

<b>Element</b>	<b>Frequency (in %)</b>
1. Violence, Force	83, 5
2. Political	65, 0
3. Fear, terror emphasized	51, 0
4. Threat	47, 0
5. (Psych.) effects and (anticipated) reactions	41, 5
6. Victim-target differentiation	37, 5
7. Purposive, planned, systematic, organized action	32, 0
8. Method of combat, strategy, tactic	30, 5
9. Extranormality, in breach of accepted rules, without humanitarian constraints	30, 0
10. Coercion, extortion, induction of compliance	28, 0
11. Publicity aspect	21, 5
12. Arbitrariness; impersonal, random character; indiscrimination	21, 0
13. Civilians, non-combatants, neutrals, outsiders as victims	17, 5
14. Intimidation	17, 0
15. Innocence of victims emphasized	15, 5
16. Group, movement, organization as perpetrator	14, 0

17. Symbolic aspect, demonstration to others	13, 5
18. Incalculability, unpredictability, unexpectedness of occurrence of violence	9, 0
19. Clandestine, covert nature	9, 0
20. Repetitiveness; serial or campaign character of violence	7, 0
21. Criminal	6, 0
22. Demands made on third parties	4, 0

*Source:* Alex P. Schmid (and Albert J. Jongman), *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories and Literature*; Amsterdam; 1988; p. 5.

“The difference between the revolutionary and the terrorist lies in the reason for which each fights. For whoever stands by a just cause and fights for the freedom and liberation of his land from the invaders, the settlers and the colonialists cannot possibly be called terrorist, otherwise the American people in their struggle for liberation from the British colonialists would have been terrorists; the European resistance against the Nazis would be terrorism, the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples would also be terrorism, and many of you who are in this Assembly hall were considered terrorists.”

(Yassir Arafat, 1974)

“Osama bin Laden and his followers are no different from those who planned and carried out Omagh, Warrenpoint, Hyde Park, Enniskillen or countless other atrocities during some 30 years of terrorism in Ulster.”

(David Trimble/ Ian Duncan-Smith; 21.11.2001)