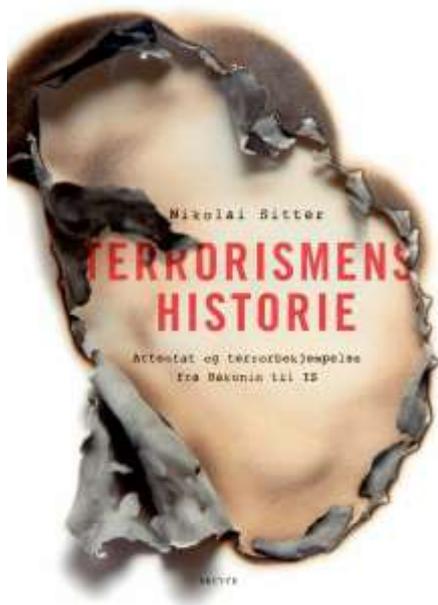


# The History of Terrorism: From Bakunin to the Islamic State

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His articles have appeared in a range of journals, including *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *West European Politics*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Democratization* and *Global Policy*. His books and edited volumes include *A Liberal Actor in A Realist World: The EU Regulatory State and the Global Political Economy of Energy* (Oxford University Press, 2015, co-authored with A. Goldthau), and *Energy Union: Europe's New Liberal Mercantilism?* (Palgrave 2017, co-edited with A. Goldthau and S. S. Andersen), *Understanding Public Management* (Sage, 2008, co-authored with K. A. Eliassen), a special issue/section of *Nations and Nationalism* on constitutions (2010, co-edited with B. Kissane) and *Europe's Nascent State: Public Policy in the EU* (Gyldendal Akademiske, 2006, co-edited with J. From).



***The History of Terrorism: From Bakunin to the Islamic State*** explores and assesses 150 years of terrorism against Western states and empires and the counter-terrorism lessons that can be drawn from this experience. Terrorist groups come in many forms and draw on a range of ideologies – from anarchists, Marxist and right wing extremism to nationalism and religion. They differ widely not just in terms of ideology, but also in terms of whether they seek to change the prevailing world order or join it; whether they use terrorism as one of several tactics or use terrorism as their one and only strategy; whether they operate in isolation from society or can draw on broad public support or sympathy; and whether they strike at a narrow set of targets or define the entire civilian population as a legitimate target for political violence. Having said that, there are also a number of common elements that can be found in almost all terrorists' strategies – often explained at length in their own publications or

interviews and memoirs. The four common elements of most terrorist campaigns that provide a starting point for developing a robust counter-terrorism strategy are: i) an effort to provoke an overreaction by the state; ii) an effort to polarize society; iii) a effort to mobilize and recruit supporters; and iv) an effort to avenge perceived wrongs. Consequently, terrorism is better understood as “armed propaganda” than as an existential threat – at least for the USA and European states (in the context of civil wars and insurgencies, terrorism can of course be part of an existential threat to a state or empire). The lessons of 150 years of terrorism and counterterrorism is that terrorism is better fought by law enforcement and intelligence agencies than directly by the military. This holds even for the threat Al Qaeda and the Islamic State represents to western states today.

The book is organized in ten chapters, including the introduction and the conclusion. The introductory chapter defines the topic and introduces the key concepts and distinguishes terrorism from other forms of political violence. Terrorism is defined as the use of violence against civilians for political ends, in contrast to simple assassination (to remove an individual), non-political attacks (e.g. mass shootings), acts in war-time (including resistance), and acts carried out officially by states (war-crimes, crimes against humanity etc.). Chapters 2 and 3 cover terrorism against empires, including anarchist attacks in the west and nationalist campaigns against the British and French empires in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. Chapters 4 and 5 cover terrorism against western liberal democratic states (and Apartheid South Africa), including nationalist terrorism as well as the Marxist, anarchist and far right terrorism that hit the USA and Western Europe in the 1970 and today. Chapters 6 and 7 turn to terrorism against secular regimes in the context of globalization, with a focus on Islamist terrorism in the 1980s and the emergence of Al Qaida and ISIS. Chapter 8 discusses causes of terrorism and common elements in terrorism as a strategy, and chapter 9 assesses different counter-terrorism strategies in the light of a century and a half's experience in dealing with terrorism. Most European political leaders are caught between the political imperative to be seen to respond quickly and forcefully to terrorism and the counter-terrorist imperative of developing a robust, long-term strategy for containing terrorism. The conclusion assesses the nature of the present terrorist threat in Europe, the USA and the Middle East, and appropriate responses to terrorism.

<b>Chapter</b>	<b>Key topics covered</b>
1. Introduction: What is Terrorism?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Defining terrorism</li> <li>• What terrorism is not: murder, war and grey areas</li> </ul>
2. Anarchist Terrorism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Four anarchist attacks: Tsar Alexander II 1881, Wall Street bombing 1920, Paris Cafe Bomb 1894, Assassination in Sarajevo 1914</li> <li>• Russian populism and anarchism</li> <li>• European and US anarchist terrorism</li> <li>• Nationalist terrorism</li> <li>• The police response and international cooperation</li> </ul>
3. Nationalist Terrorism against Empires	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Four attacks and cases: Ireland (IRA), the Palestinian Mandate (Irgun), Cyprus (EOKA), Algeria (FLN)</li> <li>• Causes of nationalist terrorism</li> <li>• Tactics and strategy in the four cases</li> <li>• The empires strike back: Military responses and negotiated outcomes</li> </ul>
4. Nationalist Terrorism against States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Four attacks and cases: IRA, PLO, ANC, ETA</li> <li>• Causes of nationalist terrorism</li> <li>• Tactics and strategy in the four cases</li> <li>• Counter-terrorism, negotiations and peace processes</li> </ul>

<b>Chapter</b>	<b>Key topics covered</b>
5. Marxist and Right Wing Extremist Terrorism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Four cases: RAF, Red Brigades, McVeigh, Breivik</li> <li>• Extremist political violence on the right: Leaderless resistance and the US far right; the Italian far right and the strategy of tension; far right lone wolves</li> <li>• Extremist political violence on the left: Marighella, Fanon and the Tupamaros as inspiration for Italian and German left wing terrorism</li> <li>• Containing terrorism: lessons from Germany, Italy, the USA and Norway</li> </ul>
6. Islamist Terrorism: From the Middle East to Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Four attacks: Sadat assassination 1981, Beirut truck bombs 1983, Hezbollah suicide bombs 1994, GIAs effort to crash a plane into the Eiffel Tower in 1994.</li> <li>• The Islamic Brotherhood, Sayyid Qutb and Radical Islam</li> <li>• The Religious Alternative to Nationalism in the Middle East and North Africa: Al Jihad, Hamas, Hezbollah and GIA</li> <li>• Islamist terrorism in Europe before 2001</li> <li>• Counter-terrorism lessons</li> </ul>
7. Global Jihad and the threat to the West: Al Qaida and the Islamic State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Four attacks: USA 2001, London 2005, In Amenas 2013 (BP, Statoil), Paris 2015</li> <li>• The strategies of global jihad: Al Qaeda and ISIS</li> <li>• Expeditionary terrorism (9/11)</li> <li>• Insurgency and civil war</li> <li>• Encouraging lone wolfs terrorism</li> <li>• Counter-terrorism lessons</li> </ul>
8. Why Terrorism: Causes and Strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Root causes of terrorism</li> <li>• Terrorism as a strategy</li> <li>• Types of terrorist organizations and tactics</li> <li>• Common elements in terrorist strategies and tactics</li> <li>• The vulnerabilities of terrorism as a tactic</li> </ul>
9. How to Fight Terrorism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 150 years of counter-terrorism</li> <li>• Terrorism as a crime and law enforcement responses</li> <li>• Terrorism as a security threat and military responses</li> <li>• Terrorism as a political issues and political responses</li> <li>• Terrorism as armed propaganda and strategies for containing and defeating terrorism</li> </ul>
10. Conclusion: The Counter-terrorist Dilemma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Terrorism and liberal democracies: Existential threat or phantom menace?</li> <li>• What, if any, success can terrorists achieve?</li> <li>• The counter-terrorist dilemma: Between politics and counter-terrorism</li> </ul>