**Terrorism and Counter Terrorism 2023-24**

Nick Sitter, CEU Department of Public Policy

Mondays, Fall Term, 08:50-10:30

**SHORT DESCRIPTION**

This course looks at terrorism and counter-terrorism from an international relations and public policy perspective. The main focus in on academic debates about varieties of terrorism, the causes of terrorism, terrorist organization and modus operandi, and counter-terrorist strategy. The course covers a range of terrorist groups and attacks over the last century and a half, including analysis of terrorist groups’ ideology, organization, strategy, tactics, and propaganda, with a view to understanding and assessing terrorist threats. The counter-terrorism focus is on how liberal democracies fight terrorism, including the historical evolution of counter-terrorism strategies and contemporary public policy issues. Most of the empirical material is centered on Europe, North America, the Middle East and North Africa.

**COURSE LITERATURE**

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

* Audrey K. Cronin, *How terrorism ends: understanding the decline and demise of terrorist campaign*, 2009 [303.6/25 CRON].
* Bruce Hoffman, *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 many other books that are highly recommended for this course:

* 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.
* Richard English, *Terrorism: How to Respond*, OUP 2009 [303.6/25 ENGR] Probably the best short introduction to terrorism and counter-terrorism.
* Martha Crenshaw (ed), *Terrorism in Context*, 1995 [203.6 25 CRE]. The best collection of case studies of terrorism groups and campaigns.
* Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*, Random House 2008 [303.6 25 RIC]. Excellent on terrorists motivation.
* 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.
* Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, 2006 [303.6/25 WIL], a very good complement to Cronin and Ludes.
* 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.
* David Rapoport, *Waves of Global Terrorism: From 1867 to the Present, 2022* [303.6/2509 RAP, e-book available], Rapoport elaborated on his very influential wave theory of terrorism.
* Arie Perliger, *American zealots: inside right-wing domestic terrorism*, 2021 [303.6/2509/73 PER, e-book available], excellent overview of different strands of right-wing terrorism, both empirically in the USA and conceptually
* Petter Nesser, *Islamist Terrorism in Europe: A History*, 2016, [303.6/2509/4 NES], the best book on the origins, evolution and dynamics of Islamist terrorism in Western Europe
* Audrey Kurth Cronin, *Power to the people: how open technological innovation is arming tomorrow's terrorists*, 2020 [355./02 CRO, e-book available], good historical analysis of how and under what conditions terrorist adopt new technologies.

The week-by-week reading list below lists the core reading for each seminar. Most of the books above are relevant for several seminars. The weekly reading list also includes suggestions for further reading, including some primary sources.

**LEARNING GOALS**

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) write a short threat assessment based on open sources; (3) acquire knowledge of a range of counter-terrorism strategies and reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of different types of policy tools, and (4) engage in discussions about how counter-terrorism policies can be designed to foster desirable outcomes.

**EVALUATION AND EXAMINATION**

Threat assessment (50%). This should be written in groups of 2 or 3 students. It is due at the end of the term: Monday 18 December 2023, end of "business" 18:00. This tests learning goals (1) and (2). Please submit the paper by e-mail to Sittern@ceu.edu

Individual written exam (50%). This is written in week 13, individually, and tests learning goals (3) and (4).

**WORKLOAD**

2 US credits = 4 ECTS credits = ca 100 hours work

1) Lectures, seminars and written exam = ca. 25 hours

2) Reading = ca. 50 hours (i.e. ca. 4 hours per week on average)

3) Threat assessment report = ca. 25 hours

**WEEK 1 - Introductory seminar, Monday 18 September 2023 – Analysing terrorist threats**

**Core reading:**

* David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism”, in John Horgan and Kurt Braddock (eds) Te*rrorism 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]
* 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
* Petter Nesser, “Introducing the Jihadi Plots in Europe Dataset (JPED)”, *Journal of Peace Research*, First published online February 21, 2023
* Randolph. H. Pherson & Richards. J. Heuer, *Structured Analytical Techniques for Intelligence Analysis* [327.1/2 PHE], chapter 9.11 (p. 289-303)

**Further reading:**

* Office of the Director of National Intelligence, *Counter-Terrorism Guide*(on the attack cycle), <https://www.dni.gov/nctc/jcat/index.html>
* 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*, latest issue
* Homeland Security, *Homeland Threat Assessment*, latest issue.
* TE-SAT, *European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend report [latest issue]*

**WEEK 2 (25 Sept 2013) - Introductory lectures: the causes of terrorism**

**The is no seminar on Monday 25 September. Please listen to the five 10-minute podcast-style mini-lectures prepared for the course and review the core reading from WEEK 1**

**Core reading:**

* Martha Crenshaw, “The Causes of Terrorism”, *Comparative Politics*, 13 (1981) 379-399
* 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]
* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 1 on definitions

**Further reading:**

* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], Part 2 on causes
* 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
* David Kilcullen, The Accidental Guerilla, 2009 [355.021/KIL], chapter 1

**WEEK 3 (2 Oct 2023) – Nationalist terrorism**

What are the main common factors and differences in terms of ideology, organization, strategy, and tactics used by nationalist terrorist groups? What kind of threat does nationalist terrorism represent in Europe today?

Cases:  Saravejo 1914, IRA, Lehi, Irgun, FLN, EOKA, ETA, PIRA, PLO/Black September

**Core reading:**

* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 2 on the end of empire and origins of contemporary terrorism
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends,*2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 3 on success and chapter 6 on negotiations
* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], pp. 65-117.

**Further reading:**

* Lindsay Clutterbuck, “The Progenitors of Terrorism: Russian Revolutionaries or Extreme Irish Republicans?”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16:1 (2004), 154-181
* John Newsinger, *British Counterinsurgency from Palestine to Northern Ireland*, 2002 [355.0218 NEW], chapter 1 on War with Zion, 1-30 and chapter 7 on Northern Ireland 1969-97, 151-194
* 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
* Jacob N. Shapiro, T*he Terrorist’s Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*,  2013 [303.6/25/SHAP], esp chapters  7 and 8.
* Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism*, 2005, chapter 1 [303.6/25 BYM]
* “Irish World: O’Donovan Rossa’s Dynamiters”, “Menachem Begin: The Revolt”, and “Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA”, 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]

**WEEK 4 (9 Oct 2023) - Left-wing terrorism**

What are the main common factors and differences in terms of ideology, organization, strategy, and tactics used by left-wing terrorist groups? What kind of terrorist threat does left-wing extremism represent in Europe today?

Cases:  Nineteenth century anarchism, Narodnaya Volnya, RAF, Red Brigades

**Core reading:**

* Richard B. Jensen, “The Pre-1914 Anarchist “Lone Wolf” Terrorist and Governmental Responses”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26:1 (2014), 86-94
* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 3 on internationalization
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends,*2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 4 on failure and implosion
* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], pp. 33-65

**Further reading:**

* David C. Rapoport, “Before the Bombs There Were the Mobs: American Experiences with Terror”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20:2 (2008), 176-194
* 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]
* Audrey K. Cronin, *Power to the People: How Open Technological Innovation is Arming Tomorrow's Terrorists*, 2019 [355./02 CRO]. See also Georgetown Security Studies review interview, “The Europe Desk Interview: Audrey Kurth Cronin on Counterterrorism and Emerging Technologies”.
* Karl Heinzen, “Murder”, Sergey Nechaev, “The Catechism of the Revolutionist”, Johan Most “Advice for Terrorists” and “RAF The concept of Guerilla Warfare” in Walter Laqueur (ed), *Voices of Terror,*2004, [303.6/25 LAQ]
* “Giorgio,” *Memoirs of an Italian Terrorist*, 2003 [303.6/2509/45 GIO]
* Carlos Marighella, *The Minimanual of the Urban Guerilla,*1969 (use a search engine; see the CIA's assessment here https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP85T00875R001500020023-5.pdf)

**WEEK 5 (16 Oct 2023) – Rightwing terrorism**

What are the main common factors and differences in terms of ideology, organization, strategy, and tactics used by right-wing terrorist groups? What kind of terrorist threat does right-wing extremism represent in Europe today?

Cases: KKK, Ordine Nero, Mc Veigh, Breivik, solo-terrorism in Europe.

**Core reading:**

* Tore Bjørgo and Jacob Aasland Ravndal, “Extreme-Right Violence and Terrorism: Concepts, Patterns, and Responses”, ICCT 2019, https://icct.nl/publication/extreme-right-violence-and-terrorism-concepts-patterns-and-responses/
* Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapters 9 and 10 on today and tomorrow.
* Are Perliger, “An Ideological Typology of the Violent Far Right”, chapter 2 in Are Perliger, *American zealots: Inside right-wing domestic terrorism*, 2020 [303.6/2509/73 PER] and electronic resources

**Further reading:**

* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], pp. 117-202
* Jacob Ravndal (2018) Right-wing Terrorism and Militancy in the Nordic Countries: A Comparative Case Study, Terrorism and Political Violence, 30:5, 772-792
* Kathleen Belew, *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*, 2018 [305.8/09/73 BEL]
* Cato Hemmingby and Tore Bjørgo (2018) “Terrorist Target Selection: The Case of Anders Behring Breivik”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12:6, 164-176
* Boaz Ganor (2021) "Understanding the Motivations of “Lone Wolf” Terrorists: The “Bathtub” Model", *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 15:5, 23-32
* Ramón Spaaij, “The Enigma of Lone Wolf Terrorism: An Assessment”, Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 33:9 (2010) 854–870
* Bart Schuurman, Lasse Lindekilde, Stefan Malthaner, Francis O'Connor, Paul Gill & Noémie Bouhana (2019), “End of the Lone Wolf: The Typology that Should Not Have Been”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42:8, 771-778.
* Louis Beam, “Leaderless Resistance”, *The Seditionist* 12/1992 (originally 1983)
* 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 6 (23 Oct 2023) – Religious terrorism**

What are the main common factors and differences in terms of ideology, organization, strategy, and tactics used by religious terrorist groups? What kind of terrorist threat does religious extremism represent in Europe today?

Cases: Al Jihad, Hamas, Hezbollah, Al Qaeda, ISIS

**Core reading:**

* Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapter 4 on religion, 6 on suicide terrorism.
* Petter Nesser, Anne Stenersen and Emilie Oftedal, “Jihadi Terrorism in Europe: The IS-Effect”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10:6 (2016), 1-22.
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends*, 2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 6 on reorientation
* Brynjar Lia, “The Islamic State’s tribal policies in Syria and Iraq”, *Third World Thematics*, 6:1-3 (2021) 32-51.

**Further reading:**

* Petter Nesser, *Islamist Terrorism in Europe: A History* [303.6/2509/4 NES], 2016, chapter 4 on global jihad in Europe and chapter 9 on 2011-2015.
* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], pp. 117-202
* Fawaz A. Gerges, *ISIS: A History*, 2016 [303.6/25 GER], chapter 8 on ISIS/Al Qaeda
* 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
* “Syed Qutb: Jihad in the Cause of God”, Mohammad ‘Abdus Salam Faraj: Jihad, The Absent Obligation”, “Hamas: The Covenant”; 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]
* 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 West*, 2016, [303.6/25 NEU], chapters 3 and 4
* 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
* Olivier Roy, *Jihad and Death: The Global Appeal of Islamic State*, 2017 [303.6/2509/44 ROY] Chapter 2: Who are the Radicals?
* Richard Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*, 2005, [303.6/25 PAP] Chapter 2 on explaining suicide terrorism

**WEEK 7 (30 Oct 2023) – No Seminar, group work assignment: threat assessment**

**WEEK 8 (6 Nov 2023) – group work assignment presentations**

**WEEK 9 (13 Nov 2023) – CT 1: police and law enforcement models**

What are the main elements in law enforcement approaches to counter-terrorism? What are the main dilemmas and trade-offs involved?

**Core reading:**

* Tore Bjørgo, “Counter-terrorism as crime prevention: a holistic approach”, Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression 8:1 (2016), 25-44
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends*, 2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 1 on decapitation
* Martha Crenshaw “introduction”, in Martha Crenshaw (ed.) *The Consequences of Counterterrorism*, 2010 [303.6/25 CRE]

**Further reading:**

* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], pp. 530-686.
* Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, 2006 [303.6/25 WIL], chapter 5 (law enforcement)
* Max Abrahms, “What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy”, *International Security*, 32:4 (2008)
* Audrey K. Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO], chapters 3, 5 and 6.
* Ramón Spaaij, *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism: Global Patterns of Motivations and Prevention*, 2012 [303.6/25/SPA], chapter 8 on Responses
* 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
* Richard B. Jensen, “The International Anti-Anarchist Conference of 1898 and the Origins of Interpol”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 16:2 (1981), 323-347
* Richard B. Jensen, “The International Campaign Against Anarchist Terrorism, 1880–1930s”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 21:1 (2009), 89-109.

**WEEK 10 (20 Nov 2023) – Moved to Friday 17 Nov, 13:30, CT 2: military approaches**

What are the main elements in military approaches to counter-terrorism? What are the main dilemmas and trade-offs involved? Under what circumstances, if at all, can ‘targeted killing’ be justified?

**Core reading:**

* Steven David, “Israel’s Policy of Targeted Killings”, Ethics and International Affairs, 17:1 (2003)111-126.
* Cronin, How Terrorism Ends, 2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapters 1 on decapitation, chapter 3 on success and 5 on repression
* 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:**

* Parker, Avoiding the Terrorist Trap, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], part 3, esp. 687-760.
* 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).
* Benjamin Netanyah, Fighting Terrorism, 1995 [303.6/25 NET], esp chapter 5 on Gaza

**WEEK 11 (27 Nov 2023) –** **CT 3: political approaches**

What are the main elements in law enforcement approached to counter-terrorism? What are the main dilemmas and trade-offs involved? Under what circumstances, if at all, can negotiation with terrorist groups be justified?

**Core reading:**

* Peter Neumann, “Negotiating with Terrorists”, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2007
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends*, 2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 2 on Negotiations and 3 on Success
* Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, 2006 [303.6/25 WIL], chapter 4 on Politics, diplomacy and peace processes

**Further reading:**

* Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*, Random House 2008 [303.6 25 RIC], chapters 6, 7 and 8 on counter-terrorism.
* Audrey Kurth Cronin and James Ludes, *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, 2004 [303.6/2509/73 CRO], chapters 4 on diplomacy and 9 on politics
* Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work”, *International Security*, 31:2 (2006)
* Lawrence Freedman, *A Choice of Enemies: America Confronts the Middle East*, 2008 [327./73/056 FRE], chapter 15 on the Return to Camp David
* 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 [327./56 FAW]
* John Coakley, “Implementation issues and the pursuit of a settlement in Northern Ireland” *UCD Working Paper*, 2009, <https://researchrepository.ucd.ie/entities/publication/0aed0389-0035-45f2-a5a0-fd64c95a407e/details>

**WEEK 12 (4 Dec 2023) – Containment and human rights**

What do ‘containment’ models of counter-terrorism entail? What factors or conditions make a containment approach a politically viable CT model?

**Core reading:**

* Nick Sitter and Tom Parker, “Fighting Fire with Water: NGO and Counter-Terrorism Policy Tools”, *Global Policy*, 2014, 1-10
* Parker, *Avoiding the Terrorist Trap*, 2018 [303.6/25 PARK], pp. 459-530 and the conclusion.
* Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends*, 2009 [303.6/25 CRON], chapter 4 on failure and implosion, and chapter 7 on Al Qaeda [or see: *International Security*, 31:1 (2006), pp. 7–48]

**Further reading:**

* Bruce Hoffman*, Inside Terrorism*, 2017 [303.6/25 HOF], chapters 6 and 7 on media
* Bruce Hoffman, “All you need is love: How the terrorists stopped terrorism”, The Atlantic Monthly, December 2001. <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2001/12/all-you-need-is-love/302351/>
* Audrey K. Cronin, “The Evolution of Counterterrorism: Will Tactics Trump Strategy?”, *International Affairs*, 86:4 (2010), 37-856
* Tom Parker, “Why Right is Might: How the Social Science on Radicalisation suggests that International Human Rights Norms actually help frame Effective Counterterrorism Policies”, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 6:3 (2012), 4-22
* Ronald Crelinsten, *Counterterrorism*, 2009 [303.6/25 CREL], esp. chapter 6 on long-term counterterrorism
* 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
* Rick Coolaset and Thomas Renard, “What the Zeitgeist can Tell us About the Future of Terrorism”, ICCT, 9 June 2022
* Mark D. Kielsgard, “A Human Rights Approach to Counter-Terrorism” California Western *International Law Journal* (2006) 36:2
* See the web-pages of the UN Special Rapporteur on Counter-Terrorism, https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-terrorism, incl. the 2020 report “A/75/337 - Promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism” https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/thematic-reports/a75337-promotion-and-protection-human-rights-and-fundamental-freedoms

**WEEK 13 (11 Dec 2023) – Written exam**