

A-S 3900
Global Perspectives on
Terrorism
Spring 2018

Dr Jim Butterfield

Course site: jimbutterfield.org/3900.html



Obama Ends the War on Terror

- "We must define our effort not as a boundless 'Global War on Terror,' but rather as a series of persistent, targeted efforts to dismantle specific networks of violent extremists that threaten America."
- "We will always seek to delegitimise the use of terrorism and to isolate those who carry it out. Yet this is not a global war against a tactic – terrorism – or a religion – Islam. We are at war with a specific network, al-Qaeda, and its terrorist affiliates who support efforts to attack the United States, our allies, and partners." (May 23, 2013)

Why study the history of terrorism?



Modern Terrorism

- Maximilien Robespierre, head of the Jacobins during French Revolution, 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).




Russia in the 2nd half of the 19th 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).



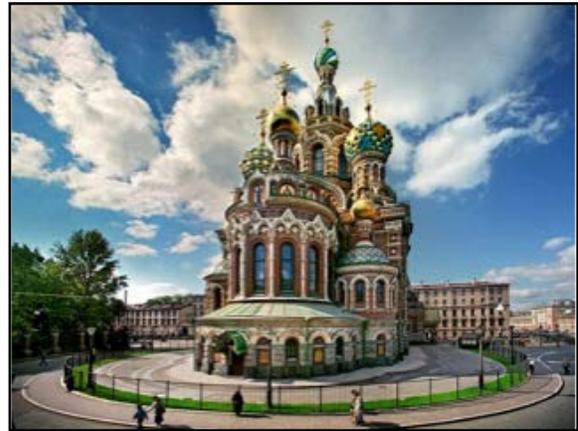
Sergei Nechaev

- 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 (individual terrorism)



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

- "It should not be hidden from you that the people of Islam had suffered from aggression, iniquity and injustice imposed on them by the Zionist-Crusaders alliance and their collaborators."



What do they all share in common?

"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."
 - Arthur Garrison

Examples of State vs Non-State Terrorism

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State terrorism: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Robespierre (France), 1790s - Stalin (USSR), 1930s-1950s - Hitler (Germany) 1930s-1940s - Mao Zedong (China), 1950s-1970s - Pol Pot (Cambodia) 1970s 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-state terrorism: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Russia 19th C - Irish Republican Army (UK/Ireland), 1910s-1990s - "Urban guerillas," 1960s-70s - al-Qaeda (South Asia), 1990s-present
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Waves (Rapoport)*

- 1880s-1920s: Anarchist wave
 - 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



"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

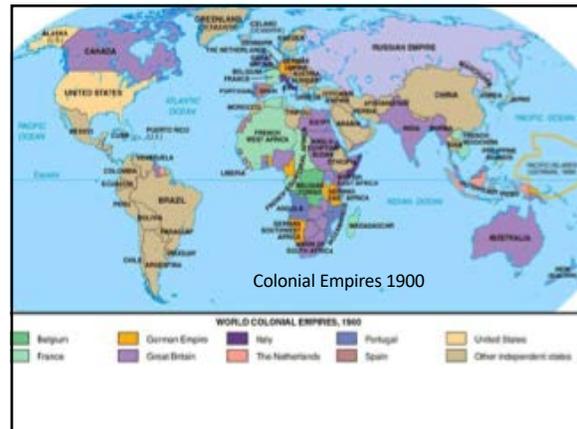


Waves (Rapoport)*

- 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
- 1979+: Religious wave



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

Is there a meaningful distinction between hate crimes and terrorism?



Can certain actions be both a hate crime and an act of terrorism?



Definitions

- Hate Crimes:
 - "Crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity" (Hate Crime Statistics Act, 1990)
- Terrorism:
 - "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."

Are any of the following "hate groups?"



Video from clashes during alt-right demonstration and Antifa counter-demonstrators in Berkeley, CA on 8/27/17





What distinguishes them?

<u>Group</u>	<u>Goals</u>	<u>Tactics</u>
KKK and Neo-Nazis	Laudable? Morally unacceptable? Unclear?	Violent?
Antifa		Threatening?
Black Lives Matter		Non-violent?

From "How to Distinguish Between Antifa, White Supremacists, and Black Lives Matter," *The Atlantic*.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/08/drawing-distinctions-antifa-the-alt-right-and-black-lives-matter/538320/>

Open Questions about Hate Crimes

- Reliability issues:
 - officer discretion: is it a hate crime?
 - unclear criteria: do we always know crimes based on identity when we see it?
 - bias
 - under-reporting by victims
 - inconsistent reporting: *over 14,000 agencies provide data*

Trivia Question

- How many hate crimes were reported in Mississippi in 2015?
- Zero.