

The Belfast International Terrorism Workshop

16-17 January 2009

Queen's University, Belfast (QUB)

Organizers: Professor Richard English, Kacper Rekawek, Jessie Blackbourn (QUB)

Friday 16 January 2009

- 9.15 am Welcome and Introduction: Richard English
- 9.30 am Session 1: Charles Townshend on Conor Gearty's *Terror*
- 10.30 am Coffee
- 11.00 am Session 2: Jeff Goodwin on Mark Juergensmeyer's *Terror in the Mind of God*
- 12 noon Lunch (Institute of Irish Studies, QUB)
- 2.00 pm Session 3: Ethan Bueno de Mesquita on Dipak Gupta's *Understanding Terrorism*
- 3.00 pm Coffee
- 3.30 pm Session 4: Adrian Guelke on Eli Berman's *Sects and Violence for Economists*
- 5.00 pm Drinks Reception (Institute of Irish Studies, QUB)

Saturday 17 January 2009

- 9.30 am Session 5: Richard Jackson on Joseba Zulaika's *Basque Violence*
- 10.30 am Coffee
- 11.00 am Session 6: Thomas Johnson on Mia Bloom's *Dying to Kill*
- 12 noon Lunch (Institute of Irish Studies, QUB)
- 2.00 pm Session 7: Conclusion: Known Knowns Reconsidered - Audrey Kurth Cronin, Adam Roberts
- 3.30 pm Conference Ends

All Sessions to be Chaired by Richard English, and all to be held in Seminar Room 1, Institute of Irish Studies, 63 University Road, Queen's University, Belfast

The Belfast International Terrorism Workshop will bring together some of the world's most distinguished scholars in the field of terrorism and political violence, drawn from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds and reflecting a wide range of intellectual approaches to the subject. The aim is to hold two days of Workshop Sessions (at Queen's University, Belfast) to engage systematically with a series of focused questions concerning the causes, explanations, sustenance, nature and ending of terrorism, as well as the best analytical and political responses to the phenomenon.

The need for such a major Workshop lies in several problems currently evident in the debate on terrorism.

First, there remains a tendency for debates within individual disciplines to take place without sufficient engagement with the arguments, methods and findings of other disciplines. In this sense, academic disciplines still all too often talk past rather than to one another. The Belfast International Terrorism Workshop will involve direct and constructive engagement and dialogue between scholars from various disciplines, including Political Science, History, Law, Economics, Anthropology, Sociology, and International Relations.

Second, there remains the problem of effective amnesia as states respond to each new wave of terrorist challenge. The post-9/11 political (and, to an extent, intellectual) response has again tended all too often to ignore what we know and what we have learned about how (and how not) to respond to terrorism. This Workshop will engage with scholarly findings and argument drawn from various waves of scholarly work, in an attempt to establish more firmly what might perhaps be termed the 'known knowns' on the subject.

Third, there remains still too little integration between the case study literature on terrorism, and the wider-angled and thematic treatments of the subject. The Belfast International Terrorism Workshop will involve scholars from each of these traditions engaging with and learning from one another's approach and understanding.

The Workshop brings together scholars possessing vast experience and expertise. It will not require people to prepare and deliver new papers, but will rather involve, in each session, one expert offering a ten-minute reflection on a particular book by a fellow participant, who will then briefly respond, before the Workshop discussion widens out to involve all participants in open discussion. In each case, the idea is that a pre-circulated set of thematic and focused questions (see below) should inform our discussions. In particular, we are keen that scholars from different periods, approaches, disciplines and frameworks of research should see where agreement might lie on the nature, causes and understanding of terrorism. The idea is that the two initial speakers in each session should draw in a focused way on their own expertise and insights, in dialogue with one another.

In addition to establishing what we know that we know, the Workshop will also provide an important opportunity for asking what should be the next stage in terrorism research. In this sense, the event will allow for the possibility of coherent future research and publication, by those involved and also by their graduate students and colleagues. Graduate student participation in the Workshop is therefore central to it.

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Questions to be Considered Throughout Workshop

1. To what extent has the post-9/11 debate on terrorism been adequately informed by the lessons of history? What specific insights from our historical experience of terrorism might have made post-9/11 responses more effective?
2. To what extent is it possible now to arrive at an agreed answer to the questions 'What is Terrorism?' and 'Why Does Terrorism Occur?'
3. Is there a meaningful answer to the question 'How Does Terrorism End?' beyond the individual narrative and explanation of particular cases and settings?
4. What has your particular discipline distinctively brought to the study of terrorism?
5. How far have academic disciplines effectively engaged with one another in dialogue concerning terrorism? How can more fruitful engagement be achieved?
6. Are there particular aspects of definition, explanation or interpretation over which disciplines have lastingly disagreed, and are there ways of integrating insights here to produce a more widely accepted analysis? Is it possible that we might explain terrorism synoptically, rather than viewing it from competing disciplinary standpoints?
7. Are geographical barriers a problem for understanding and responding to terrorism? Is there, for example, a methodological and/or political gulf between US and European literatures and approaches?
8. Have we done enough to integrate the regional case study literature with the wider study of terrorism as a global phenomenon? Or to integrate the theoretical with the policy-oriented approaches to the subject?
9. To what extent does state-sponsored terrorism remain a central problem in the twenty-first century?
10. What does the history of terrorism suggest about the necessity and/or dangers of negotiating with terrorists?
11. What does our experience of previous terrorist crises teach about the best way to face the problem of civil liberties in the course of counter-terrorism?
12. What are the most urgent areas of study required in the immediate future? Can more be done to coordinate such research, avoiding territorial competition and conflict?
13. When the next major terrorist attack succeeds, what would be the practical advice the scholarly community could best give to, for example, the authorities in Washington as they respond and react to a major assault on the US?
14. If the history of terrorism is seen as involving successive waves, is it possible to predict what the next wave will be?

Speakers at the Workshop

Eli Berman is Associate Professor of Economics at the University of California San Diego, Research Director for International Security Studies at the UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, and a Research Associate at the National Bureau for Economic Research. His research interests include the economics of religion and of terrorism and insurgency. Recent grants from the National Science Foundation (2002 and 2005) have enabled him to look closely at relationships between religion and fertility from an economic standpoint. His latest publication is "Religion, Terrorism, and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model" (with David Laitin) in the *Journal of Public Economics* (October 2008). Berman received his Ph.D. in economics from Harvard University. He has recently completed a book for the MIT Press entitled *Sects and Violence for Economists*.

Mia Bloom is Assistant Professor in the School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Georgia, and previously an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Cincinnati. Bloom has a PhD in political science from Columbia University, a Masters in Arab Studies from Georgetown University and a Bachelors from McGill University in Russian and Middle East Studies. She has held research or teaching appointments at Rutgers, Princeton, Cornell, Harvard, and McGill Universities. With research specialties in ethnic conflicts, rape in war, and child soldiers, Bloom is also a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations. She is most well known for the book entitled *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror* (Columbia University Press, 2005).

Audrey Kurth Cronin came to the U.S. National War College from Oxford University (Nuffield College), where she was Director of Studies for the Oxford/Leverhulme Program on the Changing Character of War. Before that, Dr. Cronin was Specialist in Terrorism at the U.S. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, where she advised Members in the aftermath of 9/11. She has taught at numerous universities including Columbia, Oxford, the University of Maryland and Georgetown. In addition to her academic expertise, she has served periodically in the U.S. government, including positions in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Office of the Secretary of the Navy, and the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. She regularly consults with agencies in both the Executive and Legislative branches. While on the faculty at Oxford, Dr. Cronin completed a book entitled *How Terrorism Ends: Lessons from the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*, to be published by Princeton University Press in 2009. She is also the author of *Ending Terrorism: A Strategy for Defeating Al-Qaeda*, a policy-oriented Adelphi Paper published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in April 2008, and *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Georgetown University Press, 2004).

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita is an Associate Professor in the Harris School of Public Policy Studies at the University of Chicago. He holds a PhD in political science from Harvard University and has previously taught at Washington University in St. Louis and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His research focuses on applications of game theoretic models to a variety of political phenomena including terrorism and political violence, electoral accountability, and law and politics. Bueno de Mesquita's recent research on terrorism includes 'Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence' in *International Organization*; 'Terrorist Factions' in *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*; 'Politics and the Suboptimal Provision of Counterterror' in *International Organization*; 'The Quality of Terror' in the *American Journal of Political Science*; and 'Electoral Selection, Strategic Challenger Entry, and the Incumbency Advantage' (with Scott Ashworth) in the *Journal of Politics*.

Conor Gearty is Professor of Human Rights Law and Director of the Centre for the Study of Human Rights at the London School of Economics, where he has been since his move from King's College London in 2002. Before that he was a University Lecturer in Law at Cambridge University where he was also a fellow of Emmanuel College Cambridge. He received his LLB and PhD from Cambridge University after studying Law as an undergraduate at UCD. His most recent work focuses on the dilemma that terrorism poses to civil liberties and he has published widely in the fields of terrorism and civil liberties. His 1991 book *Terror* situated different terrorist campaigns in their political and historical context; *Can Human Rights Survive*, published in 2006, was based on his 2005 Hamlyn Lectures and focused on the links between human rights, terrorism and democracy. His 2007 book *Civil Liberties* examined the state of civil liberties in terms of the UK as a representative democracy. Most recently he has published *Essays on Human Rights and Terrorism* which is a collection of essays examining human rights and terrorism in a global, regional and comparative perspective. Professor Gearty has also written for the *London Review of Books* and widely in the British press.

Jeff Goodwin is a Professor of Sociology at New York University. His research interests include social movements, revolutions, and terrorism. He has conducted research in Central America, the Philippines, South Africa, and Ireland as well as in the United States. He earned his BA, MA and PhD from Harvard University. Jeff Goodwin is best known for his 2001 book, *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*, published by Cambridge University Press, which won a string of awards in 2002. Professor Goodwin is currently engaged in research on political violence and terrorism. This research focuses mainly on Northern Ireland, South Africa, Israel/Occupied Palestine, and Al Qaeda. His recent articles question the very nature of the terrorism dilemma. 'The struggle made me a non-racialist': Why there was so little terrorism in the Anti apartheid struggle', published in *Mobilization* in 2007 and 'What do we really know about suicide terrorism', published in *Sociological Forum* in 2006, use social movement theory to question orthodox accounts of terrorist movements.

Adrian Guelke is Professor of Comparative Politics at Queen's University Belfast and the Director of Research of the International Politics and Ethnic Conflict cluster. His research interests include comparative peace processes and the politics of deeply divided societies, particularly the cases of South Africa and Northern Ireland and he has published widely in these areas. *The New Age of Terrorism and the International Political System*, to be published by Tauris in 2009 has updated his 1995 book *The Age of Terrorism and the International Political System* to examine whether the events of 9/11 and the advent of the global war on terror have caused a shift in perceptions about terrorism and peace processes, rather than an actual change in the use of violence by sub-state groups for political ends. *Terrorism and Global Disorder: Political Violence in the Contemporary World* studies the problem that both terrorism and counter-terrorism pose for democracy and civil liberties, and his co-edited collection *A Farewell to Arms? Beyond the Good Friday Agreement* focuses on transformations in the politics of Northern Ireland.

Dipak Gupta is Distinguished Professor of Political Science and the Fred J. Hansen Professor of Peace Studies at San Diego State University. He obtained his PhD in Economics and Social Development from the University of Pittsburgh and Masters degrees in Economics from both the University of Pittsburgh and Visva Bharati Central University in India. His research interests include the economics of terrorism and political violence and his published work reflects this. Examples include: 'International Terrorism and the Costs of Overreaction' published in *Public Money and Management* in 2006, and 'Toward an Integrated Theoretical Framework for Analysing Terrorism: Individual Motivations to Group Dynamics' published in *Democracy and Security* in 2005. His most recent article, 'The Naxalites and the Maoist Movement in India: Birth, death and reincarnation' focuses on terrorist movements in India

and his most recent book is *Understanding Terrorism and Political Violence: The Life Cycle of Birth, Growth, Transformation and Demise*, published in 2008 by Routledge.

Richard Jackson is Reader in International Politics at Aberystwyth University and the founding editor of the journal, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. His research interests include the discourses of terrorism, political violence and conflict resolution, and he has published extensively in these areas. His most recent book is *Critical Terrorism Studies: A New Research Agenda* (Routledge, February 2009, co-edited with Marie Breen Smyth and Jeroen Gunning) which outlines a new approach and research agenda for the study of political terrorism. He is also the author of: *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counterterrorism* (Manchester University Press, 2005), which examines how language has been used to justify and normalise counter-terrorism in the war on terror.

Thomas H Johnson is Research Professor and Director of the Program of Culture & Conflict Studies in the Department of National Security Affairs at the US Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. For two decades, Professor Johnson has conducted research and written on Afghanistan and South Asia. He is a member of the Afghanistan Editorial Board of the National Security Archive. His publications have appeared in the *American Political Science Review*, *International Security*, *Journal of Politics*, *Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, *Central Asian Survey*, *China and Eurasian Forum Quarterly*, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, *Strategic Insights*, *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, *Strategic Review*, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Modern African Studies* as well as numerous scholarly edited volumes and texts. His commentaries have appeared in numerous media outlets to include the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Newsweek*, *Newsday*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Chicago Tribune*, and on NPR and Voice of America. He is currently working on a book on the culture and implications of the Taliban as expressed through their narratives especially in the form of *shabnamah* or “Night Letters”.

Mark Juergensmeyer is Director of the Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies, Professor of Sociology, and Affiliate Professor of Religious Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His primary research interests are religion, religious terrorism, nationalism, and social ethics. He is an expert on religious violence, conflict resolution and South Asian religion and politics, and has published more than two hundred articles and twenty books, including the recently-published *Global Rebellion: Religious Challenges to the Secular State* (University of California Press, 2008). His other key publications include *Global Religion: A Handbook* (2003); *Gandhi's Way* (2002); *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (2000); *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State* (1993); and *Violence and the Sacred in the Modern World* (1991). Juergensmeyer is a recipient of numerous research fellowships and prestigious awards for his contribution to the studies of religion and violence. He also chairs the working group on Religion and International Affairs for the national Social Science Research Council.

Sir Adam Roberts was until recently Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at Oxford University and is currently Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for International Studies and Emeritus Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. His main research areas are international security, international organisations and international law. He will take up his post as President of the British Academy in July 2009. He is co-editor of *The UN Security Council and War*, published by Oxford University Press in 2008; and his co-edited book, *Civil Resistance and Power Politics*, will be published by Oxford University Press in 2009. In addition to this, he is also working on his book on *Liberal International Order*.

Charles Townshend is Professor of International History at Keele University and a Fellow of the British Academy. His current research interests include political terrorism, and British policy in Palestine and Mesopotamia. He has written extensively in the areas of British and

Irish history as well as the history of war and terrorism. His books include: *Political Violence in Ireland: Government and Resistance since 1848*, published by Oxford University Press in 1983; *Britain's Civil Wars. Counterinsurgency in the Twentieth Century*, published by Faber in 1986; *Making the Peace: Public Order and Public Security in Modern Britain*, published by Oxford University Press in 1993; *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern War*, published by Oxford University Press in 1997; *Ireland: the 20th Century*, published by Arnold in 1998; *Terrorism: A very short Introduction*, published by OUP in 2002; and *Easter 1916: the Irish Rebellion*, published by Penguin in 2005.

Joseba Zulaika is Professor at the Centre for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada, Reno. He was educated in Spain, Canada and the US where he received his PhD in Anthropology from Princeton University in 1982. His ongoing research includes: the Bilbao Guggenheim Museum and the ethnography of Bilbao with additional emphasis on global culture, architecture, museum politics, and tourism industries; Basque culture and politics; and the international discourse of terrorism. He has carried out extensive periods of fieldwork with traditional occupations including: fishermen; farmers; soldiers; and wild boar hunters, and has published extensively for the local and international press. He is the author of numerous academic publications including *Basque Violence: Metaphor and Sacrament* published by the University of Nevada Press in 1988, *Terror and Taboo* with William Douglass, published by Routledge in 1996, and the forthcoming *Terrorism: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy* to be published by University of Chicago Press in 2009.