

Rethinking “Terrorism”: Approaches from Definitions and Perceptions

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International Relations:

Yuki Moritani, “The Partnership Agreement with Japan as a Part of Structural Foreign Policy,” *The Greater European Journal*, vol. 2, no. 1 (September 2020), pp. 72-78.

守谷優希「避けられない安全保障化？：COVID-19と自衛隊の活用」国際安全保障学会 第14回定例研究会、2021年7月10日（オンライン）。

etc.

University Education:

守谷優希「Contemporary View of ICU」ICU OpenCourseWare、2019年3月14日。

The content of today’s lecture includes the content of my senior thesis with additional analysis of the current situation.

What is “Terrorism”?

How should we understand
terrorism?

Major Elements

- The use of **violence** or **force**, **threatens** people
- People are attacked **randomly**
- Actions generate **terror** or **fear**
- Actions include **coercion** to a target audience
- Have **political motivations**
- **Unlawful** activities by **non-state actors**
- People attacked are **civilians**, **non-combatants**, or **innocents**
- Something **morally wrong**

Assassination of Shinzo Abe



丸山淳一「凶弾に倒れた安倍元首相...6人の宰相はなぜ殺されたのか」読売新聞、2022年7月13日、
<https://www.yomiuri.co.jp/column/japanesehistory/20220711-OYT8T50136/>。

“this was **an act of terrorism** and there is no place for such behavior in Japan.”

- The Japan Times Editorial Board

Is it terrorism?

Assassination as Terrorism?

- The use of violence or force, threatens people => seems **yes**
- People are attacked randomly => seems **no**
- Actions generate terror or fear => seems **yes**
- Actions include coercion to a target audience => seems **no**
- Have political motivations => seems **no**
- Unlawful activities by non-state actors => seems **yes**
- People attacked are civilians, non-combatants, or innocents => seems **no**
- Something morally wrong => seems **yes**

Japanese Law

- Article 40, 警察庁組織令
 - Terrorism as a violent **political** activity to achieve a goal through terror and fear among people
- Article 1, テロ資金提供処罰法
 - Terrorism as a criminal activity to threaten public, state **government**, local **government**, or foreign **governments**
- Article 12, 特定秘密保護法
 - Terrorism as a coercive or violent activity that harms or kill people or destroy facilities based on **political** and other ideologies.

Political?

- **Former Prime Minister** was killed during the election campaign
- But **the motivation and the aim were not political**, but personal resentment

=> It seems very difficult to argue that it was terrorism

Terrorism Changes

Historical Transition of Terrorism



- The meaning and the usage of the term “terrorism” have changed throughout history
- Characteristics of “terrorism” in each period can be found: anarchist; anti-colonial; new left; and religious

Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 20; David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism,” in *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. IV, ed. David C. Rapoport (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), p.

French Revolution



- **Tyranny** by Maximilien Robespierre during the French Revolution (terror by government)
 - Committee of Public Safety justified tyranny in the name of the sovereign people
- Edmund Burke first used the English term “terrorism” as a political concept

J=F・ゲイロー、D・セナ（私市正年）『テロリズム —歴史・類型・対策法』（白水社、2008年）133頁；Michael Phillip Carter, “The French Revolution: “Jacobin Terror”,” in *The Morality of Terrorism: Religious and Secular Justification*, ed. David C. Rapoport and Yonah Alexander (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 133-148; Gilbert Guillaume, “Terrorism and International Law,” *International and Comparative Law*, vol. 53 (July 2004), pp. 537-538; Heather Welland, “Who is a Terrorist? “Terrorism” in the Long 18th Century,” *The 18th-Century Common*, last updated April 24, 2013, <https://www.18thcenturycommon.org/who-is-a-terrorist-terrorism-in-the-long-18th-century/>.

Anarchist Terrorism

- The history of modern terrorism started in Russia in the 1880s
 - Vera Zasulich, who “heralded the onset of terrorism in Russia”, shot and wounded Fyodor Trepov (the Governor of St. Petersburg) on 24 Jan. 1878
 - After the shooting Zasulich threw the gun on the floor and shouted that she was a terrorist, not a killer
- Terrorism mainly meant **assassination** of politicians by people
 - Terrorism as strategy and tactics to achieve political objectives

Jay Bergman, “Vera Zasulich, the Shooting of Trepov and the Growth of Political Terrorism in Russia,” in *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. I, ed. David C. Rapoport (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 215-220; Amy Knight, “Female Terrorists in the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party,” in *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. I, ed. David C. Rapoport (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 248; David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism,” in *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. IV, ed. David C. Rapoport (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 3-8.

Anti-Colonial Terrorism



- Irish Republican Army (IRA) fought against the UK for the independence of Ireland from the 1910s to 1920s
- Terrorism meant **guerrilla-like strategy** against troops, and terrorists were sometimes called freedom fighters
 - Assassination was no longer popular since there were many targets
 - Terrorism allowed independence from empire states, such as Ireland, Israel, Cyprus and Algeria

J. Bowyer Bell, "The Tan War: The IRA Triumphant, September 1916-July 1921 and Epilogue," in *Terrorism: The Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. II, ed. David C. Rapoport (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 128-134; David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. IV, ed. David C. Rapoport (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 9-12.

New Left Terrorism



- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) targeted Jews in Europe to gain European and the World attention on Palestinian problem in the 1970s
 - Black September (an assassination squad of PLO) killed 11 Israeli team members in the Munich Olympics in 1972
- Terrorism as **a dramatic means to deliver messages**
 - Mainly hijackings and attacks on diplomatic facilities

Dennis A. Pluchinsky, “The Tidal Wave and Epilogue: Taking Stock,” in *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. III, ed. David C. Rapoport (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 473; Tamar Prat, “Palestinian Armed Struggle: Strategy and Tactics,” in *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. III, ed. David C. Rapoport (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 479.

Religious Terrorism



- Al-Qaeda
 - Originally a group of jihadist fighters in Afghanistan fighting against the Soviet Union, declared war against the US later
 - Osama bin Laden: Killing Americans is an individual duty for every Muslim
- Terrorist organizations produced based on **religious traditions**
 - Terrorism as **strikes on military targets**, especially American ones

Osama bin Laden, “Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places,” in *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. IV, ed. David C. Rapoport (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 295-297; David C. Rapoport, General Introduction to *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, Vol. I, ed. David C. Rapoport (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. xxxiv-xxxvi.

“Terrorism” in Japanese

Japanese Red Army



- Founded on 30 May. 1972
 - Originally campaigned against the Japan-US Security Treaty, later armed and trained for the communist revolution
- International activities
 - 30 May. 1973: Shot and killed 26 people in Tel Aviv Airport
 - 14 May. 1986: Launched explosives to Japanese and US embassies in Jakarta

Aum Shinrikyo



- Founded in Feb. 1984
 - Attempted to establish a government based on absolute devotion to the doctrine of Shoko Asahara (Chizuo Matsumoto)
- Incidents
 - 27 Jun. 1994: 8 people were killed, 143 people were injured by Sarin in Matsumoto
 - 20 Mar. 1995: 12 people were killed, more than 3000 people were injured by Sarin in subways of Tokyo

Not Considered Terrorism?

- At the time, not considered as terrorism
 - Foreign newspapers and some Japanese newspapers used the term “terrorism”
 - Japanese Red Army: The main term used was “**guerrilla**” (“terrorism” referred to radical Islamic activities at the time)
 - *Aum Shinrikyo*: The main term used was “**incident**”
- Transition of “terrorism”
 - Japanese government consider both as “terrorist” organizations
 - Usage of the term “terrorism”: illegal violence used against the public by a violent political or religious organization

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<https://www.yomiuri.co.jp/column/japanesehistory/20220711-OYT8T50136/>。

Further Change?



- Media
 - “We live in a **democracy** where disputes and differences are resolved by voting in elections, not with violence.” (Japan Times)
- Politicians
 - Liberal Democratic Party, Constitutional Democratic Party etc. claimed that terrorism was against speech and democracy
 - Terrorism, violence against speech, is a destruction against **democracy** (Japanese Communist Party)
- New and current understanding of “terrorism” = Violence against **democracy**?



“Ukraine will win this war. We can liberate our entire land and we can put **the terrorist state** in place. **Russia must be punished for terror.**”

- Volodymyr Zelenskyy

“The Constant Terror against the Civilian Population is an Obvious Russian Refusal to Engage in Real Negotiations – Address by the President of Ukraine,” President of Ukraine, last updated 9 October, 2022, <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/postijnij-teror-proti-civilnogo-naselennya-ye-ochevidnoyu-vi-78377>.

How does terrorism impact peace?

How should we understand terrorism?

Questions are welcome!



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