

DHP P244: MODERN TERRORISM & COUNTERTERRORISM

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History & Ideologies of Modern Terrorism

Admin Notes

- Feb. 27: Graeme Wood book discussion (arranged by Dean Stavridis) on ***The Way of the Strangers: Encounters with the Islamic State***
 - Get your free copy of book in Ginn Library
 - Class will meet in ASEAN Auditorium; come prepared to ask questions about Wood's analysis
- Will McCants book is now optional reading
- Please also read the following (see Trunk website):
 - Will McCants' article on the origins of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi
 - Wood's article "What ISIS Really Wants"
 - Mehdi Hasan's critique of Wood's analysis
 - Petter Nesser et al "Jihadi Terrorism in Europe"

Lessons from History

- Terrorism is not a recent phenomenon.
 - Why is it important to understand a much longer view of terrorism (200+ years)?
 - What can we learn from studying this history?
- Terrorism comes in a variety of shapes and sizes, contexts, actors and impacts.
 - In your reading assignments, what historical events or examples of terrorism have made the most impression on you thus far? Why?
 - [In which countries](#) have we seen the most terrorist activity?

Earlier History

Evolution of Terrorism

- Zealots–Sicarii (1st Century) Israel, murder Romans in public
- Shia “Assassins” (11th & 12th Century) Syria, Iran, murder crusaders
- September 1793: Jacobins, Committee of General Security – root out “enemies of the revolution” (and often kill them via guillotine); Maximilien Robespierre: “terror is nothing other than justice, prompt, severe, inflexible.”

Early Terrorism in the U.S.

- Sons of Liberty tar and feather loyalists, who fled to Canada
- Klu Klux Klan: Confederate “ghosts” intimidating Southern blacks, Unionists, teachers; overthrow Reconstruction, resist Civil Rights Acts; arson, beating, lynching, murder; mass arrests 1871; resurgence 1920s thru 1960s; 1969 Federal Hate Crimes law

More Recent U.S. History

- From 1970 to 2004, more than 96% of more than 16,000 terrorist attacks were directed at non-U.S. targets.
— *LaFree, Ming-Yang & Crenshaw (Reading Assignment)*
- But the U.S. has had its share of terrorism . . .
 - In the 1970s, there were 50 to 60 terrorist bombings a year in the United States, “a volume of terrorist activity that would rattle the country today.” (Brian Jenkins, 2016)
 - Planes were hijacked, 1960s-70s
 - A bomb tore through the Senate side of the U.S. Capitol building in 1983.
 - Terrorists attacked the World Trade Center in 1993
 - 168 people were killed in the Oklahoma City bombing 1995
- September 11, 2001: *Was this is a “new” kind of terrorism?*
— *Jenkins, Hoffman, Crenshaw*

Rapaport’s Historical Analysis

Waves covering roughly 130 years of terrorism history

- Anarchist 1880s-1920s
- Anti-Colonial/Decolonization 1920s-1960s
- New Left Wave/Leftist anti-Western sentiment 1960s-1990s
- Religious Inspiration 1990s-present

Themes to consider for each wave:

1. **Doctrines of terror**
2. **Technology** (especially for communication/propaganda)
3. **Avenues of funding and support**
4. Organizations can **transcend waves** (e.g. IRA, ETA, PLO)

Anarchists “Wave”

- Tsar Alexander II – free serfs 1861, overpromises, under-delivers
- “Propaganda of the deed” - use spectacular acts of violence to polarize societies and thus set the stage for revolution
- Between 1894 and 1901, five leaders were assassinated by anarchists in Europe and the U.S.



Anti-Colonial “Wave”

Major guiding principles, doctrines:

- Bring international attention to anti-colonial grievances
- Tarnish prestige of British, French “occupying” forces
- Demoralize security forces, non-indigenous population
- Undermine British or French resolve to remain
- Attrition strategy; provocation strategy; et al.

Examples:

- Israel, Irgun, Lehi/Stern Gang: July 1946 attack on King David Hotel, Jerusalem (Military & govt. offices, 2nd floor): 91 killed, 45 injured
- Algeria, FLN: massive deployment of French troops has little effect; some government efforts counterproductive (torture, executions, repression); military victories, political defeat

FRANTZ FANON



- *Wretched of the Earth* (1961): Western powers have dehumanized non-Western people by destroying their cultures and replacing them with Western values
- The masses suffer a perpetual identity crisis, forced to deny their heritage. They can follow only one course of action: guerilla warfare revolution (*achieving freedom is inherently violent*)
- Terrorism had a specific purpose: to terrorize Westerners and their followers into submission
- Urban terror was to create mayhem, and all terrorism was to be excessively brutal to communicate fear.

Fanon's guerrilla model thus uses terrorism as a strategy and deviates from typical guerrillas who try to build a military force

Palestinian Terrorism

- Transcends Anti-Colonial, Left-Wing and Religious "waves"
- Mainly secular/nationalist (PLO, PFLP, DFLP, PHLP-GC, etc.) until Islamist extremism rises 1980s-90s
- Huge refugee camps post-1948 in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria
- Attacks begin after failure of Arab states to militarily defeat Israel
- Flurry of hijackings, 1968 thru late 1970s
- Munich Olympics, 1972 (victims, targets, perpetrators, outcomes?)
- PLO moves HQ to southern Lebanon, Israel invades, 1982 (*Iran post-1979 begins to arm, fund, train Shia militias IJO, Hizballah*)
- Arafat's UN speech, special observer status, 86 relations (72 Israel)
- Terrorist training camps in Libya, Bekaa Valley (Lebanon), etc.
- Corruption, perceived weakness among PLO, al-Fatah leads to rise of PIJ, Hamas, al-Aqsa Martyrs, other Islamist terrorist groups

Break

Influential Revolutionaries



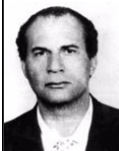
Mao Tse-Tung: Inferior forces can defeat the more powerful; "People's War" long-term, take advantage when conditions are right; overcome superior forces

Focus is on systemic, fundamental change



Che Guevara: A small dedicated cadre of guerilla fighters can create the conditions for popular revolution (*Vanguard*); no need to wait

By 1970, most left-wing groups and ethno-nationalist groups had adopted some combination of these ideas



Carlos Marighella: Urban violence will "systematically inflict damage on the authorities... (and) the people who exercise power" (rural insurrection is too easy for government to ignore); The basis of revolution is violence; Provide practical guides for terrorism

How are these ideas reflected by al Qaida, Islamist State, et al?

Left-Wing Terrorism “Wave”

- Influenced by the writings of revolutionaries *in other countries (globalized ideological resonance)*
 - Domestic, Marxist, some state support
 - Armed violence against the capitalist state
 - Emphasis on provocation
 - Vanguard will launch and inspire a communist revolution by force
- Prominent role of academics, intellectual elites
 - Sendero Luminoso: University of San Cristobal de Huamanga (Abimael Guzman)
 - Red Brigades: University of Trento (Renato Curcio, Mara Cagol)
 - Red Army Faction: Free University of Berlin (Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof)
 - 17 November: Athens Polytechnic
 - Weather Underground: various U.S. colleges & universities

REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS

- Action Directe (France)
- Sendero Luminoso (Peru)
- 17 November (Greece)
- Weather Underground (United States)
- Tupamaros (Uruguay)
- Japanese Red Army
- Red Army Faction (Germany)
- Red Brigades (Italy)
- Mujahedin-e-Khalq (Iran)
- Popular Revolutionary Army (Mexico)
- Nepal Insurgents (Maoists)
- United Freedom Front (United States)
- 25 April Movement (Portugal)
- Revolutionary Movement of Tupac Amaru (Peru)
- Irish Nationalist Liberation Army (IRSP militants)
- Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Colombia)
- May 19 Communist Organization (United States)
- Evan Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (United States)
- Others . . .



COMMON THEMES

Common Targets

- Symbolic targets
- Policemen
- Lawyers, Judges
- University professors
- Politicians
- Union leaders, Industrialists
- Military/security facilities

Common Tactics

- Armed robberies, Bombings
- Operations against the military (snipers, planting mines, etc.)
- Kidnapping (for attention and *coercive bargaining*)
- Selective assassination
- Indiscriminate attacks in public places

Prominent role of academics, intellectual elites

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Reasons for LW Groups' Decline

- Intellectual elites who controlled the movement got older and lost their ability to connect with increasingly younger student activist audiences.
- Impatient leaders, members led to mistakes, counterproductive violence
- Alienation of target audiences (instead of mobilization) undermined political objectives
- Left-wing movements became more specific, focusing not only on certain political behavior, but on particular causes (e.g., ELF, ALF, *Monkey Wrench Gang* – *spiking trees, arson attacks, lumber mills, etc.*)
- Government actions and improved police tactics certainly contributed to the decline of left-wing terrorism in the U.S. and Europe

Religious “Wave”

- Ideologies are supremacist (believers assume superiority over non-believers) & absolutist (you are with us or you are an unbeliever or an enemy “an infidel, an apostate”)
- “God is on our side – we are acting on the desires of a deity” (audience is thus not necessarily human; “we are unconstrained by man’s laws”); rewards in the afterlife
- Comparisons with Left-Wing wave of terrorism?
 - Who is inspiring whom, and toward what goals?
 - Who are the most prominent ideological innovators? What are their credentials/sources of influence?
 - What, if anything, does the decline of left-wing terrorism suggest about the future of religious terrorism?
- Lots of examples worldwide (Lesson 5, Feb. 22: Intersections of Religion and Political Violence)

Changes in technologies

What technological or other innovations have we seen among terrorists over the last 100 years?

- Communications: telegraph, newspapers, global television, cell phones, DVDs and the Internet (blogs, videos, Twitter, etc.)
- Weapons: Increasing sophistication of IEDs, with digital timers, radar guns; suicide attacks “ultimate smart bomb”; Weapons of Mass Disruption/Destruction; cyber (?)
- Transportation: Railroads, Airplanes (also for hijackings); global shipping services (FedEx, UPS)

What do these changes and evolving trends suggest for the future? What new kinds of technologies might become central to the world of terrorism in the future?

Changes in Financing Terrorism

- Bank robberies
- Extortion
- Kidnapping for ransom
- State sponsorship (who, when, why?)
- Charities
- Diaspora
- Trafficking in weapons, drugs, counterfeit goods
- Internet fundraising, credit card fraud, ID theft

What do these changes and evolving trends suggest for the future of terrorist financing? What new financing opportunities might we see in 10-20 years?

Re-Cap

- Most terrorist organizations fail, and fail rather quickly (According to Rapoport, 90% fail within 1-2 years)
- Studying the dynamics and histories of terrorist organizations can yield insights on why some have multi-generational trajectories
- Some terrorist organizations have learned to adapt and survive
- Each terrorist group's historical trajectory is unique, but there are lessons that can inform counterterrorism efforts
- There is much we can learn about today's terrorism (and the future) from studying its historical evolution – particularly the contexts and ideological innovations that fueled that evolution

Discussion

- How/why have we seen an “internationalization of terrorism?”
- How do the “traditional” terrorist movements of the past compare to modern-day religious terrorist movements?
- What do terrorist group manuals tell us about innovations and evolution in tactics, strategy, etc.?
 - *Handbook for Volunteers of the Irish Republican Army: Notes on Guerilla Warfare* (1956).
 - Ernesto “Che” Guevara, “Chapter 1: General Principles of Guerilla Warfare,” in *Guerilla Warfare* (1961).
 - Carlos Marighella, [*Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerrilla*](#) (1969).
 - Red Army Faction, *The Urban Guerilla Concept* (1971).

Discussion

- What impact did wars in Southeast Asia (e.g., Korea, Vietnam) have on terrorism, and where?
- What impact did the formation of the state of Israel have on terrorism?
- What does this review of history not tell us about terrorism that we should know, in order to improve our counterterrorism strategies?
- Why did RAF and PLO train together during the 1970s-80s?
- Why did Qaddafi provide training camps and personnel in Libya?
- How does this historical review of terrorism help us understand a modern terrorist attack, like Paris last November?

Research Paper Case Studies

What have we learned about terrorism from:

- Ireland / N. Ireland (M. Collins/E. deValera IRA/PIRA/CIRA/RIRA)
- Israel (M. Begin, Lehi, Irgun, Stern Gang)
- Palestine (Y. Arafat PLO/Black Sept., G. Habash PFLP, S. Yassin Hamas)
- South Africa (N. Mandela, Umkhonto we Sizwe)

What have we learned about terrorism from:

- | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------|---------------|
| • Egypt | • France | • Colombia | • Afghanistan |
| • Algeria | • Germany | • Peru | • Indonesia |
| • Iraq | • Italy | • Nigeria | • Pakistan |
| • Syria | • Spain | • Libya | • India |
| • Turkey | • Russia | • Somalia | • China |
| • Lebanon | • U.S. | • Uganda | • Sri Lanka |

Exam Question Ideas

Examples of potential final exam questions:

- History suggests terrorists almost never succeed in achieving their objectives. ***And yet***, history also suggests terrorism will be part of our long-term future. Why?
- Explain what we can learn about the rise and decline of the left-wing wave of terrorism that helps us predict the future evolution of the current religious wave.
- Describe some unique challenges faced by a democratic government when responding to religious terrorism.
- Why have we seen such a dramatic evolution of suicide bombings worldwide over the past 35 years?
- If contemporary terrorism does come and go in waves, what will the next wave be, and why?

Questions?