Negotiating with "Terrorists"

* NINT 5341 - Negotiating with "Terrorists" (Spring 2011)

**Section A/CRN 7395,** [**Thanassis Cambanis**](http://www.gpia.info/node/5291)

**Tuesday 6.00pm - 7.50pm**

<http://www.gpia.info/node/9876>

"Don't talk to terrorists" has been a mantra of post-9/11 politics, but it obscures a complex and age-old question that still flummoxes governments: How do you negotiate with your enemies, especially when your enemy is a non-state actor? This course will explore the rich and fascinating question of engaging with non-state actors, especially those designated as terrorists.  We will approach the question through a political science framework and case studies, from which we will extract general principles. Cases we will look at include:

* US and other states engagement with the Taliban
* US engagement with Iraqi insurgents, 2003-present
* Israeli engagement with Hamas and Hezbollah
* The Irish Republican Army & the Palestine Liberation Organization
* Sri Lanka and the LTTE; Colombia and the FARC
* Western terror-listing regimes
* Track-two diplomacy

Through the case studies, we'll examine a variety of outcomes when states engage with parties with whom they're at war, or whom they've designated as terrorist. We'll look at talks that have failed, or have led to ceasefires, prisoner exchanges, track-two diplomacy, and normalization of relations. We'll look at the particular difficulties facing negotiators between parties that do not have normalized relations and therefore have greater difficulty assessing mutual interests. We'll analyze the domestic political constraints that apply to such dealings.

We will also develop a framework for assessing the likely success of negotiations or engagement with combatants. Readings will address some basic political science paradigms, including the two-level game, decision-making theory, and a basic review of realism and internationalism. The course will proceed like an investigation or unfolding case study, through which the class will analyze the intersection of interest politics and idealist politics, and attempt problem-solving in a highly-charged and contemporary policy debate.

Concentration: [**Conflict and Security**](http://www.gpia.info/conflict-concentration)

**Instructor policies**

Contact instructor at [cambanis@yahoo.com](mailto:cambanis@yahoo.com).

Office hours are by appointment in room 620 on Tuesdays, from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. and immediately after class.

Grading will reward critical thinking, clarity, originality, thoughtful discussion and effective writing.

University policies on plagiarism will be strictly observed.

Participation is crucial to the success of the seminar. Students must do the readings. If students do not keep up with the readings, instructor will conduct weekly pop quizzes and factor them into the class participation grade.

All cell phones must be turned off in class.

No in-class laptop use without instructor permission.

No late assignments will be accepted.

**Assignments/Grading**

*Class participation: 30 percent*

Attendance, participation in discussion, thoughtful engagement with reading.

*Oral presentation: 20 percent*

Each week from weeks 6 to 12, students will prepare research on a question assigned by the instructor (or in cases when students want to counter-propose topics of their own, approved by the instructor). The students will be expected to participate heavily in the class discussion, informing the class about their research topic especially as it pertains to our broad lines of inquiry.

Instructor will post topics by week 3, and students must sign up for their topic and presentation date by week 4.

*Final Research paper: 50 percent*

Students will complete an original research paper of no more than 20 pages, double-spaced, topic selected in conjunction with instructor. Length cannot exceed 10,000 words, *including footnotes.* Margins must be 1.25 inches on either side, 1 inch on top and bottom, 12-point Times font. Please use footnotes, not endnotes.

Topics must be submitted to instructor by week 6 and discussed in person during office hours. Drafts will be due for instructor feedback in Week 10. Final papers must be submitted by the final class meeting **May 10**.

Writing and style must be clear, careful and persuasive. Read George Orwell’s “On Politics and the English Language.”

**Course schedule and deadlines**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Week | Date | Assignments Due | Readings |
| 1 | 1/25 |  | Context and Mechanics (Theory): RAND studies on Terrorist movements and COIN |
| 2 | 2/1 |  | Policy and Political Science (Theory): JK Wither, Putnam, Neumann, |
| 3 | 2/8 | Oral presentation topics & dates posted | Psychology, Negotiations, Engagement (Theory): Kahneman, Kupchan, Arielly, Malhotra |
| 4 | 2/15 | Sign up for oral presentation topics | Middle East: Lustik, Pape, Freilich, Simon & Stevenson |
| 5 | 2/22 |  | In their own words: Platforms, websites and communiqués of bin Laden, Hezbollah, Hamas |
| 6 | 3/1 | Paper proposal; Oral presentations begin | Hezbollah: Norton, Harik, Cambanis, ICG |
| 7 | 3/8 |  | Track Two: Perry, Smith, Atran |
|  |  | Spring break |  |
| 8 | 3/22 | Meet with instructor to discuss paper topics | Hamas: ICG, Time, Pelham & Rodenbeck, Agha & Malley, Bronner, Avnery |
| 9 | 3/29 | Simulation sign up | Iraq: Anderson, SWJ, Kaplow |
|  |  | Optional writing clinic | Orwell |
| 10 | 4/5 | Paper draft due with thesis statement, list of sources | Afghanistan: McChrystal, Petraeus, Filkins, Rashid, Rubin |
| 11 | 4/12 | Simulation |  |
| 12 | 4/19 |  | Terror listing: HLP readings, Saletan, Baker, Brennan, Milbank |
| 13 | 4/26 |  | Crandall, Soderberg |
|  | **5/3** |  | Discussion |
| 14 | 5/10 | Papers due before class | Course summation |

**Week 1: Talking to Terrorists – Context and mechanics**

Parameters of the problem – intersection of new powerful non-state actors with old, static state system.

Cost-benefit calculus of religious groups, resistance groups, militants

Cost-benefit calculus of states: interests, tangible benefits, political costs

Definition of terms: Terrorism, Talking

Special problems – terror listing; political concerns; viability of engagement and negotiation

Approach of course: we will explore some ideas, theories, and political courses of action *through* historical and contemporary case studies

First meeting will also include overview of course themes; course expectations, syllabus

*Read* [RAND study on how terrorist groups "end"](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG741-1/)

*Skim* [RAND study on how insurgencies “end”](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG965/)

**Week 2: Practical concerns, Mechanics of Engagement**

A framework for policy analysis

A framework for political analysis

Useful ideas from political science

The two-level game

Differences among the actors labeled as terrorists. Problems of policy, intelligence, and analysis. Practical concerns. Methods of engagement. War, amnesty, truce, track two, unofficial contact, diplomacy, recognition.

*Read*

Robert D. Putnam, “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games,” International Organization, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Summer, 1988), pp. 427-460.

Wither, James K. Selective Engagement with Islamist Terrorists: Exploring the Prospects. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism v. 32 no. 1 (January 2009) p. 18-35

Peter Neumann, ["Negotiating With Terrorists," Foreign Affairs, Jan/Feb 2007](http://groups.google.com/group/sipacap/web/Neumann%252C%2520Peter%2520--%2520Negotiating%2520with%2520Terrorists%2520--%2520Jan%253AFeb%25202007%2520Foreign%2520AFfaris.pdf) (posted to Blackboard under Week 2)

**Week 3: Psychology, Negotiations, Engagement**

Useful frameworks from psychology

Decision-making theory

Negotiations theory

*Read*

Kahneman and Renshon, “[Why Hawks Win](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2006/12/27/why_hawks_win).” Foreign Policy, January/February 2007.

Dan Ariely, Predictably Irrational, Chs. 8 & 9

Dan Ariely, “The End of Rational Economics,” Harvard Business Review, July-August 2009.

Deepak Malhotra and Max H. Bazerman, “Investigative Negotiation,” Harvard Business Review, September 2007.

Charles Kupchan, *How Enemies Become Friends,* Princeton University Press, 2010.

**Week 4: Putting Ideas into Practice – The Middle East**

Israel-Palestine, the wider Middle Eastern context

Security considerations, domestic politics, international relations, “legitimacy,” resistance/militancy, terrorism/war crimes.

History of Hezbollah

Terrorism vs. Resistance

Story of UK engagement effort

Costs and benefits of engagement to Hezbollah, Iran, Israel, Syria, US, Europe

Unique political environment of Lebanon/Syria

How does US fund Lebanese government that includes Hezbollah?

*Read*

Ian S. Lustick, “[Abandoning the Iron Wall: Israel and ‘The Middle Eastern Muck](http://www.polisci.upenn.edu/faculty/faculty-articles&papers/Lustick_MEP_2008.pdf),’” Middle East Policy, Vol. 15, No. 3, Fall 2008

Charles D. Freilich, “[National Security Decision-Making in Israel:](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/freilich_mej_autumn_2006.pdf)

[Processes, Pathologies, and Strengths](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/freilich_mej_autumn_2006.pdf),” Middle East Journal, Volume 60, No. 4, Autumn 2006.

Robert Pape, “[It’s the Occupation, Stupid](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/18/it_s_the_occupation_stupid),” Foreign Policy, Oct. 18, 2010.

Steven Simon and Jonathan Stevenson, “[Disarming Hezbollah](http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65921/steven-simon-and-jonathan-stevenson/disarming-hezbollah),” Foreign Affairs, Jan. 11, 2010

**Week 5: In their own words**

The “enemy” perspective

What militant groups want

Distinguishing among terror-listed groups

Discuss the distinctions among Al Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas and the Taliban

*Read*

[Osama bin Laden’s “Letter to America,” November 2002](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/nov/24/theobserver)

[Hezbollah Platform, 2009](http://almanar.com.lb/newsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=113379&language=en)

[Hamas Charter](http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/880818.htm)

[Hamas 2006 Election platform](http://israelipalestinian.procon.org/view.additional-resource.php?resourceID=000646)

House of Wisdom, Hamas-run think tank in Gaza, reports on ideology and engagement, linked:

[Hamas Political Ideology: Towards National Strategy](http://www.howgaza.org/en/home.php?page=dmlld1RocmVhZA==&id=MTA3), By Hamas

[Europe should speak to Hamas now, by Khalid Amayreh](http://www.howgaza.org/en/home.php?page=dmlld1RocmVhZA==&id=NjA=), By Hamas

[Pew Public Opinion Poll](http://pewglobal.org/2010/02/04/mixed-views-of-hamas-and-hezbollah-in-largely-muslim-nations/)

Spend half an hour scanning the English-language websites of some listed groups

Hamas: http://www.qassam.ps/index.html

Hezbollah: http://english.moqawama.org/index.php

http://www.almanar.com.lb/newssite/news.aspx?language=en

The Muslim Brotherhood: http://www.ikhwanweb.com/

Salafist sites that might be offline (look for the English sections)

as-ansar.net

alfaloja.info or alfaloja.com, alfaloja.net

http://talk.islamicnetwork.com/

**Week 6: Hezbollah**

*Read*

Augustus Norton, Hezbollah: A Short History, Princeton University Press, 2007, pp. 27-46

Judith Palmer Harik, Hezbollah: The Changing Face of Terrorism, I.B. Tauris, 2005, pp. 163-176.

Thanassis Cambanis, A Privilege to Die, Free Press: 2010, Chapters 2 and 5

[“Hizbollah and the Lebanese Crisis,” International Crisis Group (skim)](http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=5113&l=1)

**Week 7: Track Two Diplomacy**

Discuss Carnegie and RAND studies of Track 2

Discuss Alastair Crooke’s “Resistance: The Essence of the Islamist Revolution”

*Read*

Mark Perry. “Talking to Terrorists: Why America Must Engage With Its Enemies.” New York: Basic Books, 2010. Read pp. 1-109; skim the rest of the book

Update: Scott Horton, [Six Questions for Mark Perry](http://www.harpers.org/archive/2010/03/hbc-90006744), Harpers, March 2010.

Lee Smith [on why Mark Perry is wrong in the Tablet](http://www.tabletmag.com/news-and-politics/27129/talking-to-terrorists/)

Scott Atran, ["Why We talk To Terrorists," Scott Atran, Robert Axelrod, New York Times, June 30, 2010, Int'l Herald Tribune, July 1, 2010](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/30/opinion/30atran.html?_r=1&ref=terrorism)

**Week 8: Hamas**

History, background.

Self-presentation: Distancing group from terrorism while denying charge of terrorism (discuss my Gaza interviews).

Unique political environment of Israel/Palestine.

Evolution of behavior under carrot-stick engagement

*Read*

[Hamas Claims US and Europe Are Reaching Out -- Time Magazine](http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1897071,00.html)

Nicolas Pelham, Max Rodenbeck, [“Which Way for Hamas?”](http://www.nybooks.com/articles/23313) New York Review of Books, November 5, 2009.

Hussein Agha, Robert Malley, [“Israel & Palestine: Can They Start Over?”](http://www.nybooks.com/articles/23456) The New York Review of Books, December 3, 2009.

Ethan Bronner, “[Captive Helps Close the Distance Between Israelis](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/09/world/middleeast/09shalit.html),” The New York Times, December 9, 2009.

Ethan Bronner, “[Prisoner Swap Appears Near in Mideast](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/24/world/middleeast/24mideast.html),” The New York Times, November 23, 2009.

Ethan Bronner, “[Parsing the Gains of the Gaza War](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/19/world/middleeast/19assess.html?_r=2&hp),” The New York Times,” January 18, 2009.

Uri Avnery, “[The Boss Has Gone Mad](http://zope.gush-shalom.org/home/en/channels/avnery/1232152100),” Gush Shalom, January 17, 2009.

*Skim*

International Crisis Group reports on Hamas, attached:

“Ruling Palestine I: Gaza Under Hamas,” March 13, 2008

“After Mecca: Engaging Hamas,” February 28, 2007

“Enter Hamas: The Challenges of Political Integration,” January 18, 2006

**Week 9: The Iraqi insurgency and the United States**

American outreach to Sunni insurgents, Al Qaeda in Iraq, other militias

Pragmatism and dogmatism in a conflict theater

*Read*

Jon Lee Anderson. “[Inside the Surge: The American Military finds new allies, but at what cost?](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2007/11/19/071119fa_fact_anderson)” The New Yorker, November 19, 2007.

Lt. Col. Dale Kuehl. “[Inside the Surge: 1-5 Cavalry in Ameriyah](http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2008/10/inside-the-surge-15-cavalry-in/).” Small Wars Journal. Oct. 26, 2008.

Larry Kaplow, “[Think Again: Iraq. It’s not over yet](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/15/think_again_iraq?page=full).” Foreign Policy, November 2010.

*If interested, skim*

<http://musingsoniraq.blogspot.com/2010/01/is-us-negotiating-with-baathists.html>

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/07/23/AR2009072303517.html>

<http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2008/09/sons-of-iraq/>

<http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2009/10/turning-fallujah/>

<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/>

<http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/militaryreview/index.asp>

**Week 9: Optional writing clinic**

One hour with professor to discuss elements of clear, persuasive writing.

*Read* George Orwell, “[On Politics and the English Language](http://mla.stanford.edu/Politics_&_English_language.pdf).”

**Week 10: Afghanistan, America’s Longest War**

Why the U.S. government is still talking about whether to talk to the Taliban, two decades into its on-again, off-again conversation and war with them.

The Taliban and The Lessons of History

Afghanistan in 1980s; Al Qaeda blowback

Engaging the Taliban in 2010

*Read:*

Gen. McCrystal report, 2009; further Petraeus reports/testimony

[The Taliban Doesn't Seem Ready to Talk](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/24/weekinreview/24filkins.html?ref=world), Dexter Filkins, Jan. 24, 2010

[UN Seeks to Drop Some Taliban From Terror List](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/25/world/asia/25taliban.html?ref=world), Dexter Filkins, The New York Times, Jan. 25, 2010

Ahmed Rashid, “A Deal With the Taliban?” The New York Review of Books, Feb. 25, 2010.

Michael Rubin, “[Taking Tea With the Taliban](http://www.commentarymagazine.com/viewarticle.cfm/taking-tea-with-the-taliban-15344&usg=AFQjCNGHSZ-dN-jQ2HDTmMXpQJitd0HsqA),” Commentary Magazine, February 2010.

*Further*

<http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2010/02/tribal-engagement-the-way-forw/>

**Week 11: Afghanistan simulation**

In-class simulation, played out in three stages, each student executing the role for which they signed up in week 9.

**Week 12: US Policy and US Politics**

Controlling legal authorities

The American domestic political environment

Constraints and opportunities

Terror-listing & no-contact policies: the odd case of the Iranian MKO

The Iran-Contra scandal

Polling and public opinion

The politics of national security policy

Underwear bomber fallout

Talks among belligerents

State-to-state relations in eras of conflict

Track-two diplomacy

Examples: US-N. Korea, US-Iran, Israel-Syria, India-Pakistan

*Read:*

Peter Baker, “[Obama’s War Over Terror](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/17/magazine/17Terror-t.html),” The New York Times Magazine, January 4, 2010.

Dana Milbank, “[People's Mujaheddin swears it has changed its terrorist ways,](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/01/12/AR2010011203182.html?nav=rss_opinion/columns)” The Washington Post, January 13, 2010

William Saletan. “[Traitor, Bomber, Soldier, Spy: Stop crying ‘terrorism’ every time we're attacked](http://www.slate.com/id/2241145/pagenum/all/).” Slate Magazine. Jan. 11, 2010.

Read or watch John Brennan's speech at CSIS in August 2009

Text:http://csis.org/files/attachments/090806\_brennan\_transcript.pdf

Video: http://csis.org/event/john-brennan-assistant-president-homeland-security-and-counterterrorism

*Spend 15 minutes familiarizing case brought by the* [*Humanitarian Law Project*](http://hlp.home.igc.org/) *before the Supreme Court, using the following links UPDATE WITH DECISION:*

John Farmer, Jr. “[What Does It Take to Aid a Terrorist?](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/23/opinion/23farmer.html)” The New York Times, Feb. 22, 2010.

Adam Liptak, “[Right to Free Speech Collides with War Against Terror](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/11/us/11law.html?emc=eta1),” The New York Times, Feb. 10, 2010.

Nina Totenberg, “[Supreme Court Examines Limits of Material Support](http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=124012925&ft=1&f=1003),” National Public Radio, Feb. 23, 2010.

Adam Liptak, “[Before Justices, First Amendment and Aid to Terrorists](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/24/us/24scotus.html?emc=eta1),” The New York Times, February 23, 2010.

“[Supreme Court Weighs Free Speech Against Security Concerns](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/law/jan-june10/supremecourt_02-23.html),” PBS Newshour, Feb. 23, 2010.

**Week 13: Counterguments and Engagement Failures**

Colombia

Sri Lanka

Why it mostly doesn’t work

“Terrorist” states & Liberation Movements

Rhetoric and reality: when sobriquet of terrorist is applied to states.

“Terror havens”: Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Tri-border region, Afghanistan-Pakistan

“State sponsors of terror”: Iran, Pakistan, Israel, the United States

American insurgents

From terror fringe to government: The PLO

South Africa’s ANC

The Irish Republican Army

*Read*

Nancy Soderberg, The Superpower Myth, Chapter 3.

Russell Crandall, Driven by Drugs: U.S. Policy Toward Colombia, Introduction and Roots of Violence

**Week 14: Wrapup**

**Pull back to the big questions**

Why doesn’t force suffice to dispatch “terrorist” enemies?

Why do political negotiations with terrorist non-state actors fail so often, especially since there is no better alternative.

The undeniable role of non-state actors

The failure of Westphalian states to recognize staying power of non-state actors, including those destined to rival states and those who will endure as sub-national actors.

American policy: Why does American think it can’t engage certain enemy groups; why it can; and how it has gone about changing policy in Iraq and Afghanistan

*The Way Forward*

Making peace with adversaries

How do “terrorists” shift to “former enemies” after peace settlements

RAND STUDY: “How do terrorist movements end?”

Keeping moral relativism at bay

Policy prescriptions: What Can Be Done

Transcending labels

The uses of “terror”

Ethical and philosophical implications

**Examples of oral presentation topics (5 minutes to present, followed by questions and answers, as class interest dictates)**

*These were the topics presented in Spring 2009*

**State sponsors of terrorism**

- Iran and the hostage crisis: what is its legacy in contemporary political discourse about terrorism (See Mark Bowden Guests of the Ayatollah)

**-** Saudi Arabian political and financial favor flows to huge “terrorist” constituencies. How has KSA escaped state-sponsor of terror label?

- Other world discourse: Give us specific examples of accusations of state terror levied against US, Israel, and possibly allies, by rest of world? Collect examples both of rhetoric and substantive claims.

**Other perspectives**

What is China’s discourse on terrorism, domestic and international?

How has France contained Islamist groups operating on French soil? Narrative of Islamic/Algerian terror activity in 1990s.

Track 2 Diplomacy – *Please discuss with instructor for specific focus*

**Technology, social change and terrorism**

The Role of Women in Salafi jihad

Internet as vehicle for terrorism and counter-terrorism

Why has “public diplomacy” been such a bust for the US? Such a boon for Saudi Wahabis?

**India’s experiences**

India-Pakistan negotiations (see Steve Coll article in the New Yorker)

Steve Coll, A Reporter at Large, “The Back Channel,” The New Yorker, March 2, 2009, p. 38 [Read more: <http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2009/03/02/090302fa_fact_coll#ixzz0fjKEUW71>]

India’s response to domestic terror (seperatists in Assam, elsewhere), Pakistan-sponsored terrorism

**Public opinion and terrorism**

What enables publics to ignore or dismiss havoc and destructive attacks versus the rule of law? What are the religious determinants? Current vogue fashions this as an Islamic problem (which is at least in part true; Muslim public opinion seems to easily waive rule of law or humanitarian law as a constraint for its own militants or “resistance”), but there’s a deep track record for such insouciance in the West – public support in US for IRA; in Europe for home-grown left-wing terror in the 60s and 70s; and currently in the West among sympathizers of the Islamic resistance who don’t feel compelled to hold resistance movements to the same standards to which they would like to hold Israel. Bring us three cases of how Western public opinion treated:

* A European terror group (Baader Meinhof, Red Brigades, etc)
* The IRA or a domestic US terror group like the Branch Davidians or those nutty guys in the Michigan woods or the Oklahoma City bombers or the KKK
* An Islamic group (either a contemporary one or earlier in 20th Century)
* Compare response to secular Arab terror in 70s (PLO/PF) and Islamic terror of 80s (Iranian hostage-takers, early Hezbollah kidnappings/bombings).

**Sri Lanka**

LTTE’s legacy: Defeating a terror group by force. Results of war that ended in 2009; what has become of Tamil political grievances, will to fight?

**Concepts**

Amnesty and terror

Terror trials

Discourse and practice of “reformed” terrorists absorbed into political realm

***Further readings***

Bruce Hoffman, “[The Logic of Suicide Terrorism](http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200306/hoffman),” The Atlantic, June 2003.

Steven A. Cook, “The Third Intifada,” The New Republic, November 16, 2009.

http://www.tnr.com/article/the-third-intifada

Jeffrey Goldberg, Unforgiven, The Atlantic, May 2008

http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200805/israel

Josef Joffe, “[A World Without Israel](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2005/01/05/a_world_without_israel),” Foreign Policy, January 5, 2005.

Michael Oren, “[The Roots of Our Discontent](http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200206u/int2002-06-12),” The Atlantic, June 12, 2002.

Pronin, E. “Bombing versus negotiating: How preferences for combating terrorism are affected by perceived terrorist rationality.” BASIC AND APPLIED SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY 28 (4): 385-392 DEC 2006.

Navin Bapat. State Bargaining With Transnational Terrorist Groups. International Studies Quarterly (2006) 50, 213-229.

Ed Moloney, A Secret History of the IRA, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003 (640 pages)

Conor O'Cleary, The Greening of the White House.

Balancing Means and Ends <<http://www.times-media.de/download/Security_Times_Feb10_ePaper.pdf>>, Charles A. Kupchan, The Security Times (pg. 11), February 2010

Speech on 'Tackling Terrorist Financing' <<http://www.cfr.org/publication/21339/tackling_terrorist_financing.html?breadcrumb=%2Fissue%2F135%2Fterrorism>>, Council on Foreign Relations, 28 January 2010

Terrorism in Southeast Asia <<http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL34194_20091016.pdf>>, CRS, 16 October 2009

Latin America: Terrorism Issues <<http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RS21049_20090902.pdf>>, CRS, 2 September 2009

Pakistan and the War on Terror <<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/tellis_pakistan_final.pdf>>, Carnegie Endowment (pg. 38-47), January 2008

Combating Terrorism: The Challenge of Measuring Effectiveness <<http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL33160_20070312.pdf>>, CRS, 12 March 2007

International Terrorism: Threat, Policy, and Response <<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL33600.pdf>>, CRS, 3 January 2007

Terrorism and National Security: Issues and Trends <<http://www.usembassy.it/pdf/other/IB10119.pdf>>, CRS, 9 March 2006

Contesting the Threat of Terrorism <<http://www.heritage.org/Research/HomelandSecurity/hl902.cfm>>, Heritage Foundation, 21 October 2005

Terrorism and National Security: Issues and Trends <<http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/IB10119.pdf>>, CRS, 21 December 2004

Speech on 'Fighting Terrorism' <<http://www.cfr.org/publication/4761/fighting_terrorism.html>>, Council on Foreign Relations, 8 May 2002

Terrorism: Near Eastern Groups and State Sponsors <<http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL31119_20020213.pdf>>, CRS, 13 February 2002

Misreading September 11 <<http://www.cfr.org/publication/4829/misreading_september_11.html?breadcrumb=%2Fbios%2F68%2Fcharles_a_kupchan%3Fgroupby%3D1%26amp%253Bhide%3D1%26amp%253Bid%3D68%26filter%3D135>>, Charles A. Kupchan, Council on Foreign Relations, 1 September 2002

The Diplomatic Front on the War on Terrorism: Can the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights Tip the Scales <<http://www.heritage.org/Research/HomelandSecurity/HL724.cfm>>, Heritage Foundation, 21 December 2001

Stop Subsidizing Terrorism <<http://www.heritage.org/Research/HomelandSecurity/BG1485.cfm>>, Heritage Foundation, 4 October 2001

Fighting Terrorism: Lessons From the Cold War <<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/Lieven-7.pdf>>, Carnegie Endowment, October 2001

**1.  US outreach to Iraqi insurgency**

* [Iraq: Strategic Reconciliation, Targeting, and Key Leader Engagement](http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB938.pdf), Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, September 2009
* [SIGIR Quarterly Report and Semiannual Report to Congress](http://www.sigir.mil/reports/quarterlyreports/Jan10/pdf/Report_-_January_2010.pdf#view=fit), SOI Program (pg. 44), SIGIR, January 30, 2010
* [Finding a Place for the Sons of Iraq](http://www.cfr.org/publication/16088/role_of_the_sons_of_iraq_in_improving_security.html), CFR, 9 January 2009
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