

1.1 Introduction

Welcome to the first week of this course on terrorism and counter-terrorism: comparing theory and practice. In the following videos we are going to look at:

* How terrorism has made headlines in the past decades

* The definition problem

* The essence of terrorism.

Let us first have a look at the facts: We hear about terrorism almost every day and it is a truly global phenomenon. Leaving more than 10,000 people dead according to the statistics of the United States State Department.

U.S. Department of State, 2012:

- Almost 7,000 terrorist attacks worldwide
- More than 11,000 deaths
- More than 21,000 injuries



But not all parts of the world are as much troubled by terrorism as others. Let's have a closer look at the exact numbers:

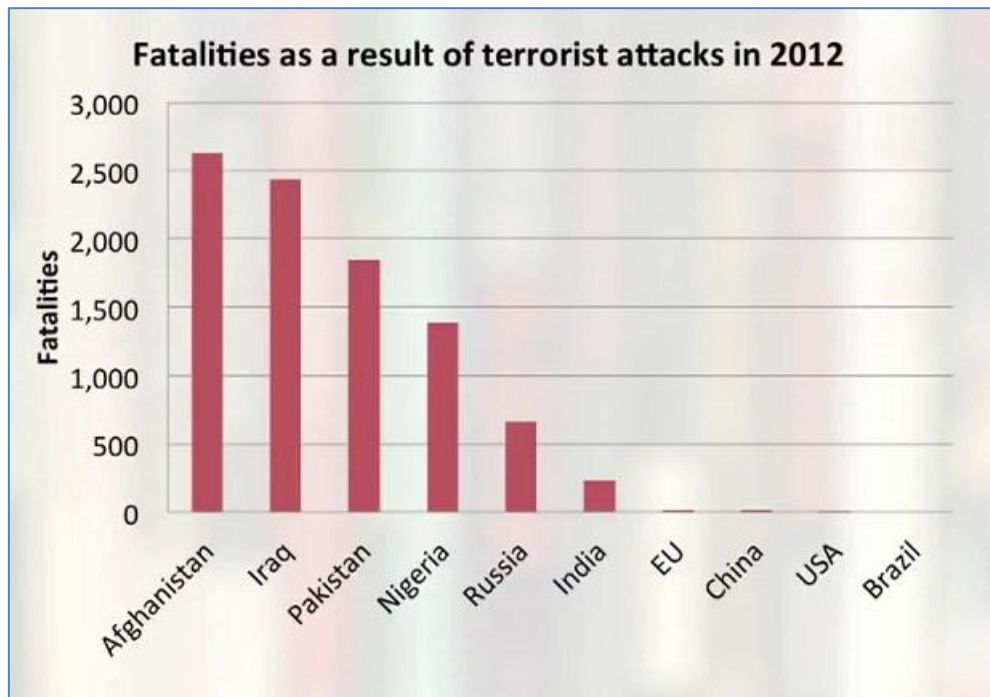
* **Afghanistan**, number one on the list, with more than two and a half thousand people killed because of terrorist activities. Closely followed by **Iraq**, with about the same number of people dead. **Pakistan** is very high. **Nigeria** and even **Russia**, number five on the list, suffered from more than 650 people killed because of all types of attacks.

What about other countries? What about the biggest countries in this world? **China**, **India**, **United States**, **Brazil** and the **European Union**. If we look at the European Union we see that *Europol* (the EU's law enforcement agency) said that, in 2012, 17 people died as a result of terrorist activity in the European Union. That's seventeen too many, but it's a low number if we compare that to countries like **Pakistan**, **Afghanistan** and **Iraq** and the **United States**. According to the statistics of the *US State Department*, 10 US citizens were killed in terrorist activity, all of them in Afghanistan and none of them on US territory. **India** faces a lot of terrorism and has a high number of people killed because of terrorism. Sadly more than 200 of them were killed in terrorist activities. **China**, the biggest country has 15 people killed in terrorist activities in the year 2012. And I'm happy to say that **Brazil**, the largest country in Latin America, has zero casualties because of terrorism.

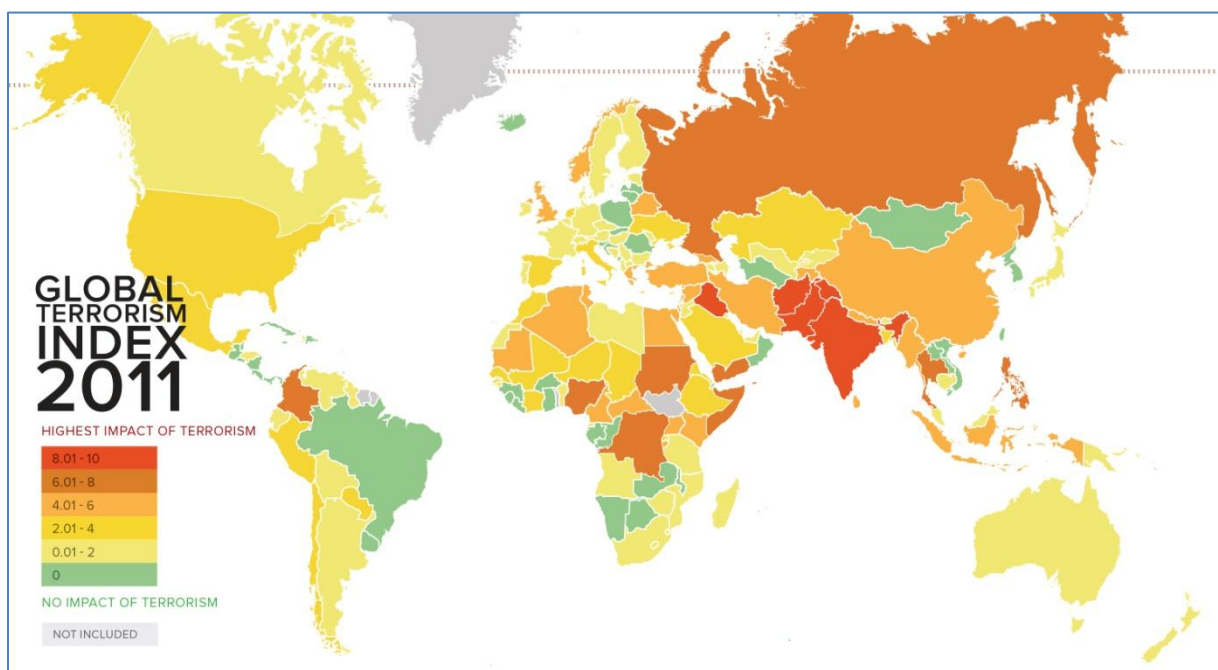
- Afghanistan: 2,632 deaths
- Iraq: 2,436 deaths
- Pakistan: 1,848 deaths
- Nigeria: 1,386 deaths
- Russia: 659 deaths

Source: U.S. Department of State, 2012

Let us now have a look at the graph with all the ten countries that I mentioned, and you immediately see the enormous difference between the top five and the United States, Brazil, China and the EU. These differences are quite big.



The map of terrorism today shows the differences in the impact of terrorism. This map was made by the *Institute for Economics and Peace*, and it combines the number of incidents, fatalities, injuries and property damage. It is based on the data of the *global terrorism data base* of Maryland University.



(<http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2015.pdf>)

What do you see? You see hotspots in South Asia and in the Middle East, Russia, Northern Africa, but also parts of Asia, Southern Africa, America and European Union that are not frequently troubled by terrorism.

In many countries, also the ones where terrorism doesn't happen that often, terrorism ranks high on national political agendas. The same holds for the international agenda: Large organizations like the *UN* and *NATO* have been focusing on terrorism a lot, especially since 9/11. In many countries, terrorism is considered the biggest threat influencing relationships between countries and between communities. Some may even argue that we live in a post nine eleven world, because of its enormous impact on relationships and on our way of thinking about security. Do you agree?

Do you agree? It has been 12 years ago (when filming this lecture). And there are so many other issues that define our age. Think of the economy, the environment, technological innovations, and so many other social-political issues. A post 9/11 world: I would not call it so.

Summary

So what have we learned?

Terrorism is a worldwide phenomenon. But there are enormous regional differences.

Terrorism has a great impact on peace and security and therefore some believe that we live in a post 9/11 world.

In the next video, we are going to look at the history of terrorism. The terrorism before 9/11.

1.2: the History of Terrorism

In the previous video we looked at the facts and the map of terrorism and its victims. In this video we're going to look at the history of terrorism: Non state actors using terrorism.

Pre-modern terrorism

Terrorism is not really new. Even in pre-modern days, there were groups and individuals that used political violence against the authorities and elite. Think of a group we now call *The Assassins*, who in the late 11th century in the Middle East killed governors, political and military leaders in order to create alliances or as an act of retribution.

So nothing new, and yes the words “to assassinate something or somebody”, stems from a group which we now would label a terrorist one.



Modern day terrorism

But most descriptions of modern day terrorism starts with the *anarchists* that are associated with the “propaganda of the deed” from the French “propaganda par le fait”, a group that was active since the 1870’s, 1880’s.

Another slogan associated with the early, modern day terrorism, is the slogan “Freedom or death” from the *Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization* that was fighting the Ottoman rule in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century’s.

- Propaganda of the deed/
propaganda par le fait
- Freedom or death/
Слобода или смрт

- Many different groups, tactics, backgrounds, slogans
 - Different targets
 - Heads of state, citizens
 - Different geographical scope
 - Local and international

So even more than a century ago there were many different groups using different tactics, slogans and with different political backgrounds, ranging from the extreme left to nationalist separatists. Some killed heads of states and others attacked ordinary citizens. Some acted only in their home town or home region, while others had an international agenda and operated across borders. So again, terrorism of today is nothing new.

Four Waves of Terrorism

Some scholars that have looked into the history of terrorism have tried to find specific characteristics for certain eras or try to discover trends in terrorism. One of them is *David Rapoport*, he distinguishes **four waves in terrorism**. Each with its own ingredients, different audiences, sympathizers and supporters and modus operandi (meaning the way these groups operate)



Each of these periods or waves last about three or four decades after which they gradually fade out.

The four waves are as follows.

Rapoport's Four Waves:

1. Anarchists: 1880s
2. Anti-Colonial Wave: 1920s
3. New Left Wave: 1960s
4. Religious Wave: 1979-?

1. The anarchists in the 1880's are the first wave that is followed by an

2. Anti-colonial wave from the 1920's on. This again is followed by a

3. New left wave. You could also call it the red terrorism that started in the 1960's.

4. The religious wave, which according to David Rapoport, started in the year 1979.

Let's have a look at each of these waves, starting with the anarchists.

According to David Rapoport that wave started in the 1880's, some say 1870's and it started in Russia. And from there on, it spread to other parts of the world, Western Europe, America and also Asia. Its founding fathers were a number of Russian writers with a doctrine or strategy of terror: Bakunin and Kropotkin were the most famous ones. They very much used the new technologies and new communication tools of their age, such as the *telegraph* and mass media in those days: newspapers.

1. Anarchists: 1880s

- Started in Russia, spread to other parts of Europe, the Americas and Asia
- Doctrine or strategy of terror by Russian writers such as Bakunin and Kropotkin
- New technologies and communication tools: telegraph, newspapers

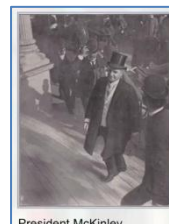
One of the most notorious organizations of that era is the Russian organization *Narodnaya Volya*. the name can best be translated as "the people's will". Members of that group killed, amongst others, a Russian tsar and in those days that was definitely breaking news. According to David Rapoport these people called themselves terrorists and the 1890's has been described as the *Golden Age of Assassination*. It lasted from 1890's on also to the early twentieth century, and amongst its victims were Elizabeth, the Empress of Austria, Umberto the first, King of Italy and a United States President, William McKinley, who was killed in Buffalo.



Attack on Empress of Austria



Umberto I, King of Italy



President McKinley

The second wave of terrorism that is distinguished by David Rapoport is the wave of the anti-colonialists.

What were their main characteristics? David Rapoport says it started in the 1920's and it can be described as a struggle for self determination, for independence, to liberate certain parts of the world: former colonies from their occupiers the French, the British etc.

The tactics these groups used were different from those in the previous wave: they used *guerrilla tactics* which was difficult for the powers (the British Empire and the French) to deal with. Some of these groups were quite successful and almost defeated their opposing forces.

Also very important is that, according to David Rapoport, these rebels stopped calling themselves terrorists and were beginning to use the term *freedom fighters*. So, they were not terrorists. The terrorists were the other party. and they were struggling against (what they would call)government terror.

2. Anti-colonialists: 1920s

- Struggle for self-determination
 - Amongst others, against British and French colonial rule
- Guerrilla tactics (hit and run)
- 'Terrorist' became 'freedom fighter'

Among the most well known organizations of that wave are the *IRA: The Irish Republican Army* who from the 1920's on (and a little bit earlier) was fighting for an independent and united Irish state.



And then another group that is linked to this anti-colonial wave is the *FLN, the Front de Libération Nationale* a group of Algerians who managed in the end to fight for an independent Algeria, who were fighting French rule.

And then the third organization is *Irgun*, a militant Zionist group that was fighting the British authorities (who at that time were governing what we now call Israel and Palestine) One of their most 'famous' attacks was the attack on the King David Hotel in Jerusalem in 1946. Which at that time was the headquarters of the British mandatory authorities over Palestine.



The third wave of terrorism is what David Rapoport calls the new left wave. Or extreme left terrorism: amongst them the *Red Brigades*, the *Rote Armee Fraktion*, and other groups that started in the 1960s.

Some of its characteristics: first of all the Vietnam war that raged from the late 1950s on until the 1970s was a big driver for a number of groups especially in Western Europe and North America.

3. New Left Wave: 1960s

- Vietnam War
- Groups in the "developed" world as vanguards for the masses of the Third World
- Latin America/urban guerrilla
- Context of the Cold War

David Rapoport observes the following. He says that many groups in the developed world including the *Weather Underground*, a group of students from North America, and *Rote Armee Fraktion* in Germany saw themselves as vanguards for the masses of the Third World.

Other groups including groups in Latin America, revolutionary groups who used urban guerrilla to fight the authorities, governments and partly were supported by the Soviet Union and its allies. Again don't forget also the context of this wave, the Cold War.

And at the international level, the international terrorism of those days is very much associated with Palestinians and in particular the *Palestinian Liberation Organization*, the *PLO* of Yasser Arafat. The *modus operandi* (the techniques/tactics) the terrorist organizations of those days used were hostage takings and hijackings. The example of a hostage taking, all of you know, is the hostage taking of Israeli athletes during the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972. That event, and in particular also the hostage taking, was watched by millions of people around the globe. The organization behind it was called *Black September*, and unfortunately it ended with all the athletes being killed, partly in an attempt to liberate them.

3. New Left Wave: 1960s

- International terrorism
 - Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
- Hostage takings/hijackings
 - Olympic Games Munich 1972

The hijackings of those days were especially aimed at planes (mainly western airlines). The main goal was to get attention for a certain cause, or to press free some of the co-fighters of the terrorists. In those days most of the passengers who had been hijacked in planes managed to get out of it alive as the intention of the terrorists was not to kill these people, but to use them as a tool to get attention or to press governments to do something.



German counterterrorism unit leaves Lufthansa flight 181, 1977



Hostages rescued from Entebbe airport

The fourth and last wave distinguished by David Rapoport is what he calls the religious wave, that started in 1979: The year of the Islamic revolution in Iran., the year the Soviet Union invaded and occupied Afghanistan and 1979 was also the year of the storming and occupation of the Grand Mosque in Mecca.

David Rapoport shows that there were many different religious groups that produced terrorism since 1979. He mentions many Islamic group but also the *Sikh* who from Punjab from their holy temple, the golden temple in Amritsar, were for instance fighting the Indian authorities. But it also includes

Jewish religious terrorists. Think of the murderer of *Yitzhak Rabin* who was killed in 1995 while giving a speech in Tel Aviv.



But the religious waves also includes Christian groups (think of anti-abortion militants who have killed quite a number of people) and it also includes sects.

4. Modern political religious groups: since 1979 (“Religious Wave”)

- Islamic, Sikh, Jewish, Christian
- Sects
 - Tokyo subway sarin gas attack
 - Aum Shinrikyo



The best known attack of one sect is the attack on the Tokyo subway by the *Aum Shinrikyo* sect who was responsible for an attack with unconventional weapons., the nerve gas sarin with which they tried to killed 12 people and injured more than a thousand.

According to many, this is one of the first and most well know attacks *with WMD, weapons of mass destruction*.

Fortunately they didn't manage to create a mass destruction. But unfortunately quite a number of people were injured and 12 of them killed.

4. Modern political religious groups: since 1979 (“Religious Wave”)

- Modus operandi:
 - Assassinations
 - Hostage takings
 - Suicide bombings
- Hezbollah
- Al Qaeda

Other characteristics of this wave includes the modus operandi of these religious groups: like in earlier waves this consists of assassinations of key leaders, as well as hostage takings, and new is the suicide bombing. This is associated with this wave, especially the first suicide attacks by the Lebanese militant Shiite organization called *Hezbollah*: attacks on the US and French military forces in Lebanon, where they used trucks with suicide bombers and blew up the headquarters of the Americans and the French.

But at the same time I should stress that suicide bombings also happened among non religious groups like the *Kurdish workers party*, a Mao separatists group in Turkey, as well as the *Tamil Tigers* who were trying to create autonomy for the Tamils on the island of Sri Lanka.

And of course the groups that are associated with this wave include *Al Qaeda*. This group is first mentioned with its attack on the US Embassies in *Dar es Salaam* and Nairobi. Al Qaeda is associated with this particular fourth wave of terrorism.

So according to David Rapoport, there are four waves of terrorism that each last about a few decades, after which they might be still there but attract a lot less sympathizers and gradually fade out.

That leaves us with a very interesting question. If this is true: what would be the fifth wave of terrorism? I'm sure a lot of policy makers would like to know, so they can either prepare for it, or try to prevent any new wave.

Summary

In sum, the phenomenon of groups and individuals using terrorism is not new. There are examples of pre-modern times, and modern day terrorism has at least four different waves.

In the next video we are going to look at the use of the word terrorism. What does it mean? How has it been used in different times and in different languages?

Picture of Mr. Rapoport and a short biography: <http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/content/david-raapoport>

1.3: The use of the word 'Terrorism'

In the previous video we looked at the history of terrorism and in this video we are exploring the use of the word terrorism. The English word terrorism is used a lot, but of course the term is used in many different languages.

First have a look at the use of the word 'Terrorism' in different times. Certain violent acts or attacks that we today might label as terrorist were called something else in other times. To give you an example: the attack or assassination of the 25th United States President, *McKinley*, in 1901. What did the newspapers say the next day? Here is an example of the *Philadelphia Record* that refers to this attack by simply stating "President McKinley is shot twice by anarchist". (at that time he was still alive, he died a few days later)



In addition to that it gives very interesting information: You see an infographic showing where he was hit. But if you read the whole page, you will not find the word terrorist. So different times, different words to describe events. I think today we would definitely call the killing of a US president a terrorist attack.

And there are differences in languages. In my language, for instance, *Dutch*, the word terrorism is translated as "*Terrorisme*". It hardly differs from the English word but I am sure there are many other languages where terrorism when translated sounds very different and also might have a different meaning.

That brings me to an important question, how to describe or define the term 'Terrorism'? What does, for instance, the Oxford dictionary say about the meaning of the term? (I have used the Oxford dictionary because I think it is the leading one in the English language) it says, "*Terrorism is the unofficial and unauthorized use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aims*".

- The Oxford Dictionary:

"... the unofficial or unauthorized use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aims."

It is a great dictionary but, as with all dictionaries, a description of words is an interpretation. And you and I might disagree about the interpretation they give for the word terrorism. Let's go back and have a second look at it. It reads: "terrorism is the unofficial or unauthorized use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aims". Do we agree on this definition? I guess not. I think there is no consensus that this definition is *the* definition of terrorism.

There is also a lack of consensus among scholars, policy makers, politicians and experts. In fact, there is much dispute about how to define the term and much disagreement among scholars.

Summary

So what did we learn? The English word terrorist is used a lot, but it has different meanings at different times and in different languages, and there is much dispute about how to define the term. In fact, there is no generally accepted definition of terrorism.

Why is that the case? We are going to explore this question in the next video.

1.4: Why there are no generally accepted definitions of Terrorism

In the previous video, we discovered that the word terrorism can have many different meanings and that there is a dispute about how to define the term.

In this video, we are looking into the reasons why it is so difficult to formulate a generally accepted definition of terrorism.

These difficulties are best explained by *Alex Schmid*, one of the leading scholars in the field of terrorism and counterterrorism studies. He provides us with four reasons explaining difficulties in defining terrorism. Let's have a look at these four reasons:

Alex Schmid: Four reasons

1. Terrorism is "a contested concept"
2. Linked to delegitimisation and criminalisation
3. Many types of "terrorism", with different forms and manifestations
4. Changes in meaning in the more than 200 years of its existence

1. Schmid notes that terrorism is a contested concept, and political, legal, social signs and popular notions are often diverging.

2. The second reason is that the definition question is linked to legitimisation and delegitimisation and criminalisation of certain groups.

3. The third reason is why it is so difficult to get to a generally accepted definition is that there are many different types of

terrorism, each with a different form or manifestation.

4. Finally, the fourth reason is that the term is undergone changes in meaning in more than 200 years of its existence.

Let us look at each of these four reasons.

1. Terrorism is a contested concept. What does that mean? I think this is best explained by looking at the phrase: “one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter”.

Here you see six faces of persons that are associated with terrorism, a freedom struggle, or other types of political violence by non-state actors. Do you recognize any of them?



On the top row, from left to right, you see the face of *Yasser Arafat* the former leader of the *Palestinian Liberation Organization*, who has been considered a terrorist by some. But who also holds a Nobel Peace Prize.

In the middle, you see the face of *Abdullah Ocalan* the leader of *the Kurdish Workers Party*, the *PKK*, from Turkey, who is regarded an arch-enemy by the Turkish authorities. He is in jail. But he is also considered a hero and a freedom fighter by many people with a Kurdish background.

On the right hand side, you see the face of *Osama Bin Laden*, the former leader of *Al Qaeda*.

In the row below, you see on the left hand side, a picture of *Che Guevara*: A revolutionary left wing activist, militant, terrorist, freedom fighter. Many labels you could use. In those days (in the 50's and 60's) very few would call him a terrorist. They would maybe label him as a revolutionary, as a rebel. But today many people would label him quite differently, if he would do these kind of things today.

In the middle, you see the face of the former leader of the *Tamil Tigers* and the flag with the tiger on it. He has been killed a couple years ago. He was the leader of an organization that was fighting the Sri-Lankan authorities, with the aim to create an independent state. Some would say a classical example of separatist nationalist terrorists. Others might say a freedom fighter.

On the right hand side you see the face of *Anders Breivik*, the man who killed almost 80 people in Norway a couple years ago. With a right wing, anti Islam, ideology. What is he? A terrorist, a freedom fighter? Something else?

The United Nations has such a list and so do, amongst others, the United States and the European Union.

I am sure that there's a lot of disagreement. Some may say it's a good thing that the military wing of Hezbollah was put on the list, while others will say it is a bad thing because they feel Hezbollah is not a terrorist organization. Well, it shows how difficult it is to define terrorism.

3. The third explanation for a lack of a generally accepted definition of terrorism is the fact that there are many types of terrorism. Each with a different form and manifestation. Well, here, you see a list of Europol, European Unions Law Enforcement Agency, that distinguishes five different groups, based on ideology.

- **Categorisation by Europol:**
 - Religiously inspired
 - Ethno-nationalist and separatist
 - Left-wing and anarchist
 - Right-wing
 - Single-issue

Europol mentions religious inspired terrorism, which is distinct from ethno-nationalist and separatist terrorism. And then you have left wing and anarchist groups, as well as right-wing groups. The fifth category is what they call single-issue: Certain groups or individuals that actually fight for one thing. For instance that they fight for animal rights or they fight against abortion.

A list based on ideology, but what about individuals with no clear ideology? In the Netherlands we have been confronted with a person who drove his car into a crowd, killing seven people, because he wanted to attack the queen, who was visiting a town in the Netherlands. His last words were: "I did it on purpose". He said that Willem Alexander, who is currently our king, "is a fascist, a racist and I knew the queen would be there". How to label such an incident? Terrorism or not?

And what about states? Why is state terrorism not one of the categories of Europol? We'll come back to that important question later on.

4. The fourth reason why it's so difficult to define terrorism is that fact that the word has undergone changes in meaning in the more than 200 years of its existence. The term terrorism has changed its semantic focus several times. It was originally used to describe the reign of terror by the authorities after the *French Revolution* and the term 'Terrorist' was not used in anti-government-sense before the end of the 19th century and the early 20th century.

Changes in meaning in the more than 200 years of its existence

- Semantic focus has shifted
- 'Terrorist' was not used in anti-government sense before late 19th/early 20th century

We already saw the example of the assassination of President McKinley. In the newspapers the next day, they did not use the word terrorism. Today I think it would be unthinkable that the killing of a United States president would not be labeled as a terrorist act.

And think of the reactions after the attacks on 9/11. Here, you see a number of examples. The headlines of the newspapers the following day included a wide variety of words: War, attack, infamy, but above all, the words terror, and terrorism. These examples show the changes in meaning of the word terrorism in its 200 years of existence.

And this makes sense. Because also terrorism itself, the act, has changed. The nature and the face of the phenomenon are also profoundly different from 200 years ago.



Summary

Why is there no generally accepted definitions of terrorism? Alex Schmid gave four reasons. Terrorism is a contested concept and it's a link to the legitimization and criminalization of certain groups. There are different types of terrorism. And finally, the meaning of the word has undergone changes in more than 200 years of its existence.


In the next video we to argue why it is so important to have a definition of terrorism, and look at a number of attempts to arrive at one.

1.5 Need for a definition: some attempts

In the previous video we explained why it is so difficult to arrive at a definition of terrorism. In this video we are going to explore the need for a definition. Also we are going to look into attempts to arrive at generally accepted definition of the term.

We know it is difficult to arrive at a generally accepted definition. But still I think we should try.

Why, is it so important to have a definition? There are a number of reasons.

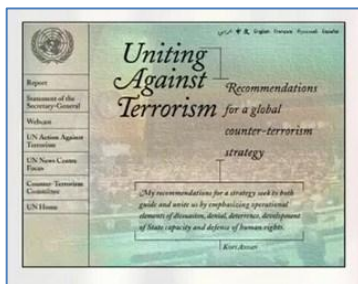
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- Why do we need a definition?
 - International cooperation
 - Judicial measures
 - Avoid invitation to abuse
 - Research

- We need a definition if we want to arrive at successful international cooperation in the fight against terrorism. Terrorism is a cross border phenomenon, and that means that we have to be able to share data which means that we have to have some level of agreement: Who are we fighting? What constitutes a terrorist group? I have already mentioned a problem of the listing of certain groups on a list of designated terrorist organization. It would be nice if we agree on what groups should be on that list or not. That would allow the sharing of data or the extradition of suspects. It's very difficult if country a says this is not a terrorist group and the other one wants a certain person to be extradited and persecuted in another country. So, **a higher level of agreement on the definition would improve international cooperation.**
- From a legal perspective there is another reason why we need agreement on what is terrorism and what not, and to have quite precise definitions of terrorism. That reason is what many human rights organizations call **the risk of abuse**. They say that in countries with no legal definition or rather vague ones it might be very tempting for governments to use the label of terrorism to silence all kinds of opposition. *Human Rights Watch* for instance repeatedly expressed concern of the tendency of some governments to regard as terrorism a wide range of conduct far beyond what is generally understood by that term. There are sometimes definitions of terrorism, those are vague and it is difficult to label somebody a terrorist, heretical, or let's say a democratic protester. Countries make use (or misuse) of that and a good definition could help to avoid that.
- There's also a need for a proper or generally accepted definition of terrorism among researchers. We are very often confronted with different definitions, and try to make sense or give a general picture about developments with regard to terrorism. I gave you the example of the number of casualties in recent years. I showed you data of *the United States State Department*, but I also used *Europol* as a source and the *global terrorism database*. Each of them has a slightly different definition of terrorism, and I added them up to give you a general picture. I think this is okay for a general picture. But what if I add that? And I would like to make a proper analysis of trends in terrorism. And add more of these data with different sources. How solid are my statements? I think they're problematic, to say the least.

This challenge: a lack of definition poses to international corporations, was one of the reasons why *Kofi Annan*, Secretary General of the *United Nations* from 1997 to 2006 tried to achieve. A consensus about what is terrorism. He tried and unfortunately failed. He tried to reach consensus about a definition that focused on the targeting and the deliberate killing of non combatants for political purposes. But this definition did not gain the support of all member states.

What is harmful about a definition that focuses on the killing of civilians and non-combatants? Who can be against such a definition? Still it was difficult.

- Attempt by Kofi Annan



And then also in a report titled *"Uniting Against Terrorism, recommendations for global counter-terrorism strategy"* (http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/60/825)

He tried to send the moral message that terrorism is unacceptable and unjustifiable. Again, not all states saw this as a sound basis for moving forward. Why not? Some revive the ideas about foreign occupation, and state terrorism that in their eyes justified violence

that they didn't want labeled as terrorism. Think about the second World War or a number of countries that face an illegal occupation, it makes sense that people have that in mind. They might be against something that is called unacceptable and unjustifiable under all conditions.

So a number of states were against that. And in the end, the attempt also failed because some states did not want a definition that did not explicitly exclude state terrorism: the idea that states could be labeled as terrorists if they used terrorist tactics against other governments, their population or against their own population.

- Was rejected because:
 - Idea of foreign occupation and state terrorism as justification
 - "Under all conditions"
 - State terrorism?

So Kofi Annan tried But unfortunately, he failed.

What about state terrorism? I am going to disappoint a few of you because personally, I'm not so much in favor of labeling the violence by state authorities against other countries, the population of other countries, or their own citizens as terrorism.

We have international law, humanitarian law, and a law of war. I would rather label the use of violence by states as war crimes or abuse of power and do not like to call that terrorism. We have a lot of international legal instruments that we can use to fight war crimes. There are no such legal instruments in the field of terrorism. That is why we should be very careful to use the term state terrorism, and I prefer not to use it.

That means that in this course when we talk about terrorism, we talk explicitly about the use of political violence by non-state actors. (I do understand that many disagree. But I hope we can agree to disagree)

Let us now move onto academic attempts to arrive at a definition. The most often quoted attempt is that of *Albert Jongman* and *Alex Schmid*. In the 1980s, they sent out a questionnaire to leading scholars in the field of terrorism and counter-terrorism studies and asked them to write down their definition of terrorism.

When these questionnaires came back, they studied them and tried to find key components that many people seem to agree upon. They arrived at 22 key components. In 2011, *Alex Schmid* updated this version: again he sent out a questionnaire and looked into the literature regarding the definition of terrorism.

Have a close look at it. These are 12 core components:

It should say something about a <i>doctrine</i> and/or <i>practice</i> of violent action	It should refer to the <i>context</i> in which terrorism is employed as a tactic	It should contain the concept of <i>physical</i> violence or threat thereof	It should say something about <i>threat-based communication processes</i>
It should mention that terrorism instills <i>fear</i> , <i>dread</i> , <i>panic</i> or <i>mere anxiety</i>	It should say something about the <i>direct victims</i>	It should point at the fact that the <i>direct victims</i> are <i>not</i> the <i>ultimate target</i>	It should say something about the <i>perpetrators</i>
It should mention that terrorism is <i>predominantly political</i>	It should refer to the <i>intent</i> of acts of terrorism	It should contain the <i>motivations to engage</i> in terrorism	It should mention that terrorist acts form part of a <i>campaign of violence</i>

Which one do you think are more important? Which ones are less important?

The first one, it says that a core component of definition of terrorism is that a definition should say something about the fact that terrorism is both a doctrine and a practice. It is both an idea, a doctrine and a practice: something that happens on the ground.

It should also refer to the context in which terrorism is employed as a tactic. Define if it is a war situation or a non-war situation. These kind of context is an important key component of terrorism. according to Alex Schmid and others.

And then it also says that it should say something about the perpetrators, those behind terrorist attacks. Do you agree on that?

Do you agree that a definition of terrorism should mention that terrorist acts form part of a campaign of violence, not only one terrorist incident but a series of attacks. Do you think that's an important component or not?

Which three of them do you think should be in any definition of terrorism?

I also have a message for you from Alex Schmid who is the author of the *academic consensus definition*, that consists of these 12 parts: (Alex Schmid's video message): So you see that it can be quite difficult to arrive at a satisfactory definition of the concept of terrorism. It is a contested concept, like others (for instance imperialism) are a contested concept. Nonetheless, it is absolutely necessary that we talk about the same object rather than use vague and broad terms. However in each country, the usage differs a little bit. And since you come from many countries, we

would be very much interested how. The term terrorism is used in your country. Is it broadly applied, narrowly applied, loosely applied, or confined to certain groups only? So your collaboration in this would be very much appreciated.”

What did we learn, this video? We looked into the need for a definition. And also focused on two attempts. One by Kofi Annan, then Secretary General of the United Nations. And we looked at the *academic consensus definition* by Alex Schmidt.

In the next video, we are going to focus on the essence of terrorism.

1.6: The essence of Terrorism

The previous video showed a need for a definition of terrorism. We have discussed several attempts to arrive at a generally accepted definition of the term.

In this video we will explore the essence of terrorism. There is not one definition of terrorism and that's bad but there is general agreement that the phenomenon of terrorism has many different elements.

- Agreement: many different elements
- Instrument or tactic to achieve certain goals
- Use of force is not its goal
- Fear

- There is the agreement that terrorism is an instrument or a tactic of certain groups (be they non state actors or state actors) to achieve certain goals.
- Use of force is an important part of this instrument or tactic. But it's not its goal. Of course there are exceptions. Sometimes it's not clear what a terrorist wants and sometimes the violence in itself seems to be both a method and a goal. we call this expressive terrorism.
- Fear finally, is one of the key components. And spreading fear is more important than spreading death. So it's not primarily about causing casualties. The goal is not many dead, but many afraid. And terrorists sometimes manage to do that with very limited means. Especially in countries that are not that often confronted with terrorism.

An example of that is the situation in the Netherlands in the years 2005, 2006. In 2006, according to a public opinion poll, *the Eurobarometer*, 40% of the Dutch consider terrorism to be one of the two most important problems the country faced. They were more afraid than the British and the Spanish, who had just experienced horrible attacks in Madrid (with 200 people being killed) and the London bombings with more than 50 people killed. So what happened in the Netherlands that they were so afraid of terrorism? Well, just one attack by one person killing one other person, the Dutch filmmaker, Theo van Gogh. One could argue that the killer managed to produce a lot of fear out of one single action. I guess too much fear.

- Brian Jenkins 1975: "Terrorists want a lot of people watching and not a lot of people dead"

A well known scholar that was one of the first to stress that terrorism is not primarily about killing people is *Brian Jenkins*. In 1975, he wrote "Terrorists want a lot of people watching. Not a lot of people dead" I think this statement is still quite interesting today. Whether or not it's still very relevant given changes in terrorism (terrorism of today is different than the terrorism of 1975) we will discuss in a later video.

- So, terrorism is not about killing people
- Direct targets are rarely the main target
- Not aimed at those who die, but at those who will continue to live
- The main target is us, you and me!

The essence of terrorism is not only that it is not mainly about killing. Another important element is that the direct targets are rarely the main targets. Take for instance the attacks on 9/11. 3000 people were killed, but they were in many ways the indirect targets. The terrorists did not want to kill those people, they wanted to attract a lot of attention. The main targets

were you and I who were watching these horrible pictures of people being killed in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania. The violence is not aimed at those who die but those who continue to live. The main target is us. You and me.

The Impact

The terrorist strategy is to kill one or a few and to frighten millions. They want us to overreact, and unfortunately that is quite often the case. Maybe we should try harder not to be afraid, not to overreact. I'm very much a fan of the social movement and slogan "We are not afraid"

People posting pictures or cartoons or using banners to express their resilience to terrorism, stating, we are not afraid. Here you see a picture using the logo of the London Underground as a reaction to the 7/7 London bombings in 2005.



But how hard you and I might try, the impact of terrorism, can sometimes be very high. Media are very important in spreading fear. But the same holds for politicians and public figures. And as a result of this spreading of fear. Terrorism and the impact of terrorism can be enormous, it is a big threat. Not in physical terms, although too many people die because of terrorism, but the impact is enormous.

- Media, politicians and other public figures play an important role
- Impact can sometimes be enormous
 - Society & relations between communities
 - Economy

The impact can be very high on society, on relationships between communities. It can be very high on the economy and on politics.

Summary

There seems to be some level of agreement on the idea that terrorism is a tool to spread fear by the way of using violence in order to impact politics and society. Unfortunately that impact is often enormous as politics and society tend to overreact after terrorist incidents. And by doing so, we help the terrorists and that is not a good idea. I am very much a fan of the idea to show resilience to terrorism, and of the slogan "We are not afraid"

What are we going to do next week? We will look at the study of terrorism and counterterrorism. We are going to answer the question: "What do academia and think tanks have come up with after 9/11? And why is it rather difficult to study terrorism?"