STRATEGIES OF TERRORISM

John Lynn, ACDIS
Department of History
Thank you,
Jeremiah.
Raymond Aron, wrote:

“An action of violence is labeled ‘terrorist’ when its psychological effects are out of proportion to its purely physical results.”
VIOLENCE

PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT

POLITICAL EFFECT
VIOLENCE

PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT

POLITICAL EFFECT
IN SHORT, TERRORISM IS A FORM OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSAULT, OR WARFARE, THAT WEAPONIZES THE EMOTIONS, MOST NOTABLY FEAR AND OUTRAGE.

KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING ARE AMONG OUR BEST MEANS TO DEFEAT TERRORISM.
Fundamental Theses
Six Levels of Terrorism

**Strong**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overt</td>
<td>Large-Scale Action or Threat of Action</td>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>Paramount</td>
<td>Goals of Policy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Terrorism by State Regimes
- Terrorism by Military Forces at War
- Terrorism by Social Groups
- Terrorism by Criminal Groups
- Radical Terrorism by Sub-State Groups
- Radical Terrorism by Individuals

**Weak**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Covert</td>
<td>Small-Scale Action or Threat of Action, Outsized Psychological Impact</td>
<td>Fear and Outrage</td>
<td>Goals of Policy &amp; Growth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Capacity of Terrorists
More Fundamental Theses
ANOTHER KIND OF WAR: The Nature and History of Terrorism

John A. Lynn II

In the years since 9/11, there has been a massive surge in interest surrounding the study of terrorism. This volume applies distinguished military historian John Lynn's lifetime of research and teaching experience to this difficult topic. As a form of violence that implies the threat of future violence, terrorism breeds insecurity, vulnerability, and a desire for retribution that has far-reaching consequences. Lynn distinguishes between the paralyzing effect of fear and the potentially dangerous and chaotic effects of moral outrage and righteous retaliation guiding counterterrorism efforts. In this accessible and comprehensive text, Lynn traces the evolution of terrorism over time, exposing its constants and contrasts. In doing so, he contextualizes this violence and argues that a knowledge of the history and nature of terrorism can temper its psychological effects, and can help us more accurately and carefully assess threats as well as develop informed and measured responses.

"This is a great book! A comprehensive history of terrorism written by a prominent military historian. An excellent overview of terrorism for students of world history—in or outside the classroom."

JESSICA STERN, author of Terror in the Name of God

"A wide-ranging and timely study in which a major scholar employs his knowledge of military history in order to explain a key strand in the history of violence. Lynn is to be congratulated on showing how terrorism should be part of military history."

JEREMY BLACK, author of War and the World

"John A. Lynn brings a unique historical and analytical perspective to the complex subject of terrorism. This book should be required reading for both policy makers and practitioners trying to formulate counters to the myriad approaches terrorists can take."

CONRAD C. CRANE, author of Cassandra in Oz: Counterinsurgency and Future War

"The book makes a significant contribution to the history of terrorism and could prove to be groundbreaking in its interpretations."

PETER R. MANSOOR, Ohio State University

JOHN A. LYNN II is emeritus professor of history at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and former president of the United States Commission on Military History. His writings include Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe and Battle: A History of Combat and Culture.
Terrorists see themselves as fighting a war to defend or promote an essential and just cause.

Terrorists are “surprisingly normal,” not clinically psychotic.

Terrorists are rational actors.

And, being rational actors at war, they pursue strategies.
WAR AIMS, GOALS –
The purpose of the war

STRATEGIES –
How to conduct a war

TACTICS –
How to fight a battle

STRATAGEMS –
Tactics of deceiving or outwitting the enemy
## Four Strategies of Terrorism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRONG</th>
<th>WEAK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTIMIDATION AGAINT MAIN ENEMY AUDIENCE</td>
<td>INTIMIDATION WITHIN GROUP AND AGAINST RIVALS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTIMIDATION</td>
<td>INITIATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TERRORISM BY STRONG CAPACITY</td>
<td>ACTORS: STATE, MILITARY, AND SOCIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TERRORISM BY WEAK CAPACITY ACTORS: RADICAL TERRORISM BY SUB-STATE GROUPS RELYING ON FEAR AND OUTRAGE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTIMIDATION

Primary for Strong-Capacity Terrorists

EMPHASIS ON FEAR

Want acquiescence, obedience, submission, end to resistance

No use for inciting reprisals by OUTRAGE

Useful for Weak-Capacity Terrorists

Fear among target community

Revolutionary discipline within the group

Compel radical rivals to give way or join
Four Strategies of Terrorism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTIMIDATION AGAINST MAIN ENEMY AUDIENCE</th>
<th>INTIMIDATION WITHIN GROUP AND AGAINST RIVALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTIMIDATION</td>
<td>INITIATION        ATTRITION        EVOLUTION</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TERRORISM BY STRONG CAPACITY ACTORS:
STATE, MILITARY, AND SOCIAL TERRORISM RELYING ON FEAR

TERRORISM BY WEAK CAPACITY ACTORS:
RADICAL TERRORISM BY SUB-STATE GROUPS RELYING ON FEAR AND OUTRAGE
INITIATION

For Radical Terrorists who want to act as a precipitant or a catalyst.

Want to exploit the OUTRAGE of the enemy oppressors so as to reveal the WICKEDNESS AND WEAKNESS of the oppressors.

Appeals to very weak groups with great expectations but few resources, explaining why most terrorists of the first and second waves failed.
ATTRITION

For somewhat stronger radical terrorists, who cannot overpower the enemy, but have sufficient numbers and resources to inflict losses on their enemy.

Want to get the enemy to invest unsustainable psychological and physical resources until worn down.

A strategy of moving to higher levels of strength, resources, and numbers.

Important question: need it be theory, intention, or simply opportunism?

Theory of escalating stages goes back to Mao.

Particularly prominent in Third Wave.
EXAMPLES OF EVOLUTION

FLN of Algeria(?)
PLO
FARC of Columbia
Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka
Hezbollah of Lebanon
Hamas of Gaza

FROM ZARQAWI’s JTJ AND AQI TO
TO AL-BAGHDADI’S ISI AND ISIS,
THEN FINALLY TO HIS
ISLAMIC STATE
Four Strategies of Terrorism

- Intimidation against main enemy audience
- Intimidation within group and against rivals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intimidation</th>
<th>Initiative</th>
<th>Attrition</th>
<th>Evolution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Terrorism by strong capacity actors:
- Radical terrorism by sub-state groups relying on fear and outrage

Terrorism by weak capacity actors:
- State, military, and social terrorism relying on fear
MAO ZEDONG'S PROGRESSION OF REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE

Majority
Overt

Positional Warfare
(Conventional Warfare)
Regular Forces

Mobile Warfare
Guerrillas and Regulars

Guerrilla Warfare
Guerrilla Bands

Minority
Covert
Guerrilla Warfare
Guerrilla Bands
Terrorism
Terrorist Cells

Positional Warfare
(Conventional Warfare)
Regular Forces

Mobile Warfare
Guerrillas and Regulars

Guerrilla Warfare
Guerrilla Bands

Terrorism
Terrorist Cells
Terrorists Study Military Theory and Practice

Abu Ubayd al-Qurashi
d. ca. 2006???

Abd al-Aziz al-Muqrin
(1971-2004)

Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi
b. 1971

Carl von Clausewitz

Mao Zedong

Abd al-Aziz al-Muqrin
(1971-2004)

Abu Bakr Naji
c. 1961-2008

The Mastery of Savagery
GLOBAL STRATEGIES

Global Participation

Abdullah Yusuf Azzam

Global Conflict

Osama bin Laden
Is this a terrorist “group”?
WHAT IS A STATE?

TERRITORY

RESOURCES

FORCES

MONOPOLY OF VIOLENCE

“CIVILIZED” BEHAVIOR
Four Strategies of Terrorism

INTIMIDATION AGAINST MAIN ENEMY AUDIENCE
INTIMIDATION WITHIN GROUP AND AGAINST RIVALS

INITIATION | ATTRITION | EVOLUTION

TERRORISM BY STRONG CAPACITY ACTORS:
STATE, MILITARY, AND SOCIAL TERRORISM RELYING ON FEAR

TERRORISM BY WEAK CAPACITY ACTORS:
RADICAL TERRORISM BY SUB-STATE GROUPS RELYING ON FEAR AND OUTRAGE
Four Strategies of Terrorism

INTIMIDATION AGAINST MAIN ENEMY AUDIENCE
INTIMIDATION WITHIN GROUP AND AGAINST RIVALS

INITIATION  ATTENTION  EVOLUTION

TERRORISM BY STRONG CAPACITY
ACTORS:
STATE, MILITARY, AND SOCIAL

TERRORISM BY WEAK CAPACITY ACTORS:
RADICAL TERRORISM BY SUB-STATE GROUPS
RELYING ON FEAR AND OUTRAGE

EVOLUTION TO ARMY/STATE =
CHANGE TO STRONG CAPACITY TERRORISM
RELYING ON FEAR
Abu Mohammad al-Adnani
Evolution and De-evolution

Abu Mohammad al-Adnani’s final address in May 2016 warned: “Or do you, O America, consider defeat to be the loss of a city or the loss of land? Certainly not! We would be defeated and you victorious only if you were able to remove the Qur’an from the Muslims’ hearts.” .....“We fight in obedience to Allah and to become closer to Him. And victory is that we live in the might of our religion or die upon it. It is the same, whether Allah blesses us with consolidation or we move into the bare, open desert, displaced and pursued.”
WHAT IS NEXT?

FOR THERE WILL BE A NEXT. TERRORISM IS TOO EASY, AND IT IS ABSOLUTELY PART OF THE MODERN REPERTOIRE OF VIOLENT POLITICAL RESISTANCE.
COMBATTING TERRORISM BY CIVIC EDUCATION

VIOLENCE

PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT

POLITICAL EFFECT
WHAT I HOPE TO TEACH:

COMPASSION FOR THE IMMEDIATE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE

UNDERSTANDING THE REAL THREAT

SENSE OF PROPORTION ABOUT THE DANGER AND THE RESPONSE

RESOLUTION TO AVOID BECOMING THE TERRORIST’S UNWITTING ALLY
Thank you, Jeremiah.
“This is a great book! A comprehensive history of terrorism written by a prominent military historian. An excellent overview of terrorism for students of world history—in or outside the classroom.”
JESSICA STERN, author of *Terror in the Name of God*

“A wide-ranging and timely study in which a major scholar employs his knowledge of military history in order to explain a key strand in the history of violence. Lynn is to be congratulated on showing how terrorism should be part of military history.”
JEREMY BLACK, author of *War and the World*

“John A. Lynn brings a unique historical and analytical perspective to the complex subject of terrorism. This book should be required reading for both policy makers and practitioners trying to formulate counters to the myriad approaches terrorists can take.”
CONRAD C. CRANE, author of *Cassandra in Oz: Counterinsurgency and Future War*

“The book makes a significant contribution to the history of terrorism and could prove to be groundbreaking in its interpretations.”
PETER R. MANSOOR, Ohio State University
Six Traits of Acts of Terror(ism)

1. The use of violence or the threat of violence
2. directed against the persons or property
3. of those unable or unprepared to defend themselves,
4. primarily to create fear and/or outrage
5. through the propagation of public knowledge,
6. with the intention of affecting public policy or community action.
“[Terrorism’s] ingenuity lies in using an opponent’s own strength against him. It is a sort of jujitsu.”

Knowledge and understanding, can keep you from allowing outrage to make you the terrorists’ unwitting ally.
To be Radical Terrorism, it must be an “ism,” part of a repertoire of violent political resistance. (Charles Tilly)

Radical Terrorism is a form of warfare: entry-level warfare.