

# International Terrorism: A Focus on Jihadist Groups as We Prep For the Midterm

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## Traditional vs. 'New' Terrorism

### TRADITIONAL TERRORISM

1. Political
2. Local
3. Coercive

### 'NEW' TERRORISM

1. Religious
2. Transnational
3. Catastrophic

## Global Jihadists Movements, Gen'I

- Worldwide religious movement
- Islamist state is the goal w/ reach from Morocco (N.Africa) to Phillipines (W. Pacific) & w/o present-day boundaries
- Preaches *salafiyyah* or *salaf* (Arabic for "ancient ones" aka, the companions of the Prophet)
- AQ is the Vanguard movement
- Collaboration & coordination among many other affiliated/like-minded groups
- Large infrastructure/support base
- Salafi ideology is the guide & a key pt here

## The 'Umbrella Effect:' What's This Mean?

- The 'Umbrella Effect' is used describe al Qaeda's influence on smaller organized terror groups operating in many countries around the world.

The 'Umbrella' term means that while (AQ) al Qaeda does not necessarily control all of the groups activities, it provides direction, resources and training.

## Learning Methods in Chechnya

- How could the process of radicalization & the case of Chechen-based terror groups & attacks illustrate this 'Effect?'
- Moscow Theatre Attack: October 2002
- Beslan School attack: September 2004

## Learning Methods in Chechnya

- Moscow Theatre Attack: October 2002  
What went wrong (from the terrorists point of view)?
- Beslan School Attack: September 2004  
What did the terrorists do differently?

## Tactics of Jihadists

- Bombings, to include Suicide Attacks
- Kidnapping & Hostage-Taking
- Assassination
- Assaults

These tactics are utilized worldwide and are part of al Qaeda's operational manual.

## Tactics of Jihadists: Appeared to be Isolated Event on Most Occasions

- November 1997, four Egyptian Jihadist dressed in police uniforms fired on a group of 50 Swiss tourists visiting the Pyramids in Egypt.
- They then used knives to bayonet and mutilate the wounded. They decapitated some of the victims.
- The terrorists were later killed by Egyptian security forces.
- Isolated case of extremists? Or, planned, well-coordinated & -executed attack?

## Chechnya v. Hezbollah

- Chechen terrorism: political, local, and coercive
  - Dubrovka Theater
  - Beslan School No. 1
- Hezbollah's terrorism: religious, transnational, and catastrophic
- The problem with “catastrophic” as a precursor to terrorism

## Hezbollah

- What is Hezbollah?
- What did they do in their early formation that made this group different from other extremist groups?
- See Sageman & Hoffman on this point.

## Hezbollah

- Hezbollah is primarily a Lebanese, Jihadist based, terror group primarily focused on the disputed territory of the Golan Heights in Syria.
- Hezbollah formed three main wings including a social services branch to provide support to the population.
- Timeline of Hezbollah? 1982-2008,2009?
- Overlap or influence of group & its timelines with/to AQ?
- External / state-sponsored, state-sanctioned links & relationships?

## Jihadists in Israel, Palestine

- Israel and Palestine
- Conflict began over 100 years ago and took hold after Israel became an independent county in 1948.
- The 1<sup>st</sup> terror groups in the Middle East were actually Jewish groups who targeted Palestinians and British soldiers.

## Cont'd

- Terrorism became the main form of resistance after the Six Day War, 1967. Israel dominated the region at that time.
- A number of Palestinian groups formed and began to serve their own interests.

## Cont'd

- The three main points defining terrorism in the Middle East, contributing to rise of Jihadists:
  1. The on-going conflict between Palestine and Israel.
  2. Which Arab leader will dominate the region.
  3. The future influence and success of the Jihadists

## The U.S. War on Terror

- The U.S. v. Hezbollah
  - Political pressure
  - Economic pressure
  - Military pressure
- The U.S. & Chechnya
  - “We resolutely condemn all terrorist acts and senseless violence against civilians in Chechnya...”
  - “...We continue to urge a political settlement of the conflict.”

## The Russian War on Terror

- Russia & Hezbollah
  - Iran/Syria
    - Military aid
    - Economic aid
    - Political aid
  - Hezbollah’s benefits
    - Military aid
    - Financial aid
    - Geo-political aid
  - Cost/benefit analysis



## The Russian War on Terror (Cont'd)

- Russia v. Chechnya
  - Military offensive
  - Economic commitment
  - Political costs
  - Future conflict

Table 1.  
International Terrorist Attacks, 1982–2003

<i>Year</i>	<i>International Terrorism Deaths</i>	<i>Homicides in the United States</i>
2000	409	15,586
2001	3,547	16,037
2002	725	16,204
2003	307	16,503
2004	1,907	16,137

Sources: 2000 - 2003 terrorism figures from U.S. Department of State (2004); the 2004 figure from the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC). Homicide figures from the 2001 through 2005, US DoJ-UCRs.

**Table 2a. Some Major Terrorist Groups**

Group	Description & Activities	Ideology	Strength	Funding
<b>Abu Sayyaf</b>	Philippine radical Islamic group motivated to gain an independent Islamic state in southern Philippines. Engages in kidnapping, bombing, and other criminal activities. Has strong links with al-Qaeda.	Nationalist/ Islamic	200 to 500	Self-financed via criminal activity + other Islamic groups.
<b>Asbat al-Ansar</b>	Lebanon-based Sunni Islamic group that has assassinated Lebanese Shi'ite religious leaders and bombed symbols of Western "decadence" such as nightclubs and U.S. franchise restaurants.	Islamic	About 300	International Sunni networks and al-Qaeda
<b>Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)</b>	Founded in 1959 with the aim of creating an independent Basque homeland in northwest Spain and southwest France. Its activities have been aimed primarily at Spanish government officials and security forces, but French interests have also been attacked.	Nationalist and weakly Marxist	Unknown, but has many supporters in Basque regions	Primarily via criminal activity; has received training in Libya and Lebanon

Source: Department of State (2004). *Patterns of Global Terrorism*.

**Table 2b. Some Major Terrorist Groups**

<b>Communist Party of Philippines/New People's Army</b>	Military wing of the Philippine Communist Party. Carries out assassinations and kidnappings of political figures and U.S. military personnel stationed in the Philippines.	Maoist	1,000+	Criminal activity, contributions, and "revolutionary taxes" extorted from businesses
<b>Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM)</b>	Pakistani group operating primarily against Indian troops and civilians in Kashmir, territory claimed by both India and Pakistan. Has carried out airline hijackings and kidnapping of Westerners. HUM is aligned with al-Qaeda and signed bin Laden's 1998 fatwa calling for war on the United States.	Islamic	Several thousand	Donations from Saudi Arabia and other Islamic states; also donations from individuals
<b>Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan</b>	Coalition of a number of central Asian groups opposed to secular rule in Uzbekistan. Responsible for numerous bombing incidents and kidnapping of Westerners. Fought with the Taliban against U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan.	Islamic	About 1,000	Support from other Islamic groups and patrons in the Middle East

Source: Department of State (2004). *Patterns of Global Terrorism*.

Table 2c. Some Major Terrorist Groups

<b>Jemaah Islamiya (JI)</b>	A Southeast Asian network with links to al-Qaeda that has the goal of creating a huge Islamic state composed of Indonesia, Singapore, the southern Philippines, and southern Thailand. JI was responsible for the Bali bombing in 2002 that killed 200 and wounded 300 others.	Islamic	About 5,000	Middle Eastern and Asian supporters and al-Qaeda
<b>Kurdistan Workers Party</b>	Composed of Turkish Kurds seeking an independent Kurdish state in Turkey. Has attacked Turkish diplomats in many countries and attempted to disrupt tourism in Turkey by bombing hotels, historical sites, and kidnapping tourists.	Marxist	4,000 to 5,000	Syria, Iraq, Iran
<b>Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)</b>	Composed of ethnic Tamils seeking an independent Tamil state in Sri Lanka, primarily through the use of bombings and assassinations. The LTTE has refrained from targeting Western tourists for fear of drying up funds from overseas Tamils.	Nationalism	10,000	Funds from Tamil communities overseas and some drug smuggling

Source: Department of State (2004). *Patterns of Global Terrorism*.

<b>Mujahedin-e Khalq</b>	Formed in the 1960s to counter the Westernization of Iran under the Shah. It supported the overthrow of the Shah but is presently fighting against Iran's Islamic fundamentalist regime. Carries out attacks on Iranian diplomats and Iranian property.	A mixture of Marxism and Islam	Several thousand	Contributions from Iranian expatriates
<b>National Liberation Army</b>	Columbian Marxist group formed by urban intellectuals inspired by Fidel Castro and legendary terrorist Che Guevara. Engages in kidnapping, bombing, and extortion. Attacks foreigners and Colombian infrastructure.	Marxist	3,000 to 5,000	Criminal activity (drug trafficking and extortion) and some aid from Cuba
<b>Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path)</b>	Formed in late 1960s to destroy existing Peruvian institutions and replace them with a peasant revolutionary regime. Almost all Peruvian institutions have been brutally targeted in Peru and abroad.	Marxist/Maoist	2,000+	Mostly drug trafficking and other forms of crime
<b>Turkish Hizballah</b>	Kurdish Sunni Islamic group that arose in opposition to the Marxist Kurdish Workers Party's (KWP's) actions against Muslims. Fights against KWP and Turkish armed forces. Bombs any establishment considered anti-Islamic. Kidnapped, tortured, and murdered at least 70 businessmen and journalists in the 1990s.	Islamic	A few hundred + several thousand supporters	Unknown

## Part II: Seeing the Forest From the Trees

### Part I Gives Rise to the question:

Is terrorism effective? Useful?

Distinct from other forms of  
political violence?

What about when it appears to be  
successful in the form of AQ &  
9/11?

## What is “Terrorism?”

- Potentially politically loaded term
  - One person’s “terrorist” is another’s “freedom fighter”  
is not theoretically robust, less scientific & empirical
- Terrorism most clearly defined by several characteristics
  - Combatants do not represent a state
  - Combatants deliberately target civilians
  - Actions have a desired outcome & emotive quotient
- Terrorism & terrorists violate int’l rules of war

## How New Is Terrorism?

- 9/11 brought terrorism to US agenda, but strategy is long-standing
- “Terrorist” organizations exist across the globe:
  - KKK (1865)
  - IRA(1919) & the UDA (1971)
  - PLO (1964), Islamic Jihad (1970s), Hezbollah (1982), Hamas (1987) & Irgun (1931), Lehi (1940)
  - Shining Path (1960s)
  - Al-Qaeda (1988)
- ...and many, many others (Russia, USSR, France, Romans, etc.)

## What is Al-Qaeda? Overview from Readings Thus Far

- Diffuse organization of radical Islamic terrorists
  - Wahhabi sect of Islam
  - Founded during Afghan resistance to USSR
  - Funded in part by the US
- US support of Saudis and US troops in Saudi Arabia in Gulf War turned him against US
  - Attacked US Embassies, USS Cole, 9/11 and more

## Why Terrorism Exists?

- Specific grievances vary from one case to another
  - Al-Qaeda wants the US to withdraw from the Middle East
- Generally reflect poor state control of territory
  - State cannot maintain monopoly on control of violence
- Generally a strategy of weaker parties
  - “Asymmetric warfare” / “Irregular warfare”
- But, does it work?

## Robert Pape and *The Logic of Suicide Terrorism*

- Until recently we had little systematic data on terrorism
- Pape (2003) collected data on suicide terror attacks from 1980-2001
  - Attacks were part of systematic campaign of coercion
  - Attacks were always targeting democracies
- The strategy was often effective

## Successful Suicide Terrorist Campaigns (from Pape, 2003)

- Hezbollah vs. US/France – 1983
- Hezbollah vs. Israel – 1983-85
- Tamil Tigers vs. Sri Lanka - 1990-94
- Hamas vs. Israel – 1994-1995
- Overall Success Rate 1980-2001
  - 6 Success
  - 5 Failure
  - 5 Remain TBD

## Terrorism and Coercive Bargaining

- Traditional military coercive threats are difficult to apply effectively
- Where should one target the offensive?
  - Exist inside states, and move across borders
- Who should be targeted as a combatant?
  - How to distinguish terrorist from civilian?
- They can retreat and regroup indefinitely
- Indiscriminant force becomes counter-productive

## Terrorism & Coercive Bargaining

- Traditional diplomatic tools of influence are not effective
- Terrorist organizations are desperate and extreme
  - Often will have “deadlock” preferences
- May lack control of splinter groups
  - Agreements may not be enforceable
  - IRA vs. “The Real IRA”

## Understanding Anti-Americanism

- Central strategy in war on terrorism should be reducing anti-US attitudes
  - This is the factory for anti-US terrorists
- “Why do they HATE us so much?” was the popular refrain:
  - In fact, “they” don’t hate “us” so much
  - Anti-American sentiment much more limited than opposition to US policy
  - Chiozza 2004, Holsti 2004
- US should examine policies that antagonize the rest of the world



## Antagonizing the World?

- The Palestinian problem
  - US support of Israeli occupation of 1967 territories creates widespread opposition
  - Allows Arab governments to use US policy to deflect pressure to reform (diversion)
- Unilateralism
  - US willingness to act without IO approval creates fear in a unipolar world
  - US needs allies in an “asymmetric” war

## Part III Foundations of Terrorism: What Makes a Terrorist?

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## What Makes a Terrorist?

- Before reviewing this discussion we need to do something. *What is the meaning of this concept?*
- **Quick answer:** We would need to clearly define the concept of terrorism. This is especially important for a concept as emotionally charged and as politically loaded as terrorism is both as subject and object of our inquiry.

## What Makes a Terrorist?

### Criteria for a definition of terrorism:

- The definition should **reasonably precise** and **clear-cut**; that is, it should be clear how terrorism is **differentiated** from other forms of violence.
- The definition should be **primarily descriptive or analytical**, as opposed to emotional, and subject to **empirical measurement**.
- In a related vein, the definition should *not* be premised on a moral or political judgment, which either automatically de-legitimizes or conversely legitimizes the act or terrorism or terrorists.

## What Makes a Terrorist?

- Hoffman defines terrorism is the following manner:
- *[Terrorism is] ... the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in pursuit of political change. All terrorist acts involve violence or the threat of violence. Terrorism is specifically designed to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victim or object of the terrorist attack .... Terrorism is designed to create power where there is none or to consolidate power where there is very little.*

## What Makes a Terrorist?

- It is useful to breakdown the components of this definition:
  - *Terrorism is an intentionally violent act*
  - *Terrorism is a tool used to pursue an objective, i.e., political change*
  - *Terrorism is, at base, a symbolic act designed to instill fear in the larger population*
  - *Terrorism is the “weapon of the weak.”*
  - Hoffman (and others) also provide one more component: *Terrorism is committed by sub-national and/or non-state actors*
  - *Terrorists are not uneducated, poor, nor unwilling conspirators.*
  - *Terrorists look a lot like ROTC-students (Needing financial assistance, yet committed to country/state)*

## In-Class Midterm Discussion

Terrorism is the threat or use of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups whether acting for, or in opposition to, established governmental authority, when such actions are intended to shock, stun, or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims.

The benefits of this definition are many. Threats come under it. The violence must be used for political purposes. That leaves out failed bank robberies that end in hostage situations, but making distinctions between terrorism and mere criminal behavior is not always easy. The definition includes state terror, government death squads and "disappearances," which not all definitions do. Terrorism is designed to influence people not involved in the incident. That addresses the question of publicity.

The great flaw of this definition is that it fails to distinguish sufficiently between terrorism and other forms of political violence. All forms of political violence -- riot, rebellion, civil war, even revolution -- fit the definition, and yet common sense tells us that terrorism is different from these other forms, or we would not need the term. Terrorism is not an event, like a riot, nor is it a process, like revolution. Terrorism is a tactic of carrying out political violence, just as an infantry assault is a tactic in conventional warfare. To distinguish it from riot and rebellion, it is necessary to look at the motivation of those involved.