**Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism**

Nick Sitter, CEU Department of Public Policy

Thursdays 08:50-10:30.

**SHORT DESCRIPTION**

This course provides an introduction to terrorism and counter-terrorism policy, including questions about varieties of terrorism, the causes of terrorism, terrorists’ organization and modus operandi, and counter-terrorist strategy and tactics. The course covers a range of terrorist groups and attacks over the last century and a half, with focus on terrorist groups’ ideology, organization, strategy, tactics and propaganda, and a range of courter-terrorism strategies. The counter-terrorism focus is on how liberal democracies fight terrorism. Most empirical material is centered on Europe and North America, with some case drawn from their empires. The written exam is in the form of a threat assessment.

**COURSE LITERATURE**

**There is no single course textbook, but the three most comprehensive books are:**

* Audrey K. Cronin, *How terrorism ends: understanding the decline and demise of terrorist campaign*, 2009 [303.6/25 CRON].
* Bruce Hoffman (2006, 2017), *Inside Terrorism,* 2006, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF].
* Tom Parker, *Avoiding the terrorist trap: why respect for human rights is the key to defeating terrorism*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK]

**The library holds six other books that are highly recommended for this course:**

1. Leonard Weinberg, *The end of terrorism?* Routledge, 2012 [303.6/25 WEIN] A good short book that complements Cronin’s *How terrorism ends* very well.
2. Richard English, *Terrorism: How to Respond,*  OUP 2009 [303.6/25 ENGR] Probably the best short introduction to terrorism and counter-terrorism.
3. Martha Crenshaw (ed), *Terrorism in Context,* 1995[203.6 25 CRE]. The best collection of case studies of terrorism groups and campaigns.
4. Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*, Random House 2008 [303.6 25 RIC]. Excellent on terrorists 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.

**See the week-by-week reading list for journal articles and book chapters, and other recommended books.**

**LEARNING GOALS**

This course provides an introduction to terrorism and counter-terrorism policy. By the end of the course, students should be able to (1) acquire knowledge of a range of terrorist groups and their organization, strategy and tactics and reflect on their successes and failures; (2) acquire knowledge of a range of counter-terrorism strategies and reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of different types of policy tools, assess threats to the stability of democracies, and engage in discussions on how policies can be designed to foster desirable outcomes; and (3) write a short threat assessment based on open sources.

**EVALUATION AND EXAMINATION**

* Written Exam (term paper): 100%

**WEEK 1**

**The is no seminar on Thursday 23 September. Please listen to series of 10-minute podcast-style mini-lectures prepared for the course.**

**Key book chapters:**

* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 1 on definitions

**Key article:**

* Alex Schmid, “The Revised Academic Consensus Definition of Terrorism”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 6:2 (2011), 158-159; or as “The Definition of Terrorism”, in Alex. P. Schmid (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, 2011, [303.6/25/SCH]

**WEEK 2**

**Thursday 30 September 2021, 08:50-10:30**

***Topic: Analyzing terrorism and assessing terrorist threats***

To what extent can we generalize about the causes of terrorism? What factors affect the threat terrorism represents for a state or a region in any given context?

**Key book chapters:**

* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], Part 2 on causes

**Key article:**

* Martha Crenshaw, “The Causes of Terrorism”, Comparative Politics, 13 (1981) 379-399

**Further reading:**

* David Fromkin, “The Strategy of Terrorism”, Foreign Affairs, 53 (1975) 683-698
* Tore Bjørgo (ed.), *The Root Causes of Terrorism*, 2005 [303.6/25/BJO]
* Max Abrahms, “What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy”, *International Security*, 32:4 (2008)
* “RAF The concept of Guerilla Warfare” and “Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA” in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,* 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]

**WEEK 3**

**Thursday 7 October 2021, 08:50-10:30**

***Topic: Terrorism in the age of empire***

What are the main common factors and differences in terms of ideology, organization, strategy, and tactics used by terrorist groups against the British, French, Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires?

Cases: KKK, Narodnaya Volnya, IRA, Lehi, Irgun, FLN, EOKA.

**Key book chapters:**

* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 2 on the end of empire and origins of contemporary terrorism, 41-62
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends,* 2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 3 on success
* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], part 1, esp. 65-117.

**Key article:**

* 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], also in Audrey K. Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO]

**Further reading:**

* Tom Parker, and Nick Sitter, “The Four Horsemen of Terrorism – It’s not Waves, it’s Strains”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 28:2 (2016) 197-216
* Richard B. Jensen, “The Pre-1914 Anarchist “Lone Wolf” Terrorist and Governmental Responses”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26:1 (2014), 86-94
* Lindsay Clutterbuck, “The Progenitors of Terrorism: Russian Revolutionaries or Extreme Irish Republicans?”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16:1 (2004), 154-181
* Davic C. Rapoport, “Before the Bombs There Were the Mobs: American Experiences with Terror”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20:2 (2008), 176-194
* 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
* John Newsinger, *British Counterinsurgency from Palestine to Northern Ireland*, 2002 [355.0218 NEW], chapter 1 on War with Zion, 1-30
* Rory Cormac, *Confronting the Colonies: British Counterintelligence and Counterinsurgency*, 2013 [327./1/241 COR] chapter 3 on Cyprus, 65-104
* Martha Crenshaw, “The Effectiveness of Terrorism in the Algerian War”, in M. Crenshaw (ed), Terrorism in Context, 1995 [203.6 25 CRE], 473-513

**WEEK 4**

**Thursday 14 October 2021, 08:50-10:30**

***Topic: Terrorism in the age of nation states***

What are the main common factors and differences in terms of ideology, organization, strategy, and tactics used by terrorist groups against western states?

Cases: ETA, PIRA, RAF, Red Brigades, Ordine Nero, Mc Veigh, PLO/Black September, Al Jihad

**Key book chapters:**

* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 3 on internationalization
* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], part 1, esp 33-65.
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends,* 2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 6 on negotiations

**Key Article**

* TomParker, “Fighting an Antaean Enemy: How Democratic States Unintentionally Sustain the Terrorist Movements they Oppose”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 19 (2007) 155-179

**Further reading:**

* John Newsinger, *British Counterinsurgency from Palestine to Northern Ireland*, 2002 [355.0218 NEW], chapter 7 on Northern Ireland 1969-97, 151-194
* Case studies in Robert J. Art and Louise Richardson (eds), *Democracy and Counter Terrorism: Lessons from the Past*, 2007, [303.6/25 ART]
* Case studies in Alex P. Schmid and Ronald D. Crelinsten (eds) *Western Responses to Terrorism*, 1993 [303.6/2509/4/SCHA]
* Case studies in Martha Crenshaw (ed), Terrorism in Context, 1995 [203.6 25 CRE]
* Case studies in Eileen MacDonald, *Shoot the Women First*, 1991 [303.6/25 MAC]
* Gilles Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and the Pharaoh*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985 [297.1/09/62 KEP], chapter 7 on Sadat

**WEEK 5**

**Thursday 21 October 2021, 08:50-10:30**

***Topic: Terrorism in the age of globalization***

What are the main common factors and differences in terms of ideology, organization, strategy, and tactics used by terrorist groups against liberal democracies and the liberal world order in the age of globalization?

Cases: Hamas, Hezbollah, Al Qaeda, ISIS, Breivik, solo-terrorism in Europe.

**Key book chapters:**

* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 4 on religion and 9 and 10 on today and tomorrow.
* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], part 1, esp. 117-202
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends,* 2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 6 on reorientation

**Key Article:**

* Petter Nesser, Anne Stenersen and Emilie Oftedal, “Jihadi Terrorism in Europe: The IS-Effect”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10:6 (2016), 1-22.

**Further reading:**

* Avi Pedahzur, *The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle against Terrorism*, 2009 [303.6/2509/5694/PED], chapter 6 on Iran and Hezbollah
* Petter Nesser, *Islamist Terrorism in Europe: A History* [303.6/2509/4 NES], 2016, chapter 4 on global jihad in Europe.
* Fawaz A. Gerges, *ISIS: A History*, 2016 [303.6/25 GER], chapter 8 on ISIS versus Al Qaeda
* Gilles Kepel, *The Roods of Radical Islam*, 2005 [297.1/09/62 KEP] chapter 2 on Qutb
* “Syed Qutb: Jihad in the Cause of God”, Mohammad ‘Abdus Salam Faraj: Jihad, The Absent Obligation”, and “Hamas: The Covenant”, in Walter Laqueur (ed), Voices of Terror, 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]
* David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerilla*, 2009 [355.0218/KIL], , chapter 1
* David Kilcullen, *Blood Year*, 2016 [303.6/25 KIL], chapter 11
* Marc Sageman, Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century, 2008, [303.6/25 SAG]
* Peter Neumann, *Radicalized: New Jihadists and the Threat to the Wes*t, 2016, [303.6/25 NEU], chapters 3 and 4

**WEEK 6**

**Thursday 28 October 2021, 08:50-10:30**

***Topic: Modus Operandi 1 – terrorist organization, recruitment and finance***

Why and how do terrorist organizations differ in terms of organization, recruitment and finance? Do these differences reflect ideology, strategy or context?

**Key book chapters:**

* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapters 6 and 7 on media

**Key article:**

* Michael Freeman and Moyara Ruehsen, “Terrorism Financing Methods: An Overview,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 7:4 (2013) 5–26

**Further reading:**

* Emilie Oftedal, The Financing of jihadi terrorist cells in Europe, *Norwegian Research Defense Establishment*, 6 January 2015
* Jacob N. Shapiro, T*he Terrorist’s Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*, 2013 [303.6/25/SHAP], chapters 1, 2 and 9.
* Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism*, 2005, chapter 1 [303.6/25 BYM]
* Thomas Hegghammer “Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting”, *American Political Science Review*, 107:1 (2013) 1-15
* Petter Nesser, *Islamist Terrorism in Europe: A History* [303.6/2509/4 NES], 2016, chapter 9 on 2011-2015.
* Brynjar Lia, “Understanding Jihadi Proto-States” *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 9:4 (2015), 31-41.
* Olivier Roy, *Jihad and Death: The Global Appeal of Islamic State*, 2017 [303.6/2509/44 ROY] Chapter 2: Who are the Radicals?
* Gilles Kepel, *Terror in France: The Rise of Jihad in the West*, 2017, [303.6/25 KEP] Chapter 4 and 6
* Peter Neumann, *Joining al-Qaeda: Jihadist Recruitment in Europe*, The Adelphi Papers, 48 (2008) issue 339, especially the chapter on dynamics and structures

**WEEK 7**

**Thursday 4 November 2021 08:50-10:30**

***Topic: Modus Operandi 2 – terrorist tactics, tools and targeting***

Why and how do terrorist organizations differ in terms of choice of weapons, tactics and targets? Do these differences reflect ideology, strategy or context?

**Key book chapters:**

* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 6 on suicide terrorism

**Key article:**

* Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work”, *International Security*, 31:2 (2006)

**Further reading:**

* Ramón Spaaij, “The Enigma of Lone Wolf Terrorism: An Assessment”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33:9 (2010) 854–870
* Richard Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, 2005, [303.6/25 PAP] Chapter 2 on explaining suicide terrorism
* Karl Heinzen, “Murder” and Sergey Nechaev, “The Catechism of the Revolutionist”, in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,* 2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]
* Louis Beam, “Leaderless Resistance”, The Seditionist 12/1992 (originally 1983)
* 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].
* 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.

**WEEK 8**

**Thursday 11 November 2021, 08:50-10:30**

***Topic: Modus Operandi 3 – analyzing a terrorist attack***

What are the common elements to all terrorist attacks? Are some elements or stages of attack more vulnerable to detection than others? (Case: the In Amenas attack)

**Key book chapters:**

* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 8 on technology

**Recommended articles and reports:**

* Office of the Director of National Intelligence, *Counter-Terrorism Guide* (on the attack cycle), <https://www.dni.gov/nctc/jcat/index.html>

**Further reading:**

* Petter Nesser and Anne Stenersen, “The Modus Operandi of Jihadi Terrorists in Europe”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 8:6 (2014), 1-22.
* Brynjar Lia and Thomas Hegghammer, “Jihadi Strategic Studies: The Alleged Al Qaida Policy Study Preceding the Madrid Bombings” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 27:5 (2004), 355-375.
* Audrey K. Cronin, *Power to the People: How Open Technological Innovation is Arming Tomorrow's Terrorists*, 2019 [on order]. See also Georgetown Security Studies review interview, “The Europe Desk Interview: Audrey Kurth Cronin on Counterterrorism and Emerging Technologies”.
* Statoil, *The In Amenas Attack: Report on the Investigation into the terrorist attack on In Amenas*, 2013. At equinor.com: <https://www.equinor.com/content/dam/statoil/documents/In%20Amenas%20report.pdf>

**WEEK 9**

**Thursday 18 November 2021, 08:50-10:30**

***Topic: Counter-terrorism 1 – police and law-enforcement models***

**Key book chapters:**

* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], part 3, esp. 530-686.
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends,* 2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapters 1 on decapitation

**Key article:**

* Tore Bjørgo, “Counter-terrorism as crime prevention: a holistic approach”, *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 8:1 (2016), 25-44.

**Further reading:**

* Martha Crenshaw “introduction”, in Martha Crenshaw (ed.) *The Consequences of Counterterrorism*, 2010 [303.6/25 CRE]
* Audrey K. Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO], chapters 3, 5 and 6.
* Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, 2006 [303.6/25 WIL], chapter 5 (law enforcement)
* 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
* Ramón Spaaij, *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism: Global Patterns of Motivations and Prevention,* 2012 [303.6/25/SPA], chapter 8 on Responses

**WEEK 10**

**Thursday 25 November 2021, 08:50-10:30**

***Topic: Counter-terrorism 2 – military and political models***

**Key book chapters:**

* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], part 3, esp. 687-760.
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends,* 2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapters 1 on decapitation and 5 on repression

**Key article:**

* Steven David, “Israel’s Policy of Targeted Killings”, *Ethics and International Affairs*, 17:1 (2003)111-126.

**Further reading:**

* Boaz Ganor, “Targeted Killings: Ethical & Operational Dilemmas”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33.2 (2021), 353-366.
* Audrey K. Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO], chapters 4, 7 and 8.
* Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, 2006 [303.6/25 WIL], chapters 4 (diplomacy) and 6 (military)
* Avi Pedahzur, *The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle Against Terrorism*, 2009, [303.6/2509/5694/PED], chapter 2
* Daniel Byman, *A High Price: The triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism, 2011* [303.6/2509/5964/BYM], chapter 25 on lessons
* 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
* Petter Nesser, “Military Interventions, Jihadi Networks, and Terrorist Entrepreneurs: How the Islamic State Terror Wave Rose So High in Europe,” *CTC Sentinel* 12:3 (2019).

**WEEK 11**

**Thursday 2 December 2021, 08:50-10:30**

***Topic: Counter-terrorism 3 – containment models***

**Key book chapters:**

* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], part 3, esp. 459-530 and the conclusion.
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends,* 2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 3 on success and chapter 4 on failure and implosion, and chapter 7 on Al Qaeda [or see: International Security, 31:1 (2006), pp. 7–48]

**Key Article**

* Bruce Hoffman, “All you need is love: How the terrorists stopped terrorism”, *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 2001.

**Further reading:**

* Nick Sitter and Tom Parker, “Fighting Fire with Water: NGO and Counter-Terrorism Policy Tools”, Global Policy, 2014, 1-10
* Audrey Kurth Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO], chapter 9, 10 and the conclusion
* Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*, 2008 [303.6 25 RIC], chapters 7 and 8 on counter-terrorism

**WEEK 12**

**Thursday 9 December 2021, 08:50-10:30**

***Topic: Terrorist threat assessment***

Preparation for the term paper

**Relevant reports**

* CIA, *CIA Report on a Study of Intelligence Judgements Preceding Significant Historical Failures: The Hazards of Single-Outcome Forecasting* (1983)
* Cynthia Grabo, *Anticipating Surprise: Analysis for Strategic Warning*, US Defense Intelligence Agency (1975/2002), especially p. 25-50
* Stephen Artner, Richard S. Girven and James B. Bruce “Assessing the Value of Structured Analytic Techniques in the U.S. Intelligence Community”, *RAND Corporation*, 2016
* U.S. Government, “A Tradecraft Primer, Structured Analytic Techniques for Improving Intelligence Analysis”, 2009 (available at cia.gov)
* ODNI, *Annual Threat Assessment Report of the US Intelligence Community*, 2021
* Homeland Security, *Homeland Threat Assessment*, October 2020.
* Europol, *Europol’s annual report on Online Jihadist Propaganda,* 2020
* TE-SAT, *European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend report 2021*

**WEEK 13**

**Thursday 16 December 2021, 08:50-10:30**

**Topic:** Exam week