

# **DHP P244: MODERN TERRORISM & COUNTERTERRORISM**

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## **Lesson 2: History of Modern Terrorism**

### **ADMIN NOTES**

**1) Extra Credit Assignment**

If you have a specific (terrorism-related) area of expertise, based on extensive research or professional experience, and would like to make a presentation to the class for extra credit, please see me during the break or after class to discuss.

**2) Research Paper guidance**

The sooner you get started, the better

**3) WMD Scenario Project**

WMD & Terrorism book; Any groups formed yet?

## CURRENT EVENTS

- GSN #1 - Israel
- GSN #2 - Florida
- GSN #3 - Sochi

## LESSON 2: HISTORY

Observations or questions regarding the assigned readings for today?

- David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Terrorism"
- Leonard Weinberg, "Political and Revolutionary Ideologies"
- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*
  
- *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).

## HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

### Organizational Level

- 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
- In your research papers, be sure to consider the historical context, other groups of that era, as well as organizational learning (or lack thereof)
- 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

## TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

- What do terrorist organizations need?
  - Weapons, **money**, training facilities, instructors
  - Ideology, propaganda, printing press, media relations, Internet
  - Ideological resonance, self-sufficiency, discipline
- What do terrorist organizations need to know?
  - How does “knowledge” differ from “intelligence”?
  - Must constantly monitor and adapt to the environment
  - Must know what the government will do to try and defeat terrorists (see IRA manual) and then figure out what kinds of measures it can take to survive

## HISTORICAL EXAMPLES

- Zealots – Sicarri (1<sup>st</sup> Century)
- Muslim “Assassins” (11<sup>th</sup> & 12<sup>th</sup> Century)
- Robespierre & Revolutionary Tribunals
- Sons of Liberty, Klu Klux Klan
- State-directed terrorism (Iraq, Halabja)
- State-sponsored terrorism (Libya, Iran)
  
- What historical examples of terrorism have made the most impression on you thus far? Why?
- What was the primary significance of 1866? 1972? 1979?
- What similarities and differences among the terrorist manuals were most striking

## LEFT-WING TERRORISM

- 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
  
- Influenced by the writings of revolutionaries *in other countries (globalized ideological resonance)*
  - Domestic, Marxist, some state support
  - Armed violence against the capitalist state

## INFLUENTIAL REVOLUTIONARIES



Ernesto "Che" Geuvara



Carlos Marighella



Frantz Fanon



Mao Tse-Tung

*Focused on fundamental, systemic change*

## MAO TSE-TUNG



- People's War concept of overcoming the superior with inferior forces; The insurgent is a fish who cannot survive without a sea - the people - in which to swim
- Unite the oppressed classes; Must forge an alliance between peasants and working class, who must then lead the revolution . . .
- Information Warfare: To achieve victory we must as far as possible make the enemy blind and deaf by sealing his eyes and ears, and drive his commanders to distraction by creating confusion in their minds.
- Create the conditions for the revolution; may be a long process . . .

## 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; anti-colonial terrorism
- Urban terror was to create mayhem, and all terrorism was to be excessively brutal to communicate fear.

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

## ERNESTO "CHE" GUEVARA

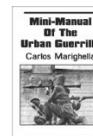
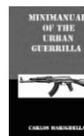


- Argentine Marxist; medical doctor, writer; traveled throughout Latin America and became convinced that the region's economic problems were caused by capitalism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, with the only remedy being world revolution.
- Published his lessons learned from success in Cuba (w/Castro) of ousting the Batista regime; 1960s celebrity
- **Foco theory of revolution:**
  - "Vanguardism" by cadres of small, fast-moving paramilitary groups can provide a focus for popular discontent against a sitting regime, and thereby lead a general insurrection.
  - **Immediate Action:** It is not necessary to wait until all conditions for making revolution exist; the insurrection can create them (differs from Mao)
  - The countryside is the basic area for armed fighting; must mobilize and launch attacks from rural areas

## CARLOS MARIGHELLA



- Brazilian Marxist political leader
- Authored influential strategic texts:
  - *Liberation of Brazil*
  - *Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerilla*
    - Practical guides for terrorism
    - The basis of revolution is violence; provoke the government
    - All violence could be **urban-based** and controlled by a small group of urban guerillas
- Move violence from the countryside to the city
- Method for organizing a campaign of terror that has been used by groups ranging across the political spectrum



## SUMMARY

Mao: Inferior forces can defeat the more powerful; “People’s War”

Che: A small dedicated cadre of fighters can create the conditions for popular revolution (*Vanguard*)

Fanon: Terrorism is a *necessary* instrument of liberation

Marighella: Urban violence will “systematically inflict damage on the authorities... (and) the people who exercise power” (rural insurrection can be easy for government to ignore)

**By 1970, most left-wing groups and ethno-nationalist groups had adopted some combination of these four ideological strains**

- Do you see these reflected in IRA, RAF manuals? Al Qaida?

## LEFT-WING TERRORISM

Common reasons for the decline of left-wing terror groups:

- 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

BREAK

## WAVES (DAVID RAPOPORT)

	When	Doctrines	Groups	Demise
Anarchist	1880s-1920s			
Anti-Colonial	1920s-1960s			
Left-Wing	1960s-1990s			
Religious	1990s-present			

*What is not accounted for by this “waves” framework?*

## RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED TERROR

- Rapoport: *Current “wave” of terrorism*
- Religious Cults (e.g., Aum Shinrikyo)
- Christian, Jewish, Sikh, Islamist . . .
- Sometimes as a group, sometimes alone; Examples?
- How are the recruitment and support strategies different from the Left-Wing terrorist groups?
- What did it mean to be a “true believer” among the Left-Wing terrorist groups?

## RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED TERROR

- True believers are superior over non-believers; Chosen people vs. 'infidel', 'apostate' and 'godless' (a deeper level of "othering")
- Faith and devotion will be rewarded by God
- Superiority of God's rules: "we are unconstrained by man's laws"
- "God is on our side – we are acting on the desires of a diety" (audience is thus not necessarily human)
- Absolutist (you are with us or you are an unbeliever or an enemy "an infidel, an apostate")

## INTERPRETING GOD'S WILL TO KILL

- Enormous power for "interpreters" (priests, imams, rabbis), who can exploit the need among many people for religious guidance.
  - Use interpretation of Torah, Bible, Koran, etc. to justify terrorist violence as God's will
- Epic battle of good versus evil
- Religious insecurities as a central motivator; must defend against evil forces threatening the faith

## KILLING AS A SACRED DUTY

- “Violence is first and foremost a sacramental act or divine duty . . . in direct response to some theological demand or imperative.” – Bruce Hoffman
- The religious extremist seems to “enter into a kind of trance, where the world is divided neatly between good and evil, victim and oppressor. Uncertainty and ambiguity . . . are banished. God is on their side.” – Jessica Stern

## CHANGES IN TECHNOLOGIES

- Communications: telegraph, newspapers, global television, cell phones, DVDs and the Internet (blogs, videos, etc.)
- Weapons: Increasing sophistication of IEDs, with digital timers, radar guns; “ultimate smart bomb”; Weapons of Mass Disruption/Destruction
- 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?

## 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?

## CONCLUSION

- There is much we can learn about today's terrorism (and the future) from studying its historical evolution
- The current "wave" of terrorism will not last forever

### Examples of potential final exam questions:

- 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.
- If contemporary terrorism does come and go in waves, what will the next wave be, and why?

QUESTIONS?