

Department of International History and Politics

Academic year 2021-2022

Understanding Terrorism: History, Contexts and New Challenges

HI063 - Spring - 6 ECTS
Mondays 10:15-12:00

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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> ASSISTANT

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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 participation of students in class discussion is expected.

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The main assignment is an individual **research paper** which counts for 80% of the grade. The term paper should be approximately 5,000 words (12 point Times New Roman font, double-spaced), with proper citations and a bibliography (additional to the text page length). The paper can be written in English or in French. The paper should put forth a cogent argument or examine analytically, comparatively and historically an issue, rather than summarize the literature. The paper may discuss any particular aspect of the course themes. The topic of the research paper should be thematic. If the student opts for a case-study, the paper must nonetheless cast the analysis against thematic questions, historically and comparatively.

Students are invited to select a topic for their paper and submit an **outline** of their paper no later than Session Six (**28 March**). Please let me know if you have questions or would like to discuss research topics. **The completed term paper is due in PDF format on the last day of the spring 2022 semester on 3 June at midnight.**

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

Research paper:	80%
Class participation:	20%

Readings

For each session, there will be three (3) required readings. 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.

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 (21 February):

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.
- 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 (28 February):

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:*
- 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.
 - 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.

Session Three (7 March):

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.

Session Four (14 March):

SUICIDE TERRORISM

- 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.
 - Mia Bloom, "Bombshells: Women and Terror," *Gender Issues*, 28, pp 1-21.
 - Scott Atran, "Genesis of Suicide Terrorism," *Science*, 299, March 2003, pp. 1534-1539.

Session Five (21 March):

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

Session Six (28 March):

TECHNIQUES AND STRATEGIES OF TERRORISM

PAPER TOPICS AND OUTLINE DUE

- 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.
 - 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 (4 April):

THE 'NEW TERRORISM'

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

Session Eight (11 April):

The Economics of Terrorism

- Issues:*
- How do economics and terrorism relate?
 - How is terrorism financed?
 - How have these trends evolved?

- Readings:*
- Michael Freeman, "Sources of Terrorist Financing: Theory and Typology", in Michael Freeman, ed., *Financing Terrorism*, London: Routledge, 2012, pp. 7-28.
 - Brenda J. Lutz and James M. Lutz, "Globalization, Terrorism and the Economy" in Brenda J. Lutz and James M. Lutz, *Globalization and the Economic Consequences of Terrorism*, London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017. 1-30.
 - Michael D. Intriligator, "The Economics of Terrorism", *Economic Inquiry*, 48, 1, January 2010, pp. 1-13.

18 April Spring Break – No Class

Session Nine (25 April):

Al Qaeda

- Issues:*
- What is Al Qaeda?
 - How did it impact the history of terrorism?
 - What is its legacy?

- Readings:*
- Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, “Al Qaeda’s Matrix” in Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, *A Theory of ISIS – Political Violence and the Transformation of the Global Order*, London: Pluto Press, 2017, pp. 31-64
 - Peter Bergen and Paul Cruickshank, “Revisiting the Early Al Qaeda: An Updated Account of its Formative Years”, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 35, 1, 2012, pp. 1-36.
 - John Gray, “The Metamorphosis of War”, in *Al Qaeda and What It Means to Be Modern*, London: The New Press, 2003, pp. 71-84

Session Ten (2 May):

THE ISLAMIC STATE

- Issues:*
- What is the Islamic State?
 - How did it impact the history of terrorism?
 - What is its legacy?

- Readings:*
- Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, “From Qaedat al Jihad to Al Dawla al Islamiya” in Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, *A Theory of ISIS – Political Violence and the Transformation of the Global Order*, London: Pluto Press, 2017, pp. 88-123.
 - Paul Rogers, “World Order or Disorder? ISIS and the New Drivers of Conflict”, *Irregular War – The New Threat from the Margins*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2017, pp. 1-22.
 - Stephen M. Walt, “ISIS as Revolutionary State – New Twist on an Old Story,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2015.

Session Eleven (9 May):

RIGHT-WING TERRORISM

- Issues:*
- What is right-wing/white supremacist/nationalist terrorism?
 - How has it evolved?
 - What forms does it take contemporaneously?

- Readings:*
- Ehud Sprinzak, “Right-Wing Terrorism: The Case of Split Delegitimization”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 7, 1, 1995, pp. pp. 17-43.
 - Jacob Aasland Ravndal, “Right-Wing Terrorism and Militancy in the Nordic Countries: A Comparative Case-Study”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 30, 5, 2018, pp. pp. 772-792.
 - Daniel Koehler, “Right-Wing Violence and Terrorism in Post-Second World War Germany”, in Daniel Koehler, *Right-Wing Terrorism in the 21st Century – The National Socialist Underground and the History of Terror from the Far-Right in Germany*, London: Routledge, 2017, pp. 71-127.

Session Twelve (16 May):

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.

Session Thirteen (23 May):

DOES TERRORISM END? AND COURSE CONCLUSIONS

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

FINAL RESEARCH PAPERS DUE ON FRIDAY 3 JUNE 2022 AT MIDNIGHT

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
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/cstpv/
- Global Terrorism Analysis: www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/

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