WAR IN THE FUTURE 未来战争

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前言

未来战争会是什么样?早在70年代,美国和前苏联的一些军事问题专家就提出了"信息战争"这一概念。所谓信息战,就是在信息空间里,为争夺信息权而进行的军事斗争。未来信息战是一种不对称的、"软、硬"杀伤手段相结合的战争形式。攻击的目标从传统的以军事目标为主,转变为以信息基础设施为主要目标:采用的信息攻击手段,如:电子干扰、电子压制、各种类型的电脑病毒等手段,以其无形的"软杀伤"特点,令对手防不胜防。信息战的目的也从传统的攻城掠地、杀伤敌人有生力量转变为削弱、压制敌人对信息的获取、处理和传输能力。进入90年代,随着海湾战争的爆发,信息技术在军事领域的威力开始表现出来。也正是这次"沙漠风暴"军事行动的成功,使美军看到了信息战的巨大威力,加快了信息化的步伐。世纪末的科索沃战争,向人们展示了信息技术改变战争形态的强大驱动力。新世纪的美伊战争则使两国之间利用信息手段进行的心理战得到充分展现。

本书精选了近年来军事学家对未来战争的描述共十篇文章,对未来战争的内容、形式、手段以及信息战等进行了详细讲解。这对我们了解未来战争的发展趋势是非常有帮助的,同时也为我国的国防建设提供了背景资料。前九篇文章从理论结合实际的角度对未来信息战的各种概念进行了分析,明确未来战争的主要战场、交战双方以及战争中所采用的主要手段,分析了未来战争与传统战争的共同点和不同点以及传统战争手段在未来战争中的作用等。最后一篇文章"The Great Cyber War of 2002"则是一场虚拟的未来战争,通过对战争开始、发展过程以及结局的详细描述,使我们对未来战争有更明确的认识。

本书的最后一部分选自《大趋势》。该书出版于 1982 年,以美国为背景,剖析了牌价五十年代末开始出现的十大趋势,其中首屈一指的是由工业社会进入电子——信息时代。随着电子计算机的飞速发展和不断完善,主要的经济活动由工业生产逐渐转向科技信息服务,因此信息业在国民经济总产值中的比例与日俱增。本书概括了美国经济的总走向,同时也给处于迷茫的实业家和商人指点了迷津。这或许是此书大受欢迎的原因之一。

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Information Revolution

In RAY BRADBURY'S Fahrenheit 451—which was written in the early 1950s, just after tensions and computers first appeared—people relate most intimately with electronic screens and don't like to read. They are happy when firemen burn books.

Cram people "full of noncombustible data," the fire captain explains. "Chock them so damned full of 'facts' they feel stuffed, but absolutely 'brilliant' with information. Then they'll feel they're thinking, they'll get a sense of motion without moving."

Bradbury's novel no longer seems set in a distant, future. Thanks to growth in computer capacity, television and computers are merging into DIGITAL streams of sounds, images, arid texts that make it possible to become absolutely brilliant with information.

To know where information technologies are taking us is impossible. The law of unintended consequences governs all technological revolutions. In 1438 Johannes Gutenberg¹ wanted a cheaper way to produce handwritten Bibles. His movable type fostered a spread in literacy, an advance of scientific knowledge, and the emergence of the industrial revolution.

Although no one can predict the full effect of the current information revolution, we can see changes in our daily lives. Look in any classroom. Today's teachers know they have to make lessons fast moving and entertaining for children raised on television and computer games. Rick Wormeli, an award-winning middle-school teacher in Fairfax County, Virginia, tries to capture the attention of his students by sometimes dressing in yellow shorts, a cape, and red tights and calling himself "Adverb Man." Once, to jump-start the day, he appeared in scuba gear and drenched himself in water. "I try to be as vivid as I can, combining style with substance," he says.

Often the changes that accompany new information technologies are so subtle we barely notice them. Before the written word, people relied on their memories. Before telephones, more people knew the pleasure of writing and receiving letters, the small joy of finding a handwritten envelope in the mailbox from a friend or a

[「]Johannes Gutenberg:古登堡,1398-1468,德国金匠,发明活字印刷术,排印过《42 行圣经》等书。

relative. Before television and computers, people had a stronger sense of community, a greater attachment to neighborhoods and families.

Television has glued us to our homes, isolating us from other human beings. Only one-quarter of all Americans know their next-door neighbors. Our communities will become less intimate and more isolated as we earn college credits, begin romances, and gossip on the Internet, a worldwide system that allows computers to communicate with one another. The Age of Software will offer more games, home banking, electronic shopping, video on demand, and a host of other services that unplug us from physical contact.

The decline of human-to-human contact is apparent around the world. Throughout the Middle East, cafe life -- where people used to tell stories over a cup of tea -- is disappearing. Bistros are going out of business in Paris; many close earlier in the day. Henri Miquel, owner of Le Dufré noy, shuts down at 8 p.m instead of midnight. Where do patrons go? "They rush off to watch television," he says.

Is meeting face-to-face more valuable than corresponding electronically? Some neighbors still stop by when a family crisis strikes, but other people offer condolences via e-mail, written messages transmitted between computers. Whichever we prefer, the electronic seems to represent the future. Television teaches many of us to favor the image over the actual. The Internet pushes life beyond the old physical barriers of time and space. Here you can roam around the world without leaving home. Make new friends. Communicate with astronauts as they circle the earth. Exchange the results of laboratory experiments with a colleague overseas. Read stock quotes. Buy clothes. Research a term paper. Stay out of the office, conducting business via a computer that becomes your virtual office. Virtual community. Virtual travel. Virtual love. A new reality.

William Gibson, whose 1984 novel, Neuromancer, pioneered the notion of virtual living, now says that electronic communication provides a "sensory expansion for the species by allowing people to experience an extraordinary array of things while staying geographically in the same spot." Gibson warns, however, that the virtual can only augment² our physical reality, never replace it. He applauds the countermovement toward what has been called skin—shorthand for

² augment: to increase or improve

contact with other humans.

People who correspond with each other electronically often feel the need for skin and try to meet in what they call real life. Karen Meisner, while an undergraduate at Connecticut's Wesleyan University, was playing a computer game on the Internet in early 1991. During the game she met Pär Winzell, a student at Sweden's Linköping Institute of Technology. He knew her by her game name, Velvet. They began to exchange electronic messages outside the game, sharing thoughts with more directness and intensity than would have been possible in the early stages of a "real-life" relationship. Karen knew something special was happening; they discussed meeting each other. It seemed scary. Then Karen sent an e-mail: "I'm coming to meet you." They have been married for two years.

Technology can also foster skin contact between those who live near one another. Senior citizens in Blacksburg, Virginia, use their computers not only to chat but also to organize get-togethers. "It's like wandering into the town center to meet friends and to check the bulletin board," says Dennis Gentry, a retired Army officer. "Only you can do it in pajamas anytime you want."

The desire for skin can be seen in downtowns and shopping malls—people want human contact even when they could buy things via television or the telephone. Although computers and fax machines make it easier to work at home, business districts continue to grow. More people than ever crowd into major cities, in large part because companies that provide goods and services benefit from being near one another. Employees also seek the relationships that come only from being with other people.

NEED FOR SKIN does not negate the electronic screen's power to mesmerize. No brain scan or biochemical study has identified a physical basis for our seemingly insatiable hunger for electronic stimulation. Computers are often more alluring than television, which already has a grip on us. Young Americans today spend about as much time in front of a television as in a classroom. At midnight 1.8 million children under age 12 are still watching television. The average adult American watches more than 30 hours every week.

Parents could restrict their children's electronic consumption. But we, too, are addicted. Give up electronic links for a day? No telephone, television, or computer?

....

Try a week. Few can do it. Momentum is in the opposite direction. When a two-year-old clicks at the keyboard and the next day says, "Mommy, Daddy, more 'puter," his parents feel something good is happening.

Our dependency on the "electronic needle" will increase if wireless, palm-size receivers become available. These devices—a combination telephone, computer, fax, and television—will provide hundreds of video, audio, and text channels. Handheld receivers that link to e-mail, Internet services, and fax communications are already on the market, but too expensive for most people. Such technological innovations do not permeate a society until someone can profit from them. The first fax was sent—from Lyon to Paris in 1865, but use of faxes did not become widespread until technology made text encoding and transmission much cheaper, 120 years later.

Reliance on the electronic screen is part of something larger, the spread of technological civilization. George Steiner, a cultural historian who teaches at Cambridge University, warns that this civilization produces a creeping sameness that threatens local cultures.

The source of most of this uniformity is the advertising and entertainment industries. Worldwide sales of American movies and television programs now total more than five billion dollars a year. A New Delhi newspaper calls these media "termites eating away at our traditional values."

But human nature resists the sameness that comes with electronic communication. The place in which we live — its resources and history — maintains a tremendous pull on us, even when we are not conscious of it. When told we are the same, we turn to geographic roots and tribal groupings to find a sense of belonging. This helps explain why ethnic loyalties enjoy a resurgence³ even as individuals bind themselves to the electronic screen. Such resistance may prevent the apocalyptic Fahrenheit 451 from emerging, but as the novel predicts, information technologies threaten the book.

Stakes are high. From texts written on papyrus 4,000 years ago through today, books have provided memory and depth. Until the current electronic challenge, they have been the central vehicles through which most societies have perceived themselves. Perhaps that is why Bill Gates, chairman of the Microsoft Corporation

³ resurgence: 苏醒, 复苏

and computer guru⁴, arranged to have his account of the information revolution published the old-fashioned way -- on paper, between hard covers. Of all the issues associated with the Information explosion—such as privacy, copyright, libel, and computer theft—the battle of the book may have the greatest impact.

At first glance books are in good shape. Sales in the U. S. are the highest ever. Chains of huge bookstores—many offering 150,000 titles—are prospering. Technology, furthermore, encourages reliance on the written word. Tens of billions of words pass through the Internet daily. The ease of printing and photocopying digital information has raised paper usage to record levels.

But TV and computers spawn illiteracy among many people, who are unwilling to read anything of substantive length requiring concentration. Brevity. Five-second sound bites. Channel surfing. Instant gratification. Fast-moving images. Constant stimulation. Shorter attention spans. A world in which the worst sin is to be boring.

Books are taking on new forms, relying on technological zip, which makes the traditional book look like a horse and buggy. This appeals to the new expectations of readers. Interactive Multimedia books offer seamless sequences of sounds, images, and words. Learning a foreign language? Listen to spoken pronunciation as you read. Studying algebra? See equations move across an electronic chalkboard. Want to learn more about a specific word in the text? Click on it and explanations fill your screen.

Sales of electronic encyclopedias exceed sales of printed ones. Electronic dominance over print will increase if "netbooks," which could provide wireless connections to libraries, become available. Flip one on and read whatever you want wherever you are. Net-books will never become popular, however, without improvements in screen technology. On-screen reading is currently 20 to 30 percent slower—and much less comfortable—than print reading because of glare, flickering images, and other problems.

Although people love today's print-on-paper books, those who resist new technology can be left behind. In the early 1500s, nearly a century after Gutenberg's movable type, many people continued to believe that value and beauty came only from handwritten manuscripts. These laboriously crafted works

⁴ guru: 印度教的宗教老师(或指导), 领袖

have an artistic appeal that printed books cannot match. Federigo da Montefeltro, a leader of the Italian Renaissance, said he "would have been ashamed to own a printed book." Such attitudes isolated people from new ideas and scientific information that were available only in printed format.

Technological changes in books are part of a larger change in our aesthetic sensibilities and creativity. Video images and computer screens appear in plays and operas. Choreography and architecture rely on computer programs.

The novel, which began as epic poems in Homer's era, will also evolve. In an Internet story every reader can add new material. The traditional notion of "author" and "original," which arrived when written books replaced oral folklore, disappears. At Brown University, students in the Hypertext Fiction Workshop listen to John Coltrane and study how Matisse perceived space. They are learning how to integrate sound and visuals into stories.

Novelist Robert Coover, who teaches the workshop, decries "the tyranny of the line." He lauds the "hypertext novel," in which a story has no predetermined beginning, middle, or end. Readers choose among pathways within plots that form a mosaic. Although only 10,000 or so of these novels sold in the U. S. last year, sales have increased 40 percent since 1993. Bob Arellano, one of Coover's former students, recently completed @ltamont, an electronic novel soon to be available on CD-ROM. The novel offers two beginnings. Those who click on "Innocence" read about a young couple's first kiss; those who choose "Experience" read about a murder. Both stories then weave in and out of the same narrative territory. Neither has a given middle or end. The readers, in Arellaro's words, "walk through story space in their own way."

Young people may find mosaic plots exciting, but for those schooled to think in a linear fashion, hypertext novels can be tedious and confusing. No hypertext novel can achieve what the brain does naturally. In Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, Raskoinikov sees a pretty young woman on the street. He walks toward her. Her skirt is torn. As he gets closer, he sees that her face is flushed and swollen. Readers react to this timeless passage in different ways, creating their own combinations of texture, mood, detail, and emotion. We do this effortlessly.

Information technologies, for all the attention they receive, lag far behind the power of the human brain. Researchers estimate that the normal brain has

quadrillion connections between its nerve cells, more than the entire phone calls made in the U. S, in the past decade.

But human power is becoming increasingly ineffective in controlling the way information technology shapes our economic and political lives. Geographic location of resources, labor, and capital means less as scattered, countries use information technologies to work together. Many cars have parts made in a half dozen countries; stores sell look-alike clothes sewn on four continents. The reason? Management can control quality and coordinate production without regard to place or distance. Money moves most easily. Stocks, currency, and bonds traded on worldwide electronic markets amount to an estimated three trillion dollars each day, twice the annual U. S. budget.

Two generations ago, political analysts gauged global economic relationships by counting movements of railcars between countries. Now they count traffic on telecommunications **NETWORKS**. What they are discovering is unexpected. According to studies by Gregory Staple, a communications lawyer in Washington, D. C, and Canada made more calls to Hong Kong than to France in 1993. A third of India's traffic went to Arab nations.

Speed of information transmission did not create this international economy. Lowering of costs did. Instantaneous international communication has existed for more than a century. In 1872, when Jules Verne's fictional Phileas Fogg was trying to travel around the world in 80 days, a telegram from the detective chasing him traveled the globe in minutes. But until recently, international wires were used only by economic and political elites. A 1965 transatlantic cable could carry 130 simultaneous conversations. Today's fiber-optic cable can carry more than 500,000, dramatically lowering costs.

A growing number of workers in this info-environment must be able to absorb, manipulate, and market information. Peter Drucker, a management expert whose ideas have influenced the world's largest corporations, estimates that by the year 2000 such work will be the primary task of at least a third of the U. S. workforce.

This information economy favors small entrepreneurial ventures that can quickly adapt to new technologies. This is why, to cite a phenomenon evident in American cities, an estimated two-thirds of the private companies in Los Angeles did not exist in 1970. Mike Forti, an L.A. businessman, has sales pending for

more than 30 million dollars' worth of American equipment to Gazprom, Russia's gas company. He makes all his deals via fax, telephone, and e-mail from his home. He rarely meets his colleagues.

Yet Forti's business began with old-fashioned friendship. While he was studying how to participate in the world economy, a friend asked Forti if he was interested in doing business with his brother-in-law's firm in Moscow. Forti's next venture, arranged through other friends, involves selling equipment in India. The power of skin created the opportunity for a business conducted electronically.

To stay competitive in this international economy, a country must open itself to information and ideas. Government attempts to control information—Romania even tried to restrict the use of typewriters—inevitably fail, not only because of economic pressures but also because technology continually assaults authority. Satellite broadcasts saturate Iran with *Charlie's Angels* and other forbidden programs. Rebels in the jungles of Mexico's Chiapas state post statements on the Internet. The Indonesian government bans the work of Pramoedya Ananta Toer, whose novels are acclaimed throughout the world, but Indonesians can flip on their computers and print out his writing.

Some governments, particularly in the developing world, try to mix economic openness with authoritarian politics. They may enjoy temporary success. But in the long run, as Taiwan, Chile, and others demonstrate -- free-flowing information nurtures democracy.

At the same time, massive amounts of information are changing democracy itself. Personality and publicity have superseded political parties. Issues must be presented quickly, with visual aids. Important problems, such as the relationship between unemployment and crime, rarely capture public attention. We want more than the news; we want the new news, things that are new since we last heard the news. Government officials, academic experts, and other leaders have less of a monopoly on information. Public opinion plays a larger role in public policy and diplomacy.

The availability of information can have an immediate impact. You can call the Right-to-Know Network by dialing 202-234-8570 on a modem, register for a free account, and then instantly find out which of some 300 toxic chemicals have been emitted in your area. This information had been buried within regulatory

bureaucracies but now stimulates lawsuits, local action, and government responsiveness. Kathy Grandfield, a paralegal in Sedalia, Missouri, wondered whether a nearby chemical plant caused her family's flu-like illnesses and the death of birds in her yard. She discovered that chemical emissions may have been a contributing cause. She and her neighbors -- who also had similar symptoms for years—worked together to help clean up the plant.

Will those who master these tools unfairly influence public policy-making? And who will control access to extraordinary new BANDWIDTHS that allow information to travel faster and cheaper to more people? The Internet grew out of a Defense Department communications system designed in the 1960s to survive nuclear war. Because such rationales no longer exist, marketplace forces have replaced government funding. The Internet could become advertiser driven like broadcast TV and radio, but no one knows how this would affect the accessibility and content of services.

High costs are splitting us into information haves and have-nots, thereby threatening democratic principles. Countries, too, are being divided into haves and have-nots. In many developing nations, a majority of people have no telephones or computers. Even if they did, their machines would be idle unless governments were able to invest billions of dollars in telecommunications infrastructure—primarily cables, satellites, and transmitters. And this would not bridge the gap—a third of all people in developing nations cannot read.

Some of us will cross into the new world; others will remain behind. New worlders will pull even further ahead as technologies evolve, possibly even computers that mimic human reasoning and sensory perception. No one knows what kind of network will succeed the Internet, or what increasing **computer power** will make possible. We may eventually rely on digital navigation genies who sort through junk and decipher messages. One trend is clear: A growing faith in information, a belief that if we hook up to the Internet we'll be smart. Full of facts. Brilliant with information. Sense of motion without moving. It's right out of Fahrenheit 451.

Technology promises more and more information for less and less effort as we hear these promises, we must balance faith in technology with faith in ourselves. Wisdom and insight often come not from keeping up-to-date or compiling facts

but from quiet reflection. What we hold most valuable -- things like morality and compassion -- can be found only within us. While embracing the future, we can remain loyal to our unchanging humanity.

EXERCISES

I. Language points:

1. (P2, BL5) ...that electronic communication provides a <u>"sensory expansion for the species</u> by allowing people to experience an extraordinary array of things while staying geographically in the same spot.

What does the sentence mean?

2. (P4, L4) Our dependency on the <u>"electronic needle"</u> will increase if wireless, palm-size receivers become available.

What does electronic needle refer to?

 (P5, L10) Brevity. Five-second sound bites. Channel surfing. Instant gratification. Fast-moving images. Constant stimulation. Shorter attention spans. A world in which the worst sin is to be boring.

Translate the sentences into Chinese.

4. (P6, L12) Novelist Robert Coover, who teaches the workshop, decries "the tyranny of the line."

What does he mean?

- 5. (P6, BL11) ...but for those schooled to think in a linear fashion, ... What kind of people are referred in this sentence?
- 6. (P8, 5) The power of skin created the opportunity for a business conducted electronically.

Explain the sentence.

II. Questions:

- 1. How will new technologies influence the fate of books?
- 2. What will our life be like in the future?

Cyberspace - A New Medium for Communication, Command and Control by Extremists

During the 1970's and 1980's political extremism and terrorism frequently focused on 'national liberation' and economic issues. The collapse of the Soviet bloc, and the ending of its covert funding and encouragement of terrorism led to a decline in the militant and violent left-wing terrorist groups that were a feature of the age.

The 1990's have seen the development of a 'new terrorism'. This is not to say that state-backed terrorism has ceased, but rather that the spectrum of terrorism has widened. This new extremism is frequently driven by religious fervor, is transnational, sanctions extreme violence, and may often be millenialist. The new terrorism may seek out military or government targets, but it also seeks out symbolic civilian targets, and the victims have mostly been innocent civilians (Alfred P. Murrah Building, Oklahoma City; World Trade Center, New York; AMIA Headquarters⁵, Buenos Aires).

Growing concern about this new terrorism has been paralleled by concern about the employment of the new information and communication technologies (ICT's).

ICT's offer a new dimension for political extremists and terrorists. They allow the diffusion of command and control; they allow boundless new opportunities for communication, and they allow the players to target the information stores, processes and communications of their opponents. The sophistication of the modern nation-state, and its dependency on computer-based ICT's, make the state ever more vulnerable.

The use of ICT's to influence, modify, disrupt or damage a nation state, its institutions or population by influencing the media, or by subversion, has been called 'netwar' (Arquilla and Rondfeldt⁶). The full range of weapons in the cyberspace armory can be employed in netwar; from propaganda campaigns at one level to interference with databases and networks at the other. What particularly distinguishes netwar from other forms of war is that it targets information and communications, and may be used to alter thinking or disrupt

John Arquilla and David Rondfeldt, co-authors of "Cyber war is coming" published in 1993.

AMIA: Asociacion Mutual Israelita Argentina, the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires. Its headquarters building was bombed in 1994, leaving 86 people dead and another 300 wounded

planned actions. In this sense it can be distinguished from earlier forms of warfare - economic wars that target the means of production, and political wars that target leadership and government.

Netwar is therefore of particular interest to those engaged in non-military war, or those operating at sub-state level. Clearly nation states might also consider it, as an adjunct to military war or as an option prior to moving on to military war. So far, however, it appears to be of greater interest to extremist advocacy groups and terrorists. Because there are no physical limits or boundaries, netwar has been adopted by groups who operate across great distances or transnationally. The growth of such groups, and their growing powers in relation to those of nation states, suggests an evolving power-based relationship for both. Military strategist Martin Van Creveld has suggested that war in the future is more likely to be waged between such groups and states rather than between states and states.

Most modern adversaries of nation states in the realm of low intensity conflict, such as international terrorists, single-issue extremists and ethnic and religious extremists are organized in networks, although their leadership may sometimes be hierarchical. Law enforcement and security agencies therefore often have difficulty in engaging in low intensity conflict against such networks because they are ill suited to do so. Their doctrine, training and modus operandi have, all too often, been predicated on combating a hierarchy of command, like their own.

Only now are low-intensity conflict and terrorism recognized as 'strategic' threats to nation states, and countries which until very recently thought that terrorism was something that happened elsewhere, have become victims themselves.

The Tokyo subway attack by the Aum Shinriko⁷ and the Oklahoma City bombing would have been unthinkable a generation ago, and not only was the civil population unprepared, but also law enforcement. And this despite clear warning signs that such attacks were in the offing.

Two quotations neatly warn that cyberspace is becoming a new arena for political extremists:

The potential for physical conflict to be replaced by attacks on information

Aum Shinriko, a religious group in Japan which attacked Tokyo subway riders on March 20, 1995, causing 12 deaths and over five thousand injuries.

infrastructures has caused states to rethink their concepts of warfare, threats and national assets, at a time when information is recognized as a national asset. The adoption of new information technologies and the use of new communication media, such as the Internet, create vulnerabilities that can be exploited by individuals, organizations and states.

The arrival of the Internet has provided the first forum in history for all the disaffected to gather in one place to exchange views and reinforce prejudices. It is hardly surprising, for example that the right-wing militias favorite method of communication is e-mail and that forums on the Internet are the source of many wild conspiracy theories that drive the media.

Pre-eminent amongst the extremists and terrorist groupings that have entered cyberspace faster and more enthusiastically than others, are the Far Right⁸, that is white supremacists and neo-Nazis, and radical Islamists. Others, such as eco-extremists and the Far Left appear to be slower in seizing upon the opportunities available.

What characterize these two groupings are their transnational natures. The Far Right is increasingly active in the USA and Europe, but in contrast to its ideological roots in the 1920s and 1930s it seeks now to unite a white Anglo-Saxon, or European - originating, entity in a rear-guard action to oppose centralized democratic government and return to some imagined past world in which an armed, racially pure, white man can live untroubled by the police, the Inland Revenue and the world banking system. The Islamist Diaspora, now spread worldwide, seeks a return to divine-ruled states (or even one transnational state) in which all Muslims will live under the norms and laws of the Saudi Arabian peninsula in the first and second centuries of the Common Era. These types of organizations make them ideal users of networks and proponents of netwar. Their ideas and their use of cyberspace will be further developed in the paper.

Government Concerns

International concern over the use of ICT's has grown to such an extent that the Foreign Ministerial Conference on Terrorism, held in Paris in July 1996, agreed to issue a call to all states to note both the risk of terrorists using electronic or wire

⁸ The Far Right refers to Racists and neo-Nazis.