

Transnational Violence: Terrorism, Piracy, and Crime in Global and Historical Context
University of Cambridge
MPhil in International Relations and Politics

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Office: Room 132, Alison Richard Building
Teaching: 2 hour weekly seminar (3pm – 5pm Mondays)

Course Overview

The 21st century has seen a revival of interest in transnational or ‘non-state’ violence by scholars and practitioners. Piracy, rebellion, private security, drug networks, and especially terrorism have increasingly become the subject of scholarly research and the focus of foreign policy. Much of this work tends to look at the weeds to ask policy relevant questions. While this is important, fewer observers take a step back to place these ‘new’ types of violence into a larger context in order to gain needed perspective on more policy relevant action. That is the aim of this course.

We will begin this course by looking at some major conceptual issues. In the first five meetings we will critically examine the definitions of terrorism, piracy, crime, private, public, etc. We will evaluate religious and secular motivations for violence, the rise of networks, and whether ‘state’ and ‘non-state’ are even useful categories. Starting with our sixth meeting until the end of the course, we will then look more closely at 9 historical and/or contemporary ‘case studies’ (loosely defined) ranging from 18th century piracy to ISIS. This will give us a chance to apply conceptual frameworks.

Learning Aims

This course aims to give students a historical and theoretical background upon which to evaluate violence in international relations. The goal is to critically examine popular conceptions and categorizations of violence ranging from terrorism and crime to war. Doing so should give students the tools to understand not only violence prevalent today but what may come in future decades. This is the reason why there is an emphasis on history. Historical episodes and the genealogies of current types of violence can give students a background to make judgements on what is happening around them in real time.

Teaching and Assessment

Paper

Students will write a 5000 word essay on one of 8 questions provided by the Instructor. There is also a non-assessed 2000 word practice essay, for which students will receive comments.

Presentations

Students will be responsible, with 1 or 2 others, for presenting and leading discussion for two seminars per term. This means coming up with questions and being a prominent part of the discussion for this week. Schedule will be developed after the beginning of term.

Class and Readings

All listed readings are required. You are also required to come to class ready to participate, even if it is not your week to lead discussion. However, learning to skim readings and extract the important points is a skill that is encouraged.

All readings are available through the library. Those for which the university has as an ebook are available on Moodle, as are those for which the professor was able to provide a PDF. All other books are available either through Seely Library or the Main University library as hard copies. Journal articles should be easily retrievable through the library.

If you have trouble getting a hold of readings please let me know ASAP.

Michaelmas Term

Week 1: State and Non-state, Public and Private Violence

Weber, Max. "Politics as Vocation". *The Vocation Lectures*. Translated by Rodney Livingstone. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Co., 2004.

Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge, Mass., USA: B. Blackwell. Ch. 1,3,4

Thomson, Janice E. *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State-Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1994. p.21-31, 43-59, 69-97 (on Privateers and Mercenaries)

Foucault, Michel. 2003. *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the College de France 1975-1976*. Translated by David Mackey. New York, NY: Picador. p.1-19

Von Clausewitz, Carl. 2004. *On War*. Translated by J.J. Graham. Barnes and Noble Library of Essential Reading. New York, NY: Barnes and Noble. Ch. 1

Colas, Alejandro, and Bryan Mabee, eds. *Mercenaries, Pirates, Bandits, and Empires: Private Violence in Historical Context*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011. Ch. 2 (Patricia Owens) and Ch. 3 (Tarak Barkawi)

Waever, Ole. "Securitization and Desecuritization." In *On Security*, edited by Ronnie D. Lipschutz. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Week 2: Defining Terrorism, Piracy, and Crime

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*. Rev. and expanded ed. New York: Columbia University Press. Ch. 1

- Tilly, Charles. "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists." *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 1 (2004): 5–13.
- Wight, Colin. "Theorising Terrorism: The State, Structure, and History." *International Relations* 23, no. 1 (2009).
- Young, Joseph K., and Michael G. Findley. "Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research." *International Studies Review* 13, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 411–31.
- Dawdy, Shannon Lee, and Joe Bonni. "Towards a General Theory of Piracy." *Anthropological Quarterly* 85, no. 3 (2012): 673–99.
- Jackson, Richard. "Core Commitments of Critical Terrorism Studies." *European Political Science* 6, no. 3 (2007): 244–51.
- Stampnitzky, Lisa. *Disciplining Terror: How Experts Invented "Terrorism."* Reprint edition. Cambridge University Press, 2014. Ch. 1,2,9
- Kaldor, Mary. 2012. *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, Third Edition. 3 edition. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. Ch. 7, Afterword

Week 3: Networks and Hierarchies

- Williams, Phil. "Transnational Criminal Networks." In *Network and Netwars: Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy*, edited by John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, 61–97. Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 2001.
- Leuprecht, Christian, Olivier Walther, David B. Skillicorn, and Hillary Ryde-Collins. "Hezbollah's Global Tentacles: A Relational Approach to Convergence with Transnational Organized Crime." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 29, no. 5 (September 3, 2017): 902–21.
- Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette. "Transnational Networks and New Security Threats." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 18, no. 1 (2005): 7–13.
- Shapiro, Jacob N. *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*. Princeton ; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013. Ch. 1,2
- Matthew, Richard, and George Shambaugh. "The Limits of Terrorism: A Network Perspective1." *International Studies Review* 7, no. 4 (2005): 617–627.
- Tucker, David. "Terrorism, Networks, and Strategy: Why the Conventional Wisdom Is Wrong." *Homeland Security Affairs* 4, no. 2 (2008): 1–18.
- Gray, Phillip W. "Leaderless Resistance, Networked Organization, and Ideological Hegemony." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25, no. 5 (November 1, 2013): 655–71.

Week 4: Ideology and Violence

- Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2006. "How Al Qaeda Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups." *International Security* 31 (1): 7–48.
- Monica Duffy Toft, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Samuel Shah. (2001) *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton. Ch. 5,6

- Gunning, Jeroen, and Richard Jackson. 2011. "What's so 'Religious' about 'Religious Terrorism'?" *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 4 (3): 369–88.
- Phillips, Andrew. 2011. *War, Religion and Empire: The Transformation of International Orders*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 2,7
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan. 2006. "Anatomy of the Salafi Movement." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29 (3): 207–39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100500497004>.
- Reich, Walter, ed. 1998. *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Ch. 3-6

Week 5: The Role of Context

- Shirk, Mark. "How Does Violence Threaten the State? Four Narratives on Piracy." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 29, no. 4 (2017): 656–73.
- Zarakol, Ayşe. "What Makes Terrorism Modern? Terrorism, Legitimacy, and the International System." *Review of International Studies* 37, no. 05 (2011): 2311–36.
- Gunning, Jeroen. 2009. "Social Movement Theory and the Study of Terrorism." In *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda*, edited by Richard Jackson, Marie Breen Smyth, and Jeroen Gunning, 156–77. London: Routledge.
- Tilly, Charles. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 169–91. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Elden, Stuart. *Terror and Territoriality: The Spatial Extent of Sovereignty*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009. Intro, Ch. 1,2
- Nacos, Brigitte Lebens. *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Ch. 1,2,6

Week 6: Piracy and Privateering in the Caribbean 1650-1730

- Rediker, Marcus. *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2004. Ch. 1-3, 7
- Ritchie, Robert C. *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1986. Ch. 2,6,9
- Bialuschewski, Arne. "Pirates, Markets, and Imperial Authority: Economic Aspects of Maritime Depredations in the Atlantic World, 1716-1726." *Global Crime* 9, no. 1–2 (2008): 52–65.
- McDonald, Kevin P. *Pirates, Merchants, Settlers, and Slaves: Colonial America and the Indo-Atlantic World*. 1st Ed. edition. Colonial America and the Indo-Atlantic world: University of California Press, 2015. Intro, Ch. 1,4
- Exquemelin, Alexander O. *The Buccaneers of America*. Translated by Alexis Brown. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1969. Part III, Ch. 1-6
- Hanna, Mark G. *Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire, 1570-1740*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Ch. 1, 3,5,9,10

Week 7: Propaganda of the Deed, 1880-1930

- Jensen, Richard Bach. *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878-1934*. Philadelphia: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Ch. 2,4,10
- Butterworth, Alex. *The World That Never Was: A True Story of Dreamers, Schemers, Anarchists, and Secret Agents*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2010. Ch. 7,15-20,23
- Merriman, John. *The Dynamite Club: How a Bombing in Fin-de-Siecle Paris Ignited the Age of Terror*. New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009. Ch. 4, 6-8
- Bantman, Constance. *The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914: Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation*. Liverpool University Press, 2013. Ch. 5,6
- Di Paola, Pietro. "The Spies Who Came in from the Heat: The International Surveillance of the Anarchists in London." *European History Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (April 1, 2007): 189–215.

Week 8: Algerian War of Independence

- Fanon, Frantz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Translated by Contance Farrington. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- Thomas, Martin C. 2015. "Terror, Counter-Terror, and Compliance: The Escalation of Violence in the Algerian War of Independence." In *The Routledge History of Terrorism*, edited by Randall D. Law, 218–38. London: Routledge.
- Branche, Raphaëlle. 2013. "Torture and Other Violations of the Law by the French Army during the Algerian War." In *Genocide, War Crimes, and the West: History and Complicity*. New York: Zed. Ch.6
- Connelly, Matthew James. 2002. *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era*. Oxford University Press. Intro, Ch. 3,5
- Sajed, Alina. 2019. "How We Fight: Anticolonial Imaginaries and the Question of National Liberation in the Algerian War." *Interventions* 21 (5): 635–51.
- Amrane-Minne, Danièle Djamila, and Farida Abu-Haidar. 1999. "Women and Politics in Algeria from the War of Independence to Our Day." *Research in African Literatures* 30 (3): 62–77.

Week 9: The Philippines: The Moro National Liberation Front and Abu Sayyaf

- Santos, Solimon. 2010. "Counter-Terrorism and Peace Negotiations with Philippine Rebel Groups." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 3 (1): 137–54.
- Chalk, Peter. 1997. "The Davao Consensus: A Panacea for the Muslim Insurgency in Mindanao?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9 (2): 79–98.
- Banlaoi, Rommel C. 2012. *Al-Harakatul Al-Islamiyyah: Essays on the Abu Sayyaf Group*. Quezon City, Philippines: PIPVTR. CH. 1,2

- Santos, Solimon, and Octavio Dinampo. "Abu Sayyaf Reloaded: Rebels, Agents, Bandits, Terrorists (Case Study)." In *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines*, 115–38. Geneva: Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, 2010.
- Banlaoi, Rommel C. "The Abu Sayyaf Group: Threat of Maritime Piracy and Terrorism." In *Violence at Sea: Piracy in the Age of Global Terrorism*, edited by Peter Lehr, 121–37. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Ugarte, Eduardo F., and Mark Macdonald Turner. 2011. "What Is the 'Abu Sayyaf'? How Labels Shape Reality." *The Pacific Review* 24 (4): 397–420.
- Toros, Harmonie. 2008. "Terrorists, Scholars and Ordinary People: Confronting Terrorism Studies with Field Experiences." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 1 (2): 279–92.

Week 10: Private Military Companies

- Singer, P.W. *Corporate Warriors*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003. Ch. 1-2, 13-15
- Avant, Deborah D. *The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Ch. 1, 7
- Avant, Deborah D. "Pragmatic Networks and Transnational Governance of Private Military and Security Services." *International Studies Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (June 1, 2016): 330–42.
- Abrahamson, Rita, and Michael C. Williams. "Security Beyond the State: Global Security Assemblages and International Politics." *International Political Sociology* 3, no. 1 (2009): 1–17.
- Kestnbaum, Meyer. 2017. "The State and Revolution in War." In *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control*, edited by Kimberly J. Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff, 306–29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bobbitt, Philip. *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History*. 1st ed. New York: Knopf, 2002. Ch. 6-8

Week 11: 21st Century Piracy

- Boot, Max. "Pirates, Then and Now." *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 4 (August 2009): 94–107.
- Jethro Norman, TBD
- Bueger, Christian. "Practice, Pirates and Coast Guards: The Grand Narrative of Somali Piracy." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 10 (December 2013): 1811–27.
- Hansen, Stig Jarle. "Debunking the Piracy Myth: How Illegal Fishing Really Interacts with Piracy in East Africa." *RUSI Journal* 156, no. 6 (December 2011): 26–31.
- Bueger, Christian. 2015. "Learning from Piracy: Future Challenges of Maritime Security Governance." *Global Affairs* 1 (1): 33–42.
- Liss, Carolin, and Ted Biggs, eds. *Piracy in Southeast Asia: Trends, Hot Spots and Responses*. 1 edition. London: Routledge, 2016. Ch. 1, 7

Jablonski, Ryan S., and Steven Oliver. "The Political Economy of Plunder Economic Opportunity and Modern Piracy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, no. 4 (August 1, 2013): 682–708.

Farley, Robert, and Yoav Gortzak. "Fighting Piracy: Experiences in Southeast Asia and off the Horn of Africa." *Journal of Strategic Security* 2, no. 1 (February 1, 2009): 1–24.

Week 12: al Qaeda, ISIS, and the Global Jihad

Bin Laden, Osama. 2005. *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden*. Edited by Bruce Lawrence. Translated by James Howarth. New York, NY: Verso. Ch. 3,11-13

Hellmich, Christina. *Al-Qaeda: From Global Network to Local Franchise*. Halifax : New York: Zed Books, 2011. Ch. 3,5

Gray, John. *Al Qaeda and What It Means to Be Modern*. New York, NY: The New Press, 2003.

Devji, Faisal. *Lanscapes of the Jihad: Militancy, Morality, Modernity*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005. Preface, Ch. 1,2

Gelvin, James L. "Al-Qaeda and Anarchism: A Historian's Reply to Terrorology." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20, no. 4 (2008): 563–81.

Cronin, Audrey Kurth. "ISIS Is Not a Terrorist Group." *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 2 (March 2015): 87–98.

Dan Byman, "What Happens When ISIS goes Underground?" National Interest: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2018/01/18/what-happens-when-isis-goes-underground/>

Dan Byman and Jennifer William, "ISIS and al Qaeda: Jihadism's Civil War" National Interest: <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/isis-vs-al-qaeda-jihadism%E2%80%99s-global-civil-war-12304>

Week 13: US 'War on Terror'

Calhoun, Laurie. 2018. "Targeted Killing and Drone Warfare." In *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*, edited by Richard Jackson, 190–200. London: Routledge.

Brecher, Bob. 2018. "Torture." In *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*, edited by Richard Jackson, 170–80. London: Routledge.

Agathangelou, Anna M., and L. H. M. Ling. "Power, Borders, Security, Wealth: Lessons of Violence and Desire from September 11." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (2004): 517–538.

Wall, Tyler, and Torin Monahan. "Surveillance and Violence from Afar: The Politics of Drones and Liminal Security-Scapes." *Theoretical Criminology* 15, no. 3 (August 1, 2011): 239–54.

- Jordan, Javier. "The Effectiveness of the Drone Campaign against Al Qaeda Central: A Case Study." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 37, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 4–29.
- Bauman, Zygmunt, Didier Bigo, Paulo Esteves, Elspeth Guild, Vivienne Jabri, David Lyon, and R. B. J. Walker. "After Snowden: Rethinking the Impact of Surveillance." *International Political Sociology* 8, no. 2 (June 1, 2014): 121–44.
- Hall, Alexandra, and Jonathan Mendel. "Threatprints, Threads and Triggers." *Journal of Cultural Economy* 5, no. 1 (2012): 9–27.

Week 14: Right Wing Violence

- Taylor, Max, Donald Holbrook, and P. M. Currie. 2013. *Extreme Right Wing Political Violence and Terrorism*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic & Professional. Ch. 2,4
- Piazza, James A. 2017. "The Determinants of Domestic Right-Wing Terrorism in the USA: Economic Grievance, Societal Change and Political Resentment." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34 (1): 52–80.
- Boyce, Travis D., and Winsome Chunnu Brayda. 2015. "In the Words of the 'Last Rhodesian': Dylann Roof and South Carolina's Long Tradition of White Supremacy, Racial Rhetoric of Fear, and Vigilantism." *Present Tense: A Journal of Rhetoric in Society* 5 (2): 1–7.
- Kellner, Douglas. 2008. *Guys and Guns Amok: Domestic Terrorism and School Shootings from the Oklahoma City Bombing to the Virginia Tech Massacre*. Boulder, CO: Routledge. Ch.3
- Asal, Victor, Steven M. Chermak, Sarah Fitzgerald, and Joshua D. Freilich. 2016. "Organizational-Level Characteristics in Right-Wing Extremist Groups in the United States Over Time." *Criminal Justice Review*.
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0734016815626970>
- Bader, Eleanor J., and Patricia Baird-Windle. 2001. *Targets of Hatred: Anti-Abortion Terrorism*. New York, N.Y: Palgrave Macmillan Trade. Ch.6