

**Dr. Tamir Bar-On**

**Terrorism and Counterterrorism (PLSC S187 01) (30280)**

**Yale University, Summer 2017, TTh 9.00-12.15**

### **Course Overview**

Countries such as Colombia, Israel, India, Russia, and Turkey have been fighting terrorism for decades. Yet, since the 1980s and especially after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, terrorism has become the focus of research and analyses in academic, government, and security communities. Recent terrorist attacks in Europe have only reinforced the need for sound research about terrorism. In addition, the growth of al-Qaeda and later Daesh (Islamic State) have also led to a renewed focus on counterterrorism as one of the security priorities of governments.

International terrorism has demonstrated that open societies are vulnerable to terrorist attacks. Globalization has made it easier for terrorist groups to operate, while state sovereignty and national borders are weak and porous. New trends in international terrorism such as the appearance of human bombs, or the fear of weapons of mass destruction, have caused fear in the public and security communities alike. From the USA and Russia to Turkey and France, voices calling for enhanced state control and stricter national security measures have become louder and are shaping governments' agenda. State-led campaigns against terrorism can create regional and global alliances, but also lead to fractures in alliances and civil societies.

In the face of international terrorism, scholars, policy-makers, journalists, civil society voices, and militaries need to better understand and analyze the roots, causes, actors, and methods of terrorism, as well as the most appropriate counterterrorism strategies. In terms of counterterrorism, politicians and militaries have to revise their conventional strategies in dealing with new terrorist threats. They have to consider investing more and adopting comprehensive and multilateral approaches to the problem in order to integrate governments, civil society, and international actors in the global struggle against terrorism. Moreover, if we are really to understand and defeat terrorism, we need to see it from various perspectives: states and law enforcement, civil society (including the mass media), academia, and even terrorist groups.

### **Course Summary in Brief**

Examination of the origins and evolution of modern terrorism, the challenges posed by terrorist groups to states and to the international system, and strategies employed to confront and combat terrorism. Assessment of a variety of terrorist organizations and the multidimensional causes of terrorist violence. Analysis of the

strengths and weaknesses of counterterrorism strategies, with a particular focus on ways in which the threat of global terrorism might affect the healthy functioning of democratic states.

Thus, at the end of this course you will be able to:

- 1) Distinguish between state and non-state variants of terrorism, as well as define terrorism from a variety of perspectives.
- 2) Highlight different theories of terrorism.
- 3) Highlight and analyze the discourses of terrorist groups.
- 4) Create a typology of terrorism based on ideological and strategic goals.
- 5) Differentiate between national and international terrorism.
- 6) Describe the history of terrorism.
- 7) Understand the tactics and strategies of terrorism.
- 8) Analyze some of the causes of terrorism.
- 9) Highlight the difficulties in counterterrorism, especially in democratic societies where the rule of law is a fundamental principle.
- 10) Think about future trends with respect to terrorism and counterterrorism.
- 11) Reflect on possible solutions in relation to terrorism and counterterrorism.

### **Course Format**

The course format will include lectures, seminar-style discussions and debates, and class presentations.

### **Course Textbook**

Nacos, Brigitte L. *Terrorism and Counterterrorism* (fifth edition). New York: Routledge, 2016.

I also highly recommend Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (eds.) (updated edition), *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2016.

### **Modules and Weekly Lessons**

#### **Module I – Theoretical Introduction and Historical Survey**

##### **Lesson 1 – Introduction to the Concepts and Theories of Terrorism (May 30)**

This lesson will present an overview of the various definitions of terrorism. We demonstrate that there is no consensus on a single, all-encompassing definition of terrorism. Left-wing and national liberation groups insist that they are liberation movements rather than terrorists, while states often only include sub-national

actors in their definitions of terrorism. In addition, epistemological, ideological, normative, and value judgments of researchers and policy-makers affect their definitions of terrorism. Whether coming from international organizations, state law enforcement officials, or academics, definitions of terrorism are united in focusing on three characteristics: actors, objectives, and methods.

**Required readings:** Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, "Appendix: Major Terrorist Incidents since the Late 1970s," pp. 427-440.

Nacos, Chapter 1 ("Introduction: The Terrorist Threat") and Chapter 2 ("The Perennial Debate: What is Terrorism?"), pp. 1-16 and pp. 19-44.

Ganor, Boaz. "Defining Terrorism - Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?," January 1 2010, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), Herzliya, Israel, available at: <https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1123/Defining-Terrorism-Is-One-Mans-Terrorist-Another-Mans-Freedom-Fighter>

**Additional (recommended) readings:** Cooper, H. H. A. "Terrorism: the problem of Definition revisited," in Alan O'Day (ed.), *Dimensions of Terrorism* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001), pp.1-13.

Hoffman, Bruce. Chapter 1 ("Defining Terrorism") in *Inside Terrorism* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998), pp. 13-44.

Schmid, Alex P. (ed.). "Appendix 2.1: 250-plus Academic, Governmental and Intergovernmental Definitions of Terrorism," Compiled by Joseph J. Easson and Alex P. Schmid in Alex P. Schmid (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 99-156.

McAllister, Bradley and Schmid, Alex P. "Theories of Terrorism," in Alex P. Schmid, in Alex P. Schmid (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, pp. 201-271.

Schmid, Alex P. "Frameworks for Conceptualising Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16 (2) (2004), pp. 197-221.

## **Lesson 2 – Historical Survey of Terrorism: from Ancient Times to 1945 (June 1)**

This lesson provides you with a general overview of the historical evolution of terrorism from antiquity to the Second World War. This historical summary will allow us to see both the diversity and ubiquity of terrorism. It will enable us to sort out the different forms of terror (assassination, rebellions, etc.) and identify its diverse political contexts (from empire to nation-state) and varied geographical and cultural origins. We especially stress the importance of the French Revolution and the subsequent Reign of Terror in bringing the word *terrorisme* (terrorism) to global consciousness. We trace the evolution of the word terrorism from its connection to illegal acts of state violence to largely illegal acts of sub-national, non-state actors.

**Required readings:** Nacos, Chapter 3 (“Terrorism in the Global Context,” pp. 45-51); Chaliand and Blin (eds.), *The History Of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*, “Preface to the 2016 Edition”; Chapter 1 (“Introduction”), pp. 1-11; Chapter 3 (“Zealots and Assassins”), pp. 55-78; Chapter 5, “The Invention of Modern Terror,” pp. 95-112; Chapter 6, “Anarchist Terrorists of the Nineteenth Century,” pp. 113-131; Chapter 8, “The ‘Golden Age’ of Terrorism,” pp. 175-196.

**Additional readings:** Chaliand and Blin, Chapter 4 (“Manifestations of Terror through the Ages”), pp. 79-94; Chapter 7 (“Russian Terrorism, 1878-1908”), pp. 132-174.

Newman, Edward. “Exploring the ‘Root Causes’ of Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29 (8) (2006), 749-772, available at:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10576100600704069>

### **Lesson 3 – Historical Survey of Terrorism from 1945 to the Present (June 1)**

This lesson completes the historical survey of terrorism by identifying some general transformations of terrorism since 1945. The survey of terrorism takes us to diverse regions of the world: Latin America, the Middle East, and Europe. We highlight terrorism’s various phases, techniques, and actors. We trace the rise of terrorism as a global issue. We also examine the growth of terrorism in relation to societal changes: The rise of rapid globalization, better communication technologies, and transnational relations. We examine the 9/11 terrorist attacks as a seminal moment in the history of post-1945 international terrorism.

The historical survey emphasizes the importance of non-state terrorism in peacetime, not genocides in inter-state wars or intra-state wars. We conclude the survey by examining the rise of religious terrorism and in particular Islamist groups such as Hamas, al-Qaeda, and Daesh (Islamic State).

**Required readings:** Nacos, Chapters 3-5 (“Terrorism in the Global Context,” “Terrorism in the American Context,” and “Religious Terrorism: Political Violence in the Name of God”) and Chapter 7 (“Women, Children, and Terrorism”), pp. 52-71; pp. 72-104; pp. 105-134; pp. 155-172.

Rapoport, David C. “The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism,” in A.K. Cronin and J.M. Lodes (eds.), *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), pp. 46-73.

**Additional readings:** Jenkins, Brian Michael. “The New Age of Terrorism,” Chapter 8, Rand Corporation, pp. 117-130, available at: [http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/reprints/2006/RAND\\_RP1215.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/reprints/2006/RAND_RP1215.pdf)

Longmire, Sylvia M. and Longmire, Lt. John P. “Redefining Terrorism: Why Mexican Drug Trafficking is More than Just Organized Crime,” *Journal of Strategic*

*Security* 1 (1) (November 2008), pp. 35-52, available at:

<http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1044&context=jss>

## **Module II – Actors, Objectives, Strategies and Tactics of Terrorism**

### **Lesson 4 – Terrorist Discourses: State and Non-State Actors (June 6)**

This lesson shows how both state and non-state actors undertake discourses about terrorism, which sometimes mimic each other. Moreover, we examine the discourses of various media outlets in order to show how some terrorist acts in certain regions of the world are given far more importance than other terrorist acts. In short, the mass media, states, terrorist groups, and civil society all play roles in disseminating the messages of terrorists.

**Required readings:** Nacos, Chapters 14-16 (“Terrorist Propaganda and the Mainstream Media,” “Terror and Hate in Cyberspace,” and “Counterterrorism in the News”), pp. 351-418.

Bush, George W. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People,” September 20, 2001,” The Avalon Project, available at:

[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/sept11/address\\_001.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/sept11/address_001.asp)

Hamas Covenant, “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” August 18, 1988, The Avalon Project, available at:

[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp)

Read from “Army of God” Web site, available at: <https://www.armyofgod.com/>

Read from “The Islamic State’s (ISIS, ISIL) Magazine,” *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah*, Clarion Project, available at: <https://clarionproject.org/islamic-state-isis-isil-propaganda-magazine-dabiq-50/>

**Additional readings:** Nacos, Brigitte L. *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: Mainstream and Digital Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.

Chowdhury, Arjun and Krebs, Ronald R. “Talking about terror: Counterterrorist campaigns and the logic of representation,” *European Journal of International Relations* 16 (1) (2010), pp. 125–150, available at:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1354066109352917>

Baker-Beall, Christopher. “The evolution of the European Union’s ‘fight against terrorism’ discourse: Constructing the terrorist ‘other’,” *Cooperation and Conflict* Vol. 49 (2) (2014), pp. 212–238.

### **Lesson 5 – State Terrorism (June 8)**

Building on the distinction between state and non-state variants of terrorism, this lesson examines the involvement of states in contemporary terrorism. State

terrorism can be directed at one's own population, or foreign populations. Moreover, state terrorism can take more direct or indirect forms. This lesson also explores the idea that, when it comes to state terrorism, perception matters as much as reality. Ideological biases allow us to sometimes ignore some forms of state terrorism and magnify others.

**Required readings:** Chaliand and Blin, *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*, "The Invention of Modern Terror," 95-112; "Lenin, Stalin and State Terrorism," 197-207.

Jackson, Richard. "An Argument for Terrorism," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 2 (2) (2008), available at:

<http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/27/html>

**Additional readings:** Chaliand and Blin, Chapter 10 ("Terrorism in Time of War: From World War II to the Wars of National Liberation"), pp. 208-217

Robie, David. "The Rainbow Warrior, secrecy and state terrorism: a Pacific journalism case study," *Pacific Journalism Review* 22 (1) (May 2016).

Rosignoli, Bruno. "Archaeology of State Terrorism: Exploring the Territorial Strategies of Clandestine Repression in Argentina (1976–1983)," *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 11 (2) (August 2015), pp. 144-164.

## Lesson 6 – Non-State Terrorism (June 8)

When we think of terrorism, we often turn our gaze towards non-state terrorist actors. This lesson highlights non-state terrorist actors. First, we demonstrate how state crises and political instability have contributed to the emergence of non-state terrorist groups. Second, we delve into similarities between non-state terrorist actors in respect of their organization, membership, financing, clandestine character, and strategies. Finally, we examine the relationship between globalization and non-state terrorist actors as they shape the evolution of international terrorism.

**Required readings:** Nacos, Chapter 6 ("The Making of Terrorists: Causes, Conditions, Influences"), Chapter 8 ("Common Thread: Goals, Targets, and Tactics"), and Chapter 9 ("Organizational Structures and the Financing of Terror"), pp. 135-154; pp. 173-205; pp. 206-231.

Bar-On, Tamir. "Quebec Separatist Conflict," in Nigel Young (ed.), *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace* (Oxford University Press, 2010), vol. 3, pp. 602-605.

Bar-On, Tamir. "Book Review of Abdullah Ocalan's *Prison Writings: The Roots of Civilisation*," *Millennium* 37 (2) (September 2008), pp. 511-513.

Read U.S. Department of State, "Foreign Terrorist Organizations," available at:

<https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>

**Additional readings:** Lutz, Brenda and Lutz, James. "Economic, Social and Political Globalization and Terrorism," *The Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies* 39 (2) (Summer 2014), pp. 186-218.

Behring Breivik, Andres (Berwick, Andrew). "2083 – A European Declaration of Independence," 2011, <https://sites.google.com/site/knightstemplareurope/2083>

Raphaeli, Nimrod. "Financing of Terrorism: Sources, Methods and Channels," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15 (4) (Winter 2003), pp. 59-82.

**Presentations begin** in second half of class.

### **Lesson 7 – Objectives and Motivations of Terrorism (June 13)**

This lesson will discuss the nature of terrorism and its relationship to the political. We discuss two categories of terrorism: The nature and scope of change expected by the terrorists (i.e., revolutionary or sub-revolutionary) and provide you with a taxonomy of terrorism based on ideological goals (including objectives, motivations, and justifications of violence).

**Required readings:** Bar-On, Tamir and Goldstein, Howard. "Fighting Violence: A Critique of the War On Terrorism," *International Politics* 42 (2005), pp. 225–245.

Fettweis, Christopher J. "Freedom fighters and zealots: Al Qaeda in historical perspective," *Political Science Quarterly* 124 (2) (Summer 2009).

**Additional reading:** Marsden, Sarah V. and Schmid, Alex P. "Typologies of Terrorism and Political Violence," in Alex P. Schmid (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, pp., 158-200.

### **Lesson 8 – Religion and Terrorism (June 15)**

This lesson examines religious terrorism since the 1980s. We highlight the general characteristics of religious terrorism. Second, we consider the differences between sacred terror and secular terror. Third, we broadly examine the features of Islamist and non-Islamist religious terrorism. Finally, we discuss the challenges of religious terrorism for security and law enforcement officials.

**Required readings:** Nacos, Chapter 5 ("Religious Terrorism: Political Violence in the Name of God"), pp. 105-134.

Chaliand and Blin, Chapter 12 (Philippe Migaux, "The Roots of Islamic Radicalism"), pp. 255-313; Chapter 13 (G rard Chaliand, "Jihadism in the Age of ISIS"), pp. 435-451; and Chapter 15 (Fran ois G r , "Suicide Operations: Between War and Terrorism"), pp. 363-397.

**Additional readings:** Walt, Stephen M. "ISIS as Revolutionary State – New Twist on an Old Story," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2015.

Reuter, Christopher. "The Terror Strategist: Secret Files Reveal the Structure of Islamic State," *Der Spiegel*, April 18, 2015, available at: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/islamic-state-files-show-structure-of-islamist-terror-group-a-1029274.html>

Speakman Cordall, Simon. "How ISIS Governs its Caliphate," *Newsweek* 12/02/2014, available at: <http://www.newsweek.com/2014/12/12/how-isis-governs-its-caliphate-288517.html>

## **Lesson 9 – Middle East and Asian Terrorism (June 15)**

This lesson will examine three issues: 1.) The impact of political and regional crises on the emergence of Islamism in the Middle East and Asia; 2.) Ideological characteristics of Islamist terrorism; and 3.) The key actors and geopolitics of terrorism in the Muslim world.

**Required readings:** Chaliand and Blin, Chapter 13 (Philippe Migaux, "Al-Qaeda"), pp. 314-348; Chapter 17 (Rohan Gunaratna, "Terrorism in Southeast Asia – Threat and Response"), pp. 420-434.

Pape, Robert. "Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *Australian Army Journal* 3 (3) (Summer 2006), pp. 25-37.

Poland, James M. "The Palestine Question and Al Qaeda," in James M. Poland, *Understanding Terrorism: Groups, Strategies, and Responses* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: 2005), pp. 83-112.

**See Film:** Robert Baer, "The Cult of the Suicide Bomber" (2005).

**Additional readings:** Bar-On, Tamir. "From Marxism and nationalism to radical democracy: Abdullah Öcalan's synthesis for the 21st century," in Willy Soto Acosta (ed.), *Ciencias Sociales y Relaciones Internacionales: nuevas perspectivas desde América Latina* (Heredia, Costa Rica: Escuela de Relaciones Internacionales de la Universidad Nacional-CLACSO, 2015), pp. 225-256. Available at: <http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/clacso/se/20151009033135/Libro.pdf>

Kepel, Gilles. "The Origins and Development of the Jihadist Movement: From Anti-Communism to terrorism," *Asian Affairs* 34 (11) (July 2003), pp. 91-108.

Israeli, Raphael. "Islamikaze and their Significance," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9 (3) (Autumn 1997), pp. 96-121.

**Take-Home Exam handed out. Due June 20 at the beginning of the class.**

## **Lesson 10 – Methods of Terrorism (June 20)**

This lesson highlights the strategies and techniques of contemporary terrorism. We highlight the differences and similarities between terrorism and war. We then discuss conventional and unconventional terrorist methods: from bomb attacks and

assassinations to suicide terrorism. We complete the lesson by reflecting on whether terrorism works.

**Required readings:** Re-read Nacos, Chapter 8 (“Common Thread: Goals, Targets, and Tactics”).

Merari, Ariel. “Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5 (4) (1993), pp. 213-251.

Harmon, Christopher C. “Five Strategies of Terrorism,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 12 (3) (2001), pp. 39-66.

Walzer, Michael. “Terrorism and Just War,” *Philosophia* 34 (1) (January 2006), pp. 3-12, available at: <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11406-006-9004-1>

Archetti, Christina. “Terrorism, Communication and Recruitment in the Digital Age,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9 (1) (2015), available at: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/401/794>

**Additional readings:** English, Richard. *Does Terrorism Work? A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Hoffman, Bruce. “Why Terrorism Works,” *The Chronicle Review*, March 2 2015, available at: <http://www.chronicle.com/article/Why-Terrorism-Works/190353>

Abrahms, Max. “Why Terrorism Does Not Work,” *International Security* 31 (2) (Fall 2006), pp. 42-78.

**Take-Home Exam due in class.**

## **Lesson 11 – Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) (June 22)**

While in the early 1990s the possibility of acquiring weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) was less plausible for non-state terrorists, today those weapons have become a dreadful possibility. We discuss the general characteristics of WMDs. Second, we examine the accessibility and the feasibility of terrorist attacks using WMDs, as well as their potential impact. Third, we discuss the relationship between terrorism and each type of WMD in order to assess the likeliness and feasibility of such attacks. Finally, we discuss the 1995 WMD terrorist attack in Tokyo by the Japanese group *Aum Shinirikyō* - the only known case of WMD terrorism by a non-state actor to date.

**Required readings:** Karmon, Ely. “From State Chemical Warfare to Chemical Terrorism,” ICT, 2015, available at: <http://www.ict.org.il/Article/1530/From-State-Chemical-Warfare-to-Chemical-Terrorism>

Steinhausler, Friedrich. “What it takes to become a Nuclear Terrorist,” *American Behavioural Scientists* 46 (6) (February 2003), pp. 782-795.

Reader, Ian. "Specters and Shadows: Aum Shinrikyo and the Road to Megiddo," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 14 (1) (Spring 2002), pp. 147-186.

**Additional readings:** Karasik, Theodore. *Toxic warfare* (Santa Monica: Rand, 2002), available at:  
[https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph\\_reports/2005/MR1572.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/2005/MR1572.pdf)

Laqueur, Walter. *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (1999), pp. 49-79.

### **Module III – Counterterrorism Strategies after 9/11**

#### **Lesson 12 – Changes to the Strategic Environment after 9/11 (June 22)**

This lesson discusses the security context after 9/11. We analyze the impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on terrorism and security, including from various philosophical and critical perspectives. In order to better understand the new security challenges, we discuss the concept of globalization. The discussion includes the impact of migratory flows, immigration changes in Euro-American societies, and international financial systems, which all impact on the calculations of terrorists. We focus on two important characteristics of the new security environment: the extreme fragility of open societies and the asymmetrical nature of the new security threats.

**Required readings:** Nacos, Chapters 10-13 ("Terrorism and America's Post-9/11 National Security Strategy," "The Utility of Hard and Soft Power in Counterterrorism," "Balancing Security, Liberty, and Human Rights," and "Homeland Security: Prevention and Preparedness"), pp. 233-350.

Agamben, Giorgio. "The State of Emergency as a World Order: Conclusions after 11th of September," *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (May 2003).

Cronin, Audrey K. "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security* 27 (3) (Winter 2002/3), pp. 30-58.

**Additional readings:** Van Munster, Rens. "The War on Terrorism: When the Exception Becomes the Rule," *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law* 17 (2) (2004), pp. 141-153.

Habermas, Jürgen and Derrida, Jacques. In Giovanna Borradori (ed.), *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Dialogues with Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003), pp. 25-43 and pp. 85-136.

Chomsky, Noam. 9-11.

#### **Lesson 13 – Counterterrorist Strategies after 9/11 (June 27)**

This lesson discusses counterterrorist measures in Europe, the U.S.A., Canada, and Israel. We examine some of the legal, political, and economic aspects of

these policies. We discuss the evolution of transatlantic security cooperation. We complete the lesson by discussing the consequences of counterterrorism policies for democracies.

**Required readings:** UK Counter-Extremism Strategy, 2015, available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/470088/51859\\_Cm9148\\_Accessible.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/470088/51859_Cm9148_Accessible.pdf)

Stevenson, Jonathan. "How Europe and America Defend Themselves," *Foreign Affairs* 82 (2004), pp. 75-90.

Boniface, Pascal. "What Justifies Regime Change?," *The Washington Quarterly* 26 (3) (Summer 2003), pp. 61-71.

**Additional readings:** Netanyahu, Benjamin. *Terrorism: How The West Can Win* (1986).

Rid, Thomas. "Deterrence beyond the State: The Israeli Experience," *Contemporary Security Policy* Vol. 33 (1) (April 2012), pp. 124-147.

**Final essay due.**

### **Lesson 14 – The Future of Terrorism (June 29)**

As the historical survey of terrorism showed, terrorism has evolved in its strategies and tactics. So, for example, whereas the assassination of political or law enforcement officials marked the terrorism of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, lone wolf terrorism is on the rise today. Thus, we discuss future trends in terrorism and possible challenges and risks. We examine three debates related to nuclear terrorism; lone wolf terrorism; and obstacles to global counterterrorism cooperation. We also discuss how terrorist groups end.

**Required readings:** Nacos, Chapter 17 ("Conclusion: Living with Terrorist Threats"), pp. 419-426.

Nacos, Brigitte L. "Young Western Women, Fandom, and ISIS," *e- International Relations*, May 5 2015, <http://www.e-ir.info/2015/05/05/young-western-women-fandom-and-isis/>

Weinberg, Leonard. *The End of Terrorism?* (2012), Chapters 1, 2, and 6 ("Introduction," "The ends of the affair," and "Conclusions"), pp. 1-14; 15-41; and 118-127.

**Additional readings:** Hoffman, Bruce. *Al-Qaeda Trends in Terrorism and Future Potentialities* (Rand, 2003), available at: <http://www.rand.org/publications/P/P8078/P8078.pdf>

Poland, James. *Understanding Terrorism Groups, Strategies and Responses* (2005), Chapter 10 ("The Future of Terrorism"), pp. 266-294.

### **Useful Books about Terrorism and Counterterrorism**

Alexander, Yonah (editor). *Counterterrorism: Security, Intelligence, and Deterrence Combating Terrorism: Strategies of Ten Countries* (2002).

Blin, Arnaud and Chaliand, Gérard (editors) (updated edition) (2016). *The History of Terrorism From Antiquity to ISIS*.

Borradori, Giovanna (editor) (2003). *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Dialogues with Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida*.

Chomsky, Noam (2002). 9-11.

Ciment, James (editor) (2011). *World Terrorism: An Encyclopedia of Political Violence from Ancient Times to the Post-9/11 Era* [Three Volumes].

Crenshaw, Martha (2011). *Explaining Terrorism: Causes, Processes and Consequences*.

Currie, PM, Holbrook, Donald, and Taylor, Max (editors) (2013). *Extreme Right-Wing Political Violence and Terrorism*.

English, Richard (2016). *Does Terrorism Work? A History*.

Habeck, Mary (2005). *Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror*.

Hoffman, Bruce (2006). *Inside Terrorism*.

Houen, Alex and Janes, Dominic (editors) (2014). *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Pre-Modern to Contemporary Perspectives*.

Jackson, Richard, Murphy, Eamon and Poynting, Scott (editors) (2009). *Contemporary State Terrorism: Theory and practice*.

Laqueur, Walter (2011). *A History of Terrorism*.

Martin, Gus (2012). *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives and Issues*.

Nacos, Brigitte L. (2016). *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: Mainstream and Digital Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism*.

Netanyahu, Benjamin (1986). *Terrorism: How The West Can Win*.

Pape, Robert A. (2006). *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*.

Poland, James M. (2011). *Understanding Terrorism Groups, Strategies and Responses*.

Schmid, Alex P. (2011). *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*.

Schmitt, Carl (1963/2004). *The Theory of the Partisan: A Commentary/Remark on the Concept of the Political*.

Stern, Jessica (2003). *Terror in the Name of God*.

Townshend, Charles (2011). *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction*.

Whittaker, David J. (ed.) (2007) (third edition). *The Terrorism Reader*.

Weinberg, Leonard (2012). *The End of Terrorism?*

### **Academic Journals**

*Critical Studies on Terrorism*

*International Security*

*Journal of Terrorism Research*

*Perspectives on Terrorism*

*Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*

*Terrorism: An International Journal*

*Terrorism and Political Violence*

### **Useful Web Sites**

Counter-Terrorism Committee - United Nations Security Council - <https://www.un.org/sc/ctc/>

Foreign Terrorist Organizations – US Department of State - <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>

Global Counterterrorism Forum - <https://www.thegctf.org/>

Global Terrorism Database - <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>

International Institute for Counter-Terrorism - <https://www.ict.org.il/>

Jihadology - <http://jihadology.net/>

MEMRI - The Middle East Research Institute - <https://www.memri.org/>

Perspectives on Terrorism - 230 Websites and Blogs for Terrorism Research - <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/270/html>

RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents - <https://www.rand.org/nsrd/projects/terrorism-incidents.html>

The Avalon Project – Documents on Terrorism -

[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject\\_menus/terror.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/terror.asp)

The Handa Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence -

<https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~cstp/>

The Jamestown Foundation - Terrorism Monitor -

<https://jamestown.org/programs/tm/>

Terrorism – FBI - <https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism>

Terrorism Research Guide -

<http://gethelp.library.upenn.edu/guides/polisci/conflict.html>

Terrorist Websites! - Compiled by Computer Companies United Against Terrorism -

<http://terroristdomains.com/>

United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism -

<http://www.un.org/en/counterterrorism/>

United National Human Rights - Office of the High Commissioner - Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism -

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Terrorism/Pages/SRTerrorismIndex.aspx>

United National Human Rights - Office of the High Commissioner - Special Rapporteur on Terrorism - Issues in focus -

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Terrorism/Pages/Issues.aspx#main>

Yale Global Online - Terrorism in Cyberspace: The Next Generation -

<http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/terrorism-cyberspace-next-generation>

## **Films/Literature**

### **Novels -**

Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Possessed* (1872). (Also known as *The Devils* or *The Demons*).

Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (1907).

Albert Camus, *The Just Assassins* (1949). (Original title: *Les Justes*)

### **Films -**

*The Battle of Algiers* (1966) by Gillo Pontecorvo.

*General Idi Amin Dada: A Self Portrait* (French: *Général Idi Amin Dada: Autoportrait*) (1974) by Barbet Schroeder.

*The Siege* (1998) by Edward Zwick.

*One Day in September* (1999) by Kevin Macdonald.

*Munich* (2005) by Steven Spielberg.

*The Cult of the Suicide Bomber* (2005) by Robert Baer.

*The Baader-Meinhof Complex* (2009) by Uli Edel.

*Carlos* (2010) by Olivier Assayas.

*Four Lions* (2010) by Chris Morris.

### **Evaluation**

- 1. Major essay 50% (15-20 double-spaced pages plus bibliography).** Due on June 27 or June 29.
- 2. Presentation on a case study 20% (Teams of two or three).** Presentations begin on June 8. They continue until all students have presented.
- 3. Take-home examination 20%.** Handed out June 15. Due on June 20 in class. Maximum 1500 words plus bibliography.
- 3. Class participation 10%** These grades will be earned. I expect active class participation. Read and summarize your readings. Ask critical questions. Be prepared for questions and discussions.

### **Requirements**

- 1. Major Essay:** The essay topics are listed below. The essay will be due on June 27 or June 29.
- 2. Presentation:** A terrorism case study. You become the expert! Learn a terrorist group case study and present it to the class in teams of two or three. Each team will give one 10-15 minute presentation. Students are free to choose any relevant group from any time period, provided it is reasonably well-documented. Possibilities include non-state and state terrorism. For state terrorism, think of the Reign of Terror in France, Lenin's Red Terror, or the systematic disappearances under the military dictatorship in Argentina in the mid-1970s and early 1980s. For non-state groups, there are endless options: the Assassins, anarchists of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, nationalist terrorist groups (e.g., ETA, PKK, LTTE, PLO, *Front de Libération du Québec*, etc.), revolutionary left-wing terrorist groups (FARC, *Sendero Luminoso*, Red Brigades, Red Army Faction, the Weather Underground, the

Black Panthers, etc.), radical right-wing terrorist groups (e.g., KKK, Christian identity and neo-Nazi groups, militia movements, etc.) religious ( Hamas, Hezbollah, al-Qaida, Daesh, etc.), or even apocalyptic/catastrophic (e.g., Aum Shinrikyo) or ecological groups (e.g., Animal Liberation Front and Earth Liberation Front). For useful examples of case studies, see David J. Whittaker (ed.), *The Terrorism Reader* (2007).

3. **Exam:** Take-home. Maximum 1500 words plus bibliography. Due on June 20 in class.
4. **Class participation:** Read, prepare, and participate. Students are required to attend all classes, read all the assigned literature before each session, and participate actively in the discussions. Students are encouraged to read major newspapers daily and be aware of terrorism-related news in order to enrich our class discussions.

### **Suggested Essay Topics**

- 1) Will state terrorism decline in the 21st century?
- 2) Will al-Qaeda and Daesh (Islamic State) be defeated or die out like left-wing terrorist groups were in the mid-1970s and early 1980s?
- 3) Should the Turkish government offer a response to Abdullah Ocalan's (PKK) solutions for the Turkish-Kurdish conflict?
- 4) Why did the Sri Lankan LTTE, a secular organization, commit so many suicide terrorist acts?
- 5) Is poverty a plausible explanation for non-state terrorism?
- 6) Why is Central Asia such a "hot spot" in terms of the rise of terrorist organizations?
- 7) Why has terrorism diminished so drastically in Latin America?
- 8) Why has Canada been relatively immune from acts of terrorism?
- 9) How far can we curtail civil liberties in fighting terrorism?
- 10) Why is terrorism often what the other side does to us?
- 11) What is the left-wing view of terrorism?
- 12) What do al-Qaeda or Daesh (Islamic State) want?
- 13) Will WIKILEAKS change the nature of the "war on terror"?
- 14) How do terrorists recruit?

- 15) Should we believe terrorist expert Walter Laqueur when he argues that post-9-11 terrorists are less ethical than terrorists of the past?
- 16) Do negotiations work with terrorist groups?
- 17) Is the “war on terror” really designed to advance geopolitical and geostrategic interests?
- 18) In the post-9-11 climate are states really sovereign?
- 19) Does suicide terrorism have a “strategic logic”?
- 20) Are terrorists psychologically unstable?
- 21) Is the US government doing a good job in analyzing and preventing terrorism?
- 22) Why is the USA allied with Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, two states that produce some of the most terrorists in the world?
- 23) Is terrorism of the homegrown variety (i.e., US citizens) a problem?
- 24) Does the mass media downplay right-wing terrorism compared to its Islamist counterpart?
- 25) What are the lessons of the London, Paris and Brussels terrorist attacks for the 21st century?
- 26) Explain terrorism in relation to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.
- 27) Are the USA and Western military forces winning the “war on terror” in Afghanistan?
- 28) Is religious terrorism radically different from secular terrorism?
- 29) Can you negotiate with religious terrorists?
- 30) Is terrorism merely a different form of warfare?
- 31) How did the French Revolution inform our understanding of terrorism?
- 32) Why are there so few anarchist and communist terrorists today?
- 33) Explain and analyze the phenomenon of lone wolf terrorism.
- 34) What should US policies be in fighting terrorism in Syria and Iraq?
- 35) Will the Trump administration really defeat Daesh (Islamic State)?
- 36) Is state terrorism a greater threat to world peace compared to non-state terrorism?

OR: Any topic of your choice in respect of terrorism or counterterrorism. This topic must be approved by your professor by June 15. The outline should be handed in

to me with the following characteristics: the title of the question, your research question, five relevant sources, and your full name.

### **Final Notes**

This course is designed to give you the conceptual and theoretical tools to grasp terrorism and counterterrorism; allows you to see terrorism and counterterrorism from various perspectives; assists you in seeing the historical evolution of terrorism and strategies to fight it; and will help you be more sensitive to various manifestations of terrorism around the world.

Please feel free to make an appointment with me to discuss the course contents and your exam/assignments. I will provide you with an e-mail contact on the first day of class. There is no substitute for studying and working hard! Best of luck with the course!