


A-S 3900  
Global Perspectives on  
Terrorism  
Spring 2018


Dr Jim Butterfield



Course site: [jimbutterfield.org/3900.html](http://jimbutterfield.org/3900.html)

### 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 (Kydd/Walter)

- Five 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.
  - Outbidding: delegitimizing moderates on the same side.

### 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)



STRATEGY = TAKE THE RIVER

TACTICS = USE A BOAT

### 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
  - Shining Path: outbidding

### 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, outbidding.
  - Ulster Freedom Fighters, Northern Ireland: spoiling

### Goals and Strategies

- Policy change.
  - Seek changes in policies and practices. Example:
    - al-Qaeda to US: stop supporting Israel; withdraw forces from Middle East.
- Strategies:
  - Attrition
  - Provocation
  - Intimidation

### Goals and Strategies

- Social control. Examples:
  - KKK intimidation of blacks in civil rights era.
  - Bombing of abortion clinics.
- Strategies:
  - KKK: Intimidation – keep blacks from accessing the newly granted civil rights.
  - Violent anti-abortionists: scare clients away; intimidate doctors who perform procedures; force clinics to close.



Birmingham AL 1998

### Goals and Strategies

- Status quo maintenance.
  - Support status quo against those who want to change it. Examples:
    - United Self-Defense Force (against FARC), Colombia 1990s-2000s.
    - Ulster Freedom Fighters (against the IRA), Northern Ireland 1973-1994.



### Recruitment

- How to recruit terrorists?
- What can we learn from two distinct settings?
  - To commit suicide terrorism.
  - From developed countries.

Adolescent (12 or 13) suicide bomber apprehended before setting it off. Kirkuk, Iraq 2016.



### Recruiting Suicide Terrorists (Atran)

- What he calls the "institutional" factor.
  - In other words, focus on the tactics of sponsors/organizers of suicide terrorism.
  - "Fictive kin" as an "emotionally driven commitment."
    - Tight cells of terrorists who bond and make mutual commitment to die, and...
    - ...larger "brothers/sisters/mothers/fathers/children" identity.
    - The "psychological rewards of terrorism."



**Pillar I**

Addressing the Conditions Conducive to the Spread of Terrorism

- Prolonged unresolved conflicts
- Lack of rule of law
- Violations of human rights
- Discrimination
- Political exclusion
- Socioeconomic marginalization
- Lack of good governance

**Pillar II**

Preventing and Combatting Terrorism

- The "criminal justice" approach:
  - Arrest and prosecution
  - Military intervention
  - Interdiction of terrorist financing
  - Monitoring of biological, chemical, nuclear weapons stocks
  - Combatting related crimes (drug trafficking, illegal arms trade, blood diamonds, etc.)

**Pillar III**

Building States' capacity and strengthening the role of the United Nations

- Reflecting the changing nature of international terrorism.

Shift in International Terrorism

- 1970s–1980s: state-sponsored terrorism common
  - Libya



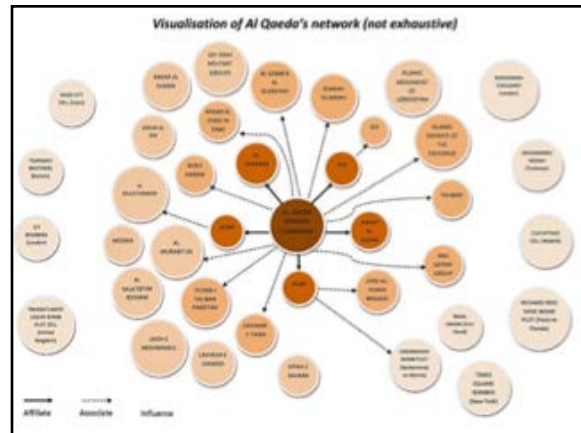
### Shift in International Terrorism

- 1970s-1980s: state-sponsored terrorism common
  - Libya
  - Syria (especially in Lebanon)
  - Iran (Hezbollah)
  - North Korea (Japanese Red Army)
  - USSR/EE (Latin American guerilla movements)
  - US (Nicaraguan contras, support for state terrorism in Guatemala and El Salvador).
- Combination of active support or safe havens.

**Japanese Red Army founder**  
Fusako Shigenobu

### Shift in International Terrorism

- 2000s-present: transnational terrorist networks (e.g., al-Qaeda)
  - Highly decentralized networks in the face of international cooperation.



### Shift in International Terrorism

- 2000s-present: transnational terrorist networks (e.g., al-Qaeda)
  - Highly decentralized networks in the face of international cooperation.
  - Reliance on safe havens in sponsoring states replaced by using weak and failed states.
  - Example: Pakistan and al-Qaeda, Taliban





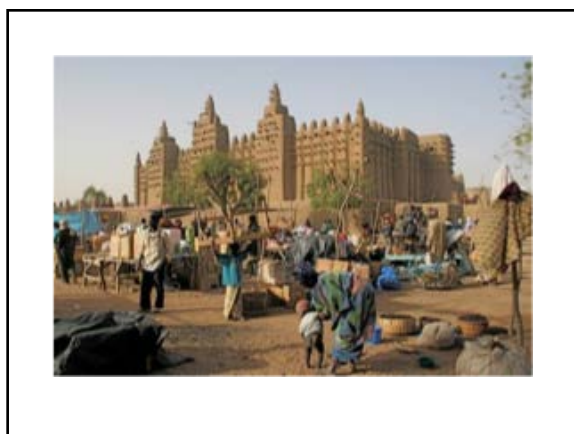
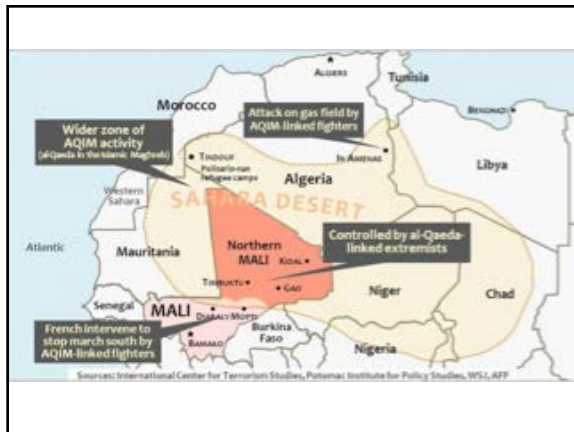
Shift in International Terrorism

- 2000s–present: transnational terrorist networks (e.g., al-Qaeda)
  - Highly decentralized networks in the face of international cooperation.
  - Reliance on safe havens in sponsoring states replaced by using weak and failed states.
  - Example: Philippines and Abu Sayyaf



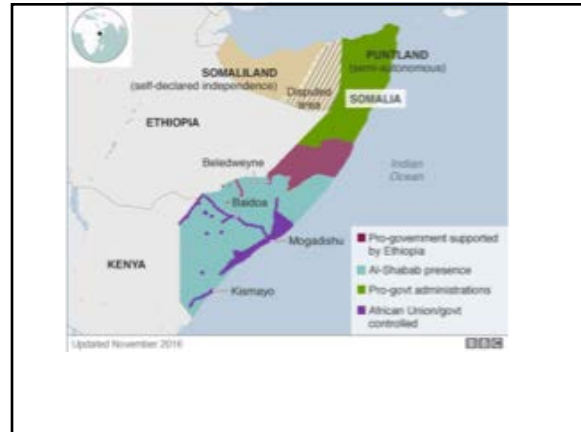
Shift in International Terrorism

- 2000s–present: transnational terrorist networks (e.g., al-Qaeda)
  - Highly decentralized networks in the face of international cooperation.
  - Reliance on safe havens in sponsoring states replaced by using weak and failed states.
  - Example: Mali/Mauritania/Algeria/Niger/Chad and al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)



Shift in International Terrorism

- 2000s–present: transnational terrorist networks (e.g., al-Qaeda)
  - Highly decentralized networks in the face of international cooperation.
  - Reliance on safe havens in sponsoring states replaced by using weak and failed states.
  - Example: Somalia (al-Shabab)



**Pillar IV**

Ensuring Human rights and the rule of law

- Don't help recruiters by undermining human rights and the rule of law.

