

Varieties of Organized Violence

Do any common features cluster together sets of diverse groups & orgs that are described as terrorists, at least by their opponents?

To create a useful **typology** for classifying & simplifying the diversity among terror groups, analysts identify some **basic dimensions** on which types vary:

- ✓ **Demands or Goals:** secession, independence, inclusion, conversion, ...
- ✓ **Ideologies:** nationalist, religious, left-wing, right-wing, anarchist, ...
- ✓ **Targets:** states, police & military, corporations, ethnic groups, ...
- ✓ **Locations:** regional, national, international, transnational, ...
- ✓ **Others:** _____

Demands / Goals often seen as indispensable for typification. Similar terrorists have equivalent political aims (e.g., ousting a colonial power).

Give examples of terrorist orgs seeking: (1) revolutionary overthrow of a ruling class; (2) separation of ethnic minority; (3) religious conversion. Does grouping orgs into these types yield homogeneous categories?

Terror as Strategy

With exception of nihilists – who seek destruction of its own sake – most groups using terroristic threats or actions seek some broader objective. Hence, terror is fundamentally a **tool**, a **strategic means to a larger end**.



Charles Tilly defined **terror strategy** as “asymmetrical deployment of threats and violence against enemies outside forms of **political struggle routinely operating** within the current regime.” Thus, Tilly’s concept includes governmental “**specialists in coercion**.”

Groups vary in use of terror strategy from intermittent, to occasional use, to the dominant rationale of an org.

Small groups (3-5 students) discuss, then report back to entire class:

Does Tilly’s inclusion of police & military as users of terror strategies help or hinder our understanding of these forms of violence? How?

What three audiences are terrorists trying to “signal”? For what purposes?

Give some examples of specialists and nonspecialists that use terror strategies. Why does Tilly think this distinction is so important?

Do you dis/agree with Tilly that such diversity means “no coherent set of cause-effect propositions can explain terrorism as a whole”? Why?

Tilly's Crude Typology

Very few cases fall into the top-right corner.

Give some examples of terror groups in each of the four quadrants

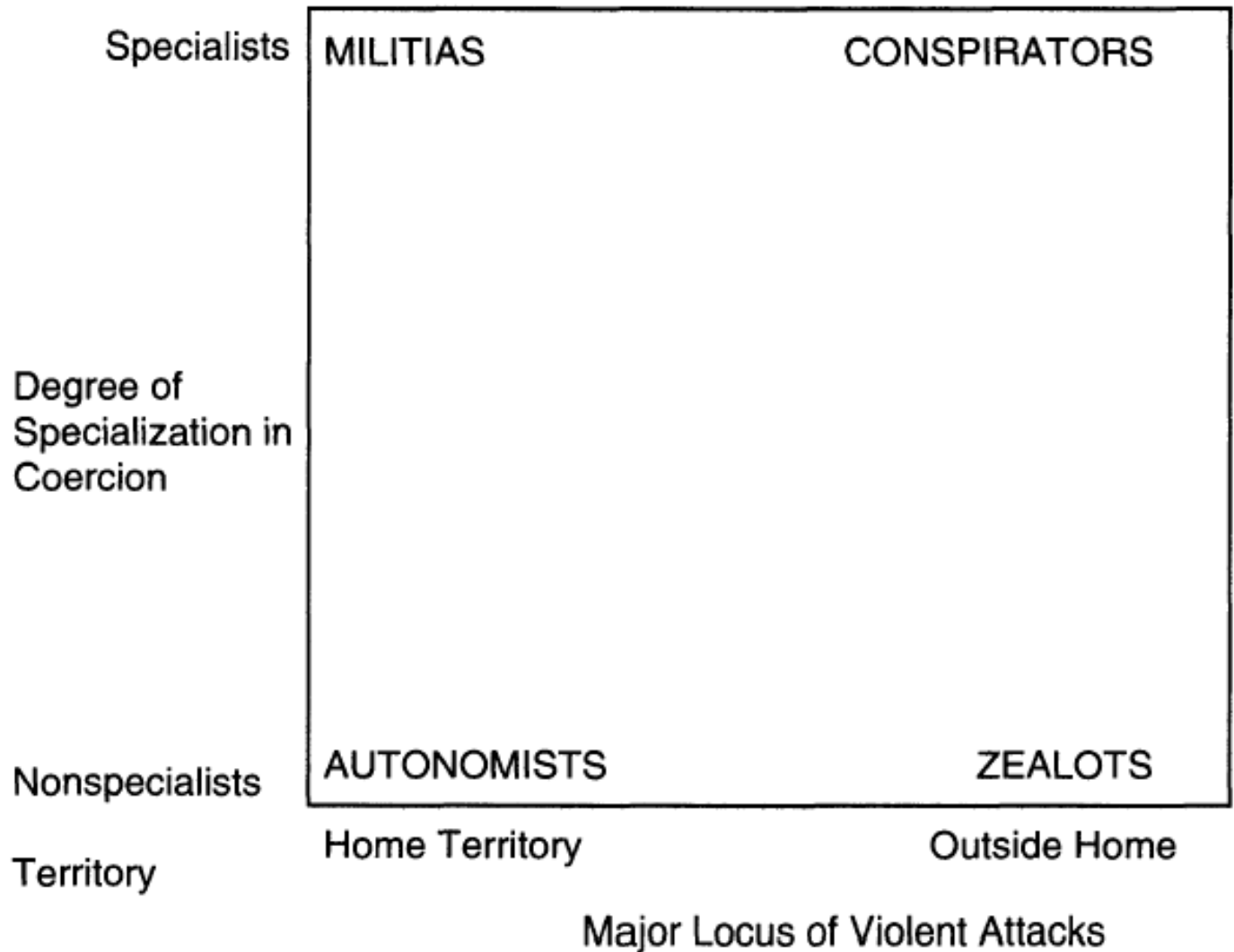
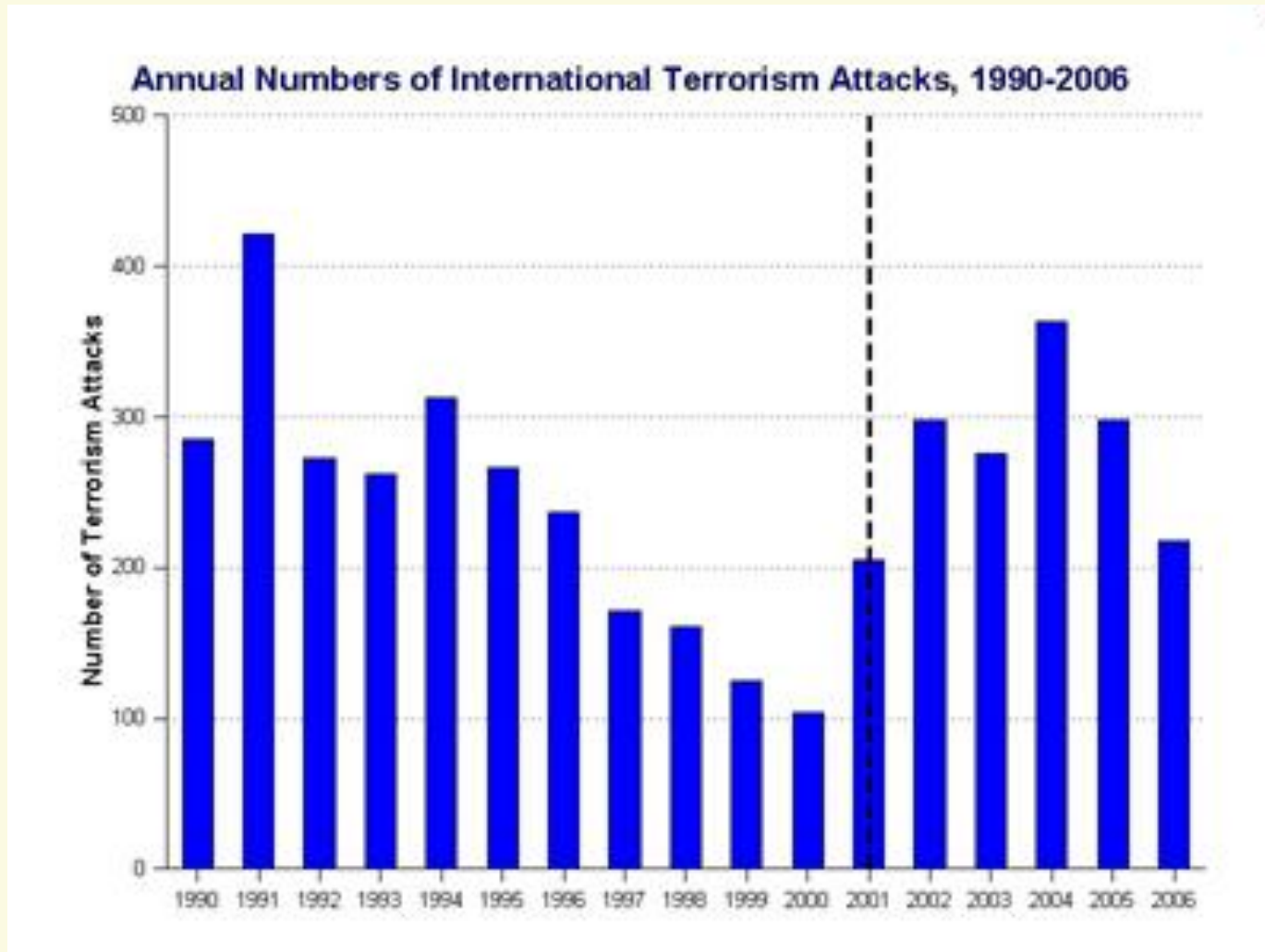
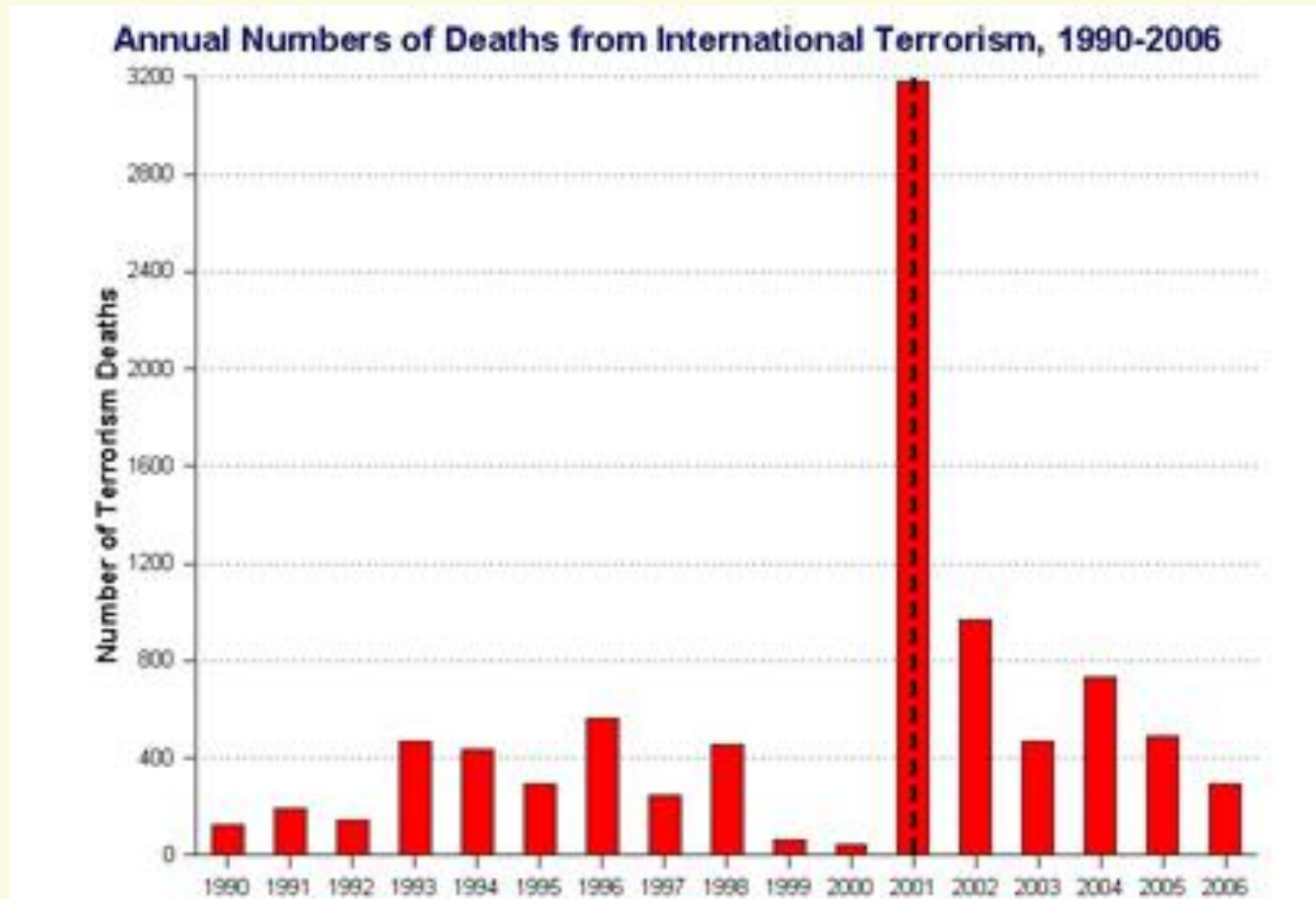


Figure 2. A crude typology of terror-wielding groups and networks.

International Terrorism Attacks

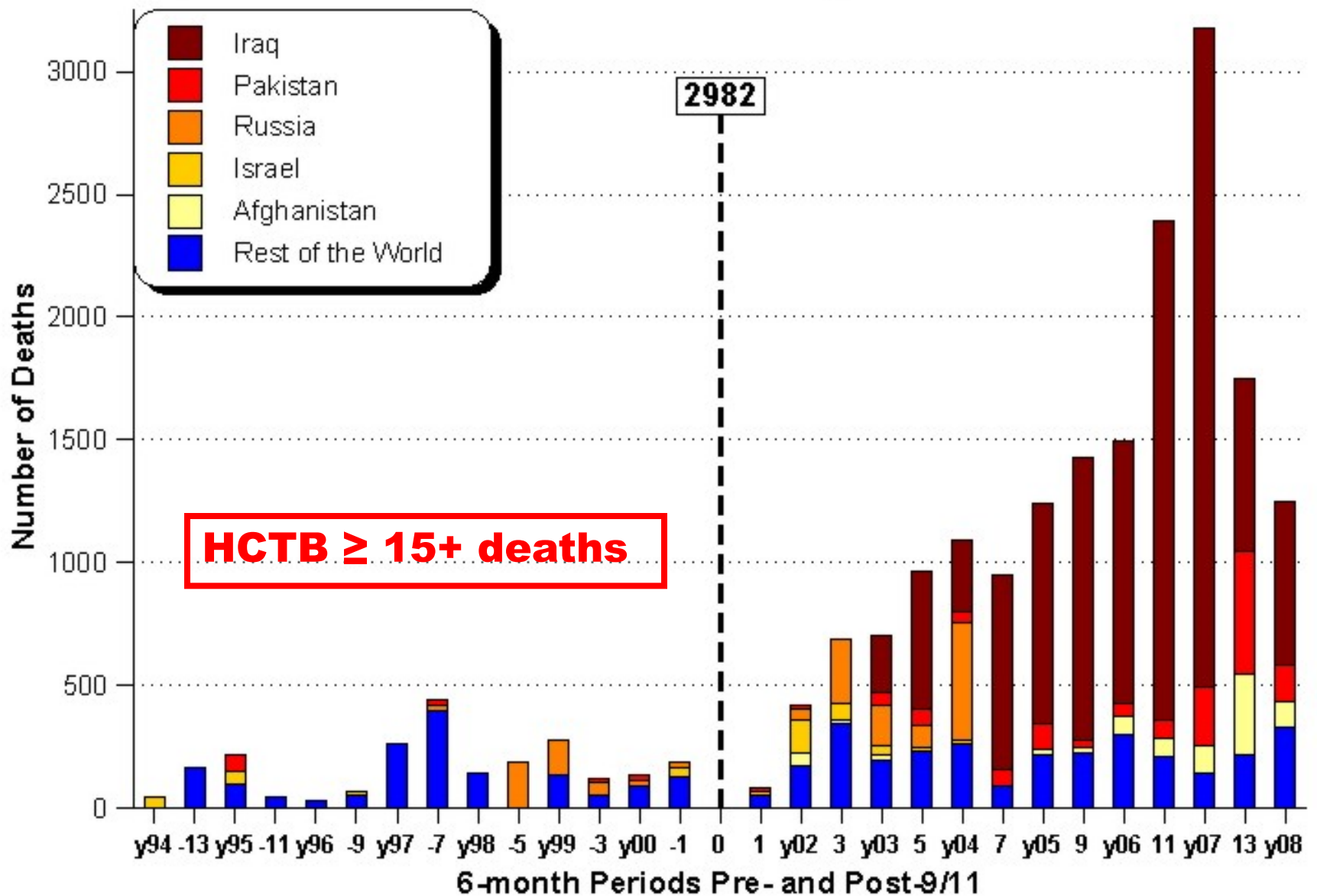
Tilly showed State Department's annual series on terrorist attacks. Here's the RAND-MIPT time series. What trend(s) do you observe?





The Center for Systemic Peace's *Global Terrorism: An Overview and Analysis* (2002) says "international terrorism" accounts for less than 10% of global terrorism since 1990; "vast majority" is local or national in scope.

High Casualty Terrorist Bombings, 9/11/94-9/10/08



Terror in a Broader Context of Conflict/War

Can a better understanding of terrorist forms of violence be gained by placing them within broader context of conflict and warfare?

Many **asymmetric warfare** tactics adopted by terrorist groups are routinely deployed by other types of “specialists in coercion.”



- **Guerillas** - small groups using unconventional ambush & mobile tactics (surprise raids) against armed forces
- **Insurgents** – broader armed internal uprising trying to overthrow a constituted government [U.S. military’s definition]
- **Armed Forces** - conventional military formations
- Special Ops** - covert units behind enemy lines

The PKK is trying to create a Kurdish homeland in the Mid-East; the Turks & U.S. call it a terrorist org.

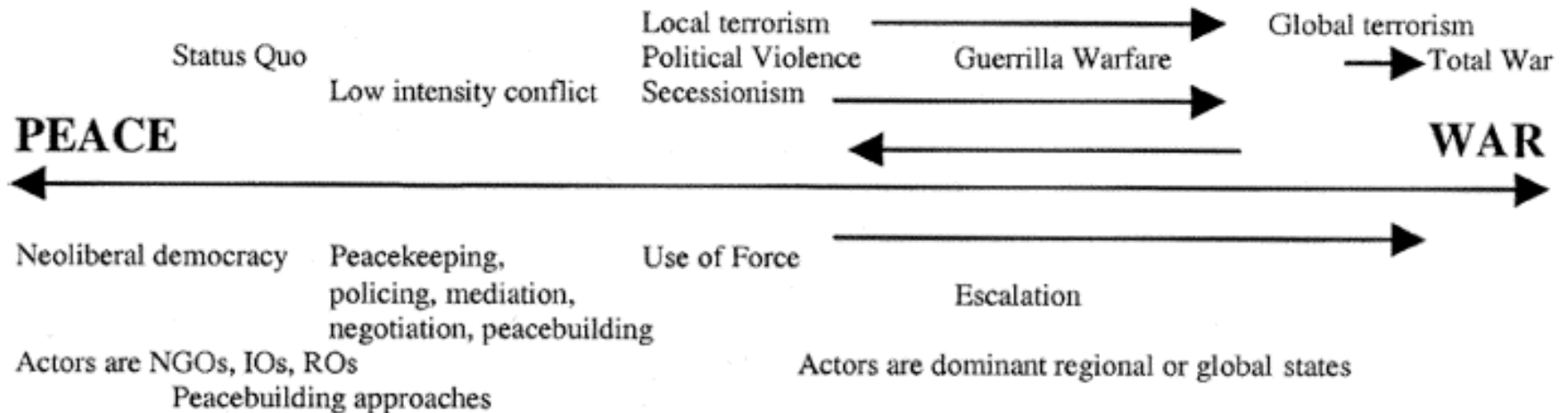
What advantages and costs to classifying the PKK as guerilla war, insurgency, or terrorism?



A Violence Spectrum

Oliver Richmond's spectrum puts "local terrorism" above lower-intensity forms of conflict but below guerilla warfare. However, he places "global terrorism" close to total warfare between nation states!

FORMS OF VIOLENCE

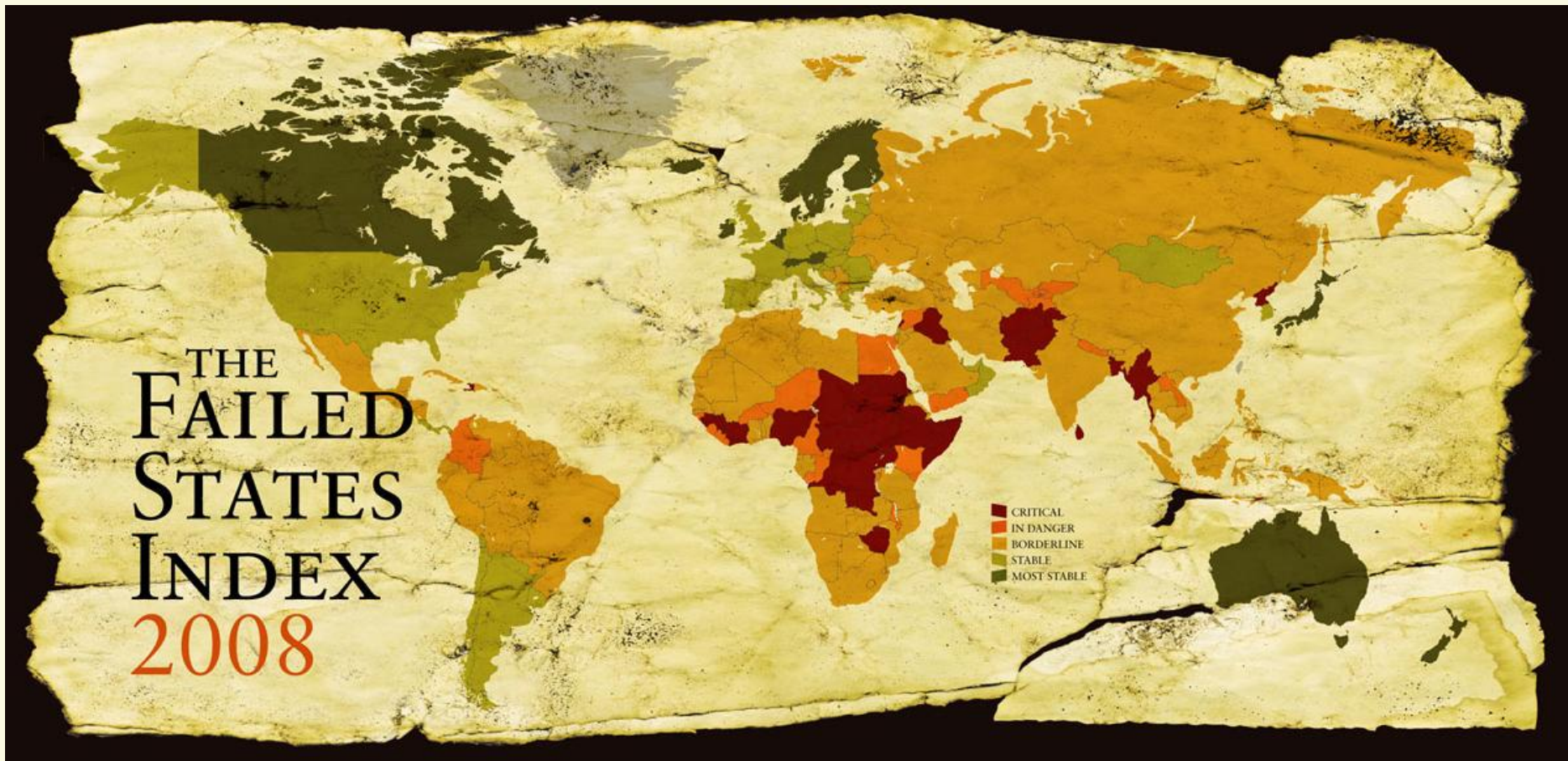


RESPONSES TO VIOLENCE

Figure 1. The Conflict and Response Spectrum.

Failed States: Terrorist Havens?

Fund for Peace's maps of failed states – where governments have lost control of territory or monopoly on legitimate use of force – shows where terrorists might organize and operate without effective interference.

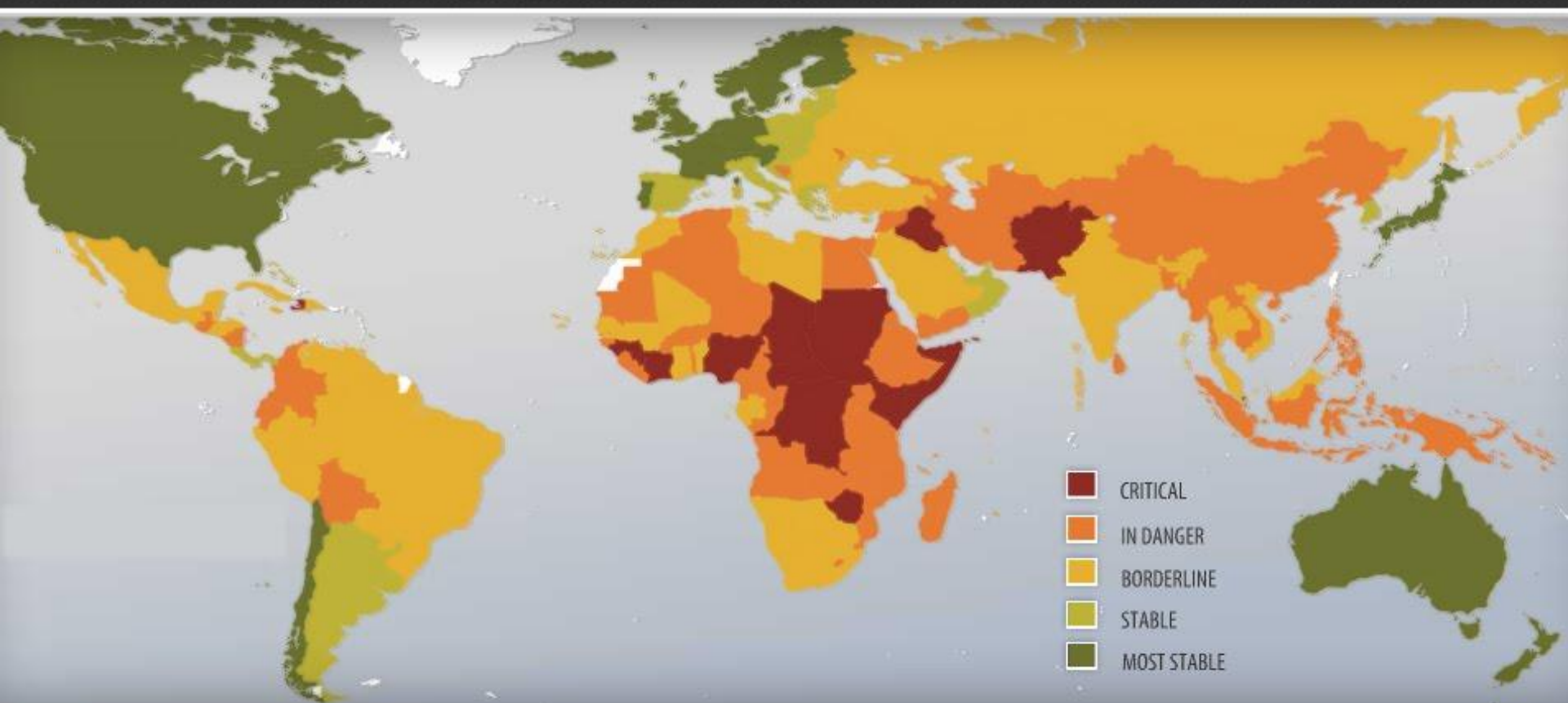


Does remedy lie in strengthening each state's "core five institutions: military, police, civil service, the system of justice, and leadership"?

The 2010 map shows worsening situations in northern and central Africa, central Asia, and China (which has escalating violent conflicts with its Tibetan and Uighur minorities).

THE FAILED STATES INDEX 2010

A sixth annual collaboration between
Foreign Policy and *The Fund for Peace*



State Terror & State-Sponsored Terror

In contrast to failed states are **totalitarian/authoritarian regimes** with control or domination over physical territories and populations. Their dictators may impose a reign of terror or genocide against opponents.



Nazi Germany and Stalinist USSR were infamous for their death camps & gulags.

In Putin's Russia today, 840 prisons contain more than 1,200,000 inmates.

Kim Jong-il's North Korean detention camps hold up to 200,000 in wretched conditions, violating their human rights.

<<http://www.usp.com.au/fpss/prison-russia.html>>

Some authoritarian governments may provide assistance to terrorists.

U.S. State Dept designates four nations – Cuba, Iran, Sudan, Syria – as **state sponsors of terrorism**, and sanctions trade with them.

Why were Iraq, Libya, S. Yemen, N. Korea taken off the list?

Does U.S. sometimes cooperate with terror states or sponsors? Why?