

Winter term, AY 2014-15, Mondays 11.00 – 12.40 and 13.30 – 15.10
 Lecturer responsible: Prof. Nick Sitter, Department of Public Policy

Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism

The course focuses on the causes of terrorism and the measures that states adopt to fight terrorism. Students will become familiar with a range of terrorist organizations, their goals and their strategies, as well as a variety of counter-terrorism strategies adopted by states. The course explores both the causes and consequences of terrorism, and the policy tools that states and non-state actors adopt as countermeasures. Students will gain experience in assessing and evaluating counterterrorism strategy, from a policy perspective, and will be asked to write a policy brief as part of the course work.

Course structure

The course consists of 12 seminars, which will run in six double sessions in the Fall Term

Week 1 Monday 12 Jan	AM: Introduction: Defining Terrorism PM: The Root Causes of Terrorism
Week 2 Monday 19 Jan	AM: Strategies of Counter-Terrorism PM: Four Waves of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism
Week 3 Monday 26 Jan	AM: The First Wave: 19 th Century Anarchism vs. Empire PM: First-Wave CT: Law Enforcement Strategies
Week 4 Monday 2 Feb	AM: The Second Wave I: Nationalists vs. Empire, Ireland PM: The Second Wave II: Terrorism in Palestine and Cyprus
Week 5 Monday 9 Feb	AM: The Second Wave III: the FLN in Algeria PM: Second-Wave CT: Military and Diplomatic Strategies
Week 6 Monday 16 Feb	AM: The Third Wave: Marxist Movements (RAF, RB) PM: Third-Wave CT: Enhanced Law Enforcement Strategies
Week 7 Monday 23 Feb	AM: The Second Wave IV: National Secessionist (PLO etc.) PM: The Second Wave V: National Secessionist (PIRA)
Week 8 Monday 2 March	AM: The Second Wave III: National Secessionists (ETA) PM: Second-Wave CT II: Police, diplomacy and containment
Week 9 Monday 9 March	AM: Lone wolves: Henry, McVeigh, Breivik PM: The Lone wolf threat and Counter-Terrorism
Week 10 Monday 16 March	AM: The Fourth Wave I: Scared Terror and contemporary CT PM: The Fourth Wave II: Hamas and Hezbollah
Week 11 Monday 23 March	AM: The Fourth Wave III: Al Qaeda PM: The Fourth Wave II: Second generation Al Qaeda
Week 12 Monday 30 March	AM: The Fourth Wave III: ISIS PM: Fourth-Wave CT: Military vs Containment strategies

Learning outcomes

The course is designed to provide students with specialized knowledge and skills pertaining to disciplines of public policy and international relations. The overarching objective is that students master analysis of both terrorist groups and the policy tools of counterterrorism. Students will explore the role of state, international and civil society actors in this policy field, including the dilemmas and trade-offs that different policy strategies involve, through a series of historical and contemporary case studies.

Upon successful completion of the course students will be in a position to engage critically with the research-based literature on terrorism and counterterrorism and to assess and evaluate counterterrorism policy. They will gain some experience in identifying policy problems, choosing appropriate analytical tools, and analyzing current issues. They will be able to assess the economic, ethical, social and political dimensions of public policy in the field of counterterrorism, and evaluate it using criteria such as efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, accountability, legality and legitimacy.

Seminar structure and grading

The course work consists of three elements: in-class work, class presentations and a written essay in the form of a policy paper.

1. In-class work includes participation and discussion in the seminars. This is on a pass/fail basis.
2. Class presentations account for 30% of the final grade. Presentations are done individually. The in-class presentation should take no more than 12 minutes, and be supported by a two-or three-page policy briefing note (max 1000 words, all included).
3. The final policy paper (max 5000 words, all included), written individually, will make up 70% of the final grade. The topics will be assigned in week 6.

Class attendance is obligatory, as per DPP policy:

- Absences should be cleared in advance and/or supported by documentation (e.g. a medical note) e-mailed to the DPP departmental coordinator.
- Each un-excused absence will result in a reduction of the final grade by one step, for example from a B+ to a B, then from a B to a B- etc.
- Each 100-minute session counts as one class (missing either the the morning or afternoon sessions will count as an absence; missing both counts as two misses).
- Both excused and unexcused absences require completion of a “missed class assignment” within one week: a 1000-word review of the core reading for that class (this is graded as class participation for the missed session).
- Incomplete, failed and late “missed class assignments” will result in a reduction of the final grade, along the lines set out above for un-excused absences.

Literature

The course literature is divided into core reading (one article/chapter per session) and further reading. Both are listed in the weekly sessions, below.

- The **core reading** for each week is taken from the main textbooks and selected articles. Students are expected to have read the core reading before each class.
- The **further reading** lists a selection of four other relevant articles/book chapters for each week. The articles are available electronically and/or on the e-learning platform. Most of the book chapters are from books held in the CEU library, and can be found on the reserved shelf and/or e-learning platform.

There is no single main textbook for the course. The following books are highly recommended, and can be found on the **reserved shelf** in the CEU library.

1. Audrey K. Cronin, *How terrorism ends: understanding the decline and demise of terrorist campaigns*, 2009, [303.6/25 CRON]. This is the most important single book for the course. The library holds several copies.
2. Martha Crenshaw (ed), *Terrorism in Context*, 1995 [203.6 25 CRE]. This provides many good case studies of terrorism groups and campaigns.
3. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2006 [303.6/25 HOF]. Probably the best general single-authored book on terrorism.
4. Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*, Random House 2008 [303.6 25 RIC]. Part one is probably the best book section by one author on terrorism motivation.
5. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO]. Probably the best book on counter-terrorism. It provides very good chapters on different strategies.
6. Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror: manifestos, writings, and manuals of Al Qaeda, Hamas, and other terrorists from around the world and throughout the ages*, 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]. A very useful collection of writings by terrorists.
7. John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (eds), *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, 2012 [303.5/25 HOR]. A very useful collection that includes many key works.
8. Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, 2006 [303.6/25 WIL]
9. John Newsinger, *British Counterinsurgency from Palestine to Northern Ireland*, 2002 [355.0218 NEW]
10. Avi Pedahzur, *The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle against Terrorism*, 2009 [303.6/2509/5694/PED]
11. Daniel Byman, *A High Price: The triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism*, 2011 [303.6/2509/5964/BYM]
12. Alex P. Schmid and Ronald D. Crelinsten (eds) *Western Responses to Terrorism*, 1993 [303.6/2509/4/SCHA]

Week 1 Monday 12 Jan	AM: Introduction: Defining Terrorism PM: The Root Causes of Terrorism
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Core reading (AM session)

- Alex. P. Schmid, “The Definition of Terrorism”, in Alex. P. Schmid (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, 2011, 303.6/25/SCH [e-learning].

Further reading (AM session)

1. David Fromkin, “The Strategy of Terrorism”, *Foreign Affairs*, 53 (1975) 683-698.
2. Andrew Stainforth, *Blackstone’s Counter-Terrorism Handbook*, OUP 2012 [KD/8039/P65/2010], p.3-5 on defining terrorism [e-learning].
3. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2006 [303.6/25 HOF], esp chapter1 on defining terrorism

Core reading (PM session)

- Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want*, 2008 [303.6 25 RIC], chapter 1 on what terrorism is [e-learning], 3-20.

Further reading (PM session)

1. Martha Crenshaw, “The Causes of Terrorism”, *Comparative Politics*, 13 (1981) 379-399
2. Tore Bjørgo (ed.), *The Root Causes of Terrorism*, 2005 [303.6/25/BJO], introduction (p.1-15) and conclusion (p. 256-264 [e-learning])
3. Marc Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*, 2008 [303.6/25/SAG], chapter 1 [e-learning]

Week 2 Monday 19 Jan	AM: Strategies of Counter-Terrorism PM: Four Waves of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism
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Core reading (AM session)

- Tom Parker, “Fighting an Antaeon Enemy: How Democratic States Unintentionally Sustain the Terrorist Movements they Oppose”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 19 (2007) 155-179 [e-learning]

Further reading (AM session)

1. Audrey K. Cronin, “Introduction: Meeting and Managing the Threat”, in Audrey K. Cronin Cronin and James Ludes (eds), *Attacking Terrorism*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO], 1-16 [e-learning]
2. Lawrence Freedman, “terrorism and strategy” in Lawrence Freedman et al, *Terrorism and the international order*, 1986 [e-learning], 56-76
3. Tore Bjørgo, *Strategies for Preventing Terrorism*, 2013, the introduction [e-learning]

Core reading (PM session)

- David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism”, in John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (eds) *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, 2012 [303.6/25/HOR] [e-learning]

Further reading (PM session)

1. Audrey K. Cronin *How Terrorism Ends*, 2009, [303.6/25 CRON], the introduction [e-learning]
2. Tom Parker and Nick Sitter, “Fighting Fire with Water: NGO and Counter-Terrorism Policy Tools”, *Global Policy*, 2013, 1-10 [e-learning]
3. Max Abrahms, “What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy”, *International Security*, 32:4 (2008)

Week 3 Monday 26 Jan	AM: The First Wave: 19 th Century Anarchism vs. Empire PM: First-Wave CT: Law Enforcement Strategies
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Core reading (AM session)

- Richard B. Jensen, “The Evolution of Anarchist Terrorism”, in Brett Bowden and Michael T. Davis (eds) *Terror: From Tyrannicide to Terrorism*, 2008, [303.6/25 NOW], 134-160 [e-learning]

Further reading (AM session)

1. Walter Laqueur, *Terrorism*, 1977 [303.6/25 LAQ], chapter 1 on the origins [e-learning]
2. Philip Pomper, “Russian Revolutionary Terrorism” in Martha Crenshaw (ed), *Terrorism in Context*, 1995 [203.6 25 CRE], 63-101
3. Sergey Nechaev, “The Catechism of the Revolutionist”, in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror*, 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ] [e-learning]

Core reading (PM session)

- Richard B. Jensen, “The International Anti-Anarchist Conference of 1898 and the Origins of Interpol”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 16:2 (1981), 323-347

Further reading (PM session)

1. Iain Lauchlan, “Security Policing in Late Imperial Russia”, in Ian Thatcher (ed.), *Late Imperial Russia: Problems and Prospects* (2005) 947./083 [THA], 44-63 [e-learning]
2. Rupert Allason, *The Branch: A History of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch 1883-1983*, chapter 1 on the Fenian Bombers, 1-15 [e-learning]
3. Peter Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism: The Global Politics of Cooperation and Contestation*, 2010 [303.6/25 ROM], chapter 1 on historical precedents, 20-31 [e-learning]

Week 4 Monday 2 Feb	AM: The Second Wave I: Nationalists vs. Empire, Ireland PM: The Second Wave II: Terrorism in Palestine and Cyprus
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Core reading (AM session)

- Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2006 [303.6/25 HOF] chapter 2 on the end of empire and origins of contemporary terrorism, 41-62 [e-learning]

Further reading (AM session)

1. Max Boot, *Invisible Armies*, 2013 [355.0218 BOO], chapter 35 on the Irish war of Independence, 246-259 [e-learning]
2. David Rooney, *Guerrilla*, 2004 [not at CEU library] chapter on Michael Collins and Guerilla War in Ireland, 88-110 [e-learning]
3. Lindsay Clutterbuck, "Countering Irish Republican Terrorism in Britain: Its Origin as a Police Function", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 18:1 (2006), 95-118

Core reading (PM session)

- John Newsinger, *British Counterinsurgency from Palestine to Northern Ireland*, 2002 [355.0218 NEW], chapter 1 on War with Zion, 1-30

Further reading (PM session)

1. Calder Walton, *Empire of Secrets: British Intelligence, the Cold War and the Twilight of Empire* (2013) [327.1/241/WAL] chapter 3 on MI5, the British Mandate and Zionist Terrorism, 72-112 [e-learning]
2. Rory Cormac, *Confronting the Colonies: British Counterintelligence and Counterinsurgency*, [2013, on order] chapter 3 on Cyprus, 65-104 [e-learning]
3. Avi Pedahzur and Arie Perlinger, *Jewish Terrorism in Israel*, 2009 [on order], chapter 2 on the inter-war years, 10-37, [e-learning]

Week 5 Monday 9 Feb	AM: The Second Wave III: the FLN in Algeria PM: Second-Wave CT: Military and Diplomatic Strategies
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Core reading (AM session)

- Martha Crenshaw, “The Effectiveness of Terrorism in the Algerian War”, in M. Crenshaw (ed), *Terrorism in Context*, 1995 [203.6 25 CRE], 473-513 [e-learning]

Further reading (AM session)

1. Timothy Hoyt “Military Force”, in Audrey K. Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO]
2. Jeremy Shapiro, “French Responses to Terrorism from the Algerian War to the Present”, in M. Crenshaw (ed.) *The Consequences of Counterterrorism*, 2010 [303.6/25 CRE], 255-284 [e-learning]
3. Alasdair Horne, *A Savage War for Peace: Algeria 1954-1962*, 1977 [965./04 HOR], chapter 9 on the Battle of Algiers, 183-207.

Core reading (PM session)

- Audrey K. Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends* 2009, [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 3 on success, 73-93

Further reading (PM session)

1. Michael A. Sheehan, “Diplomacy”, in Audrey K. Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO]
2. Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, 2006 [303.6/25 WIL], chapters 4 on politics and diplomacy and 6 on the military
3. Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work”, *International Security*, 31:2 (2006)

Week 6 Monday 16 Feb	AM: The Third Wave: Marxist Movements (RAF, RB) PM: Third-Wave CT: Enhanced Law Enforcement Strategies
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Core reading (AM session)

- Audrey K. Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends*, 2009, [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 4 on failure and implosion, 94-114.

Further reading (AM session)

1. Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism*, 2008, [303.6 2509 BUR] chapter 6 on RAF and the Red Brigades [e-learning]
2. Donatella Della Porta, “Left-Wing Terrorism in Italy” in Martha Crenshaw (ed), *Terrorism in Context*, 1995 [203.6 25 CRE], 105-159
3. Peter H. Merkl, “West-German Left-Wing Terrorism”, in Martha Crenshaw (ed), *Terrorism in Context*, 1995 [203.6 25 CRE], 160-210

Core reading (PM session)

- Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, 2006 [303.6/25 WIL], chapter 5 on law enforcement [e-learning]

Further reading (PM session)

1. Lindsay Clutterbuck, “Law Enforcement” in Audrey K. Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO]
2. Donatella Della Porta, “Institutional Responses to Terrorism: The Italian Case”, in Alex P. Schmid and Ronald D. Crelinsten (eds) *Western Responses to Terrorism*, 1993 [303.6/2509/4/SCHA] [e-learning]
3. Kurt Groenewold, “The German Federal Republic’s Response and Civil Liberties”, in Alex P. Schmid and Ronald D. Crelinsten (eds) *Western Responses to Terrorism*, 1993 [303.6/2509/4/SCHA]

Week 7 Monday 23 Feb	AM: The Second Wave IV: National Secessionist (PLO etc.) PM: The Second Wave V: National Secessionist (PIRA)
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Core reading (AM session)

- Walter Laqueur, *No End to War: Terrorism in the Twenty-first Century*, 2003 chapter 5 on Israel and the Palestinians [e-learning]

Further reading (AM session)

1. Avi Pedahzur, *The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle Against Terrorism*, 2009, chapter 2 [303.6/2509/5694/PED] [e-learning]
2. Lawrence Freedman, *A Choice of Enemies: America Confronts the Middle East*, 2008 [327./73/056 FRE], chapter 15 on the Return to Camp David
3. Avi Shlaim, "The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process" in Louise Fawcett (ed) *International Relations of the Middle East*, Oxford University Press, 2005. <http://users.ox.ac.uk> (use a search engine)

Core reading (PM session)

- John Newsinger, *British Counterinsurgency from Palestine to Northern Ireland*, 2002 [355.0218 NEW], chapter 7 on Northern Ireland 1969-97, 151-194 [e-learning]

Further reading (PM session)

1. Brendan O'Leary, "Mission Accomplished? Looking back at the IRA", *Field Day Review*, 1 (2005), 217-264, available at: <http://www.cerium.ca/IMG/pdf/Leary-TextsurIRA.pdf>
2. John Coakley, "Implementation issues and the pursuit of a settlement in Northern Ireland" UCD Working Paper, 2009, <http://hdl.handle.net/10197/2371>
3. Paul Gill and John Horgan, "Who Were the Volunteers? The Shifting Sociological and Operational Profile of 1240 Provisional Irish Republican Army Members", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 25 (2013), 435-456.

Week 8 Monday 2 March	AM: The Second Wave III: National Secessionists (ETA) PM: Second-Wave CT II: Police, diplomacy and containment
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Core reading (AM session)

- Fernando Reinares and Rogelio Alonso, “Confronting Ethnonationalist Terrorism in Spain” in Robert J. Art and Louise Richardson (eds), *Democracy and Counter Terrorism: Lessons from the Past*, 2007, [303.6/25 ART], 105-132 [e-learning]

Further reading (AM session)

1. Paddy Woodworth, “Why do they kill? The Basque conflict in Spain”, *World Policy Journal*, 18:1 (2001) 1-12
2. Francisco J. Llera, Jose M. Mata and Cynthia L. Irvin, “ETA from Secret Army to Social Movement – The Post-Franco Schism of the Basque Nationalist Movement”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 5:3 (1993), 106-134.
3. Enric Martínez-Herrera, “Nationalist Extremism and Outcomes of State Policies in the Basque Country, 1979-2001”, *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 4:1 (2002), 1-22.

Core reading (PM session)

- Tom Parker, “Once More unto the Breach: Britain’s Forty Years on the Frontline of the War on Terror”, in Gary Schmitt (ed), *Safety and Liberty*, American Enterprise Institute, 2010 [e-learning], [303.6/2059/4/SCH]

Further reading (PM session)

1. Paul R. Pillar “Intelligence”, in Audrey K. Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO]
2. Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism*, 2005, chapter 1 [303.6/25 BYM], 1-52 [e-learning]
3. Steven David, “Israel’s Policy of Targeted Killings”, *Ethics and International Affairs*, 17:1 (2003)111-126.

Week 9 Monday 9 March	AM: Lone wolves: Henry, Kaczynski, McVeigh, Breivik PM: The Lone wolf threat and Counter-Terrorism
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Core reading (AM session)

- Ramón Spaaij, “The Enigma of Lone Wolf Terrorism: An Assessment”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33:9 (2010) 854–870

Further reading (AM session)

1. NOU 2014:14, Report from the 22 July Commission, Preliminary English version of selected chapters, 27 pages,
http://www.regjeringen.no/smk/html/22julikommissjonen/22JULIKOMMISJONE_N_NO/EN/CONTENT/DOWNLOAD/472/3668/VERSION/2/FILE/COMPLETE_COMBINED_ENGLISH_VERSI.PDF
2. Michael Barkun, “Religion, militias and Oklahoma city: The mind of conspiratorialists”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 8:1 (1996), 50-64
3. Marie Fleming, “Propaganda by the deed: Terrorism and anarchist theory in late nineteenth-century Europe”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 4:1-4 (1980), 1-23

Core reading (PM session)

- Richard Bach Jensen, “The Pre-1914 Anarchist “Lone Wolf” Terrorist and Governmental Responses”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26:1 (2014), 86-94

Further reading (PM session)

1. Ramón Spaaij, *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism: Global Patterns of Motivations and Prevention*, 2012 [303.6/25/SPA], chapter 8 on Responses [e-learning]
2. Jeffrey D. Simon, *Lone Wolf Terrorism: Understanding the Growing Threat*, 2013 [303.6/25/SIM], Chapter 6 on strategies for dealing with Lone Wolf terrorism [e-learning]
3. Christopher Hewitt “Law Enforcement Tactics and Their Effectiveness in Dealing With American Terrorism: Organizations, Autonomous Cells, and Lone Wolves”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26:1 (2013), 58-68

Week 10 Monday 16 March	AM: The Fourth Wave I: Scared Terror and contemporary CT PM: The Fourth Wave II: Hamas and Hezbollah
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Core reading (AM session)

- Rapoport. David C. (1990), ‘Sacred Terror: A Contemporary Example from Islam’, in Walter Reich (ed.), *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, State of Mind*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press). [e-learning]

Further reading (AM session)

1. Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations”, *Foreign Affairs*, 72:3 (1993), 22-49
2. Richard Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, 2005, [303.6/25 PAP] chapter 2 on explaining suicide terrorism [e-learning]
3. David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerilla*, 2009, chapter 1 [355.0218/KIL] [e-learning]

Core reading (PM session)

- Avi Pedahzur, *The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle against Terrorism*, 2009 [303.6/2509/5694/PED], chapters 5 on the West Bank And Gaza and Chapter 6 on Iran and Hezbollah

Further reading (PM session)

1. Jacob, N. Shapiro, *The Terrorist’s Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*, 2013 [303.6/25/SHAP], chapter 8 on Palestine [e-learning]
2. Daniel Byman, *A High Price: The triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism*, 2011 [303.6/2509/5964/BYM], chapter 25 on lessons [e-learning] (see also section II on Palestine and II on Hezbollah).
3. Peter Neumann, *Old and New Terrorism*, 2009 [3.306/25 NEU] chapter 6 on confronting new terrorism [e-learning]

Week 11 Monday 23 March	AM: The Fourth Wave III: Al Qaeda PM: The Fourth Wave IV: Second generation Al Qaeda
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Core reading (AM session)

- Audrey K. Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends*, chapter 6 on “How Al-Qaeda Ends”, 167-196 [or see: *International Security*, 31:1 (2006), pp. 7–48]

Further reading (AM session)

1. Michael Scheuer, *Osama bin Laden*, 2001, chapter 1 [e-learning; 303.6/25 SCHE]
2. Osama bin Laden “Declaration of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders”; and Ayman al-Zawahiri, “Knights under the Prophet's Banner”, in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror*, 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]
3. Fawaz A. Gerges, *The Rise and Fall of Al-Qaeda*, 2011 [303.6/25/GER], Chapter 4 on the decline and fall [e-learning]

Core reading (PM session)

- Bruce Hoffman, “A Counterterrorism Strategy for the Obama Administration” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 21 (2009)

Further reading (PM session)

1. Eric Ouelleta, Jérôme Lacroix-Leclairb and Pierre Pahlavia, “The Institutionalization of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQMI)” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26:4 (2014), 650-665.
2. The In Amenas Attack, Statoil investigation report (88 pages), <http://www.statoil.com/en/NewsAndMedia/News/2013/Downloads/In%20Amenas%20report.pdf>
3. Michael W. S. Ryan, *Decoding Al-QAEDA'S Strategy: The Deep Battel Against America*, 2013 [on order], chapter TBC [e-learning]

Week 12 Monday 30 March	AM: The Fourth Wave V: ISIS PM: Fourth-Wave CT: Military vs Containment strategies
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Core reading (AM session)

- Bruce Hofman, “A First Draft of the History of America's Ongoing Wars on Terrorism”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Published online: 17 Nov 2014

Further reading (AM session)

1. Zachary Laub and Jonathan Masters, Islamic State in Iraq and Greater Syria, Concil on Foreign Relations backgrounders, <http://www.cfr.org/iraq/islamic-state-iraq-syria/p14811>
2. Seth G. Jones, “The Terrorist Threat from Syria”, Testimony presented before the House Homeland Security Committee, Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence on May 22, 2013, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/CT388.html>
3. Ronald Crelinsten, *Counterterrorism*, 2009 [303.6/25 CREL], chapter 6 on long-term counterterrorism [e-learning]

Core reading (PM session)

- Audrey K. Cronin, “The Evolution of Counterterrorism: Will Tactics Trump Strategy?”, *International Affairs*, 86:4 (2010), 37-856

Further reading (PM session)

1. Philip B. Heymann, Juliette N. Kayyem, *Protecting liberty in an age of terror*, 2005 [323.4/4 HEY], Appendix A on the UK by Tom Parker [e-learning]
2. Jörg Monar, “EU internal security governance: the case of counter-terrorism” *European Security*, 23:2 (2013), 195–209
3. Jonathan Powell, *Talking to Terrorists: How to End Armed Conflicts*, 2014 [on order] chapter 1, on why we must talk to terrorists [e-learning]