

Overview of Terrorism: Non-Traditional Threat to Peace

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Part-Time Lecturer, Tsukuba University

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。

Terrorism is a significant global issue

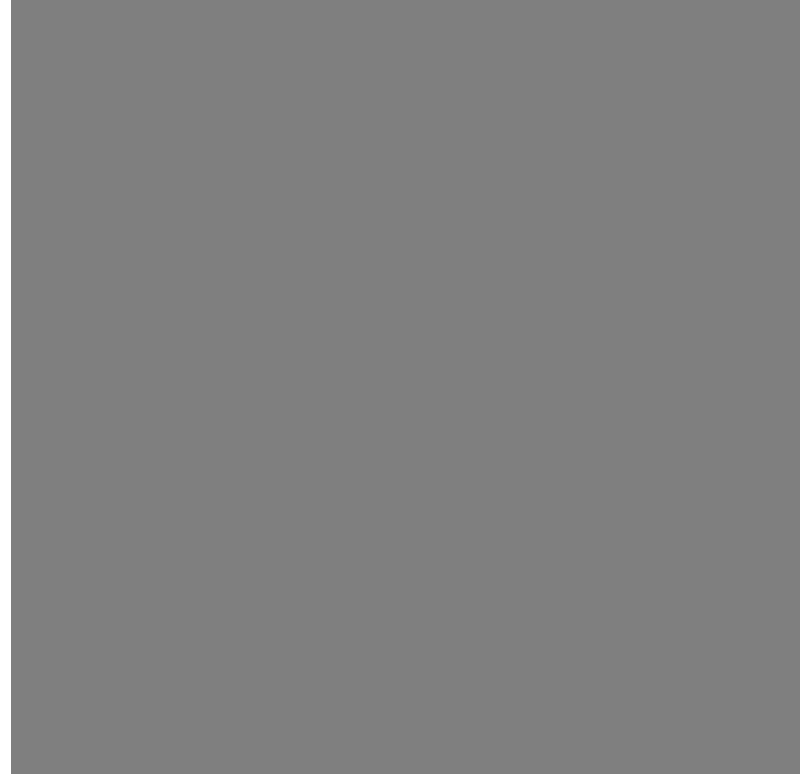
What comes up in your mind
with the term “terrorism”?
(specific incident, organizations, etc.)

Please go to **Menti.com**
&
Type in the code

Bomb threat to universities

「本学への爆破予告とその状況について」一橋大学、2023年7月11日、https://www.hit-u.ac.jp/important_info/11958。

9/11



「9.11米同時多発テロ 写真特集」 JIJI.COM、https://www.jiji.com/jc/d4?p=tro813&d=d4_int。

War on Terrorism

- 7 October, 2001: The US and the UK started Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan
- 20 March, 2003: The US started a military operation in Iraq to destroy weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
- August 31, 2021: The US announced the end of war in Afghan

“Operation Enduring Freedom,” Naval History and Heritage Command, 7 August, 2020, <https://www.history.navy.mil/browse-by-topic/wars-conflicts-and-operations/middle-east/operation-enduring-freedom.html>; “Remarks by President Biden on the End of the War in Afghanistan,” The White House, August 31, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/08/31/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-end-of-the-war-in-afghanistan/>; “2003-2011 The Iraq War,” Council on Foreign Relations, <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/iraq-war>; CNN, “20 Years in Afghanistan: America’s Longest War,” August 29, 2021, <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/04/14/middleeast/gallery/afghanistan-war/index.html>.

Impact of 9/11 on Humanity



- Psychologically, 75 percent of US population experienced high levels of stress
- Increased rates of drinking, smoking, and using drug
- Higher cancer risk due to debris of the World Trade Center



Tiffany Harte, “Remembering 9/11,” Atlanta History Center, September 9, 2021, <https://www.atlantahistorycenter.com/blog/remembering-911/>;
Jiehui Li et al., “Association between World Trade Center Exposure and Excess Cancer Risk,” *Journal of American Medical Association* 308, no. 23 (2012): 2479-2488; Kelly McGonigal, *The Willpower Instinct: How Self-Control Works, Why It Matters, and What You Can Do to Get More of It* (New York: Penguin Group, 2013), 52.

The word “terrorism” appears frequently

War in Ukraine



Olesya Gerasimenko and Kateryna Khinkulova, “The Russian Soldiers Refusing to Fight in Ukraine,” BBC, June 3, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61607184>; Dimitri Simes Jr., “One Week into Ukraine Invasion, Russian Analysts Weigh the Costs,” Nikkei Asia, March 3, 2022, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Ukraine-war/One-week-into-Ukraine-invasion-Russian-analysts-weigh-the-costs>.

War in Ukraine



“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-naseleennya-ye-ochevidnoyu-vi-78377>.

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/>。

Assassination of Shinzo Abe



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

- The Japan Times Editorial Board

“A Despicable Attack on Shinzo Abe – And a Nation,” *The Japan Times*, July 8, 2022,
<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2022/07/08/editorials/shinzo-abe-assassination/>.

What is terrorism?

Who are terrorists?

Problems in Defining Terrorism



- Bruce Hoffman: “most people have a vague idea or impression of what terrorism is but lack a more precise, concrete, and truly explanatory definition of the word”
- Louise Richardson: “The term terrorism has become so widely used in so many contexts as to become almost meaningless”
- Brian Jenkins: “Defining terrorism was the Bermuda Triangle of international discussion”

Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 1; Brian Michael Jenkins, “Semantics are Strategic in the War on Terror,” RAND Corporation, September 30, 2004, <https://www.rand.org/blog/2004/09/semantics-are-strategic-in-the-war-on-terror.html>;

Louise Richardson, “Terrorists as Transnational Actors,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 11, no. 4 (1999): 209.

Difficulty of Defining



“Definitions generally tend to reflect the interests of those who do the defining”

“In many conflicts, the government is the principal ‘defining agency’ and holds de facto ‘definition power.’ In politics, terms are often not neutral but value-laden.”

- Alex Schmid

Major Elements of Terrorism



- The use of **violence** or **force**, **threatens** people
- People are attacked **randomly**
- Actions generate **terror** or **fear**
- Actions include **coercion** to target audiences
- **Political motivations**
- **Unlawful** activities by **non-state actors**
- Victims are **civilians**, **non-combatants**, or **innocent**
- Something **morally wrong**

Ancient Terrorism?

“the phenomenon of terrorism, meaning politically motivated violence for different aims and by different means, **can be traced back to antiquity and has always existed**”

- Doris König

It is said that cases can be found in ancient Greece and Rome

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 Maximilian Robespierre during the French Revolution (terrorism by the government)
 - Committee of Public Safety justified tyranny in the name of 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 (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 citizens
 - 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 **guerilla-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 empires, 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



- Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) targeted Jews in Europe to gain European and the World's attention on Palestinian problem in the 1970s
 - Black September (an assassination squad of PLO) killed 11 Israeli team members in the Munich Olympics (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 Muslims
- Terrorist organizations produced based on **religious traditions**
 - Terrorism as **strikes on military targets**, especially the 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.

Political Labeling



The term “terrorism”
“must be thought of as *political* labels”

Non-Traditional?



- Traditional Security

Issues regarding the survival of states, mainly about **interstate conflicts**

- Non-Traditional Security

Issues require states to protect affected populations, but “not necessarily seen to directly threaten the state’s very existence”

For example, **terrorism**, environment, climate change, disease, transnational crime, migration, etc.

Although it is almost impossible to have a universal definition of terrorism, it is true that violent activities that can be labeled as “terrorism” threatens peace

How does terrorism impact peace?

How should we deal with terrorism for peace?

Questions are welcome!



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