

The Case of State Terrorism: Beginning the Discussion on the “Roots of Terrorism” & Changes in How Conflict Occurs in IR Today

US National Security Policy

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Moving to the “Roots of Terrorism” & How Changes in Conflict Affect Nat’l Security

- **Contending “Roots” Theories: 3 Broad Areas**

- **Macro Level of Analysis:**

- Broad Economic, Social, & Political forces combined w/ Cultural & Historical factors = “Terrorism” (E+S+P/C+H = Terrorism)
- “Commonsense” explanations, usually invoking “radicalized,” visible sects or radicalists.
- Popular among policymakers (External conditions, driven by internal, ind’l factors = Drive to Terrorist Actions)
- Problem of a limited argument (Why not everyone?)
- Assumptions are faulty: Ltd. Hierarchy, ind.orgs. ≠ coordinated, thought out activities like bombing campaigns. Collective dimension is downplayed.
- Cultural determinists (Huntington, for ex.) ignore or downplay dynamics among movements & T.Orgs.

- **Micro Level of Analysis: Most Common Level**

- Psychological, Psychiatric Levels of Analysis
- Mental Health Emphasis (Backgrounds & Case Histories)
- “What made them *do that?*” The *T* Gene Factor?
- Limits to this (Spread/Dispersion; Assumption of Differences; Neglects Situational Factors)

- **Middle Level of Analysis: Marc Sageman’s Thesis**

- Combine on-the-ground approach w/ terror groups interactions across borders & influence of leaders, ideas, ideologies. Environmental factors as key here.
- Link the interaction of: radicalization, mobilization, motivation, separation = level of activities

- Assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister (Rafik al-Hariri) as an example of “State Terrorism” in action:
 - Terrorist attack as “catalytic event” or critical incident that accelerates underlying political escalatory dynamics
- Played out over next weeks to see if violence accelerates
- Demonstrates difficulty of determining entity or entities involved in attack
 - Strong evidence of Syrian gov’t planning, logistical, and operational support
 - Uncertainty amplifies damage of attack
 - Misattribution of attack
 - Forensic evidence and assessment of origin of attack
- CNN coverage of attack and aftermath:
 - You can “Google” this and examine coverage from 02/15/2005
- Int’l Court, The Hague, takes up the issue of this bombing and assassination later this week and early next week.







- Terrorism and Coercion (State Terrorism, as Macro Level Theory)
 - Definition(s) and Interests
 - Paul Pillar's argument
 - Rummel's argument, data
 - Summarizing preceding discussions
 - Legitimacy and Illegitimacy
 - Legality and Illegality
 - Generalizable Theories
 - Levels of analysis / Cases
 - Macro, Meso, Micro
 - Actors here?
 - Structure vs. Agency, Temporality
 - Motivations
 - Cases (individual, small n, large n)

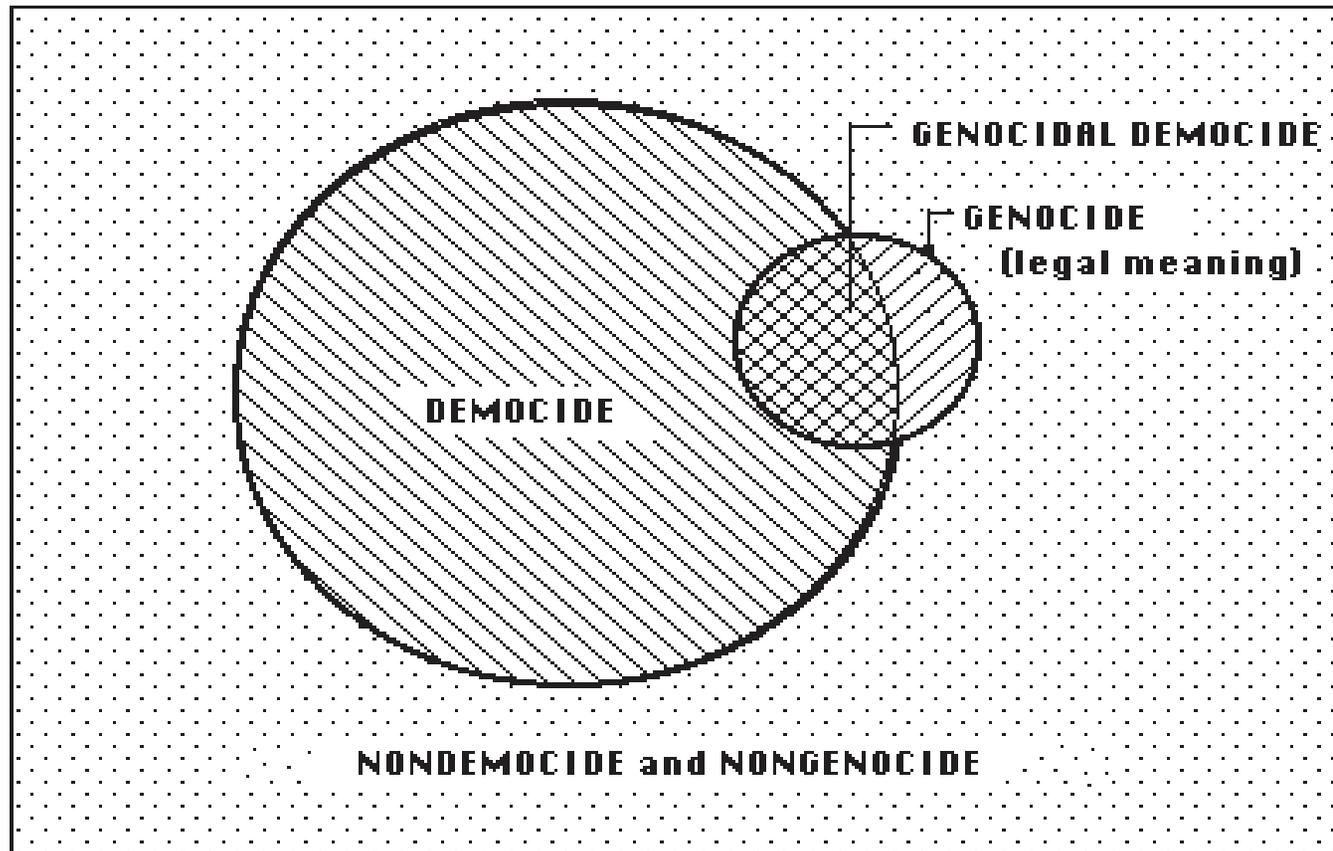
State Terrorism – Definitional Concerns

- States as Terrorism “Sponsors” predicated on Coercion:
 - Three Categories Here (Paul Pillar 2001, 2003, Chapter 6):
 - “Sponsors:”
 - Seven states typically ID’d by USG (Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, N Korea, Sudan, & Syria). Venezuela more recent add.
 - Reduced recently as a phenomena.
 - Difficult to ID along two lines here (current involvement & importance of terrorism activity relative to US interests)
 - “Enablers:” Typically move off the FTO; problematic relation to deal with given US ties (Greece; Pakistan)
 - “Cooperators:” CT value here for USG; Defined by shared interest & shared value for secrecy
- Might envision these three categories as:
 - Separate, yet connected;
 - Running along a “single spectrum;” and
 - Consisting of different mixtures of conflict, cooperation, coercion & evasion.

- Case #1:
 - RJ Rummel - Univ. of Hawaii Emeritus Prof.
 - Genocide: among other things, the killing of people by a government because of their indelible group membership (race, ethnicity, religion, language)
 - Politicide: the murder of any person or people by a government because of their politics or for political purposes
 - Mass Murder: the indiscriminate killing of any person or people by a government
 - Democide: The murder of any person or people by a government, including genocide, politicide, and mass murder

- Rummel Graph:

FIGURE 1A. The Relationship Between Democide and the Legal Meaning of Genocide



- Cont'd.:

**Selected Pre-20th Century
Democide and Totals**

Selected Cases	Years	Democide (000)	
In China	221 B.C.-19 C.	33,519	
By Mongols	14 C-15 C	29,927	
Slavery of Africans Of Amer-Indians	1451-1870	17,267	
Thirty Years War	16 C-19 C	13,778	
In India	1618-1648	5,750	
In Iran	13 C-19 C	4,511	Low
In Ottoman Empire	5 C-19 C	2,000	Low
In Japan	12 C-19 C	2,000	Low
In Russia	1570-19 C	1,500	Low
Christian Crusades By Aztecs	1095-1272 Centuries	1,000	Low
Spanish Inquisition	16 C-18 C	350	
French Revolution	1793-1794	263	
Albigensian Crusade	1208-1249	200	
Witch Hunts	15 C-17 C	100	
Total All Cases	pre-20 C	133,147	
Hypothetical Total	30C B.C.-19C	625,716	
Interwar dead	30C B.C.-19C	40,457	
Plague: Black Death	541 A.D.-1912	102,070	

- Cont'd.:

20TH CENTURY DEMOCIDE		
REGIMES	YEARS	(000) TOTAL
MEGAMURDERERS	1900-87	151,491
DEKA-MEGA	1900-87	128,168
U.S.S.R.	1917-87	61,911
China (PRC)	1949-87	35,236
Germany	1933-45	20,946
China (KMT)	1928-49	10,075
LESSER	1900-87	19,178
Japan	1936-45	5,964
China (Mao Soviets)	1923-49	3,466
Cambodia	1975-79	2,035
Turkey	1909-18	1,883
Vietnam	1945-87	1,670
Poland	1945-48	1,585
Pakistan	1958-87	1,503
Yugoslavia (Tito)	1944-87	1,072
SUSPECTED	1900-87	4,145
North Korea	1948-87	1,663
Mexico	1900-20	1,417
Russia	1900-17	1,066
CENTI-KILOMURDERERS	1900-87	14,918
TOP 5	1900-87	4,074
China (Warlords)	1917-49	910
Turkey (Atatürk)	1919-23	878
United Kingdom	1900-87	816
Portugal (Dictatorship)	1926-82	741
Indonesia	1965-87	729
LESSER MURDERERS	1900-87	2,792
WORLD TOTAL	1900-87	169,202

- Rummel:

FIGURE 23.2
Plot of State Regimes Democide
and War and Rebellion-Dead

