



## Seminarplan

### "Internationaler Terrorismus" Di. 11.00 - 13.00 Uhr, Neue Uni HS 15

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#### **Kurzbeschreibung**

Das Seminar bietet einen breiten Überblick zum Forschungsfeld Terrorismus und beschäftigt sich vertiefend mit Beispielen des internationalen Terrorismus. Der Kurs ist in drei Teile gegliedert: Im ersten Drittel erkunden wir allgemeine Fragen des Themas – Terrorismus und andere Formen der Insurgenz und des politischen Extremismus, die Struktur terroristischer Gruppen, die Motivation von Terroristen, Autoritäts- und Entscheidungsstrukturen in terroristischen Organisationen sowie der Einfluss unterschiedlicher Operationstypen auf Regierungen und Öffentlichkeiten. Im zweiten Teil werden wir uns tiefergehend mit einigen ausgewählten terroristischen Kampagnen beschäftigen (u.a sozialrevolutionärer Terrorismus in Argentinien, Ethnoterrorismus der IRA, Rechtsterrorismus in den USA, religiöser Terrorismus in Japan u.a.O.). Im dritten Teil beschäftigen wir uns mit dem so genannten „neuen Terrorismus“, dessen Archetyp Al Qaeda ist. Darüber hinaus betont der Kurs substantielles Lesen, intensives Schreiben, sorgfältige Analyse, systematische Auswertung, Training der konzeptionellen Fähigkeiten, kritisches Denken, sowie Diskussionsfähigkeit. Am Ende des Semesters findet ein zusätzliches Blockseminar statt. Der genaue Termin und der Ort werden zu Semesterbeginn bekannt gegeben.

#### **Leistungsnachweis**

Übernahme eines Referats bzw. Kommentars zum Referat, regelmäßige Teilnahme, gewissenhafte Beschäftigung mit der Literatur sowie Hausarbeit.

#### **Teilnahmeschein**

Regelmäßige Teilnahme, gewissenhafte Beschäftigung mit der Literatur sowie Anfertigung von zwei (2) jeweils dreiseitigen (3seitigen) Essays zur kritischen Beschäftigung mit der Pflichtlektüre einer Sitzung. Die Essays sind jeweils abzugeben spätestens am Tag vor jener Sitzung, deren Pflichtlektüre kommentiert wird.

## Seminarplan

### 25.04 Einführungssitzung

#### Block I: Grundlagen

### 02.05 Trends der internationalen Terrorismusforschung

#### *Pflichtliteratur:*

- Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler, "The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16 (4), Winter 2004, p. 777-794.
- Andrew Silke, „The Devil You Know: Continuing Problems with Research on Terrorism“, in Andrew Silke, ed., *Research on Terrorism. Trends, Achievements and Failures*, (London: Frank Cass, 2004), also in: *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 13 (4) (2001), 1-14.

#### *Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy. The Liberal State Response*, London and New York: Frank Cass, 1-19.
- Alex P. Schmid, "Frameworks for Conceptualizing Terrorism", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, April–June 2004, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 197-225
- Beril Dedeoglu, "Bermuda Triangle: Comparing Official Definitions of Terrorist Activity", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 15, no. 3, 2003, pp. 81-110.
- W. Enders and T. Sandler, "Is Transnational Terrorism Becoming More Threatening? A Time-Series Investigation", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44, 3, 307-322.
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### 09.05 Determinanten terroristischen Verhaltens

#### *Pflichtliteratur:*

- Martha Crenshaw, „Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches“, in David C. Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations*.
- Donatella della Porta, "Introduction: On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations", in Donatella della Porta, ed., *Social Movements and Violence. Participation in Underground Organizations*
- Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism", *Comparative Politics*, vol. 13, no. 4, 1981, pp. 379-399.

#### *Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Jerrold M. Post, Ehud Sprinzak, and Luarita M. Denny, „The Terrorists in their own Words: Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists“, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 15 (1) (2003), 171-184.
- Martha Crenshaw, "An Organizational Approach to the Analysis of Political Terrorism", *Orbis*, 29 (3) (1985), 465-89.
- Martha Crenshaw, "Decisions to Use Terrorism: Psychological Constraints on Instrumental Reasoning", in Donatella della Porta, ed., *Social Movements and Violence. Participation in Underground Organizations*
- Martha Crenshaw, "The Psychology of Political Terrorism", in Margaret G. Hermann, ed., *Political Psychology*

- Rex Hudson, *Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why. The 1999 Government Report on Profiling Terrorists*, 33-66.
- James A. Piazza, "Rooted in Poverty?: Terrorism, Poor Economic Development, and Social Cleavages", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 18, 2006, 159-177.

## 16.05 Entfällt!!!

## 23.05 Entfällt!!!

## 30.05 Typologien des Terrorismus

### *Pflichtliteratur:*

- David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism", in: Audry Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004, pp. 46-73.

### *Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God. The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, Kapitel 1 und 11.
- Peter Waldmann: "Ethnic and Sociorevolutionary Terrorism: A Comparison of Structures", in Donatella della Porta, ed., *Social Movements and Violence. Participation in Underground Organizations*
- Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy. The Liberal State Response*, London and New York: Frank Cass, 19-76.
- William F. Shugart II, *An Analytical History of Terrorism, 1945-2000*, (kein Ort), 65pp.

## 02.06 Freitag Ersatzsitzung (14-18 Uhr)

### I. Teil (14:15 – 15:45) Religion und Terrorismus

#### *Pflichtliteratur:*

- David C. Rapoport, "Some General Observations on Religion and Violence", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 3 (3) (1991), 118-140.
- David C. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions." *American Political Science Review*, 78 (September), 1984: 655–77.
- Walter Laqueur, "Religion and Terrorism", in ders., *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 127-156.

#### *Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God. The Global Rise of Religious Violence*.
- Michael Taylor and John Horgan, "The Psychological and Behavioural Bases of Islamic Fundamentalism", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 13 (4) (2001), 37-71.
- Mark Sedgwick, "Al-Qaeda and the Nature of Religious Terrorism", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16, 4, 2004, 795-814.

### II. Teil (16:15-17:45) Staatsterrorismus

#### *Pflichtliteratur:*

- Walter Laqueur, "State Terrorism", in ders., *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 156-186.

- Christopher Mitchell et al., "State Terrorism: Issues of Concept and Measurement", *Government Violence and Repression*, ed. by Christopher Mitchell and George A. Lopez (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 1-25.

*Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority*, Kapitel 1-6, 10-11, 15.
- Mark Selden and Alvin Y. So, eds., *War and State Terrorism: The United States, Japan, and the Asia-Pacific in the Long Twentieth Century*, 2004.

## 06.06 Terrorismus, Counterterrorism und Demokratie

*Pflichtliteratur:*

- Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy. The Liberal State Response*, London and New York: Frank Cass, 2005, 218-235.
- William Eubank and Leonard Weinberg, "Terrorism and Democracy: Perpetrators and Victims", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2001, 155-164.

*Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Yehezkel Dror, 'Terrorism as a Challenge to the Democratic Capacity to Govern', in Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power. The Consequences of Political Violence*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983, 65-93.
- Ekaterina Stepanova, *Anti-terrorism and Peace-building During and After Conflict* (Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2003), 10-50.
- Ihsan Bal and Sedat Laciner, „The Challenge of Revolutionary Terrorism to Turkish Democracy, 1960-1980“, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 13(4) (2001), 90-115.
- Mitzukoshi Hideaki, "Terrorists, Terrorism, and Japan's Counter-Terrorism Policy", *Gaiko Forum* (2003), 53-63.
- Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism versus Democracy. The Liberal State Response*, London and New York: Frank Cass, 2005, 78-217.
- W. Enders and T. Sandler, "The Effectiveness of Antiterrorism Policies: A Vector Autoregression-Intervention Analysis", *American Political Science Review*, 87, 4, 829-844.
- B. S. Frei, *Dealing With Terrorism – Stick or Carrot?* (Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2004).
- Ted R. Gurr, "Terrorism in Democracies: Its Social and Political Base", in *Origins of Terrorism*, ed. by W. Reich (Washington, D.C. et al: Woodrow Wilson Center & Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 86-112.

## 13.06 Konsequenzen des Terrorismus

*Pflichtliteratur:*

- Tomis Kapitan and Erich Schulte, 'The Rhetoric of "Terrorism" and its Consequences', *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, Summer 2002, 30 (1).
- Mark Weeding, "Post-September 11 Legislative Responses to Terrorism", in *Globalisation and the New Terror. The Asia Pacific Dimension*, ed. by David Martin Jones, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2004, 269-283.
- OECD, *Economic Consequences of Terrorism*, Paris, 2002, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/11/60/1935314.pdf>

*Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Martha Crenshaw, "Introduction: Reflections on the Effects of Terrorism", in Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power. The Consequences of Political Violence*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983, 1-38.
- Irving Louis Horowitz, "The Routinization of Terrorism and Its Unanticipated Consequences", in Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power. The Consequences of Political Violence*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983, pp. 38-51.
- Daniel Krislov, "Civil Liberties and the Judiciary in the Aftermath of 9/11", in William Crotty, ed., *The Politics of Terror: The U.S. Response to 9/11*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004, pp. 134-160.
- Lynn M. Kuzma, "Security versus Liberty: 9/11 and the American Public", in William Crotty, ed., *The Politics of Terror: The U.S. Response to 9/11*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004, pp. 160-191.
- L. Donohue, "In the Name of National Security: US Counterterrorist Measures, 1960-2000", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 13 (4) (2001), 125-136.
- Ashley J. Tellis, "Assessing America's War on Terror: Confronting Insurgency, Cementing Primacy", 15 (4), 2004, pp. 105 (<http://www.nbr.org/publications/analysis/pdf/vol15no4.pdf>).

## **Block II: Fallstudien zum 'alten' Terrorismus**

### **20.06 Antikolonialer Terrorismus: Algerien und Britisch-Palaestina**

*Pflichtliteratur:*

- Martha Crenshaw, "The Effectiveness of Terrorism in the Algerian War", *Terrorism in Context*, ed. by Martha Crenshaw (Pittsburg: Penn State University Press, 1995), 473-511.
- J. Bowyer Bell, *Terror out of Zion: The Fight for Israeli Independence, 1929-1949* (London and New Brunswick: Transaction, 1996), 9-103.

*Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- J. Bowyer Bell, *Terror out of Zion: Irgun Zvai Leumi, LEHI, and the Palestine Underground, 1929-1949* (London and New York: St. Martin's Press 1977).
- Aussaresses, Paul. *The Battle of the Casbah : terrorism and counter-terrorism in Algeria*, translated by Robert L. Miller 1st English language ed., 2005.
- Joseph Heller, *The Stern Gang: Ideology, Politics, and Terror, 1940-1949*, London: Frank Cass, 1995.
- Kamel B. Nasr, *Arab and Israeli Terrorism, 1936-1993* (McFarland and Company, 1996), 3-36.

### **27.06 Ethnoterrorismus in (Nord)Irland**

*Pflichtliteratur:*

- Paul Wilkinson, "The Orange and the Green: Extremism in Northern Ireland", in Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power. The Consequences of Political Violence*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983, 105-124.
- Brendan O'Brian, *The Long War. The IRA and Sinn Fein*, **chapters**

*Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Brendan O'Brian, *The Long War. The IRA and Sinn Fein*.

- Conor Cruise O'Brian, „Terrorism under Democratic Conditions“, in Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power. The Consequences of Political Violence*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983, 91-105.
- Julia A. Smith, *The Red Brigade, the Red Army, and the Provisional Irish Republican Army: Political Terrorism in Italy, Japan, and Northern Ireland*, 1986.
- Rogelio Alonso, „Pathways Out of Terrorism in Northern Ireland and the Basque Country: The Misrepresentation of the Irish Model“, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 16, no. 4, 695-713.
- Anthony Richards, „Terrorist Groups and Political Fronts: The IRA, Sinn Fein, the Peace Process and Democracy“, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 13 (4) 2001, 72-89.
- Steve Bruce, „Terrorists and Politics: The Case of Northern Ireland's Loyalist Paramilitaries“, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2001, 27-48.

#### **04.07 Sozialrevolutionärer Terrorismus in Argentinien**

##### *Pflichtliteratur:*

- Robert Cox, „Total Terrorism, Argentina, 1969 to 1979“, in Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power. The Consequences of Political Violence*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983, 124-163
- Jennifer S. Holmes, „Political Violence and Regime Change in Argentina: 1965-1976“, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2001, 134-154.
- Richard Gillespie, „Political Violence in Argentina: Guerrillas, Terrorists, and Carapintadas“, *Terrorism in Context*, ed. by Martha Crenshaw (Pittsburg: Penn State University Press, 1995), 211-248.

##### *Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Maria Jose Moyano, *Argentina's Lost Patrol. Armed Struggle 1969-1979*.
- Juan Corradi, „Military Government and State Terrorism in Argentina“, *The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America*, ed. by Brian Loveman and Thomas Davis (Willmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1997).

#### **11.07 Rechtsextremismus in den USA**

##### *Pflichtliteratur:*

- Hewitt, *Understanding Terrorism in America* (Routledge: London and New York, 2003), pp. 12-81 und 119-133.
- R. Churchill, „Beyond the Narrative of 1995 – Recent Examinations of the American Far Right“, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 13 (4) 2001, pp. 125-136.

##### *Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Isaac Cronin, *Confronting Fear. A History of Terrorism*, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2002, 414-492 (text excerpts from various authors and terrorist manifestos)
- Hewitt, *Understanding Terrorism in America*.
- Morris Dees, *Gathering Storm. America's Militia Threat* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1997).
- Martin Durham, *The Christian Right, the Far Right and the Boundaries of American Conservatism* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2001).

#### **18.07 Religiös-sektiererischer Terrorismus in Japan**

##### *Pflichtliteratur:*

- Robert Jay Lifton, *Destroying the World to Save It: Aum Shinrikyo, Apocalyptic Violence, and the New Global Terrorism* (New York: Henry Holt, 1999), 232-270.
- D.W. Brackett, *Holy Terror: Armageddon in Tokyo* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1996), 1-7 und 45-78.

*Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Ian Raeder, *Religious Violence in Contemporary Japan: The Case of Aum Shinrikyo*, Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000.
- David E. Kaplan and Andrew Marshall, *The Cult at the End of the World: The Incredible Story of Aum*, London: Hutchinson, 1996.
- Masachi Ohsawa, "The Aum Sect: Religion and Terrorism", *The International Scope Review*, 5 (10) (2003), 1-25.

### **Block III: Neuer Terrorismus**

#### **25.07 Die These vom 'neuen' Terrorismus: Fuer und Wider**

*Pflichtlektuere:*

- Bruce Hoffman, "Terrorism Trends and Prospects", in Ian O. Lesser, et al., *Countering the New Terrorism* (St. Monica: RAND, 1999)
- David Tucker, "What is New about the New Terrorism and how dangerous is it?", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 13, no. 3, Autumn 2001, pp. 1-14.
- Walter Laqueur, 'Postmodern Terrorism: New Rules for an Old Game", *Foreign Affairs*, 75 (5) (1996), 24-36.
- Ehud Sprinzak, "The Great Superterrorism Scare", *Foreign Policy*, 112 (1998), 110-124.

*Vertiefungsliteratur:*

- Walter Laqueur, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 8-105 und 226-282
- Ian O. Lesser, "Introduction", in Ian O. Lesser, et al., *Countering the New Terrorism* (Santa Monica: RAND, 1999),
- Gavin Cameron, "Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism Research: Past and Future", in Andrew Silke, ed., *Research on Terrorism. Trends, Achievements and Failures*, London: Frank Cass, 2004.
- Martyha Crenshaw, "Why is America the Primary Target? Terrorism as Globalized Civil War, in Kegly, ed., *The New Global Terrorism*

#### **29.07 Samstag Blockseminar (10-14 Uhr): Fallstudien zum 'neuen' Terrorismus: Al Qaeda, Abu Sayyaf Group und Jemaah Islamiyah**

*Pflichtliteratur:*

- Patrick Bolte, Kay Moeller, Osman Rzyttka, *Politischer Islam, Separatismus und Terrorismus in Südostasien*, Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, S 12, März 2003.
- Jason Burke, *Al-Qaida. Wurzeln, Geschichte, Organisation* (Düsseldorf und Zürich: Artemis & Winkler, 2004), 25-48 und 306-347.
- Zachary Abuza, *Militant Islam in Southeast Asia. Crucible of Terror*, Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner, 2003, 1-32 sowie 231-258.
- Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda. Global Network of Terror* (London: Hurst and Company, 2002), 54-94.
- David Wright-Neville, "Dangeours Dynamics: Activities, Militants and Terrorists in Southeast Asia", *The Pacific Review*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2004, 27-46.

Vertiefungsliteratur:

- Jason Burke, *Al-Qaida. Wurzeln, Geschichte, Organisation* (Düsseldorf und Zürich: Artemis & Winkler, 2004).
- Rohan Gunaratna, "Understanding Al Qaeda and Its Network in Southeast Asia", in Paul J. Smith, ed., *Terrorism and Violence in Southeast Asia: Transnational Challenges to States and Regional Stability*, Armonk and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2005, pp. 62-78.
- Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda. Global Network of Terror* (London: Hurst and Company, 2002).
- Ashley J. Tellis and Michael Wills, eds., *Strategic Asia 2004-05: Confronting Terrorism in the Pursuit of Power*, Seattle and Washington D.C.: NBR, 2004, insb. 3-37, 199-338.
- Aurel Croissant and Daniel Barlow, "Following the Money Trail: Terrorist Financing and Government Responses in Southeast Asia", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (RAND), forthcoming 2006.
- Aurel Croissant, "Unrest in South Thailand: Contours, Causes, and Consequences since 2001", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2005 .
- William M. Carpenter and David G. Wiencek, eds., *Asian Security Handbook. Terrorism and the new Security Environment*, 3rd edition (Armonk and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), insb. 3-35, 126-142, 244-264.
- Dirk J. Barreveld, *Terrorism in the Philippines. The Bloody Trail of Abu Sayyaf, Bin Laden's East Asian Connection* (San Jose et al., Writers Club Press, 2001).
- Angel M. Rabasa, *Political Islam in Southeast Asia: Moderates, Radicals and Terrorists*, New York: Adelphi Paper 358, 2003.
- James Cotton, „Southeast Asia after September 11“, in *Globalisation and the New Terror. The Asia Pacific Dimension*, ed. by David Martin Jones, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2004, 185-207.
- Suzaina Kadir, "Mapping Muslim Politics in Southeast Asia after September 11", *The Pacific Review*, 17 (2) (June 2004),
- Zachary Abuza, "Muslims, Politics, and Violence in Indonesia: An Emerging Jihadist-Islamist Nexus?", *NBR Review*, 15 (3), 2004 (<http://www.nbr.org/publications/analysis/pdf/vol15no3.pdf>)
- Zachary Abuza, "The War on Terrorism in Southeast Asia", in *Strategic Asia 2003-04* ([http://www.nbr.org/publications/strategic\\_asia/pdf/sa03\\_14terrorism.pdf](http://www.nbr.org/publications/strategic_asia/pdf/sa03_14terrorism.pdf))
- International Crisis Group, *Indonesia Backgrounder: Why Salafism and Terrorism mostly don't mix* (Asia Report No. 83, 13 September 2004), p. i.
- ICG, *Indonesia Briefing: Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia: The Case of the 'Ngruki Network'*, *Indonesia Briefing, reissued draft, 10 January 2003*, Jakarta/Brussels
- Alfredo L. Filler, 'The Abu Sayyaf Group: A Growing Menace to Civil Society', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 14, no. 4 (Winter 2002), pp. 131-162