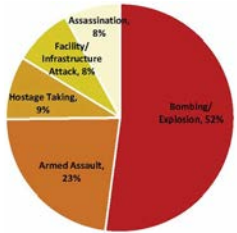


PSCI 3510  
Terrorism and Political Violence  
October 8, 2018

Jim Butterfield  
Quynh Mai  
[jimbutterfield.org/3510.html](http://jimbutterfield.org/3510.html)




Tactic	Percentage
Bombing/Explosion	52%
Armed Assault	23%
Hostage Taking	9%
Assassination	8%
Facility/Infrastructure Attack	8%

Global Terrorism Tactics, 2015  
USDOS

PSCI 3510 "Cinema Series"

- First film: Michael Collins
- Wednesday evening 6:30 pm in 3301 Friedmann
- Michael Collins was an activist and leader in Ireland's struggle for independence between 1916 and 1920.
- He was also a leading figure in the Irish Republican Army (IRA).



Last Time

- Psychological mindsets/worldviews:
  - authoritarian
  - dogmatic
  - apocalyptic
- Vulnerability to terrorist messages.



Psychological Vulnerabilities


- What kind of people are vulnerable to terrorist messages?
  - A need for personal meaning and identity
    - purpose, value, self-worth
  - A need for belonging
    - sometimes this is the initial appeal for prospective terrorists
  - Perceived injustice and/or humiliation
    - view injustice as intentional
    - strong desire to punish perpetrators

Attitudinal Propensities


- Pro-violence attitudes.
- Tendency to harbor grievances.
- External threat perception.
- Sensation-seeking.
- "Disinhibition": moral disengagement from conventional sanctions on violent behavior.

Sum

- What makes an individual open to terrorist messages?
- Borum: look for a combination of:
  - Specific mindsets
  - Psychological vulnerabilities
  - Attitudinal propensities



Do we think clearly when we think about terrorism?



Really?

### Critical Thinking Errors (Reich)


- Overgeneralization
  - All terrorists are not alike.
  - Motivations differ.
  - Consider:
    - Zealots, Sicarii, Thugs, and Assassins
    - The Jacobins of the French Revolution
    - 19<sup>th</sup> century anarchists
    - Irish nationalists, other 20<sup>th</sup> C ethnic separatists
    - European and Latin American leftists
    - Religious radicals
- What do they have in common?

### Critical Thinking Errors (Reich)

- Overgeneralization
- Reductionism
  - The fallacy of explaining complex phenomenon by a single factor.
  - "[Terrorists] hate us because we have freedom of speech, because we have diversity in our religious beliefs. They hate us because we're a tolerant society." (Senator Marco Rubio after 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris)

### Critical Thinking Errors (Reich)

- Overgeneralization
- Reductionism
  - The fallacy of explaining complex phenomenon by a single factor.



Terrorism, ladies and gentlemen, in my eyes I have a very, very, very simple explanation. Gangs of criminals, killers, used unfortunately by certain governments in the past for political purposes, who are on their own now as gangs.


(Hamid Karzai)

### Other Errors (Reich)

- Under appreciation for psychology of rewards.
  - Power, prestige, privilege.
  - Glamour and excitement.
  - A sense of higher purpose.

### Other Errors (Reich)

- Under appreciation for psychology of rewards.
- Describing motivations with complex psychological diagnoses.
  - Often it's just hatred, revulsion, and/or revenge.



ISIS video screenshot threatening revenge against Russia

### Simulation

Debate topics:

- Improving the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.
- Responding to state sponsors of terrorism.

- Formal debate according to simplified UN procedures.
- Goal: the adoption of one or more resolutions.
- Time allowed for informal, breakout sessions for lobbying, conferral.



### Simulation

- Writing assignment #1: country profile. Due October 27.
- Writing assignment #2: country position papers on both questions. Due November 17.
- Pre-simulation preparation (later):
  - Learn rules of procedure.
  - Study format of resolutions.
  - Prepare draft resolutions with other representatives.

**Resolution 2334 (2016)**  
**Adopted by the Security Council at its 7853<sup>rd</sup> meeting, on 23 December 2016**

*The Security Council,*  
*Reaffirming its relevant resolutions, including resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973), 446 (1979), 452 (1979), 465 (1980), 476 (1980), 478 (1980), 1397 (2002), 1515 (2003), and 1850 (2008),*  
*Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and reaffirming, inter alia, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force,*

### Simulation

- The keys to success:
  - Preparation, both as part of the writing assignments and in advance of the simulation.
  - Role-playing: adopt the persona of a representative of the country you represent.
  - Succinctness: you will have one minute to make your points, after which you will be timed out. Don't ramble.
  - Decorum: delegates do not debate, shout, interrupt, or joke during formal debate.
  - Negotiation and compromise are the goals, but the latter only when it makes sense based on your role.

### Roles

China: Anderson (Dec chair)**	Ivory Coast: Haines (Nov chair)*	Iran: Cisneros <sup>†</sup>
France: Moray**	Kazakhstan: Cook*	Israel: Medar <sup>†</sup>
Russian Federation: Hiller**	Kuwait: Norman*	Kenya: Dillon <sup>†</sup>
United Kingdom: Cherubin**	Netherlands: Cocoli*	Nigeria: Habsburg <sup>†</sup>
United States: Wagner**	Peru: Mackew*	Saudi Arabia: Larson <sup>†</sup>
Bolivia: Murondanyi*	Poland: Niemi*	Turkey: Gyga <sup>†</sup>
Equatorial Guinea: Rodgers*	Sweden: Krause*	Ukraine: Beer <sup>†</sup>
Ethiopia: van Eindhoven*	Indonesia: Kubiak <sup>†</sup>	
* Voting member	** Voting member with veto (P5)	<sup>†</sup> Non-voting participant

### Goals and Strategies

- Terrorist groups are operating from a position of an imbalance of power.
- Strategies are calculated – rationally.
- "Talk is cheap." Threats may not be convincing.
- Terrorist acts are "costly signals": actions so costly that bluffers and liars are unwilling to take them.



Victim in Ariana Grande concert bombing, London - March 2017

### Goals and Strategies

- Attrition: wear the target down.
- Provocation: provoke the target into taking action that weakens it.



What did 9/11 accomplish?

### al-Qaeda Terrorist Attack 9/11/01

- Immediate cost: 2,996 dead, 6,000+ injured, billions in property damage.
- Subsequent costs:
  - War in Afghanistan, Iraq; counter-terrorism activities in Pakistan and Syria; ongoing medical care for veterans:
    - \$4,799,000,000,000 (\$4.8 trillion).\*
  - Geopolitical significance:
    - Increased hostility in Islamic world.
    - Strengthening of Iran's geopolitical position.

\* Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, 2017 [https://bit.ly/2JLZdhh].



### Goals and Strategies

- Attrition: wear the target down.
- Provocation: provoke the target into taking action that weakens it.
- Intimidation: intimidate the target into making concessions or changing behavior.
- Spoiling: derail fragile processes such as peace negotiations.

### Note: Strategy vs Tactics.

- Strategy: a plan of action to achieve goals. How will we do it, broadly defined?
- Tactics: specific actions against specific targets as part of a broader strategy.
  - Examples: suicide bombings, targeted assassinations, robbing banks, blowing up government offices, targeting civilians (and many more).



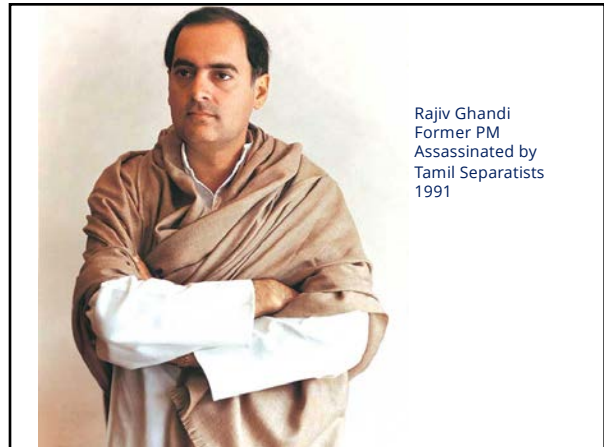
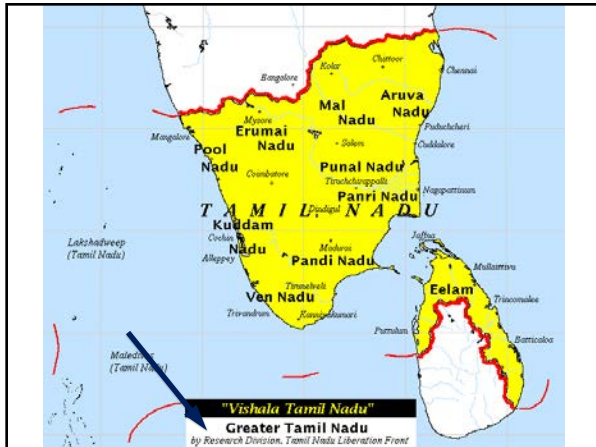
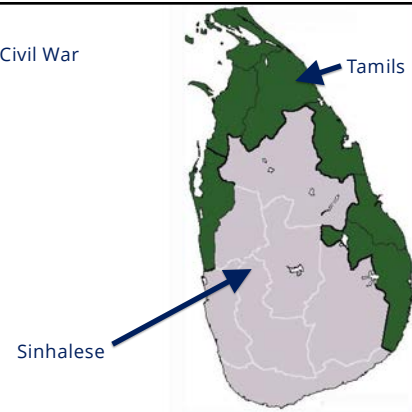
### Goals and Strategies

- Regime change.
  - Replace leadership; change system. Examples:
    - Red Army Faction, Germany/Red Brigades, Italy (1970s-80s).
    - Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*), Peru 1980s.
- Strategies
  - RAF/Red Brigades: attrition, provocation

### Goals and Strategies

- Territorial change.
  - Usually separatism, independence. Examples:
    - Irish ~1912-1921.
    - Tamils in Sri Lanka 1983-2009.
- Strategies.
  - Basques/ETA: provocation ("Nothing radicalizes a people faster than the unleashing of undisciplined security forces on its towns and villages.")
  - Tamil Tigers: provocation, intimidation.
  - Ulster Freedom Fighters, Northern Ireland: spoiling

Sri Lankan Civil War 1983-2009



Rajiv Gandhi  
Former PM  
Assassinated by  
Tamil Separatists  
1991

