Autumn term, AY 2018-19, Mondays 9:00-10:40 and 11.00 – 12.40

Lecturer responsible: Prof. Nick Sitter, School 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 6 lectures, 14 seminars, and 2 concluding sessions

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| **Week 1** Mon 17 Sept  | AM: LECTURE Introduction: Defining TerrorismPM: LECTURE The Root Causes of Terrorism |
| **Week 2** Mon 24 Sept | AM: LECTURE Strategies of Counter-TerrorismPM: LECTURE Four Waves of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism |
| **Week 3** Mon 1 Oct  | AM: Nationalists vs. Empire: Ireland (IRA) Palestine (IRGUN, LEHI)PM: Nationalists vs. Empire: Cyprus (EOKA) and Algeria (FLN) |
| **Week 4** Mon 8 Oct  | AM: Nationalists vs. States: N. Ireland (PIRA) and Spain (ETA) PM: Anarchists vs. States: Germany (RAF) and Italy (Red Brigades)  |
| **Week 5** Mon 15 Oct  | AM: Right-wing extremism: McVeigh, BreivikPM: LECTURE Attacks and Modus Operandi |
| **Week 6** Mon 22 Oct  | READING WEEK – No Class |
| **Week 7** Mon 29 Oct  | AM: Nationalist terror: Black September and the 1972 OlympicsPM: Scared Terror: Egypt, Al-Jihad and the Assassination of Sadat |
| **Week 8** Mon 5 Nov  | AM: Scared Terror: The Lebanon, Hezbollah and the 1983 truck bombsPM: Scared Terror: Hamas and suicide terrorism |
| **Week 9** Mon 12 Nov  | AM: Scared Terror: Al Qaeda and 9/11PM: Scared Terror in Europe (Madrid 2004, London 2005) |
| **Week 10** Mon 20 Nov  | AM: Scared Terror today: Paris 2015, Brussels 2016, Nice 2017PM: Threat assessment – foreign fighters |
| **Week 11** Mon 26 Dec  | AM: Threat assessment – financing terrorism PM: Threat assessment – cyber terrorism |
| **Week 12** Mon 4 Dec  | AM: LECTURE Threat assessment and risk managementPM: Concluding session  |

**Learning outcomes**

The course is designed to provide students with specialized knowledge and skills pertaining to disciplines of public policy and international relations. The overreaching 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. Accounts for 20 % of the final grade.
2. Class presentations account for 10% 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 1200 words, all included).
3. The final policy paper (max 5000 words, all included), written individually, will make up 70% of the final grade.

Class attendance is obligatory:

* Each 100-minute session counts as one class (missing either the morning or afternoon sessions will count as an absence; missing both counts as two misses).
* Excused absences must be cleared in advance and/or supported by documentation (e.g. a medical note) e-mailed to the SPP 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.
* Unexcused absences require completion of a *missed class assignment* within one week: a 500-word review of the core reading for that class.
* The first two unexcused absences will not result in a grade reduction if an adequate *missed class assignment* is submitted before the deadline.

**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.

* Students are expected to have read the **core reading** before each class.
* The **further reading** includes three articles/book chapters for each session. The articles are available in the library and/or on the 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. Leonard Weinberg, *The end of terrorism?* Routledge, 2012 [303.6/25 WEIN] A good short book that complements Cronin, *How terrorism ends* very well.
3. Richard English, *Terrorism: How to Respond,*  OUP 2009 [303.6/25 ENGR] Probably the best short introduction to terrorism
4. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF]. Probably the best general single-authored book on terrorism.
5. Martha Crenshaw (ed), *Terrorism in Context,* 1995[203.6 25 CRE]. The best collection of case studies of terrorism groups and campaigns.
6. Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*, Random House 2008 [303.6 25 RIC]. Excellent on terrorism motivation.
7. 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.
8. 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.

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| **Week 1** Monday 17 Sept  | AM: LECTURE Introduction: Defining TerrorismPM: LECTURE The Root Causes of Terrorism |

**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*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], esp chapter1 on defining terrorism and 10 on new challenges

**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. David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerilla*, 2009, chapter 1 [355.0218/KIL] [e-learning]

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| **Week 2** Monday 24 Sept | AM: LECTURE Strategies of Counter-TerrorismPM: LECTURE Four Waves of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism |

**Core reading (AM session)**

* TomParker, “Fighting an Antaean 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 *How Terrorism Ends*, 2009, [303.6/25 CRON], the introduction [e-learning] and chapters 1 and 2.
2. Tore Bjørgo, *Strategies for Preventing Terrorism*, 2013, the introduction [e-learning]
3. Ronald Crelinsten, *Counterterrorism*, 2009 [303.6/25 CREL], chapter 6 on long-term counterterrorsim [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. Tom Parker and Nick Sitter, “It’s Not Waves, It’s Strains”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 28:2 (2016) 197-216.
2. Lawrence Freedman, “terrorism and strategy” in Lawrence Freedman et al, *Terrorism and the international order*, 1986 [e-learning], 56-76
3. Max Abrahms, “What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy”, *International Security*, 32:4 (2008)

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| **Week 3** Monday 1 Oct  | AM: Nationalists vs. Empire: Ireland (IRA) Palestine (IRGUN, LEHI)PM: Nationalists vs. Empire: Cyprus (EOKA) and Algeria (FLN) |

**Core reading (AM session)**

* Max Boot, *Invisible Armies,* 2013 [355.0218 BOO], chapter 35 on the Irish war of Independence, 246-259 [e-learning]
* John Newsinger, *British Counterinsurgency from Palestine to Northern Ireland*, 2002 [355.0218 NEW], chapter 1 on War with Zion, 1-30

**Core reading (PM session)**

* Rory Cormac, *Confronting the Colonies: British Counterintelligence and Counterinsurgency*, 2013 [being processed by the library] chapter 3 on Cyprus, 65-104 [e-learning]
* 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. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF] chapter 2 on the end of empire and origins of contemporary terrorism, 41-62 [e-learning]
2. Lindsay Clutterbuck, “The Progenitors of Terrorism: Russian Revolutionaries or Extreme Irish Republicans?”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16:1 (2004), 154-181.
3. Lindsay Clutterbuck, “Countering Irish Republican Terrorism in Britain: Its Origin as a Police Function”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 18:1 (2006), 95-118
4. 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]

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. Avi Pedahzur and Arie Perlinger, *Jewish Terrorism in Israel*, 2009 [303.6/2509/5694 PED], chapter 2 on the inter-war years, 10-37, [e-learning]
2. Benjamin Grob-Fitzgibbon, *Imperial Endgame: Britain’s Dirty Wars and the End of Empire*, 2011 [325.3/41 GRO], pp. 297-338, 368-377.
3. 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]
4. Martin Thomas, *Fight or Flight: Britain, France and their Roads from Empire*, 2014, chapter 11 on the Algerian War, [e-learning], 285-315.

**Recommended original texts:**

* “Irish World: O’Donovan Rossa’s Dynamiters” and Johan Most “Advice for Terrorists”, in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,* 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]
* “Menachem Begin: The Revolt” in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,* 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]
* Georgios Grivas, *The Memoirs of General Grivas,* 1964, chapter 3 on the beginning [e-learning], 33-47
* AM Henri Alleg, *The Question*, 1958 [965.//046 ALL]

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| **Week 4** Monday 8 Oct  | AM: Nationalists vs. States: N. Ireland (PIRA) and Spain (ETA) PM: Anarchists vs. States: Germany (RAF) and Italy (Red Bridages) |

**Core reading (AM 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]
* 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]

**Core reading (PM session)**

* 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]
* 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]

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. Brendan O’Leary, “Mission Accomplished? Looking back at the IRA”, *Field Day Review*, 1 (2005), 217-264, available on-line (use a search engine)
2. Louise Richardson, “Britain and the IRA” in in Robert J. Art and Louise Richardson (eds), *Democracy and Counter Terrorism: Lessons from the Past*, 2007, [303.6/25 ART], 63-104
3. Donatella Della Porta, “Left-Wing Terrorism in Italy” in Martha Crenshaw (ed), *Terrorism in Context,* 1995[203.6 25 CRE], 105-159
4. Leon Winberg, “The Red Brigades” in in Robert J. Art and Louise Richardson (eds), *Democracy and Counter Terrorism*, 2007, [303.6/25 ART], 25-63

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. Peter H. Merkl, “West-German Left-Wing Terrorism”, in Martha Crenshaw (ed), *Terrorism in Context,* 1995[203.6 25 CRE], 160-210.
2. 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]
3. Paddy Woodworth, “Why do they kill? The Basque conflict in Spain”, *World Policy Journal*, 18:1 (2001) 1-12
4. Javier Argomaniz & Alberto Vidal-Diez, “Examining Deterrence and Backlash Effects in Counter-Terrorism: The Case of ETA”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 27:1 (2015), 160-181.

**Recommended original texts:**

* Interview with Susanna Ronconi and ETA Women in Eileen MacDonald, *Shoot the Women First*, 1991 [303.6/25 MAC],
* “Giorgio” *Memoirs of an Italian Terrorist*, 2003 [303.6/2509/45 GIO]
* Ulrike Meinhof “From Protest to Resistance (1968), in *Everybody talks about the weather… we don’t,* edited by Karin Bauer, 2008*.* “RAF The concept of Guerilla Warfare” in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,* 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]
* “Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA” in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,* 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]

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| **Week 5** Monday 15 Oct  | AM: Right-wing extremism: McVeigh, BreivikPM: LECTURE Attacks, Targets and Modus Operandi |

**Core reading (AM session)**

* Ramón Spaaij, “The Enigma of Lone Wolf Terrorism: An Assessment”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33:9 (2010) 854–870.
* Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], pp 107-127.

**Core reading (PM session)**

* Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapters 9 and 10 on terrorism today and tomorrow

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. NOU 2012:14, Report from the 22 July Commission, Preliminary English version, <http://www.sintef.no/globalassets/project/nexus/01--report-22-july-gjorv-commision-summary_english_version.pdf>
2. Richard B. Jensen, “The Pre-1914 Anarchist “Lone Wolf” Terrorist and Governmental Responses”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26:1 (2014), 86-94
3. Ramón Spaaij,*Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism: Global Patterns of Motivations and Prevention*, 2012 [303.6/25/SPA], chapter 8 on Responses [e-learning]
4. 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

**Further reading (PM session)**

1. Office of the Director of National Intelligence, *Counter-Terrorism Guide* (on the attack cycle), <https://www.dni.gov/nctc/jcat/index.html>
2. Petter Nesser, Anne Stenersen and Emilie Oftedal, “Jihadi Terrorism in Europe: The IS-Effect”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10:6 (2016), 1-22.
3. Brian J. Philips, “Deadlier in the U.S.? On Lone Wolves, Terrorist Groups, and Attack Lethality”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29:3 (2017), 533-549.
4. Petter Nesser and Anne Stenersen, “The Modus Operandi of Jihadi Terrorists in Europe”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 8:6 (2014), 1-22.

**Recommended original texts:**

* Karl Heinzen, “Murder” and Sergey Nechaev, “The Catechism of the Revolutionist”, in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,* 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]
* Loous Beam, “Leaderless Resistance”, The Seditionist 12/1992 (originally 1983): <http://www.louisbeam.com/leaderless.htm>
* Anders Behring Breivik’s Complete Manifesto “2083 – A European Declaration of Independence”, available from several web-sites, see e.g. the BBC summary <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-14267007>

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| **Week 6** Monday 22 Oct  | NATIONAL HOLIDAY – No Class |

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| **Week 7** Mon 29 Oct  | AM: Nationalist terror: Black September and the 1972 OlympicsPM: Scared Terror: Egypt, Al-Jihad and the Assassination of Sadat |

**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]
* Bruce Hoffman, “All you need is love: How the terrorists stopped terrorism”, *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 2001, <https://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/2001/12/hoffman.htm>

**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]
* Gilles Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and the Pharao*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985 [297.1/09/62 KEP], chapter 7 on Sadat

**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. 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. Steven David, “Israel’s Policy of Targeted Killings”, *Ethics and International Affairs*, 17:1 (2003)111-126.
4. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2006 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 3 on in internationalization, and 6 and 7 on media

**Further reading (PM session)**

1. Philippe Migaux, “The Roots of Islamic Radicalism”, in G. Chaliand and A. Blin, *The History of Terrorism,* University of California Press, 2016 [303.25 CHAL]
2. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2006 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 4 on religion and terrorism
3. Gilles Kepel, *The Roods of Radical Islam,* SAQI 2005, chapter 2 on Qutb [297.1/09/62 KEP]
4. Audrey K. Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends* 2009, [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 1 and 5 on decapitation and use of force

**Recommended original texts:**

* “Yehoshafat Harkabi:Al Fatah’s Doctrine” in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,* 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]
* “Syed Qutb: Jihad in the Cause of God” in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,* 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]
* Mohammad ‘Abdus Salam Faraj: Jihad, The Absent Obligation”, in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,* 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]

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| **Week 8** Mon 5 Nov  | AM: Scared Terror: The Lebanon, Hezbollah and the 1983 truck bombsPM: Scared Terror: Hamas and suicide terrorism |

**Core reading (AM session)**

* Lawrence Freedman, *A Choice of Enemies: America Confronts the Middle East*, 2008 [327./73/056 FRE], chapter TBC on the 1983 Beirut bombings
* Richard Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, 2005, [303.6/25 PAP] chapter 2 on explaining suicide terrorism [e-learning]

**Core reading (PM session)**

* Jacob, N. Shapiro, T*he Terrorist’s Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*, 2013 [303.6/25/SHAP], chapter 8 on Palestine [e-learning]
* Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, London: I. B. Tauris, 2006, chapter 14 on Hamas [297.7/97 KEP]

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. Avi Pedahzur, *The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle against Terrorism*, Columbia UP 2009 [303.6/2509/5694/PED], esp. Chapter 6 on Iran and Hezbollah
2. Joshua L. Gleis og Benedetta Berti, Hezbollah and Hamas: A Comparative Study, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, part 1 on Hezbollah [324.2/5692 GLE]
3. Max Boot, *Invisible Armies,* 2013[355.0218 BOO],chapter 60 on “The A Team: The ‘Party of God’ In the Lebanon”.
4. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2006 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 5 on suicide terrorism

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State*, OUP 1997, [956.9/4004.9274 SAY] chapter 26 on the Intifada
2. Richard Davis, *Hamas, Popular Support and War in the Middle East: Insurgency in the Holy Land*, London: Routledge, 2016, esp chapter 3 on origins and structure [956.9/4004/9274 DAV]
3. Joshua L. Gleis og Benedetta Berti, Hezbollah and Hamas: A Comparative Study, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, part 2 on Hamas [324.2/5692 GLE]
4. Avi Pedahzur, *The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle against Terrorism*, Columbia UP 2009 [303.6/2509/5694/PED], esp. chapters 5 on the West Bank and Gaza

**Recommended original texts:**

* “Hamas: The Covenant” in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,* 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]
* “The Text of Hizbullah’s Open Letter Addressed to the Oppressed in Lebanon and the World, 16 February 1985”, in Joseph Alagha (ed.) *Hizbullah’s Documents: From the 1985 Open Letter to the 2009 Manifesto,* Amsterdam University Press, 2011 [324.2/5692 ALA]
* Benjamin Netanyahu, *Fighting Terrorism*, 1995 [303.6/25 NET], esp chapter 5 on Gaza

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| **Week 9** Mon 12 Nov  | AM: Scared Terror: Al Qaeda and 9/11PM: Scared Terror in Europe (Madrid 2004, London 2005) |

**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]
* Bruce Hoffman, “A First Draft of the History of America's Ongoing Wars on Terrorism”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 38:5 (2015) 75-83

**Core reading (PM session)**

* Petter Nesser, “Ideologies of Jihad in Europe”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 23:2 (2-11), 173-200
* Petter Nesser, *Islamist Terrorism in Europe: A History* [303.6/2509/4 NES], 2016, chapters 5 and 6 on the Iraq effect and Pakistani axis

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. Michael Scheuer, *Osama bin Laden*, 2001, chapter 1 [e-learning; 303.6/25 SCHE]
2. Fawaz A. Gerges, *The Rise and Fall of Al-Qaeda,* 2011 [303.6/25/GER], Chapter 4 on the decline and fall [e-learning]
3. Jason Burke, *The New Threat from Islamic Militancy*, 2015 [303.6/25 BUR], especially chapters 3 and 5 (on Al Qaeda and affiliates).
4. Michael Weiss and Hassan Hassam, *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror*, 2015, chapter 3 on the management of savagery [303.6/25 WEIM, e-learning], 40-47.

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. Marc Sageman, Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century, 2008, chapter 1 on the path to radicalism [303.6/25 SAG], (1-12)
2. Petter Nesser, Islamist Terrorism in Europe: A History [303.6/2509/4 NES], 2016, chapter 4 on global jihad in Europe.
3. Fawaz A. Gerges, *ISIS: A History*, 2016 [303.6/25 GER], chapter 8 on ISIS versus Al Qaeda
4. Jessica Stern and J. M. Berger, *ISIS: the State of Terror*, 2015, ch. 2 on the rise of ISIS, [e-learning, 297.7/2 STE], 33-51

**Recommended original texts:**

* 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]
* The In Amenas Attack, Statoil investigation report (88 pages), <http://www.statoil.com/en/NewsAndMedia/News/2013/Downloads/In%20Amenas%20report.pdf>

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| **Week 10** Mon 20 Nov  | AM: Scared Terror today: Paris 2015, Brussels 2016, Nice 2017PM: Threat assessment – foreign fighters |

**Core reading (AM session)**

* David Kilcullen, *Blood Year*, 2016 [303.6/25 KIL], chapter 11 on the internationale.
* Peter Neumann, *Radicalized: New Jihadists and the Threat to the West*, 2016, [303.6/25 NEU], chapter 3 on the Islamic State [e-learning]

**Core reading (PM session)**

* TBC
* TBC

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. Peter Neumann, *Joining al-Qaeda: Jihadist Recruitment in Europe*, The Adelphi Papers, 48 (2008) issue 339, especially the chapter on dynamics and structures
2. David Kilcullen, *Blood Year*, 2016 [303.6/25 KIL], chapter 11 on the internationale.
3. Petter Nesser, *Islamist Terrorism in Europe: A History* [303.6/2509/4 NES], 2016, chapter 9 on 2011-2015
4. Gilles Kepel, *Terror in France*, Princeton UP 2017,[303.6/25 KEP], chapter 6 on 2015

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. Peter Neumann, *Radicalized: New Jihadists and the Threat to the West*, 2016, [303.6/25 NEU], chapter 4 on foreign fighters
2. TBC
3. TBC
4. TBC

**Recommended original text:**

* Abu Musab al-Suri, “The Military Theory of The Global Islamic Resistance Call”, key excerpts published in Brynjar Lia, *Architect of Global Jihad: The Life of al-Qaida Strategist Abu Musab al-Suri*, 2008 [303.6/25 LIA].

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| **Week 11** Mon 26 Dec  | AM: Threat assessment – financing terrorism PM: Threat assessment – cyber terrorism |

**Core reading (AM session)**

* Emilie Oftedal, *The Financing of jihadi terrorist cells in Europe*, Norwegian Research Defense Establishment, 6 January 2015 (available on-line).
* TBC

**Core reading (PM session)**

* TBC
* TBC

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. TBC
2. TBC
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**Further reading (AM session)**

1. TBC
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| **Week 12** Mon 4 Dec  | AM: LECTURE Threat assessment and risk managementPM: Concluding session |

**Core reading (AM session)**

* Audrey K. Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends* 2009, [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 3 on success, 73-93 and chapter 4 on failure and implosion, 94-114.
* Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work”, *International Security*, 31:2 (2006)

**Core reading (PM session)**

* Audrey K. Cronin, “The Evolution of Counterterrorism: Will Tactics Trump Strategy?”, *International Affairs*, 86:4 (2010), 37-856
* Nick Sitter and Tom Parker, “Fighting Fire with Water: NGO and Counter-Terrorism Policy Tools”, *Global Policy*, 2014, 1-10 [e-learning]

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. J. D. Krias, “Irregular warfare: Terrorism and Insurgency”, in Baylis, Wirtz & Gray, Strategy in the Contemporary World, 2014 (185-207) [355./02 BAY, e-learning] older editions available [355./02 BAY]
2. Daniel Byman, Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism, 2005, chapter 1 [303.6/25 BYM], 1-52 [e-learning]
3. Audrey K. Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends* 2009, [303.6/25 CRON], chapter on negotiations
4. Arjen Boin et al. The Politics of Crisis Management: Public Leadership under Pressure, Cambridge University Press, 2005, chapter 7 [327./1/6 BOI; e-learning]

**Further reading (AM session)**

1. Leonard Weinberg, *The end of terrorism?* Routledge, 2012 [303.6/25 WEIN] chapter 4 on success, 73-94
2. Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, 2006 [303.6/25 WIL], chapters 4 (diplomacy), 5 (law enforcement) and 6 (military)
3. Michael A. Sheehan “Diplomacy”, in Audrey K. Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO], 97-114
4. Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*, Random House 2008 [303.6 25 RIC], chapters 7 and 8 on counter-terrorism