

# CONTEMPORARY TERROR

STUDIES IN SUB-STATE VIOLENCE



EDITED BY DAVID CARLTON  
AND CARLO SCHAERF

# CONTEMPORARY TERROR

*Studies in Sub-State Violence*

*Edited by*  
David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf

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# Preface

The papers in this volume were presented to the seventh course of the International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts (ISODARCO), held in Ariccia, Italy, between 18 and 27 August 1978.

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All opinions expressed in the papers and in the Summary of Discussions are of a purely private nature and do not necessarily represent the official view of either the organisers of the School or of the organisations to which the writers may be affiliated.

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C. S.

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# 1 Summary of Discussions

William F. Gutteridge

## Introduction

The seventh course of the International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts took place at Ariccia in Italy between 18 and 27 August 1978. A major concern of the course was violence at the sub-state level with particular reference to those groups which have defined political objectives and thus may be termed 'rational rebels'. What follows is a summary of the main lines of the discussion.

In open states, such as the United States, arms are relatively readily accessible and movement is more or less free, and this facilitates the organisation of violence. The Communist countries and even most of the Third World have so far been relatively immune, perhaps because repression of dissent there is usually more thorough.

An important consideration is whether the violence is linked with some kind of nationalist issue, for example, the Basque movement in Spain, or the troubles in Ulster. Groups employing violent methods, including especially national liberation movements, arise from perceptions of what the nation should be and is not. Rural guerilla warfare and urban terrorism, as in the Basque case, may be blended together.

Today, with the development of communications and relative ease of travel, operations often take place outside the country in question. This occurred on a small scale even before the days of trans-frontier travel by air. But the present trend is sharply upward. Recently, Iraqi and Palestine Liberation Organization