire for a legitimate authority over the deployment of violence.

The state justifies its legitimate use and control of force by creating a moral high ground that convinces the citizenry of its righteousness in the face of terror. States manage their authority in relation to other states as a mirrored reflection of their own individual authority, control, and legitimacy. In a Bodinian (1992) way, states have sovereignty over territory (people and property) by virtue of possessing the undisputed right to make laws and enforce them within their own territories while supporting the legality of other states to do the same. The state does not exist without the plurality of the international arena. The state finds its identity and legitimacy in relation and opposition to other states.

In this vein, states use terrorism to strengthen their identity and legitimacy in relation and opposition to terrorism's violence. In a global, interconnected world, even non-state actors such as terrorists can be given the role of the oppositional state by virtue of ascribed illegitimacy. The danger for states in this process of identity formation is that they run the risk of creating an environment through which terrorism, in an inverse way, becomes legitimized as a process of the state. The state views terrorism as

> a phenomenon, in this particular context, only insofar as it is a socially constructed concept identifying anti-establishment political violence. The directed use of political violence against the state, be it left or right, is called terrorist because it uses violence that is not legitimately sanctioned within the framework of the Weberian "monopoly" on the use of force, be it within a unitary state or within the incorporated state system itself. Terrorism is a system-wide challenge to power, in addition to being a specific and directed challenge to a particular governing structure or government. (Gold-Biss, 1994: 39)

Given the intense focus of the state on the legitimate use and control of power, knowledge, and force, terrorism is viewed as a direct assault, a direct confrontation to existing states' authority. The challenge of terrorism is constructed as a legitimate threat that enables practices of the state to manage the use and deployment of righteous violence.

It has been argued, most notably by Martha Crenshaw (1983), that terrorists are not interested in delegitimizing the state, since those who pursue revolutionary terrorism are in fact looking to inherit the reigns of power within the legitimized apparatus of the state. The problem here lies in the fact that current forms of terrorism are not pursuing revolutionary terror but are rather looking to reveal the inherent weakness

of the state in the performance of statist functions. In response to terrorism's aim at the power regime, the discourse of national security is mobilized by the state to counter any claim of illegitimacy on its part and to cloak contradictions revealed by the challenge. National security discourse is utilized as a tool to appropriate terrorism through a discussion of legitimate and illegitimate forms of violence. National security discourse becomes the vehicle for a moral and legal *tour de force* against terrorism.

Violence is inherent within the state and as a result is familiar to the constructs of the state. In its familiarity, the state recognizes the violence that terrorism possesses. The more familiar the violence of terrorism becomes, the more unfamiliar it is made for the citizenry by the state. The disconnect for the state is that it will not address the violence of terrorism as something that is innate within its own structure. The state in turn views terrorism's violence as being the complete antithesis of the state's violence with no legitimacy or viability in the international arena.

What is meant by the familiarity of violence to the state is that the state perceives itself as being the sole source in the legitimation of violence. States have declared wars, participated in civil unrest, promoted guerrilla warfare, and fostered the destruction of other state societies. All of these acts of violence have been perpetrated in the name of legal rights in defense over state's security and viability. In terrorism's enactment of violence, the state recognizes the violence as familiar but the structure around the violence is not state induced and thus unfamiliar/illegitimate. The unfamiliarity is increased when the state must confront the "victimization" of its own community. National security's appropriation of terrorism is performed in such a way that it reveals the familiar/unfamiliar dichotomy. State hegemony is made to produce and control the symbols, practices, and artifacts of statecraft so that the citizenry will see that the state "exists" at the moment when it appears most weakened and threatened. As terrorism is constituted as an imagined state of relevance, so too is the state. The relevance here is that the state is projected as the only apparatus able to manage and respond to the fear produced in terrorism. Or so it is perceived by the citizenry.

The imagined state of relevance for the state is the result of a banality of virtue[9] inherent within the confines of its legitimizing practices. Here, I am referring to the fact that virtue[10] can assume a domain of positive, negative, and even non-effects. It is the premise of this text that the state, in attempting to maintain its "traditional" identity, consistently attempts to maintain a truth-value of the power regime – a regime built on virtuous terror. The concepts of virtuous terror, virtuous war, and virtuous justice play out within national security discourse (Der Derian, 2001). The

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9   This plays on Hannah Arendt's the *Banality of Evil* in which the thesis was that people who carry out unspeakable crimes might not be crazy fanatics, but rather ordinary individuals who simply accept the premises of their state and participate in any ongoing enterprise with the energy of good bureaucrats. It is the normalizing of the unthinkable whereby terrible acts are done in an organized and systematic way. All evil acts became routine and acceptable. Evil is just part of the statist machinery.

10 Virtue here is used to express the condition of exceptionality that the United States purports to have a monopoly over. The moral code expressed in the term virtue is often difficult to possess and in this difficulty lies in the banality of virtue. Virtue is "bastardized" in the state's attempt to control the framework of morality and thus virtue.

state uses the concept of virtuous terror to bring about "infinite justice" and "enduring freedom."[11] In the rush to exercise virtuous, legitimate authority and terror the state creates an environment where only rhetoric flourishes – a true space of negative and non-effect. For example, the U.S.' immediate responses to the September 11th attacks were the mobilization of all its power effects (military and media), committing them to an uncertain future in the name of justice (virtue). Arundhati Roy, in *The Guardian Saturday Review* on 29 September 2001, echoes the idea of the banality of virtue when she states:

> the trouble is that once America goes off to war, it can't very well return without having fought one. If it doesn't find its enemy, for the sake of the enraged folks back home, it will have to manufacture one. Once war begins, it will develop a momentum, a logic and a justification of its own, and we'll lose sight of why it's being fought in the first place. What we're witnessing here is the spectacle of the world's most powerful country reaching reflexively, angrily, for an old instinct to fight a new kind of war. (Guardian, 29 September 2001)

The banality of virtue reveals the danger that employment of virtue subsumes. It is witnessed here in the idea that once the war on terrorism is engaged, based on the virtuous state's right to defend itself, an enemy will be manufactured. War "will develop a momentum [and] a logic and a justification of its own, and we'll lose sight of why it's being fought in the first place" (*Guardian Saturday Review* 29 September 2001).

In the state's presentation, terrorism's employment of unexpected murderous acts, combined with its bloody history, does not fit within the virtue-terror model of the current state system.[12] The violence and terror deployed by the state are made to appear in drastic contrast with the violence and terror of terrorists. In this contrast, the state attempts to maintain itself as the sole purveyor of virtue despite the fact that the virtue it attempts to maintain has become a pastiche, an unoriginal copy of a once dominant theme in state foundation. The state still perceives all of its actions as being part of its inherent decency. In the deployment of this virtue it is perceived as being part of the daily functioning of the liberal democratic state. In this way the state does not think it is doing anything extraordinary.[13] Instead all that the state perceives it is doing is enacting its "god-given" right, its exceptional responsibility to bring justice and virtue to the rest of the world.

Because of this common enactment of the state, the possibility and potentiality of the banality of virtue denies all contrary action, language, and thought. It frames the usual and expected standards of virtue relying on the idea of exceptionalism and the

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11 Infinite Justice and Enduring Freedom were the names given to United States' first responses to the terrorist's attacks on 11 September 2001.

12 The idea of the virtue-terror model of state system is based on the works of Robespierre, Hobbes, Bodin, and Montesquieu, which stress that a sovereign has the right to rule through the victor's rights garnered from just wars.

13 Here the danger of virtue becomes apparent and the movement into the banality of virtue takes hold. The state consistently imagines its employment of virtue to be within its domain as a legitimate state.

ideological convictions of the just that motivates righteous action. Thus, the banality of virtue becomes the means in and through which national security discourse sets parameters for the violation of virtue[14] while maintaining the existence of an illegitimate, evil other that threatens the virtuous state.

Under the rubric of the banality of virtue, virtue is only to be constructed within the parameters set forth by the state. Therefore, the state can conduct violence in the name of virtue and justice. Violence and justice, in the confines of virtue, are moral traits of a virtuous state. State's actions are based on conformity to the standard of right that utilizes a particular moral excellence and brings forth specific ideas of valor and merit. In the banality of virtue there exist "just wars," invasions are classified as humanitarian efforts, lies are left un-reprimanded, potential violence becomes the hallmark for a preemptive war, and simple games become the training ground for terrorists. On 4 March 2004, three American Muslims, alleged to be part of the "Virginia *jihad* network," were found guilty of conspiring to support terrorism. Allegedly, this group underwent paramilitary training in 2000 and 2001 in hopes of joining the Taliban. The alleged training was based on these individuals participating in paint-ball. Attorney General John Ashcroft weighed in on the verdict by Judge Leonie Brinkema and stated,

> these convictions are a stark reminder that terrorist organizations are active in the United States….We will not allow terrorist groups to exploit America's freedoms for their murderous goals. We will not stand by as United States citizens support terrorist causes. (http://www.usdoj.gov/dag/testimony/2004/03232004dagstatementombbudgetcomfinal. htm)

Here, a moral reinvention by the state took place, vilifying a simple game, paintball. Within this scenario, the possibilities and potentiality governed by the state could result in preemptive arrest for reckless endangerment because one achieved a high score on *Grand Theft Auto*, paying income taxes on *Monopoly* winnings, or being sued for malpractice because the side of the body was touched while playing *Operation*. This may sound absurd and that is exactly the point. The banality of virtue constitutes a space where the existence of possibility creates an environment that denies actions, language, and thought in the framing of the state's conformity to virtue. The banality of virtue also constitutes a space in and through which the absurd becomes possible and worse yet, credible and normal.

The banality of virtue necessitates the constant production and reproduction of signs. This is especially true in the ways political speech is constructed, the evidence of the manipulations of ideology and concepts, the decline of language, and the constant articulation and re-articulation of historical narratives, imaginations, and memories are produced and reproduced for the welfare and sustainability of the state.

In and through the legitimizing practices of the virtuous state, myth and heroism are joined and rarefied. In the convergence of myth and heroism, the world is

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14 The violation of virtue here is the very fact that in the fevered move to ensure legitimacy, authority, and control of the virtuous state, the state can actually pursue illegitimate means in the perceived defense of itself.

presented as a series of symbols capable of endlessly transferring and multiplying the significance of not only objects, but of whole categories. Thus, the virtuous/non-virtuous distinction, coupled with a critique of the failure of the enlightenment – the myth of the unitary subject; abstract universality; quest for the ultimate foundations of rationality; and essentialist conception of the social totality – creates a system wherein the foundations of liberal democracy are questioned as to their constitutive structures. The meanings and practices of the state are constituted "truths" based on manipulated realities.

> If totalization no longer has any meaning, it is not because the infiniteness of a field cannot be covered by a finite glance or a finite discourse, but because the nature of the field – that is, language and finite language – excludes totalization. This field is in effect that of play, that is to say, a field of infinite substitutions only because it is finite, that is to say, because instead of being an inexhaustible field, as in the classical hypothesis, instead of being too large, there is something missing from it: a center which arrests and grounds the play of substitutions. (Derrida, 1978: 279)

The "field of infinite substitutions" affords the banality of virtue space for its performance. The state confronts terrorism in and through a lens focused by the concepts of myth and heroism. In this confrontation, certain practices and procedures are mobilized in order to articulate the challenge or threat to the power structure. The myth of the exceptional state becomes the encoded history of the state that produces historical narratives, imaginations, and memory that is used to enhance state legitimacy.

This myth of the exceptional state is articulated in President George W. Bush's comments on 18 September 2001, that proclaimed, "this crusade, this war on terrorism is going to take awhile" (http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html), which claimed and fore grounded the historical narrative of America's Christian roots. All sins conducted in the name of god – murder, pillage, rape – were forgiven for the knights who went to fight in the crusades. By re-invoking the historical narrative of crusade, all statist sins – such as pre-emptive war, maltreatment of enemy non-combatants, killing of innocent civilians when surgical strikes go awry – are forgiven in the maintenance of the exceptional state. In addition, President Bush's comments on 17 September 2001, that he wanted "justice and there's an old poster out West, as I recall, that says, 'Wanted: Dead or Alive'" (http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-3.html), played on the American cultural imagination of the western film genre that held the triumph of good over evil.

The reliance on myth and historical narratives frames not only the past and the current environment of the state, but also frames the future by developing a space, through time, that permits the reoccurrence of core elements that constitute the state – narratives, imaginations, and memory. In this space, the state is able to manage the citizenry and is the only legitimate actor in the reformation of collective/political desire and will (Sorel, 1950).

As the state reforms the desire and will of its public, the hero is employed as the consummate actor who supports the state's virtuous role. The hero need not be an individual, but can be an ideology, a specific history, or a myth that is fabricated

and replicated by the establishment of rituals that maintain the steady murmur of memory. For the United States, the steady murmur of memory is the constant articulation and re-articulation of American "truth and justice" for the rest of the world to follow. The production of myths and heroism is one way in which the threat to virtue is articulated. This production mobilizes public discourse to follow suit with the desires and will of the power structure.

Myths and heroes reinvigorate, keep current, and make vital whatever the event or incident being remembered. The continued memorialization of 9/11 – five anniversaries now – keeps the horror of the attacks current within the minds of the citizenry. Myths and heroes give voice to a memory that is maintained by the state as a present and critical aspect of virtuous civic life. Myths and heroes also maintain the legitimacy of the state, especially when the state's legitimacy is confronted and challenged by tragedy or violence. The point here is that the state utilizes the potential of myth to make the historical event continually real. In this sense, myths are constituted to employ a heroic structure.[15] In the banality of virtue, wielded by the state, memory is no longer just memory but is rather transformed into a rallying cry for action that is never allowed to retreat to the realm of memory and maintains the evil, uncivilized other.[16]

The Act

As the state constructs the terrorist other, it is imperative that the act of terrorism is brought under the state's conceptual framework. Bringing terrorism under the gaze of the state makes terrorism's unfamiliarity controllable within the confines of what is familiar. The state represents terrorism as the unfamiliar other as it pushes forward the familiarity of its own legitimate use of violence and force. The act of terrorism is constructed as "a symbolic act designed to influence political behavior by extra normal means entailing the use or threat of violence" (Freedman and Alexander, 1983: 169). In constructing terrorism's semiotics the state lessens the possibility for

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15 Within the heroic structure the hero always does the right thing. The hero is given the opportunity to act based on the day-to-day drama that provides the hero a dilemma to response justly. The state takes the dilemmas of the international community and attempts to act in a virtuous and just manner, or so it perceives to act in that manner.

16 The work of Baudrillard, Deleuze and Guattari, and Jameson inform this text's understanding of how myth and heroes work in the production of statist identity. Particularly the concept of myth can be extrapolated from their work on the simulacrum. Here, the simulacrum has the potential to replace the "real." What becomes interesting is that the simulacrum can be seen as a process that produces the real. Or, said another way, the simulacrum has the power to produce a greater real (a more-than-real) on the foundation of the original. The simulacrum "carries the real beyond its principle to the point where it is effectively produced" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983: 87). Myth and hero as a simulacrum is developed out of the "normal" world that appears to contain stable identities within a specific territory. The power of the myth is that as a simulacrum it is rarely challenged as being a copy and is rarely forced to be a true copy. As a result, the myth or hero created by the state is rarely subjected to reconsideration and re-representation. It is only in the subjugation of a myth or hero to reconsideration and re-representation that the myth or hero can be deconstructed and debunked.

terrorists to legitimize their violence. The symbolic act creates a site where terrorism becomes subject to the security state's discourse through a convergence of state practices, media, ideologies, and historical imaginations that give "truth" to the act. A collective imagination and memory about the act become the foundation through which ideas about terrorism are evoked and manipulated.[17] Images of terrorists and terrorism are produced and re-produced, presented and re-presented. Terrorism is the contextualized subject in the sight (and gun sights) of the state. The external manifestations of terrorist's images are familiar and ingrained in the minds of individuals throughout the United States – fanatic masked gunmen, the embodiment of evil dark forces, insane individuals who kill innocent civilians, and collapsed buildings on human bodies mangled and bloody.

These acts and images have been played out in places where the United States has faced multiple attacks: the World Trade Center in 1993, the destruction of the Alfred P. Murrah Oklahoma Federal Office Building, bombing of U.S. embassies in Africa, bombing of the USS Cole, and ultimately the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. The attacks of 9/11 on American soil no doubt hold the most poignant images within our imagination of an act of terrorism against the United States as it brought to the forefront the contradiction of the exceptional state.

With the advent of the 1990s, specifically following the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center, terrorism needed to be addressed as a specific threat to U.S.' national security. In order to do this, terrorism had to be unlinked from terrorist activities in other countries and made "real" for the citizenry of the United States. Prior to the 1990s, terrorism loomed in other countries – *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (ETA) in Spain, Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland, *jihad* movements in Israel – while for the United States it was only some distant memory of the Munich Olympic massacre and the Iranian Hostage Crisis. This distant memory revealed itself on occasion and primarily affected U.S.' property or interests in other countries – mainly the countries of the Middle East. As a result, the United States needed to shape a discourse of the other in respect to the self. The identity of the terrorism/terrorist other is socially recognizable as it is "established in relation to a series of differences" (Connolly, 1991: 64).

The problem for the United States was how to establish differences that were socially recognizable. The answer lay in the use of national security discourse to bring forth terrorism as an imagined state of relevance. The discourse employed by presidents of the United States focused on the potentiality and possibility of terrorism as a threat to the state and the nation. The state established the "reality" of terrorism by basing it on the conditions of possibilities inherent within the terrorist

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17 The events immediately following the 11 September 2001 World Trade Center attacks speak volumes to this convergence. For five days immediately following the attacks, all major news networks and television stations were gripped with providing image after image of the attack and ensuing tragedy of lives lost in their collapse. The constant 24/7 news coverage ingrained in the public imagination/collective memory specific images – the collision into the World Trade Centers and Pentagon, people jumping off the World Trade Center to end their suffering, and hero creation of the 45 passengers and crew of the United Airlines flight 93 that crashed in Jernnerstown, Pennsylvania – that later were the foundation on which civil liberties were diminished in the name of national security with the passing of the PATRIOT Act.

other. Conditions of possibilities refer here to the very challenge that terrorism poses to the state. This challenge is in turn appropriated by the state as an object/subject to secure the state and enhance its legitimacy. In establishing this "reality," the state turns to the inherent fear produced through terrorism. Fear production – the main weapon of terrorism – is appropriated and reinvented by the state for its own use and production. Terrorism is not seen as a last attempt to voice the concerns of disadvantaged peoples. Instead it is made a threat to citizenry against which the state enacts precise practices to maintain the security of the state and the nation.[18] In a Nietzschean sense, the thought of potentiality and possibility "can shake and transform us; it is not merely sensations or particular expectations that do that! Note how effective the possibility of eternal damnation was!" (Nietzsche in Heidegger, 1984: 129).

Once articulated and elaborated, the potential threat and possible destruction of terrorism facilitates a site at which discourse can operate without specific time and space contingencies. Time and space contingencies become malleable in imagined states of relevance which are convergences of knowledges, power, histories, institutions, and agents that make up the realm of the putative reality. Security has become the primary realm of reality where the practices of statecraft are enacted.

The state constructs time and space in its own reality once it articulates and elaborates the potential threat and possible destruction inherent in terrorism/terrorists and the identity of terrorism/terrorists. An example of this manipulation of time and space contingencies is seen in how memories of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 became a referent for discussing the September 11th attacks. The Pearl Harbor referent point continued into the present when President George W. Bush stated on 7 December 2001,

> what happened at Pearl Harbor was the start of a long and terrible war for America. Yet, out of that surprise attack grew a steadfast resolve that made America freedom's defender. And that mission – our great calling – continues to this hour, as the brave men and women of our military fight the forces of terror in Afghanistan and around the world. (Bush, 2001: 1492).

The terror of Pearl Harbor was revived to remind the nation of its historical narratives as "Americans will never forget the murderous events of 11 September 2001. They are for us what Pearl Harbor was to an earlier generation of Americans" (www. whitehouse.gov).

Terrorism is articulated as a "real and credible" threat and is summarily appropriated by lifting it out of the historical conditions that produce terrorism. The state rewrites the history/genealogy of the actor. Time-space contingency is maneuvered as the state employs definitions that control the violence and representation of terrorism for its own end. Statist definitions contain pejorative descriptors assigned to terrorism

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18 President's George W. Bush's address to the nation on 24 May 2004, speaks to the way in which the concept of terrorism is made useful to precise practices of statecraft. In discussing the United States' plan for the transfer of sovereignty to an Iraqi government, President Bush consistently employed the concept of the war on terrorism to justify the war with Iraq and the occupation that ensued.

to ensure that terrorism is viewed as an illegitimate force threatening the state (definitions will be examined in chapter 5).

In addition, statist definitions construct lenses that represent terrorism as void of all historical justifications – historical justifications being a legitimizing force that reveals an event's genealogy. If historical justifications were fortified, one could see that acts of terrorism have been an effective weapon in revolutionary struggles of liberation despite the fact that revolutionary leaders have recognized the dangers of depending on acts of terrorism (Wilkinson, 2000).

Possibly the most poignant example of terrorism's effectiveness in revolutionary campaigns is the forced French withdrawal from Algeria. The National Liberation Front (FLN), through its various attacks on French colons in Algeria, eventually forced France to view Algeria as an economic, political, and security risk. With this realization, France initially increased military forces to curb "terrorist" violence against the colons, and then eventually withdrew as the colons became more aware of FLN's reasons for its struggle. FLN's struggle was victorious not only because of its seven and one-half years of fighting but also because its policy of terror created a strain in the French polity (Wolf, 1969). Although it has been argued that terrorism has now evolved from acts of national liberation into acts of unwarranted violence, future policies need to recognize that the causes of contemporary terrorism are still often rooted in injustice and inequality.

Terrorism as a revolutionary weapon depended on the power struggles within colonies that created an environment in which diplomatic solutions were difficult if not impossible, and where terrorists enjoyed wide spread support from ethnic groups within the country (Wilkinson, 2000). What becomes problematic for the liberal-democratic state is that terrorist organizations attempt to justify the act of terrorism along a variety of lines that promote ideas of justice to counter deep-rooted structural violence against the peoples of their country. These justifications include, but are not limited to, any means are justifiable if they are based on a value-rational foundation; violence employed against structural violence is an enabling process to shed the yoke of structural violence; and the idea that terrorists' acts are the lesser of the evils. These ideas are employed in an overwhelming sense of justified vengeance against the oppression and violence employed by the "masters" (Wilkinson, 2000).

Despite any validity these ideas may have, the state cannot reveal or give credence to historical narratives for terrorism if it is to use terrorism as justification for its survival/continued hegemony. Within the state, terrorism cannot shed itself of the pejorative stigma that its acts are in fact acts of spurious violence. In addition, historical justifications of terrorism as an effective and "just" weapon in national liberation struggles does not provide a site to address how terrorism plays itself out in an increasingly globalized world. The instrumental-rational foundations of past successes of terrorism do not work in the twenty-first century. Why then do groups continue to use terrorism? The answer lies in the fact that these groups use terrorism for the expressive nature and value of these acts. Terrorism is viewed by its perpetuators as able to express discontent with the current global situation in a relatively quick timeframe with maximum impact and media coverage. It is the short-term benefits of either publicity or creation of fear that propels groups to employ terrorism. What is it about terrorism that causes such shock, uncertainty, fear, and

publicity? Uncertainty, shock, and fear originate in the magnitude of destruction of lives and property does not fit within the framework of a contextualized reality created by the state. Terrorism also attempts to call into question state's authority and ability to secure its citizenry.

The violence of terrorism juxtaposed to statist contextualized realities is the precise ground which enables the state to construct its own concept of terrorism. In its construction of realities and concepts of terrorism, the state again relies on a portrayal of the power of the other in identifying the terrorist actor as the antithesis of the moral self. The morality of the self is made real as a subject of the state which in turn creates a site to vilify the immoral. Mythology of the state proclaims that "we" are human with ingrained inherent morality. Terrorists were once humane but lost their humanity in their pursuit of violence.

The Actor

As terrorists are cast in inhumane light and as we continue to look at how and why acts of terrorism are employed, it is important to raise issues regarding the actor/ terrorist. Examining the actor brings up questions about terrorism in the imagination of individuals. The actor facilitates questions regarding the nature of humanity and forces the "civilized" state to address the role it plays in creating an environment ripe for violent mechanisms to solidify. Acts of terrorism cannot exist without an actor. Based on the necessity of an actor, the terrorist, one question the state constantly addresses is: how can a member of the human race employ destructive force against innocent civilians?

The prospect of terrorists as "inhumane" individuals has been magnified in the way the actor, the terrorist, is portrayed through U.S.' presidential rhetoric. The U.S. state relies on its citizens' precepts of statist actions – war, crime, and law – to set forth the image of terrorists as criminals who are unable to abide by the laws that govern the international community – laws that speak to the legitimacy of the state. Terrorism becomes an act with a "deadly purpose," that is a "cowardly and criminal act" that "strikes at the heart of constitutional freedoms and individual liberties all Americans hold dear" (Clinton, 1999: 370). For the state, "senseless violence" becomes the hallmark of terrorism. By virtue of terrorism being classified in terms of "senseless violence," terrorists are made "inhumane" in their pursuit of such "senseless violence." In this way the act and actor, terrorism and terrorists, are the revelation of subjective categories that "present the presuppositions of our knowledge and are based on the presuppositions of the value of those truths" (Weber, 1949: 110).

The "truth" becomes that unregulated, illegitimate violence is illegal and monstrous. The actor who employs the unregulated, illegitimate violence is implicated in the act and assumes the illegal and monstrous nature. Sergi Nechaev, in the *Catechism of a Revolutionist*, suggests that,

> the revolutionary is a doomed man. He has no interests of his own, no affairs, no feelings, no attachments, no belongings, not even a name…He is an implacable enemy of this world, and if he continues to live it, this is only to destroy it more effectively…All the

tender and effeminate emotions of kinship, friendship, love, gratitude, and even honor must be stilled in him by a cold and single-minded passion….Night and day he must have but one thought, one aim – merciless destruction…no place for any romanticism, any sentimentality, rapture, or enthusiasm.…He is not a revolutionary if he feels pity for anything in this world…he must face annihilation of a situation, of a relationship, or of any person. (Nechaev in Laqueur, 1978: 68–72)

As represented in this passage, the terrorist can be substituted in place of the revolutionary and made an "implacable enemy" who has no emotion and searches only for merciless destruction. The state forms its perception of terrorism/terrorist on this constructed "truth."

Presupposition of knowledge and "truth" is the tool through which national security discourse continues to frame the act and the actor. In this discourse, terrorists continue to enact a bloody history that reveals for the state a mission of murder as they have,

killed American, Belgian, and Pakistani peacekeepers in Somalia. They plotted to assassinate the President of Egypt and the Pope. They planned to bomb six United States 747's over the Pacific. (Clinton, 1998: 1460)

In this revelation the state enacts an epistemological value that strengthens the truth-value of the state.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the state relies on a cultural core and historical narrative/memory for its authority and legitimacy in enacting specific practices. Thus, the truth-value "lies in the specific function of memory to preserve promises and potentialities which are betrayed and even outlawed by the mature, civilized individual, but which are never entirely forgotten" (Marcuse in Jameson, 1972, 113). The difference between the state and the terrorist is that the state is the embodiment of the "mature, civilized individual" that has the potentiality to recover and maintain a truth-value. Murder combined with a bloody history does not fit within the story of virtuous states and virtuous laws. The violence and terror deployed by the state are placed in drastic contrast to the violence and terror deployed by terrorists. In this way, the virtuous state maintains its virtuous violence. This notion, as Robespierre espoused, shows that "in revolution it (the principal of popular government) is simultaneously virtue and terror: virtue, without which terror is fatal, and terror, without which virtue is powerless" (Rudé, 1967: 76). With the state the sole source of popular governance, terrorists cannot lay claim to the dyad of virtue/terror. Thus, the dividing line "is between those who practice, support, or tolerate terror, and those who understand that it is murder, plain and simple" (Clinton, 1998: 1632). This divide reveals, and at the same time and on another level conceals, the rupture that exists within terrorism's effect on the state.

The performance of the state to conceal the challenge of terrorism is again revealed in President Clinton's address to the nation that informed the citizenry of the U.S.' attack on sites in Sudan after the embassy bombings. In this address President Clinton stated,

we saw its twisted mentality at work last week in the Embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, which took the lives of innocent Americans and Africans and injured thousands more. Today we have struck back. (1998: 1460)

The United States maintained its authority to strike back against terrorism as the terrorist's attacks were

> savage…carried out against our Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Almost 300 innocent people were killed; thousands were injured. The bombs were aimed at us, but they claimed anyone who happened to be near the Embassies that morning. They killed both Africans and Americans indiscriminately, cruelty beyond comprehension. (Clinton, 1998: 1464)

President Clinton then tied in a "civilized" component by suggesting that "hundreds of millions of Muslims all over the world…oppose terrorism and deplore the twisting of their religious teachings into justification of inhumane, indeed ungodly acts" (Clinton, 1998: 1464–65).

Later it was discovered that the U.S.' strikes against terrorist facilities in Sudan were in fact attacks on pharmaceutical facilities. As long as the state maintains and successfully promotes its virtuous violence, it is able to name any action as justified in defense of the state and the security of its citizenry. Terrorist violence, not statist violence, is portrayed as the outlaw component of the international world order. Everything within the control of the state – from vast bodies of water, to borders, and ultimately to the complex working of the individual body – becomes a national security site that must be secured against the violence of terrorism. The state frames terrorists as inhumane individuals who corrupt the battlefields of statist control as it turns the "war" from actual fields of battle with physical space to fields of battle that are indeterminate, unstructured, and malleable. "The enemies of peace cannot defeat us with traditional military means" (Clinton, 1999: 86) and thus they warp time and space "realities" of the state in their production of fear and terror. The "civilized" order is then solidified and enacted by the state in the face of terrorism's "uncivilized" nature.

Using the language of statist violence, terrorists attempt to voice the issues surrounding their perception of justified violence. The language of the state is the language of violence familiar to the state in that the state has control and a monopoly over "legitimized" violence. More importantly, a problematic for the state exists (derived from Foucault's treatment of the relationship between the author and the text) in which an act of terrorism is set as the text and the terrorist is viewed as the author of that text. The terrorist, as author, assures the reader that the terroristic act must be treated not as an ordinary action which comes and goes, but must be received in a certain mode and receive certain status (Rabinow, 1998). The author, in the Foucauldian sense, stresses that the act of terrorism has an intentional basis and thus cannot be discredited as just a form of violent nonsensical action.

However, constituted national security discourse ensures that the actor and the action of terrorism are appropriated within a language conducive to state formation and security, silencing the ability of terrorism to describe itself. It is through this appropriation that terrorism is constructed and controlled. The actor, no matter what the authorial intention, is placed within the constructed reality of national security.

More importantly, national security discourse is made to abstract the act of terrorism from the actor terrorist. In doing so, the act can be discovered, imagined, and manipulated in a specific context without confronting the actor. The terrorist is relegated to ancillary status while the questions that would normally focus around the terrorist – the "Who?" "How?" "Why?" – are silenced as attention is placed on the expression of violence rather than on the causes of violence. Here again we can turn to a Foucauldian notion of the author, whereby the author is not an initiating activity but rather a function. In this case, the author is a function of transferring a text already pre-scripted by the state through speech acts and discursive practices. National security discourse, in attempts to limit the role of the actor, has systematically "stripped terrorism from any right to be considered as other social phenomena are considered, as something created by human beings in a world of human history" (Said, 1988: 48).

The stripping of consideration of terrorism as an act created by "human beings" reflects the desire of the state not to address the terrorist as an author of the terrorism text. If terrorists are considered to be authors, the state would need to recognize that the author is not just a "pure and simple reference. It has other than indicative functions: more than an indication, a gesture, a finger pointed at someone, it is the equivalent of a description" (Foucault in Rabinow, 1998: 209). Here, Foucault foregrounds the author's name as a proper name with all its individuality. The ability of the power regime to acknowledge the terrorist as an author arises from the state's recognition of the power of the proper name with its multiple and complex description. Identifying the author requires recognition that the author "does not have just one signification" (Foucault in Rabinow, 1998: 209). In authoring the terror text, the terrorist is basing acts of terrorism on a foundation established through various histories, stories, acts, knowledges, and practices. The text has a series of significations for the author and those purported to be represented by the author. In addition, the "text always contains a certain number of signs of referring to the author" (Foucault in Rabinow, 1998: 215).

The text of terrorism reveals the signs that refer to the terrorist author. This inherent nature of the text and the importance of the author as a referent of the act is a problematic for the state in its attempt to appropriate and control the terrorism text. The author as a referent "provides the basis for explaining not only the presence of certain events in a work, but also their transformations, distortions, and diverse modifications" (Foucault in Rabinow, 1998: 214).

The question for the state then becomes how to take the text, terrorism, out of the control of the author, terrorists. The answer lies in the discrediting of the author, the terrorist, through the practices of statecraft revealed in national security discourse. Again, the hows and whys of terrorism are not of concern to the state, but rather the ability to cast terrorists in the light of "insane," "non-human" actors. Here, then, multiple definitions, malleable to the state's interests, are constructed in order to apply specific meanings to terrorism that enforce the moral authority and legitimacy of the state.

Chapter 5

State Versus Terror

In the previous chapter I addressed how terrorism and terrorists are brought into the political arena of the national security state and made intelligible through a complex set of histories, knowledges, and practices. Since the act and actor are addressed through multiple variables, it becomes evident that definitional variations exist, which regulate how the act and the actor are to be perceived. The existence of definitional variations speaks to the complexity of the issues raised by terrorism. The state's management of definitional variations reveals the difficult task of identifying and applying meaning to terrorism. The difficulty lies in the fact that the state attempts to hide its role in defining terrorism for the purposes of maintaining control and authority. The state's maintenance of control and authority is manifested in the following relationship: violence produces fear, fear is then manipulated to establish notions of terror, then violence and terror against the ideals of the state spawn the construction of terrorism and terrorists.[1] How the state applies meaning to terrorism becomes a hurdle to identifying the state's role in defining terrorism. Through state application of meaning, the act, the actor, and the existence of multiple definitions are constituted in a way that centers and grounds the state as it vilifies all non-state acts of violence. Simply put, the state explicates its credibility as it vilifies terrorists and their activities.

What has been laid forth thus far is that the state utilized national security discourse over the past thirty-plus years to cultivate an environment that appropriates terrorism as one way to justify and legitimate the national security state. This has occurred in the creation of security as an instrument of the state – the story of the state. The storytelling of the state has also facilitated the casting of terrorism in a contextualized frame of "evil acts" and terrorists as "morally degenerate" individuals. Framed as "morally degenerate," terrorists are incapable of participating in the global, civilized environment in a meaningful or productive manner. This chapter addresses how national security discourse continues this project in the attempt to maintain definitional variations which serve state's mobilization of terrorism and

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1   This relationship can be seen in the progression of the United States' perception of the Taliban. Under the Reagan administration the *mujahideen* was considered to be a group of freedom fighters defending Afghanistan against Soviet incursion – "freedom fighters ... defending principles of independence and freedom that form the basis of global security and stability" (http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Central_Asia/GG19Ag04.html). Under the Clinton administration, the Taliban was not viewed as a government but rather as a problematic "politicalmilitary entity" (http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ ID=24686). Finally, under the George W. Bush administration, the Taliban is viewed as a state sponsor of terrorists that "will pay the price for not complying with United States demands" (http://www.whitehouse.gov).

statist power. In order to interrogate this mobilization, one must also examine the central task of the state in its fixing of meanings that make terrorism a commodity of security. Once this is interrogated, one can then address how the maintenance of definitional variations and the fixing of meanings are used by the state to apply moral authority based on specific historical narratives and imaginations.

Definitional Variations

Terrorism as an act of political expression is not a new phenomenon; it has been around for centuries under a variety of names and definitions. A majority of the research on terrorism starts with a statement addressing the fact that there is no one definition on which governments, scholars, and those interested in terrorism can reach consensus. Once that is stated, the literature goes on to present yet another definition, adding to the perpetuation of definitional variations. The purpose of this chapter is to set forth a variety of definitions and to interrogate how these serve a specific function in the appropriation, manipulation, and control of terrorism – the specific function being the ability to apply the rubric of terrorism to disparate events for a particular purpose.

Part of the reason for the existence of an array of definitions lies in the fact that terrorism is an ideology that is malleable. As a result, terrorism can be employed by a variety of groups for a variety of reasons. When the ideology of terrorism comes into conflict with the ideology of the state, terrorism is made a site of appropriation as the state attempts to maintain the authority, legitimacy, and power of global economic and political order/power regimes. It is imperative before any further discussion is undertaken to look first at the historical foundations of the ideology of terrorism.

In examining the historical foundations of terrorism, it is clear that the concept of terrorism is not new. The term terrorism appeared in the vocabulary of European society originating in revolutionary France during the Jacobin Reign of Terror, 1792–1794. The Reign of Terror and the political implications of terror-induced policies brought the word into the current vocabulary. Marie Antoinette's execution at the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, led by Robespierre, is considered to be one of the first acts labeled terrorism. At the end of the Reign of Terror in July 1794, an estimated 20,000 individuals had been killed. The root of modern usage of terrorism in the Reign of Terror may well be the foundation for the problematics that exist when applying definitions to terrorism (Parry, 1976). The problem is that the Reign of Terror was an instrument of the revolutionary French state and that the "terrorists" achieved their goals, if only temporarily. The implication for the state is that the modern use of terrorism has its foundations in statist functions and statist violence.

Although the term terrorism was introduced into European vocabulary with the Reign of Terror, actual acts of violence date further back in history. Depending on one's definition of terror, the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C.E. could be considered an act of terrorism. In addition, the American Revolution could also be constructed as an act of terrorism against the British Empire. Specifically, the ideas perpetuated in the maintenance of American exceptionalism (to be explicated later

in this chapter) establish an environment ripe for the expression of terror. This is reflected in George Washington's 1779 command to Major General John Sullivan to lay waste to, and terrorize, the Iroquois Federation, as it was an enemy of the new American state. What becomes evident in this chapter is that the variations involved in defining terrorism reflect how terrorism has evolved throughout the centuries, even if retaining some of the same characteristics that have historically typified it.

Despite the historical foundations of terrorism, and the use of the term as a defining tool during the last three hundred years, it was not until the Munich Olympic massacre on 5 September 1972, by the *Black September* terrorists, that terrorism entered full force into the consciousness of the United States. Over the past thirty years, heightened awareness of terrorism and terrorist activities has emerged due to increased incidents that have been interpreted and presented by the state for the consumption of the citizenry. The state's interpretation and presentation of terrorism is contextualized as a tool of the state. As the state contextualizes terrorism, the world cannot help but be aware of terrorism as an intrinsic phenomenon in the current state of international relations. As a result, terrorism is made to represent specific problems that are in the way of prospects of peace for international decision-making, for public welfare, and for economic and political stability.

The international phenomenon of terrorism as a tool of political expression and open dissent within the political status quo is prevalent throughout the world and presents challenges to the state to develop definitions that control the margins of security. It has enthralled and captivated American thought and imagination as it presents significant challenges to the authority and legitimacy of the power regime. The political community must ask some difficult questions regarding the role of security in the state, as terrorism increasingly presents a threat to political order and security.

In 1986, the leaders of seven major industrial countries met in Tokyo and issued a declaration on terrorism on 6 May. In the first paragraph of the *Tokyo Declaration*, terrorism is declared to be a threat to international world order and security:

> We, the heads of state or government of seven major democracies and the representatives of the European Community, assembled here in Tokyo, strongly reaffirm our condemnation of international terrorism in all its forms, of its accomplices and those, including governments, who sponsor or support it. We abhor the increase in the level of such terrorism since our last meeting, and in particular its blatant and cynical use as an instrument of government policy. Terrorism has no justification. It spreads only by the use of contemptible means, ignoring the values of human life, freedom and dignity. It must be fought relentlessly and without compromise. (www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/1986tokyo/terrorism)

The 1986 *Tokyo Declaration* reflects the "civilized" world's perception of terrorism as having no justification. It acknowledges the existence of some governments that sponsor terrorism and make "blatant and cynical use" of it, and vows that terrorism must be fought "relentlessly and without compromise." Framing terrorism in such broad terms leaves great latitude to identify terrorism along modes of conception in order to control possible insurgencies and to create a rhetoric of security (national security) that defines paradigms and presupposes certain modes of response. In

addition, framing terrorism in broad terms brings forth emotive language that has a certain moral clarity which allows the citizenry to support statist actions.

The multiplicity of possible definitions and theories regarding terrorism plays a critical role in the development of responses to terrorism. This is revealed in the idea that definitions do not involve the revelation of essential ideals; rather, definitions attempt to echo historical, intellectual, rhetorical, or partisan positions. In addition, definitions display the interests of the individuals defining the issue or situation (Tuman, 2003; Zulaika and Douglass, 1996). Finally, especially with definitions affecting politics and security, power and interests conspire together in a politics of defining terrorism which reflects political agendas and represents distributions of power and privilege.

Differing definitions of terrorism exist since terrorism is "only a word, a descriptive word applied to an event or series of events to give them meaning. Events rarely carry their own meaning with them. People use words to apply meaning to events" (Windt, 1990: 5). One of the main problems with the numerous definitions ascribed to terrorism is that an aura of uncertainty is established as to what terrorism is and is not – and this uncertainty affords the power regime a site of control to move from a variety of definitions to the application of meaning to any "terrorist" event. Broad definitions of terrorism point to the state's deliberate effort to control interactions and characteristics.

Within an environment of uncertainty, the state creates its own definitions of terrorism that lead to greater confusion. Part of this confusion stems from definitions which examine the actors rather than the action.[2] The examination of the actor impairs further analysis of the action as confusion abounds between actor, action, and effect – terrorist, terrorism, and terror. The application of the term "terrorist" impedes the development of an analytically useful definition of terrorism. The moral implications rooted in the term hinder further discussions given that once the term is applied, that is all one tends to see. Moral implications are utilized by the state to produce loaded definitions for the consumption of the citizenry. The state controls and produces multiple definitions so that the citizenry is presented with specific views of terrorism/terrorists prescribed by the state for the benefit of the state.

Given the pragmatic problems of multiple definitions of terrorism, many laden with moral imperatives, some defenders of definitional variations believe that terrorism's multiple definitions and lack of consensus should be accepted at face value. Walter Laqueur goes so far as to suggest that "the absence of an exact definition does not mean that we do not know in a general way what terrorism is; it has been said that it resembles pornography, difficult to describe and define, but easy to recognize" (1978: 381).

Despite this assertion that an examination of the definitions is not needed as one knows terrorism when one sees it, the state attempts to define terrorism as concretely as possible. The state, in the interest of maintaining itself, needs to create a definition, or at least appear to have a definition, on which responses to terrorism

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2   Here it is important to note that the act of examining is in itself prone to the explication of pejoratives. In the examination, the examiner is in a position of authority to produce and effect a variety descriptors and characteristics that benefit the interests of the examiner.

can be based and maintained. Current state conceptualizations of terrorism focus mainly on terrorism's use of violence. Violence is the defining characteristic of terrorist activity as the state employs a blurring of WTC rhetoric with conventions and state expectations of the terrorist. State definitions, while various, remain similar in describing how terrorism is linked to violent means for political reasons.[3] Some definitions are used by the state to describe terrorism along the lines of

> a symbolic act designed to influence political behavior by extra normal means entailing the use or threat of violence. {or} threat or use of violence for political purposes, when such an action is intended to influence the attitude and behavior of a target group other than its immediate victims and its ramifications transcend national boundaries. (Freedman and Alexander, 1983: 169)

Put simply, terrorism is the threatened or actual use of force or violence to attain a political goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation.

Additional definitional characteristics attached to terrorism include metaphors of cancer or crime. Former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu proposed the cancer metaphor when he commented that

> terrorism is the cancer of the modern world. No state is immune to it. It is a dynamic organism which attacks the healthy flesh of the surrounding society.…unless treated, and treated drastically, its growth is inexorable, until it poisons and engulfs the society on which it feeds and drags it down to destruction (Johnson in Netanyahu, 1986: 31).

Some definitions of terrorism also describe terrorism as "warfare," which allow for the fortification of the state as terrorists engage in a war against "us." As a result, it becomes possible to enter into a discourse of war as the state wages war on terrorism. The notion of "us" and "them" creates its own unique dynamic in the definitional characteristics of terrorism. Terrorism becomes surrogate warfare employing terror that exposes a "new warfare, the new efficient way to achieve political objectives that bypass the discipline of the ballot box and the cost of conventional war" (Lefever, 1982: 185). Jeane Kirkpatrick added to the idea of terrorism as war:

> Terrorism is a form of political war. Terrorism should also be distinguished from conventional war, and terrorist from soldier.…a soldier uses violence where a state of belligerence is recognized to exist, and against armed enemies; a terrorist engages in violence against people who do not understand themselves to be at war and, in fact, are not at war….terrorist war is part of a total war, which sees that whole of society as the enemy and all the members of society as appropriate objects for violence. It is absolute war because its goals are the absolute destruction of society. (Kirkpatrick in Netanyahu, 1960: 56–7)

The continued emphasis on pejorative descriptors – violent acts, cancer, crime, or war – limits further critical analysis of terrorism. Terrorism is consistently portrayed

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3   The U.S. government alone has multiple definitions of terrorism ranging from the 1986 Vice-President's Taskforce, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Army, Department of Defense, and Department of State.

as a "pitless war without borders," one that calls for a "new form of low intensity warfare against an enemy that is hard to find and harder still to defend against" (Casey, 1995). The use of the concept of terrorism to describe the world's ills is a distortion and illustrates "a basic failure to understand what terrorism is all about and what can be done about it" (Laqueur, 1984: B-8). Paul Wilkinson and Richard Schultz (1973, 1978) further the preoccupation with unorthodox violence as the ultimate defining characteristic of terrorism.

Wilkinson and Schultz categorize terrorism into four groups: war, revolutionary, state, and sub-revolutionary. Revolutionary terrorism results when revolutionary movements and groups attempt to bring about political change employing violence as a means of "intimating a vicious cycle of terror and counter-terror that is intended to alienate popular support away from the target government" (Wilkinson, 1973: 298–9). State terrorism, also known as repressive terrorism, is the "threat and/or employment of extra normal forms of political violence, in varying degrees, by an established political system, against external and internal opposition" (Schultz, 1978: 10). Terrorist activities that fall under the category of state terrorism are those used by an established system to repress opposition. Sub-revolutionary terrorism is defined as any violence committed by anarchists or revolutionary groups for "ideological or political motives but which is not part of a connected campaign to capture control of the Target State" (Wilkinson, 1973: 306).

Some definitions go so far as to detail specifically possible forms of violence as terrorism. These are political assassinations, drug-related violence, religious fanaticism, political murders, piracy, anarchism, neo-Nazism, neo-fascism, certain modes of separatism and nationalism if they employ violence, ideological mercenaries, and even counter-terrorist organizations. These many attempts to identify specifically various venues of terrorism blur and confuse the definitional boundaries.

In the vein of Wilkinson's and Schultz's categories of revolutionary, sub-revolutionary, and state terrorism, the Department of State in 1979 had as its working conceptualization of international terrorism the "threat or use of violence for political purposes when such actions are intended to influence the attitude and behavior of a target group other than its immediate victims and its ramifications transcend national boundaries" (U.S. Department of State, 1979: 60). Although specific definitions for various forms of terrorism are created in an effort to illustrate that there is no single form of terrorism, these multiple definitions have been overshadowed by the construction of counter-terrorist policies. Counter-terrorism relies on a symbolic vision of terror. Thus, definitions offered by Wilkinson and Schultz fall within the contemporary understanding of terrorist acts which restrict the meaning of terrorism to "either random or extortionate violence aimed ultimately at the target state of a guerrilla, resistance or liberation movement but which strikes at the unarmed civilians, diplomats or non-combatants" (Hannay, 1973: 268). Contemporary understanding isolates those who seek to define terrorism as the only means of obtaining political goals by threatening the democratic-liberal ideals, as terrorism becomes "a new pattern of low-technology and inexpensive warfare against the west. A strategy and tool of those who reject the norms of civilized people everywhere" (U.S. Department of State, 1987: 70).

In defining terrorism along the lines of random or extortionate violence against a state, established political entity, civilians, or non-combatants, we fall into a dangerous and limiting ideology that holds any form of destabilization in the international community as detrimental to security and democracy. As a result, the debate focuses around questions of legitimacy and action, rather than on the actors and causes of the action. This view is exemplified in the proclamation that

> there is no such person as a 'good' terrorist, anywhere, at any time, in any circumstances. In fighting terrorism, there cannot be qualifications. Terrorism must be fought with the same absolute rigor with which the civilized powers once fought piracy and the international slave trade. There were no 'good' pirates. There were no 'good' slavers. There can be no 'good' gunmen. (Johnson in Netanyahu, 1986: 34)

Benjamin Netanyahu confirms this point of view while expanding the "no good" aspect of terrorists to the application of morality. Netanyahu suggests that a terrorist's

> objective is indeed the whole country on which he concentrates his attack; his target is its entire population. In these limits he recognizes no innocents, no bystanders, not even strangers. He respects no code of law which was ever established for war or peace. (Netanyahu, 1986: 5)

By focusing on the immorality and the illegitimacy of actions, the state is able to apply its perception and create tools to invalidate developing state movements. In addition, focusing on the action allows the power regime to adopt the "ritual of dismissing as irrelevant, softheaded, or in other ways suspicious, anything that might explain the actions of terrorism" (Said, 1989: 342).

Within the statist framework, violent action becomes the main indicator as to whether a specific incident can be classified as terrorism. If violent action is to be used as the basis for the formulation of a definition, to be consistent, all violent acts must equally be considered and classified as terrorism. Killings, mutilations, kidnappings, and bombings should all be considered acts of terrorism because of the violence they employ. In fact, however, definitions are utilized that focus on violence as an integral criterion for the label of terrorism and neglect such acts as the struggles for national liberation that used violence in pursuit of freedom after World War II or violence employed by state agencies internally and externally.

In order to establish policies that can effectively handle and curb terrorist acts, the causes of terrorism must be given attention. A distinction between the act and the cause lies at the heart of any decision making process sincerely geared to counter terrorist activity. State Department officials continue to claim that terrorists and their apologists justify violence by saying terrorists are merely soldiers, guerrillas, or freedom fighters who use violence in a struggle for national liberation (U.S. Department of State, 1987: 4). These officials view terrorism in an unsophisticated and simplistic manner. "A violent act is a violent act" and nothing more, and hence needs to be stopped "violently" at all costs.

As mentioned previously, part of the problem with national security discourse on terrorism is the difficulty of addressing issues regarding terrorism without a universal

definition. In addition, definitions employed normally embrace statist ideological perceptions. Embracing a statist ideological perception of terrorism, these definitions perpetuate the continued disenfranchisement of developing nations.

Contained within the question "what is terrorism?" are further questions about who, what, why, and how. Why does someone become a terrorist? How does terrorism survive? Are there necessary components for a terrorist act? How does one deal with terrorism? Only when these questions are asked can one propose a statement as to what terrorism is.

An analysis of the relationships between cultural changes, social structural changes, and discourses employed between developed and developing worlds is needed in order to construct a concept of terrorism that treats all parties as equal units. The popular perception of a terrorist as an "insane," "ruthless" individual is inaccurate. The subject of terrorists and terrorism has been constructed to represent the terrorist's acts as inimical to the United States and its Judeo-Christian tradition. The statist perception of terrorism eroticizes and exoticizes terror by conjoining it with stigmatized groups such as Muslims and objects, cultures, peoples, and concepts of developing nations which are unknown to the United States. Images of terrorists that play on the fear produced within the construction of statist definitions delimit the field of possibility for discussion. However, terrorists are not insane Arabs yielding guns (a popular image projected by the U.S. culture industry and state). Terrorists tend to be young, intelligent, educated, normal middle-class individuals who are not prone to mental disturbance (Crenshaw, 1995).

As the state addresses issues of security discourse, it becomes evident that democratic nations, with the United States taking the lead, have pursued policies that would effectively curtail terrorist activities by directly combating the sources and symptoms of terrorism. Instead of searching for policies which would curb terrorism by developing an understanding of the causes which foster an environment in which humanity is pushed to explore the reasons for the employment of violence and terror, a call for punishment has become mainstream over the past three decades, diminishing the mechanisms and discourse of grievance procedures for non-governmental groups protesting violations of human rights. Raising arms as a show of power against terrorism does not end it; it only provides immediate emotional relief at the most. Terrorism as a source of political expression reacts against the lack of law and order reflective of the global village and societal changes at the urging of the "west." These societal changes terrorize and marginalize developing nations' peoples in the pursuit of an international, global, political economy. The discursive power of terrorism is problematic as the once dominant state's construction of political violence competes with terrorism's fragmentation of power, spanning security discourse as it emphasizes a crisis of representation (Der Derian: 1992).

Definitional variations emphasize the fact that terrorism is a volatile and contested topic. The complexity of issues raised by act and actor evidence themselves through the multiple definitions of terrorism. Multiple definitions play a critical role in how terrorism is conceptualized. There are a variety of definitions used in state discourse that focus on the effects of terrorism as an external form of expression.

It is on this aspect of terrorism, the external, that the state focuses its definitional characteristics. Through the external, the application of a definition does not involve

the "revelation of supreme ideals," but rather attempts to echo historical, intellectual, rhetorical, or partisan positions. The application of a definition reflects the interests of the individuals defining the issue or situation. The state enacts its interest in and through national security discourse to ensure which definitions are applied to terrorism and in which context. This affords the power regime a site to exercise control on how terrorism is interpreted and allows power to appropriate terrorism to suit its needs. Through the application of a specific definition at a precise time, power as an integral part of statecraft continues the domination of terrorism using national security discourse, whereby terrorism's applied definition ensures that security becomes a commodity of the state.

The commodity of security within the state allows for certain definitions to be included or excluded. The specific inclusion or exclusion then facilitates conditioned responses to social, ethical, political, and economic foundations of terrorism. What is most interesting is how definitional variations are maintained and propagated by the state, through national security discourse, in order to foster an aura of uncertainty that allows for constant manipulation and control over interactions and characteristics. The landscape of national security discourse is one in which terrorism is mapped and re-mapped, negotiated and re-negotiated, in a context which is temporal-, place-, and space-based. The U.S.' dealing with the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in their respective peace processes is evident of this temporal-, place-, and space-based context. The IRA and PLO were terrorist organizations, then nationalist organizations, and then terrorist organizations again. Here we see how one statist definition conflicts with another statist definition. The question becomes which statist definition is conjoined by a hegemonic power? The change in the U.S.' interpretation of terrorists, then nationalists, then back to terrorists, symbolizes how definitions are applied externally.

Having multiple definitions ensures that no overriding concept can take hold and manifest itself within the social and political space without the consent of the power regime. Said differently, multiple definitions ensure that definitions can be used in a particular time to mobilize the power structure and guarantee certain outcomes and policies. Using national security discourse to appropriate terrorism reflects specific political agendas and represents distributions of power and privilege.

This distribution of power and privilege in defining terrorism enables the state to create an environment through which the definition reflects the changing nature of the political landscape. Thus, defining terrorism within national security discourse creates a site where definitions can be controlled to move and change as terrorism's fluidity is expressed. An example of an institutionalized definitions responding to the fluidity of terrorism comes from a comment made by Helen Thomas, UPI White House Correspondent, regarding the fact that prior to 11 September 2001, Chechen rebels were referred to as freedom fighters in the White House Press Corp room. On "September 12, 2001, they were referred to as terrorist" (Thomas, 2002). The manipulation of act and actor in definitions reveals that there exist specific discourses that permit "legitimate" violence but demonize and criminalize any moment deemed inimical to U.S. ideological foundations. Definitional variations are thus contingent upon time, place, and space.

In a Foucauldian (1980) sense, it is through the existence of definitional variations that "western" hegemony ensures that the world does not turn a legible face for us to decipher terrorism. Definitional variations become the multifaceted faces that are illegible to the citizenry and allow for the continued manipulation and appropriation of terrorism into national security discourse. Through these definitional variations the power elite is able consistently to place its language and power on acts that oppose practices of statecraft. Acts and actors, which may or may not be part of terrorism, are pulled into the contextual framework of national security. It is through these variations that Timothy McVeigh, Theodore Kaczynski, or the Montgomery County Sniper can be pulled into the discourse of national security and presented within the constructed and constituted framework of terrorism. It is through these appropriations that terrorism, as Gold-Biss (1994) notes

> is a phenomenon, in this particular context, only insofar as it is a socially constructed concept identifying anti-establishment political violence. The directed use of political violence against the state, be it left or right, is called terrorist because it uses violence that is not legitimately sanctioned within the framework of the Weberian "monopoly" on the use of force, be it within a unitary state or within the incorporated state system itself. Terrorism is a system-wide challenge to power, in addition to being a specific and directed challenge to a particular governing structure or government. (Gold-Biss, 1994: 39)

Application of Meaning and Use of Moral Authority

As the definitions employed continue to demonize the external other, specific meanings are applied to terrorism that institutionalize the act, the actor, and definitional variations. The definitions chosen to interpret and represent terrorism are important in establishing descriptive elements in order to produce common codes of intelligibility (Hall, 1992) on which the events of terrorism are made meaningful.

The descriptive aspect is important in the application of meaning. Through the application of meaning, however, one is faced with how terrorism is a constructed idea that constitutes and assembles meaning within a privileged theory and is positioned within the regime of national security. It is through the descriptive, constructive, and constitutive nature that the importance of the application of meaning becomes apparent. Specifically, the state is able to exert its power in the interpretation and representation of terrorism. The constitutive and constructive aspect of terrorism is based on the fact that terrorism is

> imprecise and emotive. We do not apply them to all acts of politically motivated violence nor to all people who commit such acts. We reserve their use, in practice, for politically motivated violence of which we disapprove. The words imply judgment, sometimes a complex judgment, about the political context in which those whom we decide to call terrorists operate, and above all, a judgment about the nature of the regime under which they operate. (O'Brien in Crenshaw, 1983: 91)

National security discourse is utilized to construct a meaning based on shared experiences of the citizenry and implicates the entire corpus of the state within its

application of meaning.[4] This can only be accomplished through the development and manipulation of a specific meaning of terrorism at any one given point – this does not mean that multiple meanings are nonexistent, but rather that at any particular point in time a very specific and highly contextualized meaning is applied and employed. Terrorism, as interpreted and represented through national security discourse, undergoes a transformation from a political process into a process that is void of explanation.

Through the application of a specific definition, the meaning of terrorism is institutionalized at the level of the act and the actor. The state utilizes a precise system of interpretations, techniques, and methods to create a definition and apply a meaning to terrorism that takes the act and the actor out of one context and places them into the context of national security. The meaning of national security domination in relation to terrorism does not allow a foundation through which questions about causes or subjugation can rise to the forefront. The application of a specific meaning to terrorism is the face of national security discourse that is made intelligible to the citizenry. The problem for the state is that terrorism is not a fixed entity, nor are terrorists fixed groups.

Given terrorism's fluidity, the state constructs definitional variations where there are descriptive aspects that are used to give voice to some definitions while silencing others. The determinations on what gets voiced and silenced are based on the meanings that are applied to the variety of definitions.

The meaning applied to terrorism is inherent to the social, economic, and political structure of the state. The discourse on terrorism is a discourse that holds the state as the supreme power as it delimits the mechanism through which one can address terrorism. Terrorism, within national security discourse, means a threat to the state, a threat to its citizens, a threat to the economic foundations of global capital, and possibly the most utilized threat – the threat to who "we" are as a moral country.

For the United States, the site of practice in which moral authority is enacted over terrorism has its basis in American exceptionalism, a concept that holds the United States to be the principle authority over, and grantors of, morality. The beginning of American exceptionalism is expressed in John Winthrop's 1630 *City on a Hill* speech.

> The Lord will be our God and delight to dwell among us as his own people and will command a blessing upon us in all our ways, so that we shall see much more of his wisdom, power, goodness, and truth than formerly we have been acquainted wit; we shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies, when he shall make us a praise and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantations: the Lord make it like that of New England: for we must consider that we shall be as a City upon a Hill. The eyes of all people are upon us, so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us we shall be made a story and a byword through the world, we shall

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4   This concept is based on Stuart Hall's notion of interpretation, representation, and re-presentation. National security discourse is not used to re-present a meaning of terrorism that is already there. Instead, National security discourse is used to construct the image of terrorism based on shared notions of intelligibility that the state finds useful to its survival.

open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God and all professors for God's sake; we shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their payers to be turned into curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are going…Therefore let us choose life, that we, and our seed, may live; by obeying his voice, and cleaving to him, for he is our life, and our prosperity. (Winthrop, 1630)

The *City on a Hill* speech sets the framework through which American political and cultural hegemonic authority found its basis in the continuance of American exceptionalism. From its earliest beginnings, the United States has forged its exceptionalism through the Monroe Doctrine and its push toward American hemispheric control, through strands of isolationism, and finally through the American historical prerogative to engage in democratic interventionism that reared itself in U.S. involvement in the Caribbean, Pacific, Mexico, Central and South America, and now in the Middle East.

U.S. foreign policy and American exceptionalism have worked in tandem to strengthen the notion of the United States being rooted in virtue and its actions justified by its unwavering commitment to liberal democratic principles and its core decency. In regard to policies erected against terrorism, as reflected on in the second and third chapters, the core policies were framed along the concept of the United States consistently holding the "true" and "noble" course in the battle against the "evils" of the world. This was articulated in the Reagan administration and carried forth through subsequent administrations. As President Reagan put it, terrorism is an attack

against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere. It was an act of barbarism, born of a society which wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations. (Reagan, 1983: 1228)

Although this comment was directed against the Soviet Union in response to the downing of KAL 007 in 1983, it speaks to the ways in which terrorism is both applied to disparate situations and couched in terms of meaning and applied moral authority.

George W. Bush's administration is also representative of the application of meaning through moral authority. In his comments, he attempted to influence domestic and global opinion regarding the build up to the war with Iraq. In a 1 June 2002, commencement address at West Point, President Bush commented that

some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods, but not different moralities. Moral truth is the same in every culture, in every time, and in every place. Targeting innocent civilians for murder is always and everywhere wrong. Brutality against women is always and everywhere wrong. There can be no neutrality between justice and cruelty, between the innocent and the guilty. We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name. By confronting evil and lawless regimes, we do not create a problem, we reveal a problem. And we will lead the world in opposing it. (www. whitehouse.gov)

In the articulation of these phrases, President Bush set forth not only the concept of "good versus evil" in the fight against terrorism, but more importantly he re-articulated American hegemonic authority in the ability to determine what is evil – "America will call evil by its name." As President Bush framed the moral authority of the United States, he was also conjuring up the image that what is good and moral is the same for all peoples, in all histories, and in all contexts. In doing so, President Bush relied on the historical imagination of the United States as he quoted, previously in this same address, General Marshall who said, "we're determined that before the sun sets on this terrible struggle, our flag will be recognized throughout the world as a symbol of freedom on the one hand, and of overwhelming power on the other" (www.whitehouse.org). The power here is not only the U.S. military strength, but also and more importantly the will to apply moral authority and control the discourse as the sole authority – an authority to call forth and name what is both good and evil. It is through this will that national security discourse becomes a legitimizing instrument for the continuation of the state and the American historical imagination.

The will to power in the application of moral authority was illustrated on 28 October 2002, as President Bush announced that "America is the greatest nation, full of the most decent people, on the face of the earth" (www.whitehouse.gov, 10/28/02). The United States' maintenance of this site of power and control in the utilization of national security discourse to engage and control terrorism enhances its exceptionalism in the creation of a collective and universal morality. By maintaining America as the leader of the collective morality, the United States becomes exempt from its own actions. "At some point we may be the only ones left. That's okay with me. We are America" (Bush quoted in http://www.commondreams.org/views06/0212-20.htm).

It is through the articulation of terrorism as a moral threat that national security discourse is used to embed security and fear into the mindset of the citizenry. A dichotomy is inherent in national security discourse's treatment of terrorism through which terror against "us" ("US"A) is based on what "we" stand for and who "we" are as a nation. Moral authority allows for the prominent discourse of security to be readily accepted by the citizenry. The moral argument is based directly on notions of the state and its practices of statecraft. This is evidenced in the moral argument occupying notions of the state in the distinction made between terrorism and warfare. This distinction is a morally charged difference that calls into focus the practices of statecraft. It is assumed within the current conceptualization of statecraft that the state is the only instrument that can hold a monopoly on the legitimate use of force within its specific geographical boundaries. The description of a state is one of a

> human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory. Note, that territory is one of the characteristics of the state. Specifically, at the present time, the right to use physical force is ascribed to other institutions or to individuals only to the extent to which the state permits it. The state is considered the sole source of the "right" to use violence. (Gold-Biss, 1984: 12)

A soldier fighting a war, in uniform and as part of the state regiment, is assumed to be aware of the risks of war and the honor of fighting in the combat field. A terrorist fighting his/her own perception of war, in a uniform and as part of pseudo statist regiment, is also assumed to be aware of the risks of war and honor gained by his/her actions. Nevertheless, a terrorist is never considered a solider by the hegemonic statist power. Supposedly soldiers fight other soldiers in regimented combat, unlike terrorists who act against civilians. Here, terrorists are made the other in that an innocent civilian is not a member of a state's regiment and does not have the awareness of the risks of terrorism, nor the ability to counter attack terrorist. Note that the idea of "innocent civilian" is used extensively in the discussion of the victims of terrorism.

The use of these morally charged and loaded terms forward the persistent idea that terrorism is not a morally just action. Through the contextualization of national security discourse's discussion of terrorism along act, actor, definitional variations, and application of meaning and moral authority, terrorism is perceived solely as a method. Perception of terrorism as a method does not allow for it to be perceived in terms of adversaries. Through this distinction, the actor and causes for the action are not brought into the dialog of national security discourse's treatment of terrorism. Terrorism is what people do, rather than what they are trying to achieve. This perception is dependent on the state's political and social values rather than on the political and social values of terrorists. Thus, counter terrorism is not an action against a particular person or group of people; it is an attempt to civilize the political contest (Pillar, 2001: 18). The attempt to civilize the political contest is the narrative/text that national security discourse employs. The narrative employed relies heavily on the establishment and management of a specific language and knowledge in and through which the state exercises its power.

Chapter 6

Language, Knowledge, and Power in the Name of the State

What images come to mind when one thinks of terrorism? We have all been exposed to external manifestations and media-induced images of "terrorism." These images which inform many peoples' understanding of terrorism include bullet-ridden victims lying on Israeli streets, machine guns hoisted in the air by mask-wearing individuals, biological weapons used in Tokyo subways, buses and train passenger cars turned to twisted metal, and the definitive images of the World Trade Center's Twin Towers being reduced to rubble by airplanes used as instruments of destruction and the attack on the Pentagon. Other responses to the question posed above may run the spectrum from criminal murderous acts to acts of political expression against oppression – "one man's terrorist is another's freedom fighter" rings consistently true. These images and others, conjured in response to an action, are signifiers produced by multiple apparatuses in the production of language and knowledge by specific power regimes.

This chapter explores how terrorism is consistently brought into the political and controlled by the power structure: specifically the ways in which language is used to create a specific knowledge structure and in which discursive practices represent the mobilization of power. Language, knowledge, and power are employed within a highly contextualized national security discourse – a discourse that is used to constitute notions of terrorism. U.S. foreign policy over the past thirty years has been, and remains, constructed within this context of national security. Based on this perception, I propose that national security discourse is a site of practice for the state. The state, in turn, uses national security discourse as it interprets, manipulates, and controls terrorism.

The rhetoric that mobilizes terrorism as an instrument in the formation of foreign policy is part of national security discourse. Examining discourse in all its expressions (spoken word, written text, mass media, and movies to name a few) reveals its instrumentalization. Discourse is a narrative that "creates more or less shared understandings of membership, collectivity, and community among participants" (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002: 353). Building on the review of presidential rhetoric conducted in the second and third chapters and the discussion of state's mobilization of power as it incorporates the attributes of terrorism in the fourth and fifth chapters, this chapter focuses on two movies that represent the state's ability to control the construction of terrorism. Movies are a window into collective narratives that both reveal and reify dominant trends in ideology and examine and challenge them. In the movies, *In the Name of the Father* (1993) and *The Devil's Own* (1997), one is confronted with images of the practices of national security discourse used to

appropriate and manipulate terrorism. In addition, these movies represent the state's ability to produce images of terrorism as they disclose practices of statecraft.

In the Name of the Father, for instance, presents a critical reading of national security's appropriation of terrorism. Directed by Jim Sheridan, the movie tells the true-life story of Gerry Conlon, one of four Irishmen falsely accused of the Guildford Pub bombings in London, who had the charges dismissed after fifteen years of incarceration. The movie starts out with Gerry Conlon, played by Daniel Day-Lewis, acquainting an English attorney with his story of fifteen years of injustice at the hands of British authorities regarding the Guildford Pub bombing in 1974. Conlon starts by explaining how Belfast, Northern Ireland, in the early 1970s was in total chaos.

In the movie, a British patrol officer represents this chaos as he mistakes Conlon's playing air guitar with a stick for a sniper. This incident causes Conlon to leave Ireland for London. After the Guildford Pub Bombing on 5 October 1974, Conlon and his mates are falsely accused. The ensuing depiction of the accusation, interrogation, investigation, trial, and eventual appeal, are indicative of the practices and discursive formations of a state exercising its control and ability to manipulate the language and knowledge of a situation.

A comparable movie is *The Devil's Own,* which presents a very "American" reading that reflects the problems inherent in attempts to consistently control the narrative. Directed by Alan Pakula, this movie provides a fictional account of the IRA and its American financiers. Frankie Maguire, played by Brad Pitt, comes to New York to purchase missiles for the IRA. Judge Fitzsimmons,[1] the main contact for the financiers, places Frankie in the home of Thomas O'Meara, a New York police officer played by Harrison Ford.

The Devil's Own portrays the ways in which the IRA and its American supporters have occupied a special space in the United States. While U.S. foreign policy regarding terrorism has been fairly constant in regard to terrorist activities, some Americans have whole-heartedly supported the IRA cause with financial support. This duality of official policy and internal operations offers a conflicted reading – a conflicted reading that bases opposition along ethnic lines and spatial realities, a truly "American" reading.[2]

In the Name of the Father and *The Devil's Own* reflect as well on the nature of the family in relation to the state apparatus. Familial relations are shown to be a device through which state national security discourse justifies its appropriations by using familial language that is comprehensible to the citizenry. *In the Name of the Father* represents the continued struggle between individual freedoms and

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1　The character of Judge Fitzsimmons represents how constituted realities are flexible and malleable and at times come into conflict with other realities. He is at the same time a representative of the state in his role as a judge and representative of the support networks that exist within the United States for the IRA. Thus, the power of the state becomes conflated with the power of a terrorist organization.

2　Here, American reading refers to the duality often existent within American foreign policy – a duality that purports to promote democracy while supporting repressive regimes. In this sense, liberal democratic ideals overshadow "reality," presenting issues in a precise way.

familial obligations, while the state attempts to control familial relations as it takes on the role of the father. Thus, the movie title, *In the Name of the Father*, could be rearticulated as "In the Name of the State" – *Father* articulating familial obligations and authority, and *State* articulating statist obligations and authoritarian control. *The Devil's Own's* "American" reading presents its own take on the family. Within *The Devil's Own*, the American notion of the family as the elemental foundation of society, compounded by American values of morality and of being the world's savior (give me your tired, your hungry…) work to create tension between what is "right" and what is "wrong."

The Devil's Own's embrace of the family reaches its pinnacle when Tom O'Meara faces an intrusion into his home by arms dealers in search of their money. When his family is threatened – his wife is held by one of the intruders with a gun to her head – Tom begins a process of contemplation and realization that culminates in his questioning the value and impetus of the system behind his "adopted son." The heroic father has to confront his susceptible child and attempt to control the narrative and foster the moral choice.

The Devil's Own symbolizes how national security discourse, as a practice of statecraft and in the consistent rearticulation of specific discourses and narratives, is utilized to appropriate terrorism to legitimize the power structure of the state. National security discourse helps ensure that acts of terrorism will be treated within a specific framework of language, knowledge, and power. It is in this practice that the discourse of national security guarantees that the power of the state is made visible and respected (Said, 1997).

Using this framework of language, knowledge, and power, the state is able to construct the reality of terrorism by producing meaning and legitimizing relations of power (Der Derian and Shapiro: 1989). Within these practices of national security discourse, a host of knowledges are constituted, legitimized, produced and re-produced within the exercise of power to ensure that certain modes of responses are pre-conditioned and employed.

An examination of foreign policies produced by the last four administrations – Presidents Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton – as well as the current administration, shows that the ways in which the United States views, discusses, and responds to terrorism relied on a specific discourse to implement similar foreign policies over time. This consistency is based on a constituted knowledge structure that privileges certain forms of violence while vilifying others.

As national security discourse is utilized to constitute and appropriate how "we" view terrorism, the five components of terror and terrorism are consistently being manipulated within the context of national security. Language, knowledge, and power facilitate the ways in which the five components are brought into the discursive realm and controlled. The discursive realm, being more than just text and speech, is the mechanism through which all the components are discussed as part of national security discourse. The main thrust of this chapter is to explore how language becomes the apparatus that appropriates and contextualizes terrorism to be the foundation for knowledge and power. In this sense, language serves as signifying practices for the narrative and articulates the possibilities for the narrative (Der Derian and Shapiro, 1989).

There is no doubt that words in themselves have meaning which arise within a given culture, society, and organization. Words also have common ranges of signification that project unattainable regulative ideals (Der Derian and Shapiro, 1989). Language works within discourse to shape and mold the context through which words and meanings are applied, constructed, and constituted.

National security discourse's use of language to control and manipulate aspects of terrorism is based on "the prevailing construction of political discourse, the ways of putting controversy over power and authority into language, which is monopolized by a narrow notion of what is considered the political" (Shapiro, 1998: 17). It is through national security discourse's use of language that terrorism is made knowable to the citizenry. Such language creates and provides a foundation, a constituted truth, through which power and knowledge can interact and exercise their authority. In its very articulation, national security discourse codifies specific meanings and ideals valued in the exercise of authority. Based on a Foucauldian assumption that power and knowledge are directly related, the relationship between power and knowledge is one where power is able to produce knowledge (Foucault, 1979). This is the Janus-faced aspect of the political whereby power and knowledge are intertwined parts of the same process, intersecting at points and everywhere present. A specific discourse serves a function: it brings objects into being by identifying them, delimiting their field, and specifying them (Foucault, 1972).

Knowledge and power interact with each other and are dependent on each other for the creation of a specific environment, through which they are utilized to ensure relevance and maintenance of a constituted reality. In the discourse of national security, power is exercised over the "population and the accumulation of knowledge about it are two sides of a single process: not power and knowledge, but power-knowledge" (Sheridan, 1980: 162).

In the processes of constituted reality, knowledge and power need to be understood as an interlinked social process through which discourse intensifies the relationship between the state and the citizenry. Foucault's understanding of the power-knowledge relationship is one where power produces knowledge ("power and knowledge directly imply one another"), and it is "the processes and struggles that traverse it and of which it is made up, that determines the forms and possible domains of knowledge" (Foucault, 1979: 28). Language is the mechanism through which the power/knowledge dyad is enacted.

Language

The language employed by national security discourse implicates meaning and values as it constructs and constitutes the body of knowledge surrounding national security and terrorism. It is through "reality-making scripts" and language practices that discourse interprets, produces, and reproduces the world around "US" (Der Derian and Shapiro, 1989). Language is at the heart of any discourse. It provides the tools through which meanings and values are applied to words in the construction of ideas and practices.

This discussion illustrates how language, knowledge, and power, utilized in national security discourse, have incorporated terrorism through a specific, highly controlled "regime of truth". This "regime of truth" is a fabricated reality based on the workings and interests of those who constitute and articulate the "truth."

Through the narrative of national security discourse, language, knowledge, and power are contained and appropriated by national security in the production of "regimes of truth." Language is used to produce specific constituted realities. The discourse of national security ensures that the narrative emphasized employs language, meaningful speech, and other forms of action. These are the practices through which knowledge and power are constituted.

Terrorism is constructed and reconstructed within specific uses of language, and that language is utilized to ensure that the meanings assigned to terrorism fall within the domain of security – meanings that allow the continued domination of national security discourse in how terrorism is dealt with and responded to. In this sense, language is

> the mobilization of meaning in order to sustain relations of domination *that* commonly involves…a splitting of the referential domain. The terms of a discourse may carry out their ideological role by explicitly referring to one thing and implicitly referring to another, by entangling these multiple referents in a way which serves to sustain domination .(Thompson, 1984: 200)

When looking at language, questions need to be raised as to the uses of language that include: To whom is language useful? What is language's challenge? What are the practical purposes of language? What words support the discourse? How are concepts constructed, contextualized, and joined? In which situation is language employed? By whom? What is the speaker's intention? Which other words support the meaning and constitute the illocutionary force?

As described above, language appropriates words and constructs its own meaning. Take for instance four simple words, "John," "dog," "bit," and "the." Two intelligible sentences can be constructed out of these four words: "The dog bit John" and "John bit the dog." Both of these sentences, using the same words in different order, initially result in two different meanings. One sentence, "the dog bit John," constitutes a whole set of meanings and possibilities. Through this sentence, one could infer a host of knowledges: John could have provoked the dog and that is why the dog bit John; John could have been a victim of a mad dog; and the owners of the dog are irresponsible allowing a dog that bites loose. On the other hand, "John bit the dog" calls into being a very different set of knowledges: John was playing with the dog and accidentally bit the dog; John is a lunatic who goes around biting dogs; John could have been protecting himself from an attack and bit the dog to show force and non-fear. One could infer a similar story about John being a victim through the two separate constructions. The various meanings in these two examples are possible because language works in discourse. How meaning is manipulated becomes the key to representation and interpretation – representation and interpretation based on the constitutive effects possible in language. As a result, language's constitutive effects are experiential and based on social practices.

In this way, language works within discourse to shape and mold the context through which words and meanings are applied, constructed, and constituted. The use of language to construct and constitute meaning through manipulation of words is how national security discourse uses language to control and shape how terrorism is appropriated into its discourse. The language employed in discourse is critical in the development of terrorism as an instrument. It is one way in which the discourse of national security refigures and represents (re-presents) terrorism as part of security within the instruments of statecraft.

The above example shows how through control of word order one can control meaning. Language also works within discourse to guarantee that the right contextualization is applied to a given situation or practice. National security discourse ensures that language is an excluding practice which emphasizes the split between self and other. Language is used and manipulated in discourse as an excluding practice that constitutes an environment, situation, and knowledge base. As a result, although language structure and experience are important it is the community that one belongs to (communities of practice) that allows for the specific ways language is developed and employed.

In addition to community order and contextualization, language also incorporates a set of histories that work within specific situation to ensure the creation, maintenance, or appropriation of a certain discourse/narrative. This concept of language and social interaction (system and context) was first explored by Ferdinand de Saussure in the distinction made between *langue* and *parole*. In 1916, Saussure developed the notion that within language there exists the system or entity in which signs exist. He called this all-encompassing system, *langue* – the mechanisms and structure of a language. In order to incorporate social interaction in language, Saussure developed the notion of *parole* – the individual use of the system of language (Saussure, 1990 and Fairclough, 1989, 1995).

These linguistic concepts help in the understanding of how language works as a system of regulated practices. Although Saussurean structuralism made great strides in showing how language was made up of a structured system, *langue*, and social relations, *parole*, language was still constructed as a decontextualized abstract system of signs in which the meaning of an item within the system was based on the opposition to other items. The work of Bakhtin in the 1920s and 1930s broke with traditional Saussurean structuralism by constructing language as a lived reality. Under the Bakhtinian model, language is derived from the ambiguities of life and is essentially social (Fairclough, 1989, 1995). Thus, in a combination of Saussurean structuralism and Bakhtinian concepts, language is seen as a combination of structure and social practice where the meanings of words are based on the accumulated dynamic social use of language in a variety of contexts.

What is most interesting in the process of language performance is the way signifier and signified are constructed, as language controls, uses, and manipulates key concepts. This text uses the sign of terrorism to examine the mapping of one object onto another and to then locate it functionally in a specific context. Thus, terrorism is constructed out of two units, the signifier and the signified. In addition, the signifier and signified is constituted with a third item, the referent – something that resides outside the sign. The sign of terrorism joins the signifier and the signified

inextricably together. In the sign there is a mutual implication between the signifier, the signified, and the referent. In construction of the sign, relations of reference are incorporated as the sign becomes a device expressing the meaning of the signified. The sign/signified relationship allows the system of language to express salient values.

External factors or practices link to language to effect meaning. To express this, an examination of the sentence, "Woman without her man is nothing" becomes useful. There are two grammatical treatments of this sentence. The first is "Woman, without her, man is nothing." The second treatment is "Woman, without her man, is nothing." The structural ambiguity displayed in these two grammatical treatments manifests how language reflects the development of objects. Language conveys the captured meanings that are articulated by those in control of establishing and applying meaning as specific objects emerge. In this sense, terrorism is given meaning, constituted, by the power regime in order to attach a specific sign, meaning to the word. Thus, language and discourse reflect the constituted realities of a historical period.

The ambiguity possible in grammatical differences conveys the historical and contextual framework of language. Language is more then just utterances or written text, more than the collection and manipulation of words; language is a host of behaviors and actions, symbols and signs, practices and ideas. Through language the world is made knowable and controlled in a very specific and delimited field. Discourse plays on all of language's nuances to ensure enacted control. It is through the use of language within discourse that the world is known to humans.

Using this understanding of how language works within a contextualized world, this chapter explores the language employed within the U.S. responses to terrorism. Although terrorism is not a new phenomenon and has been around for centuries, it was not until the Iranian Hostage Crisis that the concept of terrorism, initiated in the 1972 Munich Olympic Massacre, came to the forefront of America's consciousness as having specific realities and consequences for Americans. On 4 November 1979, Iranian Shiite militia attacked the American embassy in Tehran, Iran. 52 Americans were taken captive and the subsequent crisis would last for the next fourteen months. On 9 November 1979, the White House released a statement expressing President Carter's feelings and noting that the president

> is pursuing every possible avenue in a situation that is extremely volatile and difficult. His efforts involve many countries and individuals. Many of these efforts must of necessity be concluded without publicity, and all require the calmest possible atmosphere (1979: 2103).

Given that this address came five days after the storming of the embassy, at first glance it is quite surprising that the language employed is one of calm and patience. On further review, however, one notices images of uncertainty, implied threats, and covert operations. A presidential father figure is alluded to in mention of the secrecy of some actions and his suggested ability to govern over volatile and hostile situations. Familial relations, honored in American values, are again alluded to in the presidential news conference on 28 November 1979. The news conference started out with President Carter explaining that "there may be some questions tonight which I

cannot answer fully, because of my concern for the well being of the hostages"
(1979: 2167). President Carter went on to inform the public of U.S. foreign policy
and then admonished the terrorists that

> this nation will never yield to blackmail…The actions of Iran have shocked the civilized
> world. For a government to applaud mob violence and terrorism, for a government
> actually to support and, in effect, participate in the taking and the holding of hostages is
> unprecedented in human history. This violates not only the most fundamental precepts of
> international law but the common ethical and religious heritage of humanity. There is no
> recognized religious faith on Earth which condones kidnapping. There is no recognized
> religious faith on Earth which condones blackmail. There is certainly no religious faith on
> Earth which condones the sustained abuse of innocent people. (Carter, 1979: 2167–68)

This statement depends on a host of knowledges and practices as part of the
continued articulation and re-articulation of statecraft. Familial relations are now
extended to a "civilized" international community with the United States taking the
role of the father figure. This notion is presented in the use of language that speaks
to the civilized world as being shocked, the violation of international law – rules of
an international "family" – and the pejorative language regarding non-recognized
religion.

Familial relations are again addressed in a 28 December 1979, speech which
began with President Carter stating that the United States

> reserves the right to protect our citizens and our vital interests in whatever way we
> consider appropriate in keeping with principles of international law and the Charter of the
> United Nations. But our preference is now, and has been from the beginning of this crisis,
> for a quick and a peaceful solution of this problem through concerted international action.
> (Carter, 1979: 2287)

This rhetoric continued and heightened stress on the values and moral righteousness of
the United States in a presidential interview on 12 April 1980. During this interview,
President Carter pleaded with the international "family" to honor sanctions against
Iran and "stand together in this condemnation of terrorism, a threat to our country,
to all of [us], and particularly the smaller nations who don't have the economic or
political or military power to protect its interest" (1980: 669). In another interview
on 19 April 1980, President Carter informed the public that the United States can
respond however it deems necessary:

> we are the subject, as a nation, through our Embassy, of invasion of American territory
> – Embassy compounds are sovereign territory. American nationals, citizens, have been
> captured by international terrorists. So, under international law, we have the right to act as
> we choose to redress those grievances, just as though our continental United States was
> invaded. (Carter, 1980: 745)

Suggestions of familial relations of a larger international "family" conveyed in
Presidents Carter's discourse regarding terrorism were intensified in President
Reagan's discourse, which added a sense of *noblesse oblige – noblesse oblige* in the
negative sense writer Flannery O'Connor presents when she stresses the idea that it

is a requirement for "nobles" to fix the world and effect change, a change, however, that benefits the "nobles". Under President Reagan, the citizenry also became solidified as an inclusive American family. In a 29 January 1981 news conference after the homecoming of the American hostages of the Iranian Embassy, President Reagan discussed responses to future terrorist incidents stating,

> this is big and powerful nation. It has a lot of options open to it, and to try and specify now just particularly what you should do I think is one of the things that's been wrong. People have gone to bed in some of these countries that have done these things to us in the past confident that they can go to sleep, wake up in the morning, and the United States wouldn't have taken any action. What I meant by that phrase was that anyone who does these things, violates our rights in the future, is not going to be able to go to bed with that confidence. (Reagan, 1981: 56–7)

Two years later the notion of *noblesse oblige* as a response to perceived criminal activity strengthened when President Reagan, on 18 April 1983, in response to the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, informed the nation,

> our embassy in Beirut was the target this morning of a vicious, terrorist bombing. This cowardly act has claimed a number of killed and wounded…[T]his criminal attack on a diplomatic establishment will not deter us from our goals of peace in the region. We will do what we know to be right. (Reagan, 1983: 550–51)

It is interesting how the family becomes part of the discourse regarding national security in the face of terrorism. *In the Name of the Father* reflects on the idea of the state as family when during the trial, the defense attorney cross examining the inspector, states that "this bombing campaign struck deep into the British people's sense of security. The people looked to you to find those responsible." The state's ability, as the father figure, to provide safety and security is called into question, and thus must be handled in any way that ensures the safety of the family. *The Devil's Own* makes the same claim when, at the end of the movie, Tom O'Meara attempts to arrest Frankie Maguire. The following dialogue ensues:

Tom:	Hold it! Let me see your hands. I got to bring you in, Son.
Frankie:	I'm not going back, Tom.
Tom:	The killing's got to stop, Frankie.
Frankie:	Then you'll have to kill to stop it. Gets a bit complicated, doesn't it?
Tom:	Nobody has to get killed.
Frankie:	Go home to your family, Tom.
Tom:	Don't move!
Frankie:	I'm not going back!

Tom, representing the American family, is forced to reconcile the fact that in order to ensure safety and security, there has to be killing and that circumstances do get complicated. The American family, that is the United States, is often criticized for this very contradiction. While the United States promotes ideals of truth, justice, and the "American" way, blood is shed in its pursuit – proxy wars, U.S. intervention in Central and South America, and preemptive wars. The American family is never

forced to face this reality, since much is done from the external vantage point through "surgical" strikes and support for non-democratic regimes. When terrorism calls attention to the fact that blood is shed in other parts of the world due to American pursuits, American exceptionalism is cited and universalism made secure in America's rights and authority. Circumstances get complicated when the morality that "we" choose to promote turns back and confronts "us" head on.

Despite the complications of self realization, the constituted reality of the American family continues strong as it contains all good and pure aspects of what the United States purports to be – the "good," "solid," "just," "religious," "faithful," and "honest" – which all work to provide the basis for the power of the United States. *In the Name of the Father* addresses this issue when Gerry confronts his father in the jail cell:

Gerry:	When that mad bastard out there threatened to shoot you, I was happy. I swear to God. Honest to God, I was happy. I was delighted! You know why? Because finally it was all over. It was over! You see? And then I knew I was bad. I knew I was bad then, you see, so I started to cry. I started to tell lies. Same fuckin' lies I've been tellin' all my gobshite fuckin' life. Huh? {Babbling} You know what that means? It means words don't mean anything.
Guiseppe:	Stop this.
Gerry:	Huh? Only this time I got everyone into trouble. But it doesn't matter. 'Cause I'm no good anyhow. It doesn't matter. Keep away from me. You've been followin' me all your fuckin' life, and now here you are in jail. You doing this deliberately? You doing this deliberately?
Guiseppe:	No. Stop it! *With a slap to Gerry's face*
Gerry:	You call that a fuckin' dig, huh? Do you call that a fuckin' dig? Hit me harder. Hit me fuckin' harder! For once in your fuckin' life, hit me like a real father!

In going against his father and thinking "bad" thoughts, Gerry ends up confessing to a crime he did not commit. By attacking the values of the family, Gerry symbolizes all that is wrong with the non-familial world and as a result suffers the wrath of the family as represented by the State.

The Devil's Own also takes on the familial when Tom discovers Frankie's "true" nature. The role of national security discourse is revealed when Tom is awakened to the "true" nature of Frankie after arms dealers threaten his family (the nation). However, Tom's perception of Frankie's "true" nature is only an American reading of the situation and thus represents the paradox between an American family and the International family.

Tom:	Who are you? Did you bring this into my house?
Frankie:	Aye.
Tom:	Where did you go when you left here?
Frankie:	I went to make sure it wouldn't happen again.
Tom:	It was all lies, wasn't it? Everything you told us.

Frankie: Except for how I feel about you and your family. That wasn't a lie. I'm sorry. I never meant for this to happen. It just – Look, I'm in a bind. I don't have time to explain. I'll get my gear, and I'll be clear out.

Tom: What's the money for? I was thinking guns. I was thinking IRA.

Frankie: I need that money, Tom.

Tom: Why? So other eight-year-olds can watch their fathers…gunned down in front of them? If this money leaves here…more people will die. Can you tell me that won't happen?

Frankie: Let me ask you, what if…tonight, everything you had was burned down around you? What if you and yours…walked out on the street, and you were spat on? Told you were nothing? You're no good? What if it was one of yours cut down by a plastic bullet? One of yours you had to bury? Would you just sit back and say: "Oh, well. Remember Annie? She was such a sweet one. God Bless her." Just try to make some kind of sense of it. You fucking try. You look around at all the people and you realize… you're dealing with a government that's failed everyone. All sides. We're normal people in an abnormal situation. Fighting a disgusting, ugly war that you can't understand…because you haven't lived it. I'm sorry it's gone badly between us. You're a good man. But understand…I have to go.

Tom: (*raising the gun*) I'm also a cop… and I can't let you go.

The conflict and paradox that exists in the attempt to promote the American family is perfectly represented in this scene from *The Devil's Own*. This scene also reflects the problems inherent within a nation's constituted reality. While Tom is registering the situation based on his own realities, which are formulated on one set of practices and knowledges, Frankie is attempting to awaken realizations in Tom that he has a very different set of beliefs and his own reality. Frankie's reality is based on a set of knowledges that have grown out of very different practices, experiences, and histories. Frankie attempts to force this realization by using Tom's own daughter's name, Annie, in recanting a very Irish story. In the end, although Tom is seemingly moved by this Irish story, his moral code and sense of right and wrong prevail as he says, raising his gun – a symbol of masculine strength and authoritarian power – "I'm also a cop… and I can't let you go."

This scene is especially poignant in that despite all the rhetoric surrounding the use of the familial in American culture and society, American national security discourse ensures that the practices and controls of the state triumph at the end of the struggle between conflicting realities. Establishment and enforcement of the controls and practices of the state are conducted through specific knowledge and power possessed by the state.

Knowledge and Power

While the state uses its power to ensure that conflicting realities are controlled and conquered, language provides a foundation, a truth-making tool, through which power and knowledge can interact and exercise authority. In examining the means through which a state uses its power in the deployment of a specific language and

knowledge, it becomes useful to first explore what power has been taken to be and how it functions within the political. The work of Jeffrey Isaac (1987) and his description of the three faces of power is a useful model to explore how power works within the political. Isaac sees the first face of power as power over something or someone; the second face of power is a power to influence on a relational basis; and the third face of power possesses a radical element that introduces interest into the equation.

The first face of power, "power over," where "A has power over B" (Isaac, 1987: 28), is often the way in which a discussion of power unfolds. This is especially true in the discussion of power and violence. C. Wright Mills, in *The Power Elite,* states, "all politics is a struggle for power…and the ultimate kind of power is violence" (1956: 171). The concept of power over, with its coercive and observable nature, is often combined with a discussion of violence, focusing on the causes and effects of power. Thus power, with the utilization of violence in its coercive nature, produces a contingency that "arises entirely from experience…and objects are particularly conjoined with each other" (Hume in Isaac, 1987: 21). In a discussion of terrorism, one could easily rely only on the first face of power, either as an attempt of terrorists to react to "power over" being exercised or as an attempt to foster their own power, or both. However persuasive this model, coercive function of power, Hannah Arendt suggests, "power and violence are opposites" (1970: 5). The notion of power and violence as opposites rests on the idea that

> violence appears where power is in jeopardy, but left to its own course it ends in power's disappearance…warfare is still with us…the simple fact that no substitute for this final arbiter in international affairs has yet appeared on the political scene. (Arendt, 1970: 5)

Although there may be some credibility to Arendt's claim that violence and power are opposites, this chapter argues instead that violence is part of interconnected spheres of power. As a part of interconnected spheres, violence is not only present within power but also outside of power, and the inside and outside aspects of violence within power function on separate trajectories. These trajectories, however, are cyclical in nature and interact/intersect with each other at varying points in time and space. When violence is outside power, it assumes both a supportive and challenging role to power. The supportive role of violence to power is revealed in the Weberian idea that the modern state needs to consistently maintain its monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in enforcement of its order. In an environment where violence exists outside the control of the power regime, the power regime exercises its authority to construct itself as the sole legitimate producer of violence (Weber, 1978).

Thus, the power regime maintains its authority in the control and deployment of violence. The authority on which the power regime bases its control is the creation of rational law. Rational law is based on the foundational existence of rights, values, and identity. Once this genealogy is established, rational law becomes "devoid of all sacredness of content" and therefore does not rest upon values (Weber, 1978: 895). This is a central feature of the Weberian state at the political level, in that the mere formality of the law of the state constitutes the legitimation of power. In this way, "the most common form of legitimacy is the belief in legality, the compliance with

enactments which are formally correct and which have been made in the accustomed manner" (Weber, 1978, 37).

The second function of violence outside power, the creation of challenges to power, can be understood through a critique of Arendt's work. In the above quoted passage, Arendt suggests that no substitute for violence has appeared on the political scene. However, terrorism – as an outside source of violence – has appeared in the political landscape as a possible challenge to the legitimacy and control of power exercised by the state. Terrorism has progressively materialized and assumed a transformative role against power regimes. As the power regime is confronted with the potentiality of terrorism's transformative role, it attempts to maintain and reify its authority and "sovereignty" against "a kind of surrogate, a substitute for the real-impossible sovereign" (Žižek, 1989: 147).

The focus on terrorism in the discourse of national security and its assignment of pejorative attributes speaks to possibilities inherent within the transformative nature of terrorism. Foucault (1980) acknowledges the transformative nature of resistance when he suggests that

> resistance to power does not have to come from elsewhere to be real, nor is it inexorably frustrated through being the compatriot of power. It exists all the more by being in the same place as power; hence, like power, resistance is multiple and can be integrated in global strategies. (Foucault, :1980: 142)

However, it is also important to note that terrorism may both support and challenge the power regime, just as violence does. As terrorism becomes a site of resistance, it also becomes a focus for state control by virtue of its very resistance.

In the assumption of its transformative role, terrorism also reveals the second face of power, as the regime employs both decision and non-decision in the exercise of power. The power regime not only actively pursues actions and policies that counter terrorism; it also uses silence to suppress, hide, or transform latent or manifest challenges to its values and authority. Here, power exists as a complex web of determinants and relations that is revealed not only at the sites where it is exercised but also at the sites where it is hidden and silenced. Thus, power may exercise both the "mobilization of a bias" as well as the "non-mobilization of a bias" (Isaac, 1987: 31). Power is exercised as it brings forward specific ideas while suppressing others.

This second face of power is especially seen in how the United States responded to terrorism prior to 11 September 2001. Prior to the attacks, the United States offered a rather nondescript reaction to worldwide terrorism. As long as U.S. interests or properties were not threatened, the potential security issues posed by terrorism were not given credibility (see the second and third chapters for a discussion of historical presidential rhetoric). It was only after the 2001 attacks on U.S. soil that terrorism and its potential effects entered the mainstream agenda for the United States.

Finally, the third face of power, radical power, is revealed in the post-2001 prominence and importance that terrorism gained as a threat to the security of the state and the subsequent practice of absolute power of the state over all aspects of security. This radical face of power is made legible when "A exercises power over B" and "A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests" (Lukes in Isaac, 1987:

34). In this aspect, power appears as the process of articulating and constraining interests. This becomes the most radical of all aspects of power, given that B's interests are suppressed and B has no opportunity to express its interest or confront its suppression.

The utilization of radical power implies a host of practices that apply specific knowledge bases within the discursive functions of power. As a result, what is articulated and what is silenced depends on concealed knowledges and histories that the practices of power put into effect. The discursive formations of power, particularly in this radical face, are important as one of the main concepts in understanding how power has been exercised in the formation of the political/power regime. This radical face of power is able to construct terrorism as terror came home to roost with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, Pentagon, and downing of the fourth plane in Pennsylvania. From that moment on, the United States entered into a new global order of governance.

In this new realm of global governance, the United States mobilized the state's "real possibility of deciding in a concrete situation upon the enemy and the ability to fight him with the power emanating from the entity" (Schmitt, 1996: 45). The creation of an enemy played itself out on 26 October 2001, when President George W. Bush signed into law the "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act," better known as the PATRIOT Act. The PATRIOT Act introduced a plethora of legislative changes and significant amendments to over fifteen statutes. These changes significantly increased the surveillance and investigative powers of law enforcement agencies in the United States, while overriding a system of checks and balances and due process guarantees and that have traditionally been set forth to safeguard civil liberties. The radical power employed here created a state of exception. Thus, the state of exception is best viewed as the enactment of the power regime limiting the interests of the citizenry while initiating specific interests of the state.

It is important to note that the deployment of radical power creates a state of exception not just in the enactment of the signing of a law that curtails civil liberties and individual, inalienable rights. The state of exception also lies in the fact that in less than a week after the attacks of 11 September 2001, legislative action was introduced with great haste and passed with little debate, and without a House, Senate, or conference report. In addition to this hasty suspension of rights and consolidation of power, many of the terms of the PATRIOT Act relating to electronic surveillance had already been proposed by the Clinton Administration, at which time they were subject to immense criticism and debate. However, the advent of terror on U.S. soil convinced

> overwhelming majorities in Congress that law enforcement and national security officials need new legal tools to fight terrorism. But we should not forget what gave rise to the original opposition – many aspects of the bill increase the opportunity for law enforcement and the intelligence community to return to an era where they monitored and sometimes harassed individuals who were merely exercising their First Amendment rights. Nothing that occurred on September 11 mandates that we return to such an era. (Podesta, Winter 2002)

Radical power, as an exception, is manifested as a response to a traumatic event that is incorporated into the public discourse as a major threat which has the potential to reoccur if not addressed properly and swiftly. The perceived threat can be further intensified by the state when it is rooted in a basic fear of the other, easily accelerated by the creation of a friend/foe dyad. This distinction of friend/foe is the "political distinction to which political actions and motives can be reduced" relying on a basic human instinct of the fear of the other (Schmitt, 1996: 26). This fear, intrinsic to the friend/foe dyad, can be seen in comments made by Senator Russ Feingold. Senator Feingold, the only Senator to oppose the Act, was particularly concerned with the effects the Act might have on the civil liberties of immigrants. Feingold expressed his concern and certainty that the enhanced authority to profile and engage in electronic surveillance would be disproportionately wielded against the expression of the other:

> Now here is where my caution in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks and my concerns over the reach of the anti-terrorism bill come together. To the extent that the expansive new immigration powers that the bill grants to the Attorney General are subject to abuse, who do we think that is most likely to bear the brunt of the abuse? It won't be immigrants from Ireland. It won't be immigrants from El Salvador or Nicaragua. It won't even be immigrants from Haiti or Africa. It will be immigrants from Arab, Muslim and South Asian countries. In the wake of these terrible events our government has been given vast new powers and they may fall most heavily on a minority of our population who already feel particularly acutely the pain of this disaster. (Senate Floor, 25 October 2001).

The ability of the PATRIOT Act to pass with only one dissenting voice calls attention to the fact that a state of exception commences from within the realm of juridical norms, but once radical power is enabled, it establishes a system whereby norms are suspended. As a result, power is maintained and strengthened while forming specific knowledges of security in the face of terror from the other.

In this review of the three faces of power, power presents itself as an "ever present force that comes from everywhere" (Foucault, 1978: 93). All three aspects of power work in tandem to support enforcement of the power regime. It thus becomes imperative to not view power as single force but rather an assimilation and interplay of different forces. Power is a "multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization" (Foucault, 1978: 92). Such a multiplicity of forces is expressed in a union of discursive formations that manifest power functions in relation to knowledge, utilizing language to create a site of practice called power/knowledge. This site of practice becomes useful in understanding how language, knowledge, and power work in tandem to produce specific conceptualizations of an environment. Power produces and reproduces social order within practices and processes that demand the generation of consent through ideology and the inculcation of self-disciplining practices in the citizenry (Fairclough, 1995). Language, knowledge, and power merge in the practices and processes of the generation of consent. In this union, one is provided a privileged terrain for observing the interplay between the power regime and the knowledge produced and put to use in the practices of statecraft.

Based on the assumption that power and knowledge are integrally related (Foucault, 1979), discursive formations provide a system of power the state finds useful given that discourse has distinctive characteristics consisting of practices and institutions that produce knowledge. A specific discourse serves a function: it brings objects into being by identifying them, delimiting their field, and specifying them (Foucault, 1972). Discursive formations exercise power when language is utilized to convey a specific knowledge structure as a system of representation. In this representation "power and knowledge are joined together" as a "multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies" (Foucault, 1978: 100). Exploring discourse, power and knowledge work together to ensure that some things are discussed while others are concealed. In this way, "discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (Foucault, 1978: 101). The process of knowledge and power uses language to enact its control in the revelation and concealment of items and terms.

Thus, "discourse is about the production of knowledge through language" (Hall 1992: 291). Language – what is said – and practice – what is done – are brought together in discourse as it constructs the topic, defining, producing, and governing the processes that constitute knowledge which reflects the practice of power. Discourse is the "shared cultural space" in which representation is conducted – a space where signifying practices regulate and organize acts and order social life (Hall, 1997: 10). Within discourse, objects of knowledge are centralized, controlled, constituted, and maintained via programs fro making specific subjects meaningful. In this vein, terrorism is not an objective fact that remains constant in all historical periods, nor does it mean the same thing in all cultures. Terrorism's conceptualization is based on specific knowledge formations incorporating experiences, cultures, and histories of a specific period. The convergence of these experiences, cultures, and histories creates a definitive discursive formation through which the object, terrorism, becomes an intelligible construct in the process of creating imagined states of relevance.

Terrorism is a constructed phenomenon and the subject terrorism is based on knowledges and practices that are historical and culturally specific. To iterate this point, let us again turn to *The Devil's Own*.

The Captain:	Tommy…Some people here to see you. FBI. This is sergeant Thomas O'Meara.
FBI:	Sergeant, I'm Evan Stanley, this is Art Fisher. New York Field Office, FBI.
Art:	We'd like to ask you a few questions about your association…with Frankie Maguire.
Tom:	Who's Frankie Maguire?
Evan:	Frankie Austin Maguire…a.k.a., Frankie the Angel. Born July 27, 1964. Belfast, Northern Ireland. From December 1985, he was a unit commander. The Falls Road active service unit, Belfast Brigade … Provisional Irish Republican Army. Wanted for the crime of murder. Thirteen British soldiers…eleven police officers.
Harry Solan:	One thing I'm not clear about. Exactly what is your relationship with *this terrorist*…Sergeant O'Meara?

Tom:	Who are you?
Harry Solan:	Harry Solan, Sergeant. British Intelligence. You are Irish.
Tom:	So is cardinal O'Connor.
Harry Solan:	I've been tracking these murderous bastards for nearly two years. He's the last of them. A month ago we were informed that he had surfaced in New York. I have been given the authority, by both my government and yours…to use any means necessary to bring closure to this issue.
Tom:	You want to talk to me again…you read me my rights.
Captain:	Tom, I want you to cooperate with these people. Don't piss your career away over this.
Tom:	They're not gonna bring him in. They're gonna kill him.

Throughout the movie there is no doubt regarding the tension between the IRA (representing all terrorists) and the state, however, it is not until this scene that Frankie is named as a "terrorist" and part of a group of "murderous bastards." In the process of naming terrorists, the state is framing Frankie in a diminished capacity, while at the same time calling forth a host of knowledges which, in an inverse way, lend him a specific authority as a terrorist. With the authority given him by two governments, the British intelligence agent practices the power of the state, portraying his own constituted reality as based on his experiences in Northern Ireland, his language, his government's language and experiences, and the language and experiences of the international legal system. This movie, while ultimately refining a statist position, portrays the problematics of statist definitions.

The British SAS Agent's discourse is used in the film to maintain the power of statecraft by continually articulating and re-articulating the knowledge base. Specific knowledge is put to work within the situation to regulate construction of the other. The power of the state is discursive practice supported by regulated knowledge. In the use of discourse, language is the site of politics in the hands of those who have the power to construct knowledge and thus control and manipulate the idea being brought forward. In statecraft, the relationship between power and knowledge is one of institutions and techniques that employ diverse discursive elements, linguistic and non-linguistic, that include agents, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, scientific statements, and morality. Display of power is "linked to certain co-ordinates of knowledge" and consists of "strategies of relations of forces supporting and supported by types of knowledge" (Foucault, 1980: 194 and 196).

Knowledge and power consistently work together as power/knowledge to maintain specific realities, as "there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations" (Foucault, 1979: 27). Power/knowledge works to ensure the application and effectiveness of a constituted reality through the articulation and re-articulation of a knowledge base. The state knowledge structure is consistently in the process of being controlled and manipulated. It is in control and manipulation that power/knowledge reveals the uses ascribed to a specific item – terrorism in this case – and the power regime that enacts the attribution (Kertzer, in Herzfeld, 2001). This control and manipulation can be seen in the fact that despite the United States not knowing exactly who attacked U.S. diplomats in Beirut, as

expressed in the first line, President Reagan continued to use a specific knowledge base when he stated,

> we don't know yet who bears responsibility for this terrible deed. What we do know is that the terrorists who planned and carried out this cynical and cowardly attack have failed in their purpose. They mistakenly believe that if they're cruel enough and violent enough, they will weaken American resolve and deter us from our effort to help build a lasting and secure peace in the Middle East. Well, if they think that, they don't know too much about America. As a free people, we've never allowed intimidation to stop us from doing what we know to be right. (Reagan, 1983: 577)

Articulation and maintenance of an American knowledge base continued within this address as President Reagan emphasized, "we're committed to giving the people of Lebanon the chance they deserve to lead normal lives, free from violence and free from the presence of all unwanted foreign forces on their soil" (1983: 577). President Reagan's comments conform to Foucault's notion of the productive face of power. Foucault conceived a new way of thinking about power as "not functioning in the form of a chain – it circulates. It is never monopolized by one center. It is deployed and exercised through a net-like organization" (Foucault, 1980: 98). According to this way of thinking, everything and everyone is implicated in the circulation of power – oppressors and oppressed. It could be argued that President Reagan's comments at once realized their own power and used this power to "traverse[s] and produce[s] things,...induce[s] pleasure, form[s] knowledge, and produce[s] discourse" (Foucault, 1980: 119).

President Reagan's implementation of power through discursive formations and maintenance of knowledge apparatuses continued to the end of his administration. In a news conference on 7 May 1986, at the Tokyo Summit on Terrorism, President Reagan warned terrorists and states supporting terrorists, "we can take whatever action is necessary to curb, to stop, and to punish, if they are successful in a terrorist attempt, those who practice terrorism and the States who back and support it" (1986: 564).

In this same news conference, President Reagan revealed how knowledge is experiential, as he explained his views on the difference between a terrorist and a freedom fighter by stating,

> people that are customarily called freedom fighters are fighting against organized military forces. Even if it is a civil war, it is a war. Terrorists, as I said before, are people who deliberately choose as a target to murder and maim innocent people who have no influence upon the things that they think of as their political goals. And therefore, those people must be treated as to what they are, and that is they are base criminals. (Reagan, 1986: 564)

Throughout national security discourse's appropriation of terrorism into its discursive formation, one can see how power and knowledge are relational – a "co-ordinated cluster of relations." Discursive formations work with specific mechanisms that circulate knowledge (Foucault, 1980). Within these mechanisms, knowledge assumes certain authority over "truth," as well as having the power to make things "true." According to Foucault (1980) what we know about certain issues at certain times

has a bearing on how we regulate and control the object. Knowledge constituted around crime, for instance, allows us to regulate, control, and punish criminals. This leads to the recognition that there is no knowledge or truth in an absolute sense but that truth is contextual. Truth and knowledge are not constant over various periods, truth is made up of specific contexts, periods, and experiences to create a discursive formation sustaining "regimes of truth." For Foucault (1980), truth

> isn't outside power, or lacking in power: contrary to a myth whose history and functions would repay further study, truth isn't the reward of free spirits, the child of protracted solitude, nor privilege of those who have succeeded in liberating themselves. Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its régime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (Foucault, 1980: 131)

In the Name of the Father and *The Devil's Own* speak to how knowledge and power constitute specific "regimes of truth" within the state. I have already examined how Frankie's attempt to bring about revelations in Tom about conflicting realities is representative of the constitutive nature of truth, knowledge, and reality. However, *In the Name of the Father* offers an arresting portrayal of how the state, through its exercise of power, can construct and control the discursive formation that delimits the realm of language, production of knowledge structures, and the development of "truths." This exercise of power within sites of statecraft, the legal system being one site, is able to command the performative functions of its subjects. What is interesting about the scene below is that it is only when the site of power is investigated and interrogated that truth is revealed.[3] Gareth, Gerry's attorney, explains to him the information she found regarding the state's control of knowledge. Gerry's responds in kind by stating:

Gerry:	Fuck 'em, Fuck 'em
Gareth:	It's good news Gerry.
Gerry:	We're talking about a piece of evidence that says they knew all along that they let my father die in prison, would you mind telling me what's so good about that, Gareth.
Gareth:	We'll get them in court.
Gerry:	We'll get them in court, for fuck sake, will you catch yourself on? They've kept us in prison for 15 years, they can keep us in for another 15 years. It's

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3   Throughout her investigation into the police records of Gerry Conlon, Gareth is forced strictly to adhere to a specialized regime designed to ensure the control of information and the power of the state. It is only when an "uninformed" officer of the state – I use this term cautiously just to represent his being unaware of the circumstances surrounding Gareth's ability to investigate – is introduced to the process, that Gareth is given full access to the state exercise of power and thus is able to fully interrogate the circumstances of the power/knowledge relationship.

the fuckin government, Gareth. It's the fuckin government. What are they gonna say. We made a wee bit of a mistake but you can get your life on.

Gerry's realization and comment about it being the "fuckin government" – that it can do whatever it wants – calls attention to those specific sites of power through which national security discourse is used to fabricate certain situations in attempts to control other situations. In addition, Gerry's comments about how the government will respond, "we made a wee bit of a mistake but you can get your life on," re-presents his grasp of the authority of the state. In this comment, Gerry is acknowledging that he too is a site for the exercise of state power. There is not much more that the government can or will do, except allow him to resume his life. The state, to maintain the processes of statecraft, must continually produce and re-produce, articulate and re-articulate its power through various sites in order to ensure its continued legitimacy. This is represented in another scene when Gareth confronts the police commissioner who was in charge of the investigation fifteen years earlier, about the uncovered evidence.

Dixon:	I swear by almighty God, that the evidence I give, shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.
Gareth:	Do you know who this is, Mr. Dixon?
Dixon:	No, I don't.
Gareth:	Well, then would you be so kind as to read the statement that you took from him on the third of November 1974? A statement, My Lord, which vindicates all of these people, all these innocent people.
Prosecution:	My Lord, I need to see a copy of this statement.
Gareth:	Someone, either that man or his superior or his superior's superior, ordered that these people be used as scapegoats by a nation that was baying for blood in return for the innocent blood spilled on the streets of Guildford. And, by God, you got your blood, Mr. Dixon!
Prosecution:	This is a political speech!
Gareth:	You got the life blood…You got fifteen years of blood and sweat and pain from my client whose only crime was that he was bloody well Irish, and he was foolish, and he was in the wrong place at the wrong time!
Judge:	Mrs. Pierce, I will have you removed from the court. (*Judge reads the testimony*.)
Gareth:	My Lord, this document brings the entire British legal system into disrepute. My Lord, this alibi for Gerry Conlon was taken by Mr. Dixon one month after Gerry Conlon was arrested. This note was attached to it when I found it in police files. It reads, "Not to be shown to the defense." I have one question to ask of you, Mr. Dixon. Why was the alibi for Gerry Conlon, who was charged with the murder of five innocent people, kept from the defense?
Spectators:	Give us an answer! Answer the question!
Judge:	Silence!
Spectator:	It's about time!
Prosecution:	My Lord, I would like to approach the bench.
Judge:	This is most irregular.
Prosecution:	Yes, I'm aware of that, My Lord.

Judge:	Very Well. *After some discussion at the bench* Mr. Dixon, you may stand down.
Gareth:	No, no, no, My Lord! My Lord, this is the man who should be under arrest!
Judge:	Be silent, Mrs. Pierce. This court is now in recess.

This scene represents the use of language, knowledge, and power by the state to control and manipulate a situation. Although much can be done with this scene, I will focus primarily on the ability of practices of power to control sites of language by ensuring what is silenced and what is voiced. After the court is made aware of the injustice surrounding Gerry Conlon's case, the state still exercises its power by not having Mr. Dixon respond to the charges, while it also silences Gareth Pierce. Thus, language, knowledge, and power are employed to ensure that the legitimacy of the state is continued as the only option. In order to ensure that practices of statecraft are developed and maintained, the state relies on a series of concepts that foster the idea of legitimacy in order to support its actions: "they said you did it, in the name of justice" (Bono, 1993).

Thus, through these sites of control, language, knowledge, and power interact with each other and are dependent on each other for the creation of a specific environment. Through this environment, knowledge and power are utilized to ensure the relevance and maintenance of a specific reality. In national security discourse, knowledge and power need to be understood as a social process, through which discourse intensifies the relationship between the state and the citizenry and ensures the legitimacy of the state.

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Conclusion

The previous chapters investigated how terrorism is appropriated and managed within national security discourse, using the five components of terrorism – the act, the actor, definitional variations, application of meaning, and use of moral authority – and how they are made visible and enacted. These five components are produced in and through the implementation of power and knowledge, and the controlled use of language. The components of terrorism are performed in the name of maintaining and securing the authority of the state.

In this process, aspects of terrorism are conjoined through the enactment of national security discourse which in turn encodes historical narratives, imaginations, and memory, as it enhances state authority. The precise practices of encoding authority, in and through national security discourse, are revealed in the way the state uses language, knowledge, and power in the management and control of terrorism: through the appropriation of the act (terrorism), the actor (terrorist), production of definitional variations, application of meaning, and use of moral authority.

The construction of the act of terrorism has played, and continues to play, an important role in the appropriation of terrorism as a support for state authority. Terrorism, as an act, is taken away from the terrorist other, managed, and controlled within the specialized frame of national security discourse. Terrorism is made an evil and criminal enterprise enacted against the "civilized" world by threatening international law, sovereignty, legitimacy, and authority. The current global environment and statist system constitute spaces where terrorism was, and is, weighed, judged, and deemed preposterous, absurd, and dangerous to the establishment. Terrorism is placed as "public enemy number one" and is made the subject/object for the security of the state and its citizenry. In this manner, terrorism is made an imagined state of relevance as its potentiality of threats and possibilities of destruction are intensified and administered. Terrorism can have no justification within the reading of the state and the consequent fear it produces for the citizenry.

In terrorism's potentiality and possibility, national security discourse is utilized to construct terroristic potential threats and the possibility of destruction to transform the political and to constitute terrorism within a framework that fits within the parameters of the virtuous state. The discourse's articulation, elaboration, and demonstration of terrorism affords a site in which discourse can operate in a space that lacks contingencies. Potential threats and possible destruction by terrorists do not require specific time and space contingencies, since the state directs the contingencies as it deems necessary. In this way terrorism is again made an imagined state of relevance, and time and space contingencies become malleable as they represent (and re-present) the practices of statecraft that witness the convergence of knowledges, powers, histories, and agents that make up the realm of reality – national security in

the case of terrorism. As a result of the lack of temporal and spatial contingencies, the state is then able to move freely between both time and space to construct its own reality and identity of terrorism.

In constructing the reality and identity of terrorism, the state is always in the process of constituting terrorism as a real and credible threat to the security of the state. This is accomplished at sites where the state uses national security discourse to articulate and elaborate the potential threat and possible destruction by terrorism. The state's construction of real and credible threats conditions a site where space is dispersed and time unfolds. In this space, terrorism is appropriated out of the possible historical conditions behind the act of terrorism. The time-space contingency is maneuvered and placed under the control of statist definitions. Here, statist definitions represent the pejorative descriptors assigned to terrorism to ensure that terrorism is viewed as an illegitimate force threatening the state.

As the state maneuvers in the practices of statecraft, it ensures that the act of terrorism is never afforded a credible voice as a platform for "despair and frustration." The historical narratives and possibilities of terrorism are never revealed, never engaged, and always vilified. This is done despite the fact that the United States is the primary source and promoter of such histories – training yesterday's freedom fighters who become today's terrorists.[1] U.S.' responses to terrorism initiated under the Nixon administration, and carried forth in all subsequent administrations, ensured that any attempts to justify terrorism would not only not be afforded credence but could be labeled anti-statist.

The terrorist actor is at the crux of the elision of terrorism as an act that expresses despair and frustration, as the terrorist actor is given an identity contrary to rational, humanistic concepts of state development. Thus, use of the terrorist actor makes possible questions regarding humanity and forces "civilized" nations to address the role they play in the creation of an environment ripe for violent mechanisms to take hold and unfold. The question remains, however, whether or not the state recognizes this inherent problematic of terrorism or whether it just sees the terrorist actor as something outside the confines of humanity.

The perception of terrorists as "inhumane" individuals has been fortified within the state's portrayal. The image of terrorists as criminals unable to abide by the laws that govern the international community is the direct result of statist constructions which set parameters for the identity formation of terrorists as the antithesis of the state. The state, in all its authority and legitimacy, commands the realm of values that hold illegitimate violence, unregulated by the state, as illegal and monstrous. Foregrounding the pejorative aspects of terrorism implicates the actor in the unregulated, illegitimate action of violence and hence the actor is subsumed by the image of an illegal and monstrous nature.

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1   An example of this is the U.S.'s training of the Afghanistan *Mujahideen* in the 1980's to fight against the Soviet incursion. The moment the Soviet incursion ended, the *Mujahideen* lost its relevance for the U.S. state and was left to its own devices. The subsequent "War Against Terrorism" brought its relevance back into focus, but this time members were the purveyors of non-statist violence and bore the wrath of the United States.

In order to assure the framing of terrorism/terrorist in this way, the state conducts a symphony of image production and re-production that sets the "merciless enemy," in person and deed, as a "real" and "true" threat to the state. A specific set of knowledges and "truths" are constituted and maintained as tools through which the state frames the act and the actor.

The state is established in a dyad against the terrorist, maintaining its conscripted authority and legitimacy to perform virtuous violence. At the same time, the state is able to cast action that employs virtuous violence as justified in the name of the state and the security of its citizenry. The state consistently frames terrorists as "inhumane" individuals who corrupt the battlefields of statist control as it turns the "war" from actual fields of battle that have physical space to fields of battle that are indeterminate, unstructured, and malleable. The "civilized" order is solidified and enacted in the face of terrorism's "uncivilized" nature. National security discourse is used to delineate how terrorism is to be constructed and controlled through appropriation of the actor. The actor, no matter what the intention, is placed within the constructed reality of threats and security.

In the practices of the state, national security discourse makes an attempt to abstract the act – terrorism – from the actor – terrorist. In doing so, the act can be discovered, imagined, and manipulated in a specific context without confronting the actor. The terrorist is relegated to an ancillary status, while questions regarding the terrorist are silenced as attention is placed on the expression rather than the causes of violence. National security discourse has systematically "stripped terrorism from any right to be considered as other social phenomena are considered, as something created by human beings in a world of human history" (Said, 1988: 48).

The state describes terrorism and terrorists along lines that are inherently discredited. Definitions that are flexible to the state's interests are constructed in order to apply specific meanings to terrorism that enforce the moral authority and legitimacy of the state. Definitional variations speak to the complexity of the issues raised by terrorism and the multiple perceptions that exist. Investigations into national security discourse reveal the nature of the appropriation and management of terrorism by constructing defining parameters that afford only certain modes of response.

Within this discourse, there exists a space in which multiplicity is bestowed on the definition of terrorism. The multiplicity of definitions plays a critical role in the development of a field of practices that constructs the act and the actor, as well as responses to terrorism. The existence of multiple definitions echoes historical, intellectual, and rhetorical positions. These multiple definitions offer a clear ground where power and interest conspire in the politics of defining terrorism. Power and privilege are made supreme in the state's distribution and enactment of authority to define terrorism along any means that fit the desired outcomes to enhance state security and legitimacy.

The exercised power of the state ensures that national security discourse controls which definitions are applied to terrorism and in which context. In and through the application of definitions, power as an integral part of statecraft continues the domination of terrorism in national security discourse, whereby terrorism's applied definition guarantees that security is under control of the state.

Multiple definitions establish how terrorism is conceptualized and reflect deliberate efforts on the part of the state to control interactions and characteristics. Definitional variations exist precisely because terrorism is "possessed of a dual specificity: on the one hand, it necessarily associates ideology with practice, and its self-image with the bearing of arms; on the other, it is perpetrated by groups which are always relatively external to the movement of which it is an inverted image" (Wieviorka, 1988: 10). Given that terrorism already lends itself to multiple variations, the state does not attach a sole definition to terrorism and uses this aspect to continue appropriation of disparate acts under the rubric of terrorism.

Despite the possibility of disparate acts being classified as terrorism, the state is still left with the difficult task of identifying and applying meaning to terrorist incidents. How the state applies meaning to terrorism and what terrorism means to the international community become hurdles to the identification of the state's role in terrorism. Through the application of meaning, the state centers and grounds its conception of terrorism.

State application of meaning reveals how terrorism is a constructed idea that constitutes and assembles meaning within a privileged theory and is positioned within the regime of security. Given the concept of terrorism's descriptive, constructive, and constitutive nature, national security discourse's application of meaning affords the state a site to exert its power in the interpretation and representation of terrorism. Terrorism, as interpreted and represented, undergoes a transformation from a political process into a process that is void of explanation.

In the transformation from a political process into a process void of explanation, terrorism's motives are negated and statist meanings are applied at the most basic level. In this application of meaning, national security discourse utilizes a precise system of interpretations, techniques, and methods to constitute definitions and apply meanings which facilitate practices of statecraft. This process witnesses a constant appropriation and re-appropriation, interpretation and re-interpretation, presentation and re-presentation of the forms and artifacts of terrorism to consistently attach meanings that enable the state to confront and combat terrorism as constructed by itself and its own terms.

One of the main tenets of the state's appropriation and management of terrorism is the way meanings and definitions are constituted as threats to the nation state, threats to the citizenry, threats to the economic foundations of global capital, and threats that are the most poignant – threats to the basic moral code of the state. In this threat to the basic moral code of the state, the United States – a site of practice is developed in which historical narratives, imaginations, memories, and codes are exercised. The United States, as the exceptional state, ignores the fact that within its exceptionalism, universalism exists as an inherent opposite that can surface at any moment. For the state, there can be no space for the negation of exceptionalism, but only a space where virtue justifies all that is done in the name of securing the state.

Policies toward terrorism enacted in this site have consistently set in action the concept of good versus evil in the fight against terrorism. In the exercise of power, the state claims and executes an authority to call forth and name what is both good and evil – an authority based on moral principles. The performance of moral authority sets in motion terrorism as a legitimizing instrument, in and through national security

discourse, for the continuation of the state and the American historical imagination. This performance is made a will to power, a will to truth, and a will to virtue – a twenty-first century crusade.

It is through a delineation of the state's will to power, will to truth, and will to virtue that this text has shown that terrorism as an imagined state of relevance in the appropriation of the act, the actor, utilization of definitional variations, application of meaning, and reliance on moral authority. This appropriation is established and maintained through the employment of specific language that certifies specific knowledges in the exercise of state power to guarantee the legitimacy of the state. Terrorism becomes the representative of the exceptional inherent opposite as it attempts to give voice to the "despair and frustration" felt by multiple peoples, in multiple places, in the ever increasingly interdependent world.

President Reagan missed a unique opportunity in 1984 to change the policies of the United States to reflect this increasingly interdependent world and to recognize the inherent opposite of the exceptional state when he stated that

> we must recognize that terrorism is symptomatic of larger problems. We must dedicate ourselves to fostering modernization, development, and beneficial change in the depressed areas of the world. We must renew our commitment to promoting and assisting representatives and participatory governments. We must attack the problem of terrorism as a crime against the international community whenever and wherever possible, but we must strive to eradicate the sources of frustration and despair that are the spawning places and nutrients of terrorism. (Reagan, 1984: 1388)

In this temporal frame, U.S. responses to terrorism could have pursued a path that addressed the root causes of terrorism. The argument of this text has held that presidential rhetoric is representative of the constitutive forces of national security discourse. In this 1984 address, President Reagan pointed out the problematics of terrorism. However, he discursively raised these problematics only to go on to legitimate the state and delegitimate terrorism in relation to international crime and security. A main factor in the shift in popular perceptions after World War II, from nationalist rebel to international terrorist and criminal, was the framing of non-state violence as terrorist. The terrorist actor was also framed as a criminal subject, thereby eliding correlations of fighting for credible causes, reasons, freedoms, or national autonomy. Here, the continued use of the criminal subject nullified the suggestion that terrorism may have had a foundation in some serious and credible problems.

It is imperative to note that discourse does not just entail presidential rhetoric but exists in a host of other practices. This text has attempted to address the role that language, knowledge, and power plays as one vehicle through which national security discourse reaches the citizenry. However, much more discussion is needed to reveal the full effects of the media on the establishment, creation, and circulation of statist concepts of terrorism. One troubling area in writing this text has been the possibility of arguing that the presidential rhetoric employed was necessary and justified. In the face of extreme violence, could any president ask for calm understanding of the root causes that fostered such violence? Although this reasoning may have credence, it is the combination of rhetoric and action that constitutes the realm of policy. The government could have acted differently, while still promoting an unyielding, strong

image in its rhetoric. The government could have constructed terrorism differently, differentiating itself from mainstream, historical rhetoric. The fact that rhetoric and policy progressed hand-in-hand solidifies the argument of this text. Terrorism has been, and continues to be, constructed and constituted as a dialogue between presidential rhetoric and action – a conjoined dialogue that appropriates terrorism for the maintenance of the state. In national security discourse, terrorism is made the handmaiden of the state.

The question posed for this conclusion must still be addressed: What now? In the issues problematized within the pages of this text, I believe the beginnings of a response are revealed. What is needed is for further scrutiny of the techniques used in the appropriation of terrorism by national security discourse and the means in which language, knowledge, and power work in concert to ensure that an orchestration of actions and practices are deployed to maintain the legitimacy of the state.

The fourth chapter, addressed the issue of the terrorist actor, framed along the lines of the "uncivilized," "evil," and "inhumane" other. Part of this perception is based on the unregulated violence employed in terrorism's performance, especially when the act is executed against civilians. In the state story, terrorism's employment of "uncivilized," illegitimate violence becomes the abhorrent face of utter disgust at terrorists' rejection of the morality that the "civilized" world holds in highest esteem. Terrorism's violence is represented by the state as being as disturbing as it is morally repugnant. It can be argued that terrorists view the violence employed, especially in suicide attacks, as an extremely potent weapon that sends an unambiguous message that they are willing to die for their cause while shedding the cloak of "civility".

What becomes interesting when examining the "civilized" state is finding that within civility also resides incivility. The only defining difference between civility and incivility is the one doing the defining. One example is the targeted assassination of Sheik Ahmed Yassin of *Hamas*, on 22 March 2004, by the Israeli Defense Force in the name of the Israeli state. On 25 March 2004, the United Nations Security Council failed to pass a draft resolution that would have condemned this most recent extrajudicial execution. Eleven members of the Security Council voted in favor of the resolution; Germany, Romania, and the United Kingdom abstained; and the United States voted against.

Although this targeted assassination may have been viewed as a means of "decapitating" *Hamas*, it may also have had other purposes: it meant to inflame Palestinian anger, causing greater bloodshed in retaliation, which in turn could justify swifter and harsher state responses? Within constructed civility resides the potential for incivility. The state is able to pursue actions of violence legitimized by statist procedures and prejudices, while condemning the violence of the other. The more familiar the violence of illegitimate actions becomes, the more unfamiliar they seem and the greater the perceived need to annihilate purveyors of illegitimate violence.

How then can the orchestra that maintains the symphony of civility and virtuosity be revealed in its workings? The current "war" in Iraq, a "war" framed in part by the use of national security discourse to appropriate terrorism, may reveal how the process needs to unravel. This current "war" in Iraq is a "war" that started under the rubric of civility – "our cause is just, the security of the nations we serve and

the peace of the world. And our mission is clear, to disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction, to end Saddam Hussein's support for terrorism, and to free the Iraqi people" (President George W. Bush, www.whitehouse.gov). However, a year later, the U.S. citizenry is being bombarded by news reports and images of dead soldiers and beheaded American civilians. The disorder encountered on a daily basis may serve to fortify an American exceptionalist resolve. The steady death toll from the "war" in Iraq may also serve as the steady drip of an intravenous medicinal treatment. This treatment may shift the perception of exceptionalism that supports unilateral universalism toward a more pluralistic understanding of a global, interconnected world faced within fear.

In the current global, interconnected world environment, the state must reassess how it approaches terrorism and foster policies that address key issues of terrorism in order to effectively curb terrorist activity. Terrorism can no longer be made the handmaiden of the state.

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Appendix A

Boeing Corporation Advertisements

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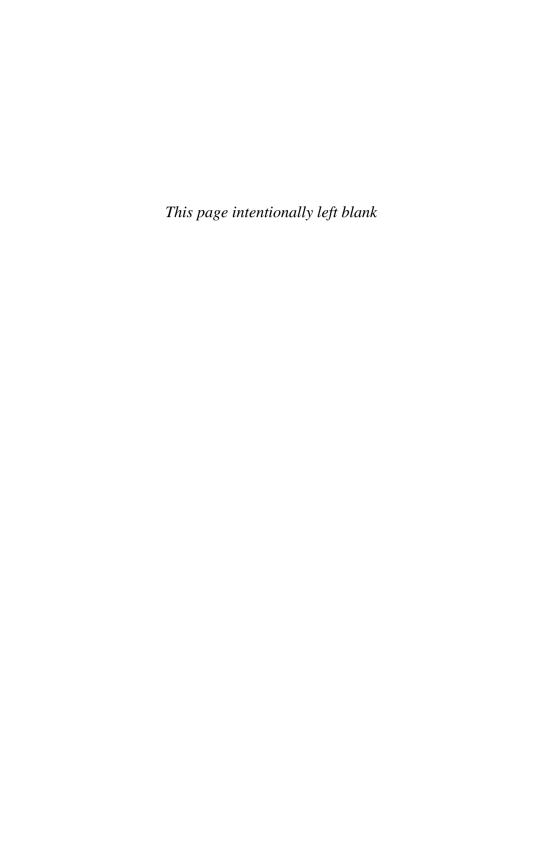O'Balance, E. (1989), *Terrorism in the 1980s* (London: Arms and Armour).

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