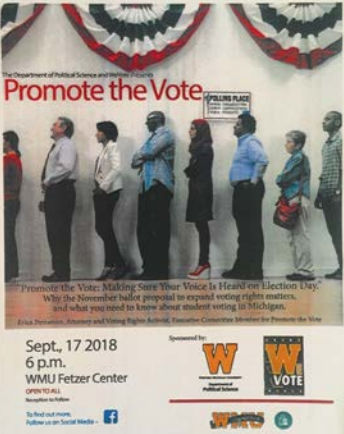


PSCI 3510  
Terrorism and Political  
Violence  
September 10/12, 2018



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Course site: jimbutterfield.org/3510



Event: student voting rights in Michigan

Sept 17  
6pm  
Fetzer

### Today and Wednesday

- A history of terrorism.
- The waves.
- Old vs new terrorism.
- State vs grass-roots terrorism.



### Modern Terrorism

- Maximilien Robespierre, head of the Jacobins in France, 1793-4.\*
- Background:
  - absolutist monarchy overthrown in the French Revolution, 1789
  - revolutionaries influenced by the Enlightenment
  - royalists resisted and sought a restoration
  - eventually Napoleon stepped in and created the Napoleonic empire (1798)

\* Rapoport dates the advent of modern terrorism to the Russia in the 1870s.

### Robespierre

- "...the springs of popular government in revolution are at once virtue and terror: virtue, without which terror is fatal; *terror, without which virtue is powerless*" (italics added).\*

\* We met Robespierre last Wednesday.

### Russia in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> C

- Tsarist (Czarist) absolutist monarchy.
- Very little industrialization (no modernizing tendencies).
- Overwhelmingly agrarian.
- Serfdom (a form of slavery) was eliminated in 1861.
- Small, influential aristocratic class, large impoverished peasantry.

### Mikhail Bakunin

- Russian anarchist, 1814-1876.
  - "Governmental cruelty has engendered the cruelty of the people and made it into something necessary and natural. But between these two cruelties, there still remains a vast difference; the first strives for the complete annihilation of the people, the other endeavors to set them free" (1869).



### Sergei Nechaev

- Russian Nihilist, 1847-1882.
- *Catechism of the Revolutionist*, 1869:
  - The target of terrorism is "society itself [because it is] foul and something that must be destroyed because the target society is evil per se and there is nothing worthy in it."
  - Rejection of morality.



### "The People's Will" (*Narodnaya Volya*)

- Russian agrarian populist movement, 1879-1880s.
- Assassinated Tsar Alexander II, 1881 (target-specific terrorism)



The Church of the Spilled Blood  
Site of tsar's assassination, St Petersburg



### Mao Zedong

- Chinese communist leader from 1949-1976.
- Background:
  - Chinese communist revolution was in 1949.
  - China was even more agrarian and impoverished than Russia in 1917.



### Mao Zedong

- Chinese head of public security:
  - "In suppressing the resistance of the counterrevolutionaries, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot, of course, avoid the shedding of blood. But the nature of such bloodshed is entirely different from the bloodshed under the dictatorship of the exploiting classes; *here the blood that is shed is not the people's but that of counterrevolutionaries.*"




"Struggle session"  
Chinese Cultural Revolution

### Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge

- Cambodia (Kampuchea), 1975-1979.
- Attempted complete "re-engineering" of society by executing anyone with more than rudimentary education.
- Estimated deaths: between 1.5 and 2.5 million, or roughly a quarter of the population.



### Pol Pot



- "Better to kill an innocent by mistake than spare an enemy by mistake."
- "He who protests is an enemy; he who opposes is a corpse."

### Carlos Marighella

- Brazilian revolutionary, 1911-1969.
  - An urban guerilla is "one who is not afraid of dismantling and destroying the political and social structure of society" (1969).

**Minimanual  
of the  
Urban Guerrilla**

By  
Carlos Marighella

1969


### Minimanual of the Urban Guerilla

- Influenced:
  - The Weathermen (US radical leftist group, 1969-1977)
  - The Irish Republican Army (1970s-2000s)
  - Basque separatists (Spain, 1960s-2000s)
  - The Red Army Faction (Germany, 1970s-1990s)
  - The Red Brigades (Italy, 1970s-1980s)



Former Italian PM Aldo Moro, kidnapped and executed by the Red Brigades, 1978

### Osama in Laden, al-Qaeda



Remember our working definition:

"Terrorism, both as practiced and justified by terrorist themselves, is a tool used to achieve a specific outcome by using force or violence on one segment of society with the primary goal of causing fear in the larger society to make change in that society."

Waves (Rapoport)\*

- 1880s-1920s: Anarchist wave. In USA:
  - Haymarket bombing in Chicago, 1886.
  - Assassination of William McKinley, 1901.
  - Immigration Acts of 1903 and 1918 targeted Anarchists (and others).
  - Sacco and Vanzetti trial and execution, 1920s (d. 1927).



\* Non-state "rebel"/grass-roots terrorism

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti



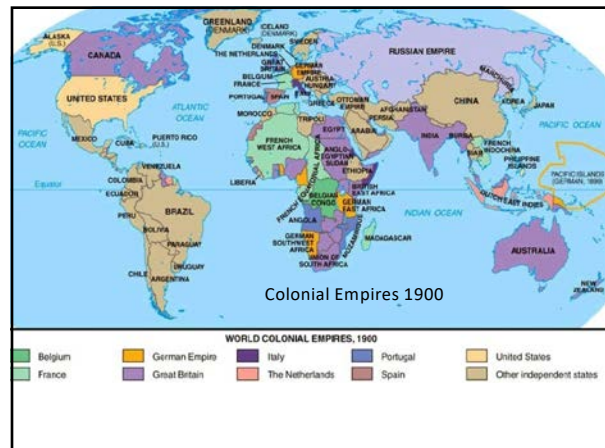
"Anarchist ideas influenced some labor activists and inspired a few terrorist attacks but never posed a serious threat to the country, and the movement petered out within a few decades. The only threat to our liberty was the public's overwrought response to anarchism-inspired crimes."

Historian and author Michael Wolraich

Waves (Rapoport)\*


- 1880s-1920s: Anarchist wave
- 1920s-1960s: Anti-colonial wave

\* Non-state "rebel"/grass-roots terrorism



### Waves (Rapoport)\*

- 1880s-1920s: Anarchist wave
- 1920s-1960s: Anti-colonial wave
- 1960s-1990s: New Left wave
  - Targets: banks, corporations, the rich



*Red Army Faction*  
Germany



*Red Brigades*  
Italy




*Weather Underground*  
(The Weathermen) USA


\* Non-state "rebel"/grass-roots terrorism

### Waves (Rapoport)\*

- 1880s-1920s: Anarchist wave
- 1920s-1960s: Anti-colonial wave
- 1960s-1990s: New Left wave
- 1979+: Religious wave



*The Islamic State of*  
*Iraq and Syria (ISIS)*



*al-Qaeda*

\* Non-state "rebel"/grass-roots terrorism

### Another take: "Old" vs "New" Terrorism (Crenshaw)

<p>"Old"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ideological or anti-colonialism/separatism</li> <li>• Bargainable goals</li> <li>• Terrorist acts are tactical</li> <li>• Selective in choice of targets</li> <li>• Centralized organization</li> </ul>	<p>"New"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Based in religion</li> <li>• Illiberal and anti-Western</li> <li>• Goal: mass casualties</li> <li>• Fanatical</li> <li>• Non-negotiable</li> <li>• Scale of violence greater</li> <li>• Organized as networks</li> </ul>
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