Aims and Introduction

This course provides an advanced foundation and comprehensive understanding of two of the most contested concepts in contemporary political discourse, terrorism and counterterrorism, and their relationship with relevant and related issues in the field of security studies. Based on the multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary nature of the phenomenon, the programme provides an overview of the history of terrorism and counter-terrorism, the theories and paradigms related to these concepts, and the means of assessing them critically. In particular, the course will provide knowledge and understanding of the following:

- An understanding of the various approaches to studying terrorism.
- Terrorism: that is, history, relevant concepts, case studies, and issues.
- Counter-terrorism: that is, history, relevant concepts, case studies, and issues.

Course Team

- Prof Peter Neumann (course convenor), peter.r.neumann@gmail.com, Office: K6.53; Office Hours: please book appointment: Katie Rothman: Katie.rothman@icsr.info

- Dr Alexander Meleagrou Hitchens, alexander.hitchens@kcl.ac.uk, Office: K6.53; Office Hours: please email to book appointment

- Dr Frank Foley – frank.foley@kcl.ac.uk

Assignments and Course Assessment

Your mark for this course will be based on two 1,500 word essays, due on 8 December (1st Essay) and 20 March (2nd Essay), as well as a three-hour exam to be held in the third term. The mark from each of your essays will count 25% towards your final mark for the course. The exam will count 50%.

Each essay will critically address one of the questions and issues provided in the ‘Essay Topics’ list provided by the course convenors. You are free to choose any topic from the list.
**Expectations and responsibilities**

Achieving the aims of the course will depend on all working together to help each other through some often quite difficult material. Each session will begin with a formal lecture and most will be followed by a tutorial discussion, led by a member of academic staff. To get the most out of both the lecture and the tutorial discussion, it is important that you do the assigned reading *beforehand*.

Attendance is expected. As you will know from the programme handbook, you are obliged to maintain academic standards, including fulfilling all programme and module requirements to the satisfaction of relevant teaching staff, including, inter alia, demonstrating due industry, such as completing assignments and satisfactory attendance. We will keep an attendance record and we are required to report two consecutive missed classes. If you are struggling to meet deadlines or with any aspect of the course, please contact your personal tutor as soon as possible. We have procedures in place (e.g. mitigating circumstances form) to help but you must follow the correct procedures.
# Course Overview: Terrorism and Counter Terrorism (7SSWM022)

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PN = Prof Peter Neumann; AMH = Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens; FF=Dr Frank Foley; JB=Dr John Bew; SM = Dr. Shiraz Maher; DO = Sir David Omand; JG=Dr Jeroen Gunning; JC = Joanna Cook; EP = Elizabeth Pearson

**Key Texts**

• Audrey Cronin, James Ludes (eds.), *Attacking Terrorism* (Georgetown, 2004)
• David Omand, *Securing the State* (London: Hurst and Co., 2010)
• Andrew Silke, *The Psychology of Counter-Terrorism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011)
• Frank Foley, *Countering Terrorism in Britain and France: Institutions, Norms and the Shadow of the Past* (Cambridge University Press, 2013)
• Walter Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism* (Transaction, 2001)

**Essential Journals**

• *Critical Studies on Terrorism*
• *Democracy and Terrorism*
• *Foreign Affairs*
• *International Affairs*
• *International Security*
• *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*
• *Survival*
• *Terrorism and Political Violence*

**Accessing Readings**

Whenever possible we have tried to assign readings available in digital form from the list of electronic journals at KCL: [http://metalib.kcl.ac.uk/V/?func=find-ej-1](http://metalib.kcl.ac.uk/V/?func=find-ej-1)
You may also find it useful to apply to the University of London’s Senate House Library for borrowing privileges. As well as two million books, they have excellent e-journal holdings: http://www.ull.ac.uk/
Reading Recommendations

1  Introduction to the Course and Research Methods Workshop

   No reading required

2  Defining Terrorism

   - Donatella Della Porta (ed.), *Social Movements and Violence: Participation in Underground Organizations* (Greenwich: JAI Press, 1992)
3  "Critical Terrorism Studies"

- Edward Herman and Gerry O'Sullivan, *The Terrorism Industry: The Experts and Institutions that Shape Our View of Terror* (New York: Routledge, 1991)
- ***John Horgan and Michael Boyle, 'A case against 'critical terrorism studies',* Critical Studies on Terrorism, 1(1) (2007), pp. 51-64

4  Historical Approaches

- ***Martin A. Miller, “The Intellectual Origins of Modern Terrorism in Europe”,

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<th>5 Political Science, Sociology and International Relations</th>
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<td>- Paul K. David and Kim Cragin (eds.), <em>Social Science for Counterterrorism: Putting the Pieces Together</em> (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2009), various chapters.</td>
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• Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh, ‘From Revolutionary Dreams to Organizational Fragmentation: Disputes over Violence Within ETA and Sendero Luminoso’, *Terrorism and Political Violence* 14(4) (1994), pp. 66-92

7 Aims and Ideologies

• *** Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), Chapters 2 and 3
• Cynthia Irvin, Militant Nationalism: Between Movement and Party in Ireland and the Basque Country (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999)
• Matthew Levitt and Dennis Ross, Hamas: Politics, Charity and Terrorism in the Name of Jihad (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007)
• Leonard Weinberg, ‘Turning to Terror: The conditions under which political parties turn to terrorist activities’, Comparative Politics, 23(4) (1991)
• Leonard Weinberg and Ami Pedahzur, Political Parties and Terrorist Groups (London and New York: Routledge, 2003)
• Paddy Woodworth, Dirty War, Clean Hands: ETA, the GAL and Spanish Democracy (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003)
• On various developments and issues related to religion, see Terrorism and Political Violence, 17(3) (2005)

8 | Terrorist Strategy

• *** Lawrence Freedman, ‘Strategic Terror and Amateur Psychology’, *The Political Quarterly*, 76(2) (2005), pp. 161-70

| 9 | Understanding ISIS |

• *The Islamic State* – Mapping Militant Organisations, http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/1

10 | Right-Wing Terrorism

• Kerry Noble, *Tabernacle of Hate: Seduction into Rightwing Extremism*, 2nd ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2010).
• Peter Davies and Derek Lynch (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Fascism and the Far-Right* (Routledge, 2002)

11 | Leftwing Terrorism

• Karin Bauer, *Everybody talks about the weather . . . we don’t: The writings of Ulrike Meinhof* (New York: Seven Stories, 2009)
• Raimondo Catanzaro (ed.), *The Red Brigades and Left-Wing Terrorism in Italy* (London: Pinter, 1991)
• ***Donatella Della Porta, *Social movements, political violence and the state. A comparative analysis of Italy and Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
• Richard Drake, *The Revolutionary Mystique and Terrorism in Contemporary Italy* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press 1988)
• Peter Fritzche, ‘Terrorism in the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy: Legacy of the 68 Movement or “Burden of Fascism”?’ *Terrorism and Political Violence* 1, (1999), pp. 466–81
• Martin Gutmann, ‘Notable literature on Germany’s Red Army Faction within the context of Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus’. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 31 (2008), pp. 371–75
• Kay Schiller, ‘Political militancy and generation conflict in West Germany during the red decade’. *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe* 11 (2003), pp. 19-38

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<th>Terrorism in East Africa: The al-Shabaab Network</th>
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• ‘Al Shabaab Expands Operational Zone’, *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 3(28)
• Matt Bryden, ‘The Reinvention of al-Shabaab’, CSIS
• Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens, ‘Jihad Comes to Kenya’, Foreign Affairs, 10 January 2014
• Stig Jarle Hansen, Al-Shabaab in Somalia (Hurst: 2013)

13 | Exams Week: no class

Revise key texts

14 | Intelligence and Terrorism

Required Reading


Recommended Readings

• Peter Bergen, Manhunt: From 9/11 to Abbottabad - the Ten-Year Search for Osama bin Laden (Random House, 2012).
• Dan Byman, ‘The Intelligence War on Terrorism,’ Intelligence and National Security 29:6 (2013), 837-63.
• Frank Foley, and Max Abrahms, ‘Terrorism and Counterterrorism,’ in The International Studies Encyclopedia, Denemark R. et al., eds. (Wiley-
• Martin Ingram, Stakeknife: Britain’s Secret Agent Inside the IRA (Dublin, 2004)
• Jon Moran, and Mark Phythian (eds.), Intelligence, Security and Policing Post 9-11: The UK’s Response to the ‘War on Terror’ (Basingstoke, 2008).
• David Omand, Securing the State (London, 2010).
• Paul Pillar, Intelligence and US Foreign Policy (New York: Columbia UP, 2011), Chapters 1, 9-12.
• G. Schroen, First In: How the CIA Spearheaded the War on Terror in Afghanistan, (Presidio Press, 2007).
• M. Sheehan, Crush the Cell (New York: Three Rivers, 2008).
• G. Treverton, Intelligence for an Age of Terror (Cambridge University Press: 2009)
• On various issues and development related to terrorism and human rights, see *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 17(1-2) (2005)
- Eqbal Ahmad, *Terrorism: Theirs and Ours* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2001)
- Christopher Hitchens, ‘Of Sin, the Left and Islamic Fascism’, *The Nation*, 24 September 2001


18 Countering Violent Extremism in France and Britain

**Required Reading**


**Recommended Reading**

- Raffaello Pantucci, 'A contest to democracy? How the UK has responded to the current terrorist threat', *Democratization*, 17: 2 (2010), 251-271.

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19 | Foreign Policy and International CT Cooperation


20 Terrorism, Torture and Human Rights

Required Reading


Recommended Reading


P. Gronke, Darius Rejali, Dustin Drenguis, James Hicks, Peter Miller, and Bryan Nakayama, “U.S. Public Opinion on Torture, 2001–2009,” PS: Political Science and Politics, 43, 3 (July 2010), 437-44.


Gary Kern, “Torture and Intelligence in the Global War on Terror,” Intelligence and National Security 25, no. 6 (December 2010): 868-874


Samantha Newbery, Interrogation, Intelligence and Security: Controversial British Techniques, Manchester University Press, 2015.


J.J. Wisnewski, Understanding Torture (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), especially Chapters 3, 5, 6 and 8
• Tore Bjørgo and John Horgan (eds.), Leaving Terrorism Behind (London and New York: Routledge 2009)

Required reading

Recommended Reading

• Bermingham, A., M. Conway, L. Mcinerney, N. O. Hare, and A. F. Smeaton. 2009. “Combining Social Network Analysis and Sentiment Analysis to Explore the Potential for Online Radicalisation.” In IEEE International Conference on Advances in Social Network Analysis and Mining (pp. 231–6). Athens, Greece.


• Pearson, E 2015 “The Case of Roshonara Choudhry: Implications for Theory on Online Radicalization, ISIS women and the gendered Jihad”, Policy and Internet, (Forthcoming)


• “Pretty Radical: Inside Poland's Far Right” - part one; “Pretty Radical: The Far Right's Independence Day March” - part two. Guardian Docs

  Part 1: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=la5YkZfz-_4

  Part 2: https://www.youtube.com/watch?annotation_id=annotation_39027737&feature=iv&src_vid=la5YkZfz-_4&v=tOB8IsKEyiw

| 23 | Exam revision |