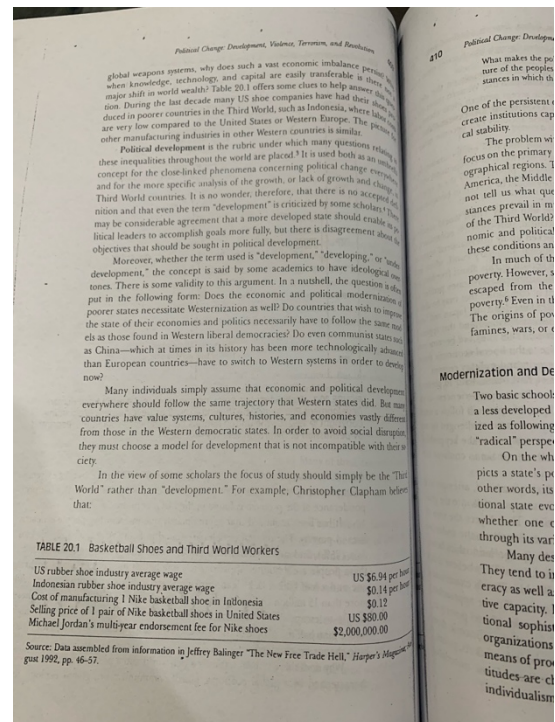
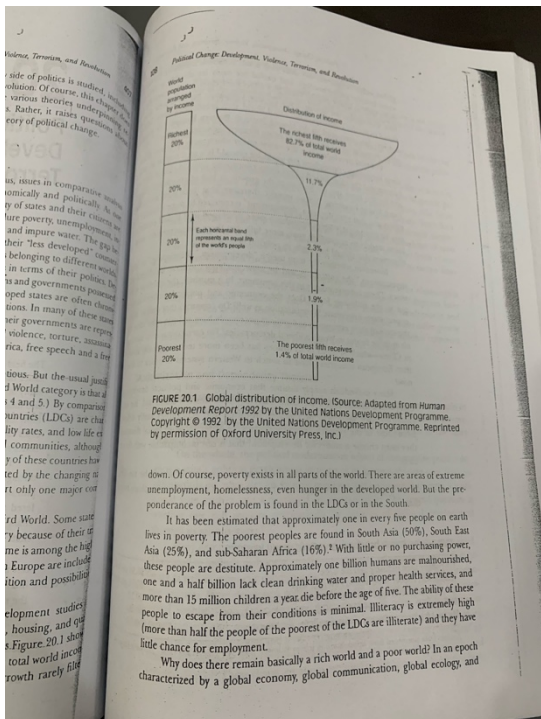
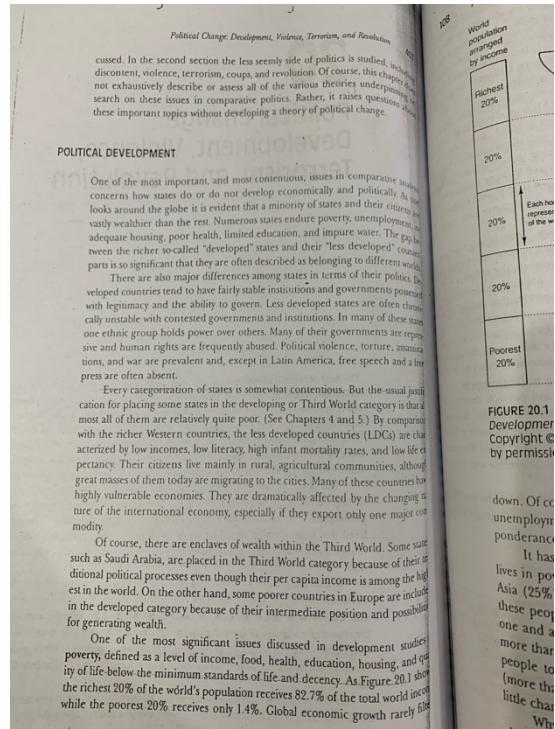
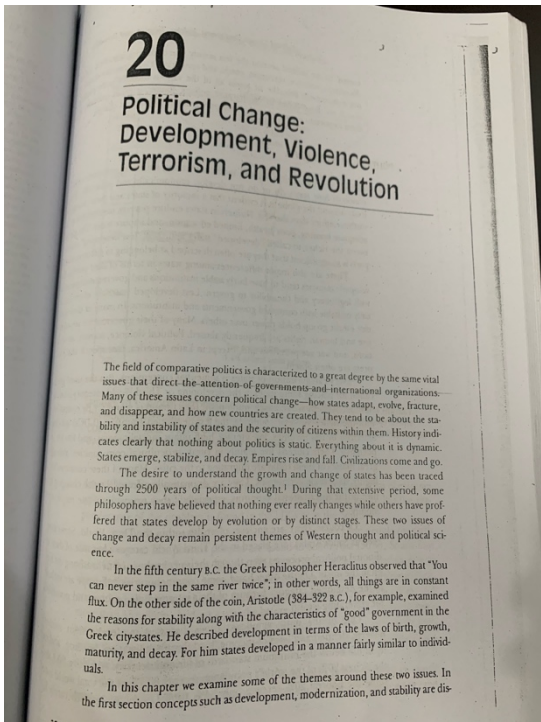
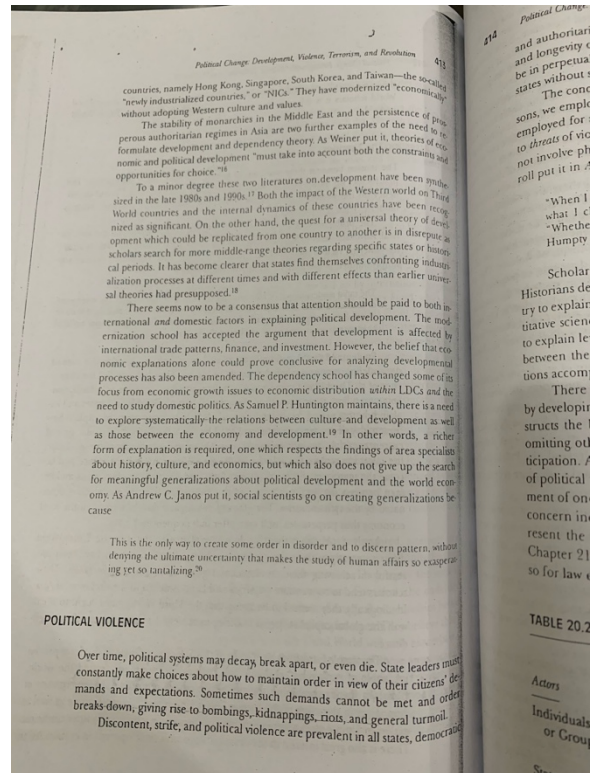
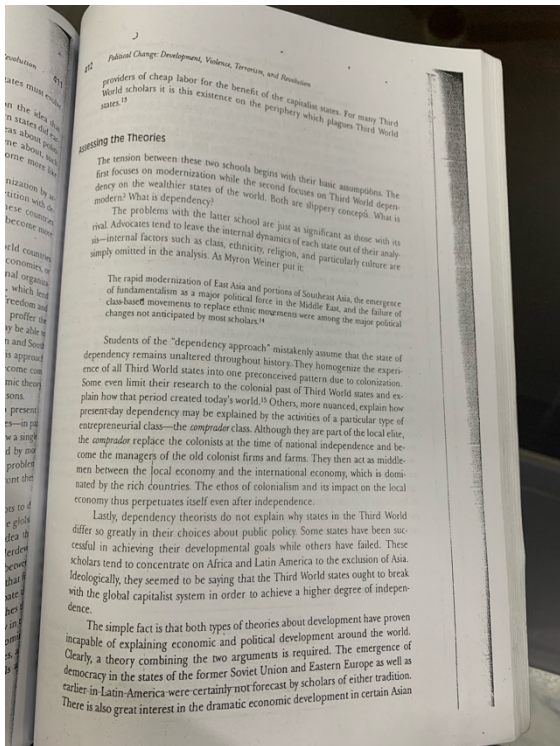
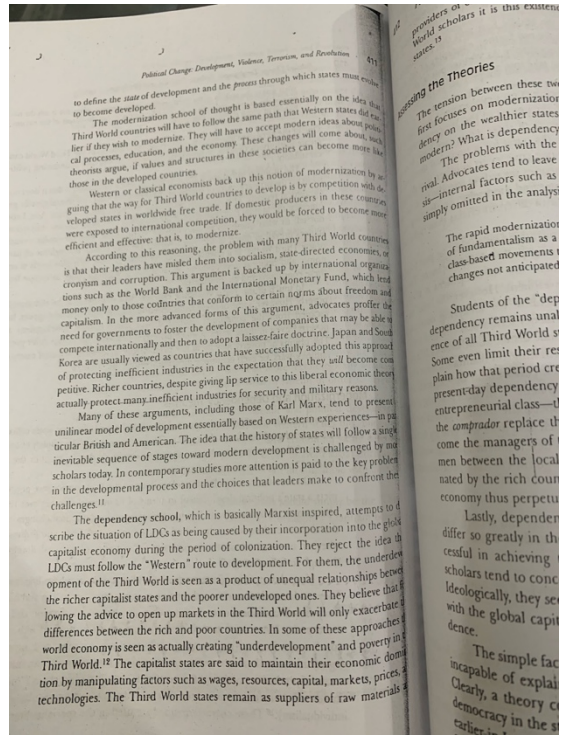
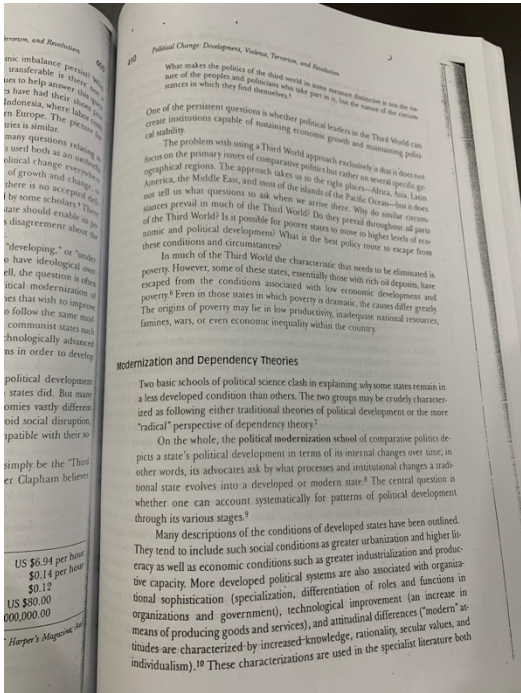
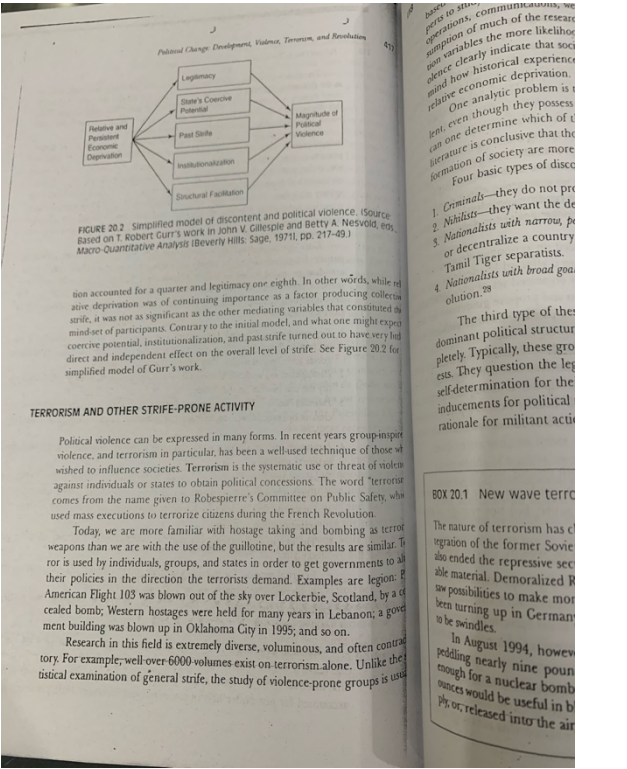
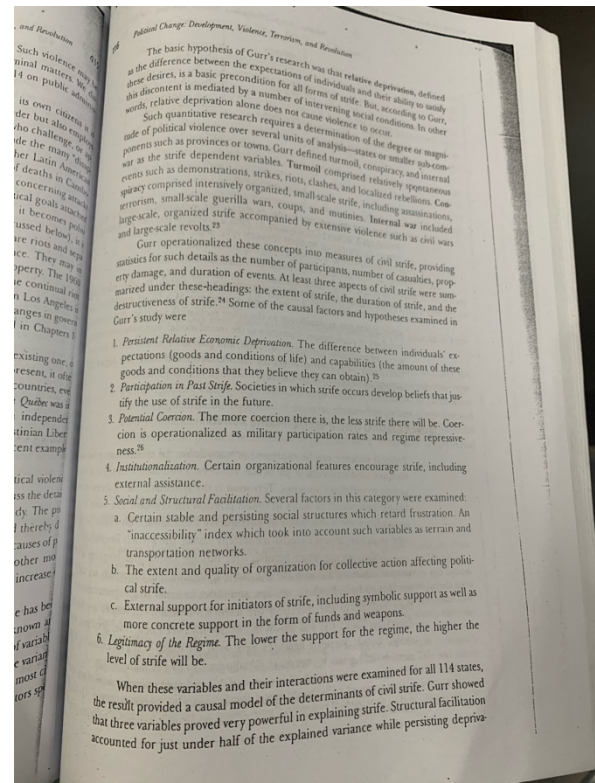
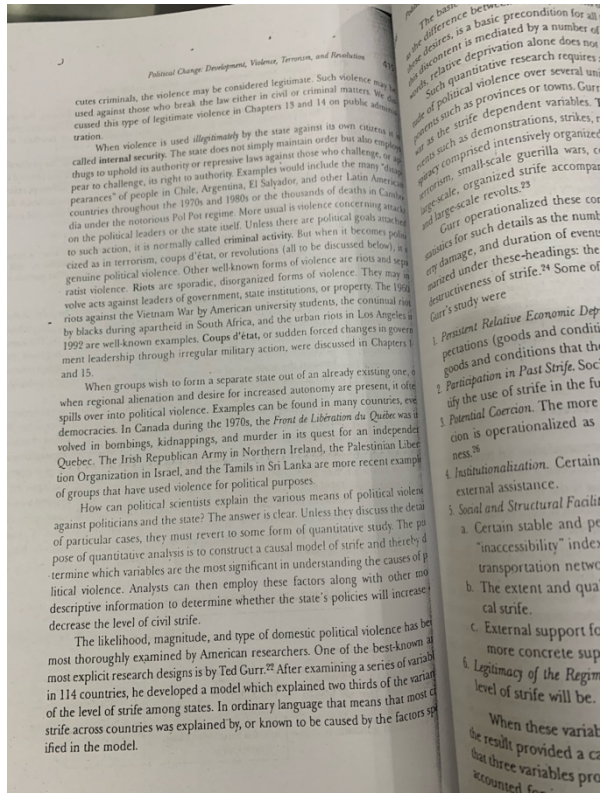
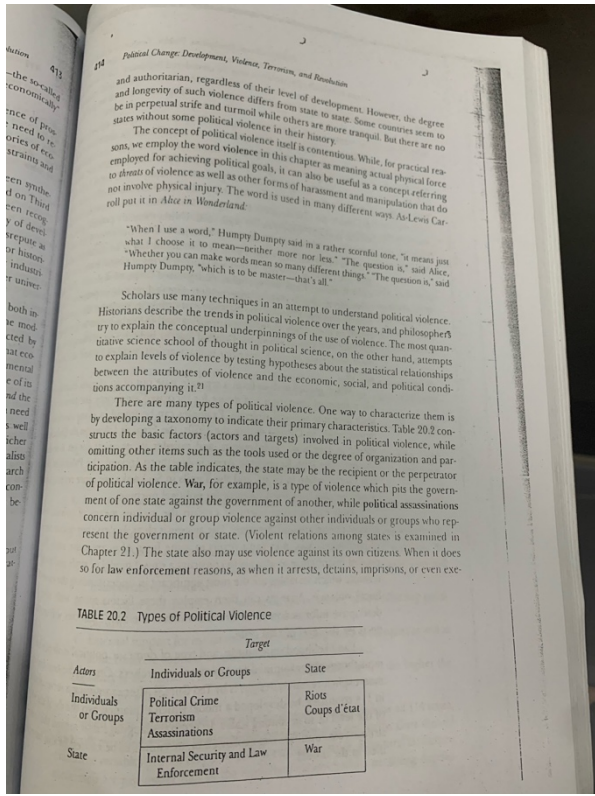
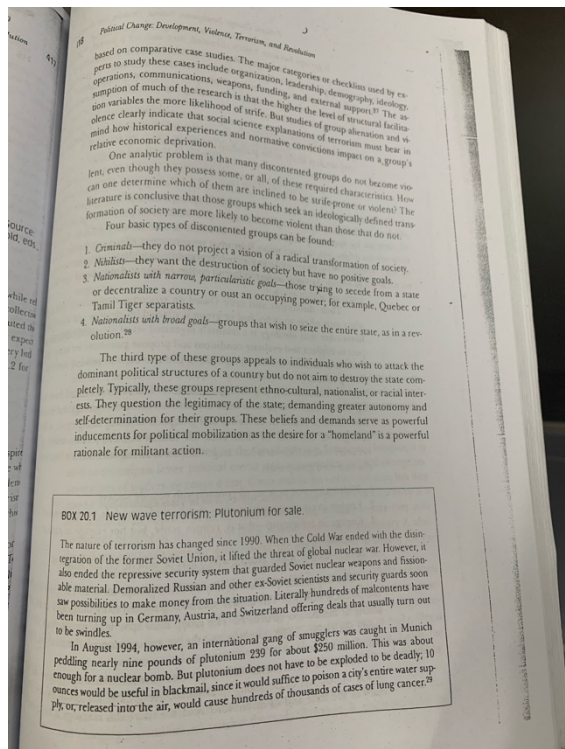


WEEK 16: Political Change: Development, Violence, Terrorism and Revolution









Political Change, Development, Violence, Terrorism, and Revolution
based on comparative case studies. The major categories or checklists used by researchers to study these cases include organization, committed leadership, adequate resources such as weapons, funding, and external support.³⁷ The absence of these variables is the more likely to be a result of structural facilitation. However, some studies clearly indicate that social science explanations of terrorism must bear in mind how historical experiences and normative convictions impact on a group's identity, even though they possess some, or all, of these required characteristics. This literature is conclusive that those groups which seek an ideologically defined transformation of society are more likely to become violent than those that do not.

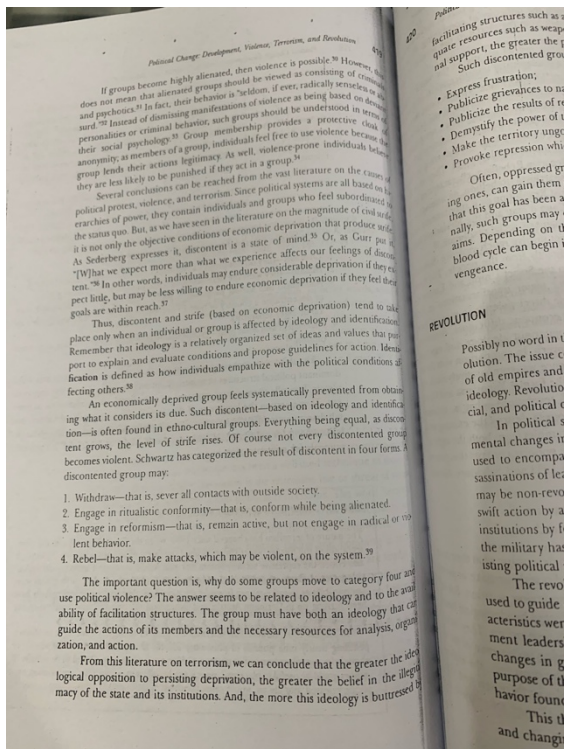
- Four basic types of discontented groups can be found:
1. *Crimsals*—they do not project a vision of a radical transformation of society.
 2. *Nihilists*—they want the destruction of society but have no positive goals.
 3. *Nationalists with narrow, particularistic goals*—those trying to secede from a state or decentralize a country or oust an occupying power, for example, Quebec or Tamil Tiger separatists.
 4. *Nationalists with broad goals*—groups that wish to seize the entire state, as in a revolution.³⁸

The third type of these groups appeals to individuals who wish to attack the dominant political structures of a country but do not aim to destroy the state completely. Typically, these groups represent ethno-cultural, nationalist, or racial interests. They question the legitimacy of the state, demanding greater autonomy and self-determination for their groups. These beliefs and demands serve as powerful inducements for political mobilization as the desire for a "homeland" is a powerful rationale for militant action.

BOX 20.1 New wave terrorism: Plutonium for sale

The nature of terrorism has changed since 1990. When the Cold War ended with the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, it lifted the threat of global nuclear war. However, it also ended the repressive security system that guarded Soviet nuclear weapons and fissile material. Demoralized Russian and other ex-Soviet scientists and security guards soon saw possibilities to make money from the situation. Literally hundreds of malcontents have been turning up in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland offering deals that usually turn out to be swindles.

In August 1994, however, an international gang of smugglers was caught in Munich peddling nearly nine pounds of plutonium-239 for about \$250 million. This was about enough for a nuclear bomb. But plutonium does not have to be exploited to be deadly; 10 ounces would be useful in blackmail, since it would suffice to poison a city's entire water supply, or, released into the air, would cause hundreds of thousands of cases of lung cancer.³⁹



Political Change, Development, Violence, Terrorism, and Revolution
If groups become highly alienated, then violence is possible.⁴⁰ However, this does not mean that alienated groups should be viewed as consisting of criminals and psychotics.⁴¹ In fact, the behavior is "normal" if ever, radically determined and absurd.⁴² Instead of dismissing manifestations of violence as being based on demonic personalities or criminal behavior, such groups should be understood in terms of their social psychology.⁴³ Group membership provides a protective cloak of anonymity; as members of a group, individuals feel free to use violence because their actions lack the stigma of individual illegitimacy. As well, violence provides individuals with a sense of purpose and a sense of accomplishment that is less likely to be punished if they act in a group.⁴⁴

Several conclusions can be reached from the vast literature on the causes of political protest, violence, and terrorism. Since political systems are all based on hierarchies of power, they contain individuals and groups who feel alienated from the status quo. But, as we have seen in the literature on the magnitude of civil disorder, it is not only the objective conditions of economic deprivation that produce discontent.⁴⁵ In other words, individuals may endure considerable deprivation if they feel they are less likely to be punished if they act in a group.⁴⁶ Or, as Carr put it: "[W]hat we expect more than what we experience affects our feelings of discontent."⁴⁷ In other words, individuals may endure economic deprivation if they feel they are less likely to be punished if they act in a group.⁴⁸

Thus, discontent and strife (based on economic deprivation) tend to take place only when an individual or group is affected by ideology and identification. Remember that ideology is a relatively organized set of ideas and values that purport to explain and evaluate conditions and propose guidelines for action. Identification is defined as how individuals empathize with the political conditions affecting others.⁴⁹

An economically deprived group feels systematically prevented from obtaining what it considers its due. Such discontent—based on ideology and identification—is often found in ethno-cultural groups. Everything being equal, as discontent grows, the level of strife rises. Of course not every discontented group becomes violent. Schwartz has categorized the result of discontent in four forms: A discontented group may

1. Withdraw—that is, sever all contacts with outside society.
2. Engage in ritualistic conformity—that is, conform while being alienated.
3. Engage in reformism—that is, remain active, but not engage in radical or violent behavior.
4. Rebel—that is, make attacks, which may be violent, on the system.⁵⁰

The important question is, why do some groups move to category four and use political violence? The answer seems to be related to ideology and to the availability of facilitation structures. The group must have both an ideology that can guide the actions of its members and the necessary resources for analysis, organization, and action.

From this literature on terrorism, we can conclude that the greater the ideological opposition to persisting deprivation, the greater the belief in the illegitimacy of the state and its institutions. And, the more this ideology is buttressed by

- Express frustration.
- Publicize grievances to mobilize support.
- Publicize the results of terrorism to demystify the power of the state.
- Make the territory ungovernable.
- Provoke repression which may be non-revolutionary.

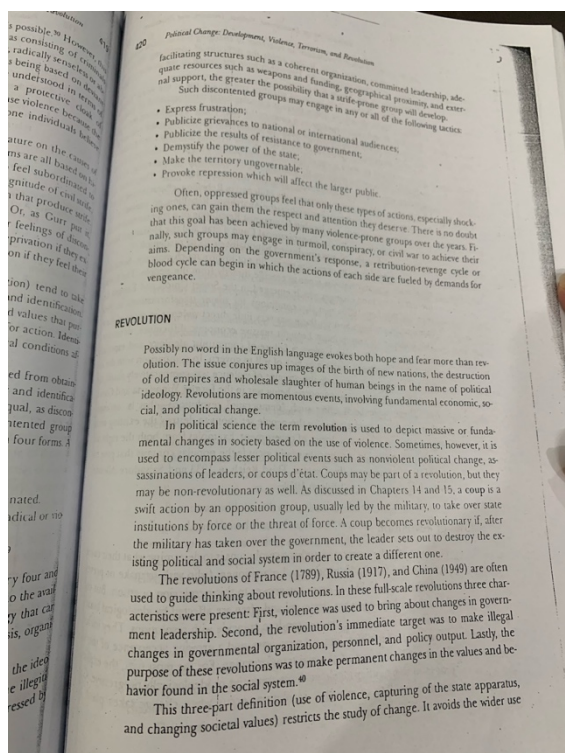
REVOLUTION

Possibly no word in the English language evokes both hope and fear more than revolution. The issue conjures up images of the birth of new nations, the destruction of old empires and wholesale slaughter of human beings in the name of political ideology. Revolutions are momentous events, involving fundamental economic, social, and political change.

In political science the term revolution is used to depict massive or fundamental changes in society based on the use of violence. Sometimes, however, it is used to encompass lesser political events such as nonviolent political change, assassinations of leaders, or coups d'état. Coups may be part of a revolution, but they may be non-revolutionary as well. As discussed in Chapters 14 and 15, a coup is a swift action by an opposition group, usually led by the military, to take over state institutions by force or the threat of force. A coup becomes revolutionary if, after the military has taken over the government, the leader sets out to destroy the existing political and social system in order to create a different one.

The revolutions of France (1789), Russia (1917), and China (1949) are often used to guide thinking about revolutions. In these full-scale revolutions three characteristics were present: First, violence was used to bring about changes in government leadership. Second, the revolution's immediate target was to make illegal changes in governmental organization, personnel, and policy output. Lastly, the purpose of these revolutions was to make permanent changes in the values and behavior found in the social system.⁴⁶

This three-part definition (use of violence, capturing of the state apparatus, and changing societal values) restricts the study of change. It avoids the wider use



Political Change, Development, Violence, Terrorism, and Revolution
Facilitating structures such as a coherent organization, committed leadership, adequate resources such as weapons and funding, geographical proximity, and external support, the greater the possibility that a strife-prone group will develop. Such discontented groups may engage in any or all of the following tactics:

- Express frustration.
- Publicize grievances to national or international audiences.
- Publicize the results of resistance to government.
- Demystify the power of the state.
- Make the territory ungovernable.
- Provoke repression which will affect the larger public.

Often, oppressed groups feel that only these types of actions, especially shock tactics, can gain them the respect and attention they deserve. There is no doubt that this goal has been achieved by many violence-prone groups over the years. Finally, such groups may engage in turmoil, conspiracy, or civil war to achieve their aims. Depending on the government's response, a retribution/vengeance cycle or blood cycle can begin in which the actions of each side are fueled by demands for vengeance.

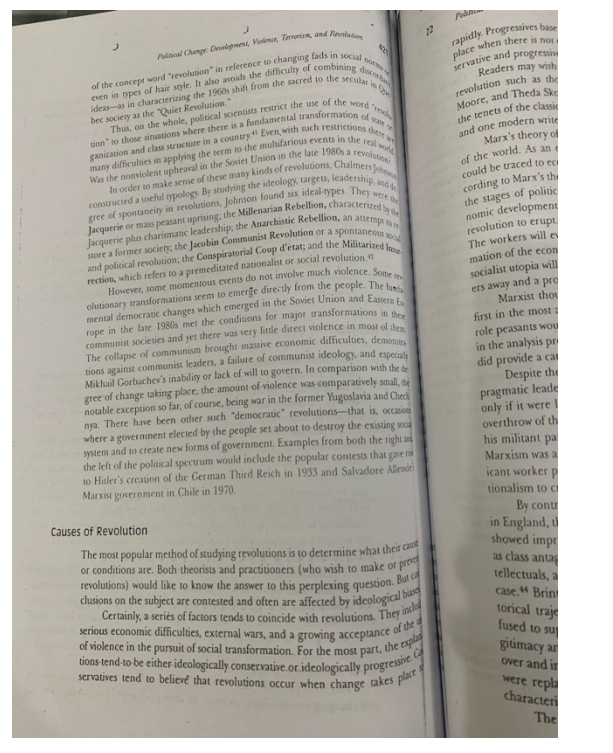
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Political Change, Development, Violence, Terrorism, and Revolution
of the concept word "revolution" in reference to changing fads in social movements even in types of hair style. It also avoids the difficulty of combining such disparate ideas—as in characterizing the 1960s shift from the sacred to the secular in Quebec society as the "Quiet Revolution."⁵¹

Thus, on the whole, political scientists restrict the use of the word "revolution" to those situations where there is a fundamental transformation of state structure, organization and class structure in a country.⁵² Even with such restrictions there are many difficulties in applying the term to the multifarious events in the real world. Was the nonviolent upheaval in the Soviet Union in the late 1980s a revolution? In order to make sense of these many kinds of revolutions, Chalmers Johnson constructed a useful typology, using the term "revolution" in its ideal type. They were: the Anarchistic Revolution, characterized by the failure of the state to control the masses; the Jacobin Communist Revolution, characterized by the emergence of a charismatic leadership; the Militant Revolutionary, characterized by the emergence of a charismatic leadership; the Anarchistic Revolution, an attempt to create a former society; the Conspiratorial Coup d'état; and the Militant Revolutionary and political revolution; the Conspiratorial Coup d'état; and the Militant Revolutionary, which refers to a premeditated nationalist or social revolution.⁵³

However, some momentous events do not involve much violence. Some revolutionary transformations seem to emerge directly from the people. The fundamental democratic changes which emerged in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the late 1980s met the conditions for major transformations in these communist societies and yet there was very little direct violence in most of them. The collapse of communism brought massive economic difficulties, demonstrations against communist leaders, a failure of communist ideology, and especially Mikhail Gorbachev's inability or lack of will to govern. In comparison with the degree of change taking place, the amount of violence was comparatively small, the notable exception so far, of course, being war in the former Yugoslavia and Chechnya. There have been other such "democratic" revolutions—that is, occasions where a government elected by the people set about to destroy the existing social system and to create new forms of government. Examples from both the right and the left of the political spectrum would include the popular contests that gave rise to Hitler's creation of the German Third Reich in 1933 and Salvadoré Allende's Marxist government in Chile in 1970.

Causes of Revolution

The most popular method of studying revolutions is to determine what their causes or conditions are. Both theorists and practitioners (who wish to make or prevent revolutions) would like to know the answer to this perplexing question. But conclusions on the subject are contested and often are affected by ideological biases.

Certainly, a series of factors tends to coincide with revolutions. They include serious economic difficulties, external wars, and a growing acceptance of the violence in the pursuit of social transformation. For the most part, the explanations tend to be either ideologically conservative or ideologically progressive. Conservatives tend to believe that revolutions occur when change takes place

rapidly. Progressives base place where there is not a reserve and progress. Readers may wish to read the works of Moore and Theda Skocpol, who discuss the tenets of the classic and one modern writer of the world. As a result of the world, as an individual, can be traced to revolution according to Marx's theory of the stages of political development from economic development to revolution to utopia. The workers will eventually create a socialist utopia where they willers away and a proletarian dictatorship. Marxist theorists first in the most role peasants would be in the analysis of the revolution. Despite this pragmatic leader only if it were to overthrow of his militant party. Marxism was a significant worker patriotism to Communist Party. By contrast, England, it showed imprudence as class antagonism, intellectuals, a case.⁴⁴ British historical trajectories fused to suggest that the power of the state were replaced by the state. The

