

Department of International History

Academic year 2018-2019

Understanding Terrorism: History, Contexts and New Challenges

HI063 - Spring - 6 ECTS

Monday 12:15-14:00

Room S4

Course Description

This course examines the evolution of the phenomenon of terrorism, which has (re)emerged as a lead feature of contemporary international relations. It addresses the questions of definition of terrorism, history of the concept, perspectives on causes, structure and organization of terrorist groups, relationship to the debate on the changing face of warfare, and the consequences of terrorism. The approach blends historical and comparative perspectives and a practical outlook on international policies, seeking to differentiate between varying forms of terrorism in relation to the political and societal context from which they originate and the differing domestic, regional, and international responses they generate. The course's aim is to enhance the critical ability of the students to understand and analyze cogently the issue(s) of terrorism, and their overall ability to assess the novel transnational challenges associated with terrorism and their implication for policy.

> PROFESSOR

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Tuesdays 14:00-16:00

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Syllabus

This course delves comparatively into the variegated historical manifestations of terrorism seeking to unpack its discernible features and consistent consequences in relation to international history and politics.

The active participation of students in class discussion is expected, and will be an important element in the determination of their final grade.

The main course assignment is an individual **research paper** which will count for 50% of the grade. The term paper should be 20-25 pages long (12 point font, double-spaced), with proper citations and a bibliography (additional to the text page length).

The paper should put forth cogently an argument and examine analytically an issue, rather than summarize the literature. The research paper may discuss any particular aspect of the course themes. The topic of the research paper should be thematic and historical. If the student opts for a case-study, the paper must nonetheless cast the analysis against thematic questions, historically and comparatively in relation to other instances. Students are invited to select a topic and submit an **outline** no later than Session Seven (**April 1**).

Please make an appointment with me if you have questions or would like recommendations on topics. A **draft of the paper** can be submitted during Session Ten (**April 29**), and will be returned to you a week later with comments without a grade. **The completed term paper is due at the course's last session (May 27).**

The **paper** will be **presented in class**. Each student will distribute a one-page abstract to his/her classmates before their scheduled presentation. Presentations will be held during **sessions ten to fourteen**. Students will be given appropriate time, approximately 15 minutes (determined according to the number of students in the class) to present their work including a question and answer period with the class. Students are expected to engage each other in the focused discussion of their colleagues' papers.

The grade received in this class will be distributed as follows:

Class participation:	30%
Paper presentation:	20%
Research paper:	50%

Readings

For each session, there will be three (3) required readings and one (1) additional suggested reading. Students are expected to familiarize themselves ahead of the class with all the readings and be prepared to discuss them critically in the context of the session's scheduled issues and the course's overall themes.

Two films – *The Battle of Algiers* (1966) and *One Day in September* (1999) – will be shown during, respectively, Session Three and Session Five, to illustrate the issues associated with nationalism and terrorism, and with the internationalization of terrorism. If any student has previously seen these two films, he/she is nonetheless required to attend the screenings as class discussion will ensue.

Among the readings, two books are particularly useful, and it is suggested that the students acquire them. These are:

- ❑ Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- ❑ Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want – Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*. New York: Random House, 2006.

All the readings are available in a packet of bound photocopies which is made available to the students through the university's services.

Please note that this syllabus is subject to change, and that specific sessions may be rescheduled to meet unavoidable commitments on the part of the professor. Should that be the case, students will be informed ahead of time and proper class rescheduling arrangements made promptly.

If you have a personal condition that requires accommodation in this course, let me know after class or in office hours during the first week of class. I will be happy to consider appropriate accommodations provided timely notice is received and the arrangement is consistent with the Graduate Institute's policies.

Session One (February 18):

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

- Issues:*
- What is terrorism?
 - Why are there persistent difficulties in defining terrorism?
 - What is the relationship between terrorism and state terrorism?

- Readings:*
- Bruce Hoffman, "Defining Terrorism," in *Inside Terrorism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, pp. 1-41.
 - Alex Peter Schmid, "Terrorism: The Definitional Problem," *Case Western Journal of International Law*, 36, 2, 2004, pp. 375-419.
 - Louise Richardson, "What is Terrorism?," in *What Terrorists Want*, New York: Random House, 2006, pp. 4-20.

Supplementary Reading:

- Richard Jackson, "The Ghost of State Terror: Knowledge, Politics and Terrorism Studies," *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1, 3, December 2008, pp. 377-392.

Session Two (February 25):

CAUSES AND ROOTS OF TERRORISM

- Issues:*
- Are terrorists irrational?
 - Does poverty or poor education cause terrorism?
 - Is there a particular relationship between religion and terrorism?

- Readings:*
- Louise Richardson, "What Causes Terrorism?," in *What Terrorists Want*, New York: Random House, 2006, pp. 38-70.
 - Karin Von Hippel, "Does Poverty Serve as a Root Cause of Terrorism?," in *Debating Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism*, Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010, pp. 51-66.
 - Bruce Hoffman, "Religion and Terrorism," in *Inside Terrorism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, pp. 81-130.

Supplementary Reading:

- Alan Krueger and Jitka Malečková, "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 17, 4, fall 2003, pp. 119-144.

Session Three (March 4):

NATIONALISM, SEPARATISM AND TERRORISM

- Issues:*
- The “one person’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter” conundrum
 - The rise of security concerns
 - The impact of nationalist insurrections

○ Case study: Algiers, 1957

Movie: *The Battle of Algiers* (1966) feature film by Gillo Pontecorvo, 121 minutes.

- Readings:*
- Bruce Hoffman, “The End of Empire and the Origins of Contemporary Terrorism”, in *Inside Terrorism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006 pp. 43-62.
 - Paul Gilbert, “Hatred and Revenge,” in *New Terror, New Wars*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University, 2004, pp. 67-83.
 - Alistair Horne, “The Battle of Algiers,” in *A Savage War of Peace*, New York: New York Review of Books, 2006, pp. 183-207.

Supplementary Reading:

- Isabelle Duyvesteyn, “Non-State Actors and the Resort to Violence: Terrorism and Insurgency Strategies Compared,” paper prepared for the seminar on Transnational and Non-State Armed Groups, Harvard University, March 2007.

Session Four (March 11):

SUICIDE TERRORISM

[Review of Session Three issues]

- Issues:*
- What do we know about suicide terrorists?
 - What strategic, social, and individual factors motivate suicide terrorists?
 - When are groups/individuals more likely to resort to suicide terrorism than others?

- Readings:*
- Robert A. Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” in *Dying to Win*, New York: Random House, 2005, pp. 27-60.
 - Louise Richardson, “Why Do Terrorists Kill Themselves?,” in *What Terrorists Want*, New York: Random House, 2006, pp. 104-135.
 - Scott Atran, “Genesis of Suicide Terrorism,” *Science*, 299, March 2003, pp. 1534-1539.

Supplementary Reading:

- Mia Bloom, “Bombshells: Women and Terror,” *Gender Issues*, 28, pp 1-21.

Session Five (March 18):

THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF TERRORISM

- Issues:*
- The 1970s and the first wave of transnational terrorism
 - The logic of high-profile operations
 - The inversion of asymmetry

○ Case study: Munich, 1972

Movie: *One Day in September* (1999) documentary by Kevin McDonald, 97 minutes.

- Readings:*
- Bruce Hoffman, “The Internationalization of Terrorism,” in *Inside Terrorism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, pp. 63-80.

- Herfried Münkler, "International Terrorism," in *The New Wars*, London: Polity, 2005, pp. 99-116.
- Walter Laqueur, "Postmodern Terrorism: New Rules for an Old Game," *Foreign Affairs*, 75, 5, September/October 1996, pp. 24-36.

Supplementary Reading:

- Michael Bar-Zohar and Eitan Haber, *Massacre in Munich*, Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2005, pp. 121-130.

Session Six (March 25):

TECHNIQUES AND STRATEGIES OF TERRORISM

[Review of Session Five issues]

- Issues:*
- The targeting of civilians
 - Disadvantages and advantages of asymmetry
 - The use of modern technology

- Readings:*
- Bruce Hoffman, "The Modern Terrorist Mindset: Tactics, Targets and Technologies," in *Inside Terrorism, Inside Terrorism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006 pp. 229-256.
 - Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism", *International Security*, 31, 1, Summer 2006, pp. 49-80.
 - Fred R. Schreier, "Transnational Terrorism: The Newest Mutation in the Forms of Warfare," in Theodor Winkler *et al.*, *Combating Terrorism and Its Implications for the Security Sector*, SNDC, 2005, pp. 45-57.

Supplementary Reading:

- Carole Beebe Tarantelli, "The Italian Red Brigades and the Structure and Dynamics of Terrorist Groups," *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 91, 2010, pp. 541-560.

Session Seven (April 1):

THE NEW TERRORISM

PAPER TOPICS AND OUTLINE DUE

- Issues:*
- What is the significance of the new transnational groups in modern terrorism?
 - 'Old' and 'New' Terrorism
 - The Impact of Globalisation

- Readings:*
- John Gray, "The Metamorphosis of War", in *Al Qaeda and What It Means to Be Modern*, London: The New Press, 2003, pp. 71-84
 - Robert Pape, "What is New about Research on Terrorism?," *Security Studies*, 18, 2009, pp. 643-650.
 - Louise Richardson, "What Changed and What Did Not on September 11, 2001?," in *What Terrorists Want*, New York: Random House, 2006, pp. 139-168.

Supplementary Reading:

- Martha Crenshaw, "The Debate Over 'New' vs. 'Old' Terrorism", American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, paper, September 2007.

Session Eight (April 8):

CONFRONTING TERRORISM

- Issues:*
- Counter-terrorism
 - Terrorism and the threat to democracy
 - Engagement/non-engagement with terrorists

- Readings:*
- Louise Richardson, "What is To Be Done?," in *What Terrorists Want*, New York: Random House, 2006, pp. 200-239.
 - Arsalan M. Suleman, "Strategic Planning for Combating Terrorism: A Critical Examination," *Cardozo Public Law, Policy, and Ethics Journal*, 5, 3, 2007, pp. 567-601.
 - Barry R. Posen, "The Struggle against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics," *International Security*, 26, 3, Winter 2001/02, pp. 39-55.

Supplementary Reading:

- Peter R. Neumann, "Confronting the New Terrorism," in Peter R. Neumann, *Old and New Terrorism*, London: Polity, 2009, pp. 150-166.

Session Nine (April 15):

DOES TERRORISM END?

- Issues:*
- Do terrorist campaigns come to an end and if so how?
 - What future trends of terrorism can we discern?
 - What can be done to mitigate the lasting impact of terrorism?

- Readings:*
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How Al Qaeda Ends – The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups", *International Security*, 31, 1, summer 2006, pp. 7-48
 - Kapcer Edward Rekawek, "How Terrorism Does Not End – The Case of the Official Irish Republican Army," *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1, 3, December 2008, pp. 359-376.
 - Stephen M. Walt, "ISIS as Revolutionary State – New Twist on an Old Story," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2015.

Supplementary Reading:

- Magnus Ranstorp, *Mapping Terrorism Research – State of the Art, Gaps, and Future Direction*, London: Routledge, 2006, Chapter 1, pp. 1-24.

April 22, no class (Easter break)

Session Ten (April 29):

Papers Presentations I

DRAFT RESEARCH PAPERS DUE

Students present their papers and discuss them with the class.

Session Eleven (May 6):

Papers Presentations II

Students' papers presentations (continued).

Session Twelve (May 13):

Papers Presentations III

Students' papers presentations (continued).

Session Thirteen (May 20):

Papers Presentations IV

Students' papers presentations (continued).

Session Fourteen (May 27):

Papers Presentations V & Conclusions

FINAL RESEARCH PAPERS DUE

*Students' papers presentations (completed).
Course review, conclusions, and wrap-up*

Further Reading and Research Resources

The following sources of print and electronic information can be useful to the students in the preparation of their research papers, and for further reflection on the issues to be discussed in class.

Books

- Bjorgo, Tore, ed. *Root Causes of Terrorism – Myths, Reality, and Ways Forward*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Crenshaw, Martha. *Terrorism in Context*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.
- Jackson, Richard, Marie Breen Smyth, and Jeroen Gunning. *Critical Terrorism Studies – A New Research Agenda*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Jurgensmeyer, Mark. *Terror in the Mind of God – The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003.
- Howard, Lawrence, ed. *Terrorism – Roots, Impact, Responses*. New York: Praeger, 1992.
- Kegley Jr., Charles W., ed. *International Terrorism – Characteristics, Causes, Controls*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.
- Laqueur, Walter Laqueur. *The Age of Terrorism*. Boston: Little Brown, 1987.
- Long, David E. *The Anatomy of Terrorism*. New York: The Free Press, 1990.
- Neumann, Peter R. *Old and New Terrorism*. London: Polity, 2009.
- Sageman, Marc. *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Stepanova, Ekaterina. *Terrorism in Asymmetrical Conflict – Ideological and Structural Aspects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Wardlaw, Grant. *Political Terrorism – Theory, Tactics, and Counter-measures*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Journals

Terrorism and Political Violence
Studies in Conflict and Terrorism
Terrorism: An International Journal
Perspectives on Terrorism
Foreign Affairs
Foreign Policy

Security Studies
International Security

Websites

- Patterns of Global Terrorism: www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/pgtrpt/
- Terrorism Research Guide: <http://gethelp.library.upenn.edu/guides/polisci/conflict.html>
- Center for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence:
www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~wwwir/research/cstp/
- Global Terrorism Analysis: www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/
- www.terrorisme.net

Literature

Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Possessed* (1872). (Also known as *The Devils* or *The Demons*.)
Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (1907).
Albert Camus, *The Just Assassins* (1949). (Original title: *Les Justes*)

Films

The Siege (1998) by Edward Zwick
Munich (2005) by Steven Spielberg
The Baader-Meinhof Complex (2009) by Uli Edel
Carlos (2010) by Olivier Assayas

It also places both in historical context and thereby challenges popular contemporary conceptions of terrorism as an Islamist phenomenon. This textbook will be essential reading for students of terrorism studies, political violence and counter-terrorism, and recommended for students of security studies, homeland security and IR in general. Singh, Rashmi and Jorge M. Lasmar. 2017. Understanding Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism. New York: Routledge.

https://books.google.com/books/about/Understanding_Terrorism_and_Counter_terr.html?id=eifToQEACAAJ. Secular Terrorism: Secular Terrorists view indiscriminate violence as immoral and counterproductive. They appeal to actual and potential followers to use self-restraint in target selection. They are utilitarian—they seek to bring about change that will be of most benefit to the greatest number of people. Terror investigations are set up differently and the main focus is on group ideology and their behavior. Today, the term “terrorist” also applies to large groups that are independent from a state (such as Al Qaeda and the Aum Shinrikyo), violent religious fanatics, or “special interest” or “single cause” groups, which use violence as part of their campaign to bring about change. New Threat group ISIS. Measuring and understanding the impact of terrorism. Quantifying Peace and its Benefits. IEP achieves its goals by developing new conceptual frameworks to define peacefulness; providing metrics for measuring peace; and uncovering the relationships between business, peace and prosperity as well as promoting a better understanding of the cultural, economic and political factors that create peace. SPECIAL THANKS to the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), a Department of Homeland Security Center of Excellence led by the University of Maryland, for their cooperation on this study and for providing the Institute for Economics and Peace with their Global Terrorism Database (GTD) datasets on terrorism. Terrorism is, in the broadest sense, the use of intentional violence for political or religious purposes. It is used in this regard primarily to refer to violence during peacetime or in the context of war against non-combatants (mostly civilians and neutral military personnel). The terms “terrorist” and “terrorism” originated during the French Revolution of the late 18th century but gained mainstream popularity in the 1970s during the conflicts of Northern Ireland, the Basque Country and Palestine