



**MASTER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
ACADEMIC YEAR 2009-2010**

<b>COURSE INFORMATION</b>	
<b>Title</b>	<i><b>Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism</b></i>
<b>Number of credits</b>	4 ECTS (28 HOURS)
<b>Type of course</b>	<i>Optional</i>
<b>Term</b>	<i>Second Term</i>
<b>Language</b>	<i>English</i>
<b>Instructor</b>	MURO, Diego
<b>E-mail</b>	<a href="mailto:d.muro@ibe.org">d.muro@ibe.org</a>
<b>Office Hours</b>	Appointments can be arranged by e-mail

<b>COURSE DESCRIPTION</b>
<p>In this course, we will explore questions such as:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Why do individuals grow to hate each other to the point of using political violence?</li> <li>2. Why do groups decide to use terror to achieve their political ends?</li> <li>3. How do states prevent challenges to their authority from terrorist groups?</li> <li>4. When do terrorist groups succeed in dissolving state authority?</li> <li>5. What are the international implications of terrorism?</li> </ol> <p>Throughout the 1990s and into the twenty first century, the world has witnessed several cases of terrorism. The attack on 9/11 in the U.S. represents a defining terrorist attack to Americans, but terrorism is not a new phenomenon in most parts of the world. In Europe, India, Africa, and the Middle East, terrorism has long been part of politics. As a class, we will seek to understand the causes of terrorist behaviour. The structure of the course is as follows. We will begin by examining what motivates individuals to hate each other. We will then discuss how individuals organize to protect their political interests and eventually move to violent tactics, such as terrorism. We will discuss the types of tactics used by violent groups as well as the response of the state. Finally, we will discuss the international implications of political violence as well as possibilities for conflict resolution.</p>

## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

The course will seek to develop in its students:

- a critical understanding of the concept of terrorism and political violence within the context of a multidisciplinary approach to security studies
- knowledge and understanding of the principal social and psychological factors that influence the emergence, development, and abandonment of terrorism as a method of waging conflict
- an understanding and critical evaluation of the political context to contemporary terrorism
- a capacity to critically assess terrorist incidents around the world, examine selected approaches to counter-terrorism, and the development of new responses
- skills of literature search, the use of open source material, and an introduction to basic and principal elements of intelligence analysis
- skills in research design and analysis using qualitative and quantitative techniques

## METHOD OF ASSESSMENT

The overall grade for this course will be comprised of four individual marks.

- 50% of the total mark will be awarded based on the completion of a written exam at the end of the course. This will be a take-home exam in which one question from a number (at least five) will be answered in an essay of between 2000-3000 words. The length of time to complete the essay will be no more than one week, and marks will be deducted for late submission.
- 25% of the total mark will be awarded based on the completion of a written summary (500 words) of one of a number of article-length texts, all of which will be chosen by the lead instructor. This work will be completed within the first half of the course (by week 7).
- 15% of the total mark will be awarded on the basis of student presentations to class. These presentations should not be more than 10 minutes long.
- 10% of the total grade will be awarded according to punctuality, attendance and the level of contributions to class discussions.

## LECTURES AND READINGS

1. Introduction: Defining Terrorism
2. Studying Terrorism: Methodology and Debates
3. Motivations for Terrorism: Aims and Ideologies
4. Who becomes a terrorist?
5. Terrorist Groups: Organization and Processes
6. Terrorist Tactics and Audiences
7. The Dynamics of Terrorist Violence
8. Left-wing and Right-wing Terrorism
9. Nationalist and Ethnic Terrorism
10. Religious Terrorism: the Case of Al Qaeda
11. Counter-Terrorism: Policy Instruments and The Role of the Military
12. Counter-Terrorism: The Role of Policing and Intelligence
13. Negotiating with Terrorists?
14. Addressing the Root Causes? Terrorism and Foreign Policy

### **Session 1: Introduction: Defining Terrorism**

#### **Essential Reading**

Hoffman, B. (2006) *Inside Terrorism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 1: Defining Terrorism, pp. 1-41.

#### **Recommended Reading**

Giovanni Sartori, "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics," *Science Review*, 64 (1970), 1033-1053. Electronic journal.

Schmid, A.P. (2004) 'Terrorism – The Definitional Problem', *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, 36 (2-3), pp. 375-419

Weinberg, L., Pedahzur, A. and Hirsch-Hoefler, S. (2004) 'The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16(4), pp. 777-94.

### **Session 2: Studying Terrorism: Methodology and Debates**

#### **Essential Reading**

Martha Crenshaw. 2000. *The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the Twenty First Century*. *Political Psychology* 20(2)

David Lake. 2002. *Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty First Century*. *International Organization* 56 (1): 15-29.

#### **Recommended Reading**

Silke, A. 2004. *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements and Failures*. Routledge.

Ranstorp, M. 2007. *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps and Future Direction*. Routledge

### **Session 3: Motivations for Terrorism: Aims and Ideologies**

#### **Essential Reading**

Hoffman, B. (2006) *Inside Terrorism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 2: The End of Empire and the Origins of Contemporary Terrorism.

Gupta, Dipak K. (2004) 'Exploring Roots of Terrorism' in Bjørgo, Tore (ed.) *Root Causes of Terrorism*. London: Routledge (2004).

### **Recommended Reading**

Abrahams, Max (2008) 'What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorism Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy', *International Security*, 32:4, pp. 78-105.

Crenshaw, M. (1981) 'The Causes of Terrorism', *Comparative Politics*, 13(4), pp. 379-99.

Alan B. Krueger & Jitka Maleckova (2003) 'Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is there a Causal Connection?', *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 17: 4, pp. 119-144.

Stern, Jessica (2003) *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (New York: Ecco).

James Fearon and David Laitin (1996) 'Explaining Inter-Ethnic Cooperation'. *American Political Science Review* 90(4): 715-735.

### **Session 4: Who becomes a terrorist?**

#### **Essential Reading**

Michel Wieviorka (1993) *The Making of Terrorism*. University of Chicago Press. pp. 3-41.

Jeff Victoroff (2005) 'The Mind of a Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(1): 3-42;

#### **Recommended Reading**

Crenshaw, Martha (1981) 'The Causes of Terrorism', *Comparative Politics*, 13(4), pp. 379-99.

Horgan, J. (2005) *The Psychology of Terrorism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hudson, Rex A., *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?* Washington, D.C.: Federal Reserve Division, Library of Congress, September 1999. As of January 2009: [http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc\\_Psych\\_of\\_Terrorism.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc_Psych_of_Terrorism.pdf)

### **Session 5 Terrorist Groups: Organization and Processes**

#### **Essential Reading**

Kevin Siqueria. 2005. Political and Militant Wings within Dissident Movements and Organizations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2): 218-236

Post, J. (1987) 'Group and Organisational Dynamics of Political Terrorism' in Paul Wilkinson and A. Steward (eds.), *Contemporary Research on Terrorism* (Aberdeen> Aberdeen University Press).

#### **Recommended Reading**

Mancur Olson. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*.

Read [http://economics.about.com/cs/macroeconomics/a/logic\\_of\\_action.htm](http://economics.about.com/cs/macroeconomics/a/logic_of_action.htm) article at:

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2005. The Quality of Terror. *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3): 515-530.

## **Session 6: Terrorist Tactics and Audiences**

### **Essential Reading**

Robert A. Pape. 2003. 'The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism', *American Political Science Review*, 97(3): 343-361.

Diego Gambetta (2005) *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 8.

### **Recommended Reading**

Dershowitz, A. (2002) *Why Terrorism Works: Understanding the Threat, Responding to the Challenge* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).

Scott Atran. 2003. The Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science* 299(5612): 1534-1539.

Richardson, L. (2006) *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Terrorist Threat*. London: John Murray.

Michael Biggs, "Dying without Killing: Self-Immolations, 1963-2002," in *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, ed. Diego Gambetta (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 173-208.

Christopher Reuter, *My Life is a Weapon: The Modern History of Suicide Bombing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 1-78.

## **Session 7: The Dynamics of Terrorist Violence**

### **Essential Reading**

Freedman, L. (2005) 'Strategic Terror and Amateur Psychology', *The Political Quarterly*, 76(2), pp. 161-70.

Hoffman, B. (2006) *Inside Terrorism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 8: The Modern Terrorist Mind-set: Tactics, Targets, Tradecraft, and Technologies.

### **Recommended Reading**

Paul Wilkinson and A. Steward (eds.), *Contemporary Research on Terrorism* (Aberdeen> Aberdeen University Press). Chapters by Berry and Crelinsten

Pape, R. (2005) *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House.

## **Session 8: Left-wing and Right-wing Terrorism**

### **Essential Reading**

Jamieson, A. 1990 'Entry, Discipline and Exit in the Italian Red Brigades', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2(1), pp. 1-21.

Peter H. Merkl (1995) *West German Left-Wing Terrorism in Martha Crenshaw, Terrorism in Context*, pp. 160-210.

### **Recommended Reading**

Juergensmeyer, M. (2001) *Terror in the Mind of God*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. Chapter on 'Soldiers of Christ'.

Barkun, M. (1989) 'Millenarian Aspects of 'While Supremacist' Movements', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 1(4), pp. 409/434.

Hans Josef Horchem. 1991. 'The Decline of the Red Army Faction', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 3(2), pp. 61-75.

## **Session 9: Nationalist and Ethnic Terrorism**

### **Essential Reading**

Waldmann, P. (1992) 'Ethnic and Sociorevolutionary Terrorism: A Comparison of Structure' in Donatella Della Porta (ed.), *Social Movements and Violence: Participation in Underground Organizations*. Greenwich: JAI Press, pp. 237-54.

Weinberg, L. (1991) 'Turning to Terror: The conditions under which political parties turn to terrorist activities', *Comparative Politics*, 23 (4)

### **Recommended Reading**

Michael Hechter, *Nationalist Violence in Nations and Nationalism*

## **Session 10: Religious Terrorism: the Case of Al Qaeda**

### **Essential Reading**

Jessica Stern. 2003. *The Protean Enemy*. *Foreign Affairs* 82(4).

Gray, John (2003) *Al Qaeda and what it means to be modern*. Faber and Faber, London, UK

### **Recommended Reading**

Hoffman, B. 2002 'Rethinking Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism since 9/11', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, no. 25, pp. 303-316.

Esposito, J. L. *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*

Sageman, M. (2004) *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, ch. 4 (Joining the Jihad) and ch. 5. (Social Networks and the Jihad).

## **Session 11: Counter-Terrorism: Policy Instruments and The Role of the Military**

### **Essential Reading**

Kurth Cronin, A & Ludes, J.M (eds.) *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, pp. 162-185. Chapter on Military Force.

Wilkinson, P. (2006) 'The Role of the Military in Combating Terrorism in a Democratic Society', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 8(3).

### **Recommended Reading**

John Ginkel and Alastair Smith. 1999. *So You Say You Want a Revolution? A Game Theoretic Explanation of Revolution in Repressive Regimes*. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43(3): 291-316.

Walter Enders and Todd Sandler. 1993. *The Effectiveness of Anti-Terrorism Policies: Vector-Autoregression-Intervention Analysis*. *American Political Science Review* 87(4): 829-844.

## **Session 12: Counter-Terrorism: The Role of Policing and Intelligence**

### **Essential Reading**

Kurth Cronin, A & Ludes, J.M (eds.) *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand*

Strategy. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, pp. 162-185. Chapter on Intelligence.

Matassa, M. and Newburn, T. (2003) 'Policing and Terrorism', in Newburn (ed.), *Handbook of Policing* (Cullompton: Willan Publishing).

### **Recommended Reading**

Waddington, P. A. J. (1993) 'The Case Against Paramilitary Policing Considered', *British Journal of Criminology*, 33: 353-370

Feldman, D. (2006) 'Human Rights, Terrorism and Risk: The Role of Politicians and Judges', *Public Law*, pp. 364-384.

### **Session 13: Negotiating with Terrorists?**

#### **Essential Reading**

Navin Bapat (2005) *Insurgency and the Opening of Peace Processes*. *Journal of Peace Research*

Branna, Esler & Strindberg (2001) Talking to 'Terrorists', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 24:3-24.

#### **Recommended Reading**

Bandura, A. (1990). Mechanisms of moral disengagement. In W. Reich (Ed.), *Origins of terrorism: Psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind* (pp. 161-191). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

R. Harrison Wagner. 2000. Bargaining and War. *American Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 469-484.

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2005. Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence. *International Organization* 49(1): 145-176.

### **Session 14: Addressing the Root Causes? Terrorism and Foreign Policy**

#### **Essential Reading**

Stephen M. Walt. 2001. Beyond Bin Laden - Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy. *International Security* 26(3): 56-78.

Audrey Kurth Cronin (2006) 'How Al Qaeda Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups', *International Security*, 31:1, pp. 7-48.

#### **Recommended Reading**

Larry Diamond. 2004. WhatWentWrong in Iraq? *Foreign Affairs* 83(5)

Thomas Carothers. 2003. Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror. *Foreign Affairs* 82(1). December 1: Future Challenges with Terrorism. Hoge and Rose 14,

Halliday, F. (2003) *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation* (London: IB Tauris), esp. Chapter 4 (Islam and the West)

Paul R. Pillar (2004) *Terrorism and US Foreign Policy*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution.