

USAID Counter-Terrorism Bibliography

Priority reading list

Online papers:

1. Bergen, Peter. "What were the causes of 9/11?" Prospect Magazine. September 2006. <http://www.prospect-magazine.co.uk/pdfarticle.php?id=7717>
This short but insightful article outlines Bergen's ten main reasons for contemporary terrorism.
2. International Crisis Group. "Islamist Terrorism in the Sahel: Fact or Fiction?" Africa Report N°92, March 31, 2005. http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/west_africa/092_islamist_terrorism_in_the_sahel_fact_or_fiction.pdf
The Sahel, a vast region bordering the Sahara Desert and including the countries of Mali, Niger, Chad and Mauritania, is increasingly referred to by the U.S. military as "the new front in the war on terrorism". There are enough indications, from a security perspective, to justify caution and greater Western involvement. However, the Sahel is not a hotbed of terrorist activity. A misconceived and heavy handed approach could tip the scale the wrong way; serious, balanced, and long-term engagement with the four countries should keep the region peaceful. An effective counter-terrorism policy there needs to address the threat in the broadest terms, with more development than military aid and greater U.S.-European collaboration.
3. International Crisis Group. "Understanding Islamism." Middle East/North Africa Report N°37, March 2, 2005. http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/middle_east_north_africa/egypt_north_africa/37_understanding_islamism.pdf
Reacting to the spectacular and violent events of 11 September 2001, many Western observers and policymakers have tended to lump all forms of Islamism together, brand them as radical and treat them as hostile. That approach is fundamentally misconceived. Islamism -- or Islamic activism (we treat these terms as synonymous) -- has a number of very different streams, only a few of them violent and only a small minority justifying a confrontational response. The West needs a discriminating strategy that takes account of the diversity of outlooks within political Islamism.
4. Labat, Séverine. « Djihadisme: Le Maghreb sous la Menace. » Afrique Magazine. May 2007. <http://www.afriquemagazine.com/index.asp?pageid=29>
5. USIP. Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. "Correlates of Public Support for Terrorism in the Muslim World." May 2007. http://www.usip.org/pubs/working_papers/index.html
This report aims to inform the Center's ongoing work to expand the understanding of the determinants of terrorism and its support base. The Center commissioned Bueno de Mesquita to analyze the determinants of support for terrorism in 14 Muslim countries, using data from the Pew Global Attitudes Survey. This work builds off of and refines previous analyses conducted by USIP. (See Christine Fair and Bryan Shepherd, "Research Note: Who Supports Terrorism? Insights from Fourteen Muslim Countries," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, Vol.29, No. 2 (January/February 2006).

Online Journals:

6. Hunt, Emily, "Islamist Terrorism in Northwestern Africa: A Thorn in the Neck of the United States?" The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus #65, February 2006. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/print.php?template=C04&CID=266>
7. Krueger, Alan B and Jitka Malečková. "Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" Journal of Economic Perspectives. Vol. 17, fall 2003, pgs. 119-144.

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<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/jstor/printpage/08953309/sp050006/05x0039m/0.pdf?backcontext=page&dowhat=Acrobat&config=jstor&userID=824002eb@tufts.edu/01cce4405f00501c221f7&0.pdf>

USAID & USG Documents:

The following documents can be found on the shared 'P' drive: P → AFR.SD.PUB → AFR.SD.CPG → TSCTP

8. Academy for Educational Development. David Shinn, Lisa Peterson and Mariam Alimi. "Understanding and Responding to Extremism, Instability, and Terrorism in Yemen, East Africa, and the Horn of Africa (YEAH). April 7, 2006.
9. Counterinsurgency (COIN Manual). Department of the Army. December 2006.
10. Department of State. CRS Report for Congress. "Combating Terrorism: The Challenge of Measuring Effectiveness." March 12, 2007.
<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL33160.pdf>
11. Farrell, William B. and Carla Komich. "USAID/DCHA/CMM Assessment: Northern Mali." MSI and USAID. June 2004. http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADC966.pdf
The overall objective of donor engagement must be to ensure that the fundamental causes of Northern dissatisfaction are addressed. USAID Mali is currently pursuing vital strategic objectives related to health, education, economic growth and governance. Additional resources should be provided to allow the Mission to broaden this approach widely among the northern communes. Decentralization, community participation and decision-making, and the engagement of youth and women in these processes are fundamental to progress within communities and stability of the North.
12. Kennedy Boudali, Lianne. "The Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership." The North Africa Project, the Combating Terrorism Center, West Point. April 2007.
13. Kilcullen, David. "New Paradigms for 21st Century Conflict." eJournal USA, May 2007.
<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0507/ijpe/kilcullen.htm>
14. Lamb, Robert D. "Ungoverned Areas and Threats from Safe Havens." DOD OSD Policy Planning. Draft 0.6.1, 2007.
15. Management Systems International. Articles prepared for USAID by Guilain Denoeux.
 - a. "Analyzing Political Islam: Debating Key Concepts and Their Implications." March 2002.
 - b. "Economic Performance and Radical Islam: Myths, Realities, and Programmatic Implications." May 2002.
 - c. "Exploring the Thinking of Islamists: Islamist Views Toward Government, the Economy, and Pluralism." November 2002.
 - d. "The Five Circles of the Islamic Revival in the Arab World." July 2004.
16. Shinn, David. "Countering Extremism and Terrorism in Africa: Program and Operational Ideas for USAID." USAID Africa Bureau. June 2005.
This paper responds to a question from the Africa Bureau on how it can combat extremism and the conditions that foster terrorism in Africa in a way that is consistent with USAID and National Security Strategy. Although written for the Africa Bureau, some of the recommendations fall within the purview of USAID global offices and some of the proposals are arguably equally

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relevant to other parts of the world. In the broadest sense, anything that USAID achieves which improves life for Africans makes it more difficult for extremists and terrorists to function. But this is too facile. Some programs are much more useful in ameliorating extremism and terrorism than others.

17. USAID Position Paper. "National Strategy for Combating Terrorism." March 15, 2005.
18. USAID CMM, DOD, EUCOM – West Africa Regional Program Paper (SBU). "Countering Extremism and Terrorism in the Sahel." July 1, 2005.
19. "USAID Africa Bureau Counterterrorism Strategy Development Reference Guide (Draft)." October 12, 2005.
20. USAID Mauritania Assessment. February 2007.
21. USAID presentation. Eli Berman (UC – San Diego), "Reconstruction vs. Radical Islam: Lessons for Lebanon." November 8, 2006.
http://inside.usaid.gov/DCHA/CMM/presentations/2006.11.08_reconstruction_vs_radical_islam.html
22. "USG Northern Nigeria Extremism Assessment – Final Report," SBU Draft – November 13, 2006
23. USG report. Colonel Thomas Baltazar and Elizabeth Kvitashvili, "The Role of USAID and Development Assistance in Combating Terrorism." Military Review. March-April 2007. http://inside.usaid.gov/DCHA/CMM/documents/USAID_and_CT_Article.pdf

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Background reading materials

Online papers:

24. Club de Madrid. "Addressing the Causes of Terrorism, Confronting Terrorism, Towards a Democratic Response." International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security, June 8, 2005. <http://english.safe-democracy.org/causes/>
The Club de Madrid Series on Democracy and Terrorism consists of three volumes. "Causes of Terrorism" includes contributions on the psychological roots of terrorism, political explanations, economic factors, religion, and culture. "Confronting Terrorism" deals with policing, intelligence, military responses, terrorist finance, and science and technology. "Towards a Democratic Response" addresses the role of international institutions, legal responses, democracy promotion, human rights and civil society.
25. Fair, Christine. "Research Note: Who Supports Terrorism? Insights from Fourteen Muslim Countries," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, co-authored with Bryan Shepherd Vol.29, No. 2, December/January, 2006.
<http://www.usip.org/specialists/bios/current/fair.html>
26. Farah, Douglas. International Assessment and Strategy Center. "Terrorism in Africa" Jan. 16, 2007. http://www.strategycenter.net/research/pubID.139/pub_detail.asp
27. International Crisis Group. "Counter-Terrorism in Somalia: Losing Hearts and Minds?" Africa Report N°95, July 11, 2005.
http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/horn_of_africa/095_counter_terrorism_in_somalia.pdf
A successful counter-terrorism campaign requires more engagement with the broader public, including civil society organizations and more moderate Islamist groups. Somalis must be persuaded not only that some individuals guilty of terrorism are indeed in their country but also that the counter-terrorism agenda does not involve subjugation by factional or foreign interests. At the same time, Somalia's partners must become involved with the peace process, helping to overcome the TFG schisms and to forge a genuine government of national unity. If they fail to do so, jihadis will gradually find growing purchase among Somalia's despairing and disaffected citizenry, and it will only be a matter of time before another group of militants succeeds in mounting a spectacular terrorist attack against foreign interests in Somalia or against one of its neighbors.
28. International Crisis Group. "Islamism in North Africa IV: The Islamist Challenge in Mauritania: Threat or Scapegoat?" Middle East/North Africa Report N°41, May 11, 2005. (*in French*)
http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/middle_east_north_africa/egypt_north_africa/41_islamisme_in_n_afr_iv_contestation_islamiste_en_mauritanie.pdf
Mauritania is experiencing a period of increasing instability. Evidence abounds and includes failed military coups, creation of a rebel movement, Foursan Taghyir ("The Knights of Change"), discovery of weapons caches in Nouakchott, and the arrest of Islamist leaders. Although the official discourse tends to tie the issue of political stability to the question of Islamism, the reality is far more complex. President Ould Taya's regime is taking advantage of the international context (the struggle against global terrorism) to legitimize its denial of democratic rights, while giving credence to the concept that Islamists are linked to the armed rebels in order to discredit them. In so doing, it runs the risk of leading the state into an impasse by rendering it dangerously dependent on U.S. support in the face of growing domestic discontent. To count on external support to suppress an alleged local Islamist terrorist threat that, at present, barely exists is to

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recklessly push forward rather than pursue a well thought out strategy. It could ultimately turn out to be a very costly mistake.

29. Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Centre Reports: (Great source; *may be fee-based. Ask Kyle if unable to access articles at the link below*).
<http://jtic.janes.com.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/JDIC/JTIC/home.do>
 - a. "Changing Meanings of Jihad." May 1, 2007.
 - b. "Al Qaeda's East Africa Cell." February 14, 2007.
30. Lyman, Princeton. Testimony before the House Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on Africa. Hearing on "Fighting Terrorism in Africa." April 1, 2004.
http://www.cfr.org/publication/6912/terrorist_threat_in_africa.html
31. MacDuff, Ian. "Terrorism and Conflict Resolution." Centre for Strategic Studies New Zealand, Working Paper April 18, 2004.
http://www.vuw.ac.nz/css/docs/working_papers/WP18.pdf

In this paper the author explores the relationship between current responses to terrorism and emerging theory and practice in conflict resolution. The paper begins with recognition that both terrorism and contemporary conflict principally involve "non-state actors" and, as such, require a re-framing of the more familiar responses to international conflict. The paper then sets out three key elements in conflict resolution: understanding the roots and dynamics of conflict and its escalation; identifying the range of responses, timing, and agencies in conflict resolution; and identifying structural, economic, political and other means of breaking cycles of violence. The paper also explores the argument that violence - including terrorism - involves mobilization around key perceived issues of injustice, and that mobilization frequently involves the instrumental role of key leaders.
32. Moss, Todd, David Roodman, and Scott Standley. "The Global War on Terror and U.S. Development Assistance: USAID Allocation by Country, 1998-2005." CGD Working Paper 62, July 2005. <http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/2863>
33. OECD: A development co-operation lens on terrorism prevention: key entry points for action
http://www.oecd.org/document/60/0,2340,en_2649_34567_33800764_1_1_1_1,00.html
34. Packer, George, "Knowing the Enemy: Can social scientists redefine the 'war on terror?'" The New Yorker. December 18, 2006.
35. United States Institute of Peace.
 - a. "Terrorism in the Horn of Africa." Special Report 113, January 2004.
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr113.html>

This report presents the views shared by six regional experts at a U.S. Institute of Peace workshop, "Assessing Terrorism in the Horn of Africa: Threats and Responses," held on May 28. The meeting was organized by the Institute's Research and Studies Program as a half-day forum for leading specialists on terrorism, the Horn of Africa, and American foreign policy toward Africa. This Special Report presents case studies on Kenya (Gilbert Khadiagala), Ethiopia (David Shinn), Djibouti (Lange Schermerhorn), Somalia (Ken Menkhaus), Eritrea (Ruth Iyob), and Sudan (John Prendergast and Philip Roessler).
 - b. "Political Islam in Sub-Saharan African: The Need for a New Research and Diplomatic Agenda." May 2005.
<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr140.html>

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Journal Articles:

36. Sheri Berman. Perspectives on Politics. "Islamism, Revolution, and Civil Society." June 2003. American Political Science Association. Volume 1, Issue 02.
<http://journals.cambridge.org.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/action/displayIssue?jid=PPS&volumeId=1&issueId=02>
37. Over recent decades, Islamism—the belief that Islam should guide social and political as well as personal life—has become a powerful force throughout much of the Muslim world. Through a discussion of the Egyptian case, this essay shows how the rise of Islamism can be illuminated by findings of the literatures on revolution and civil society, and vice versa. As many leading theories on revolutions would predict, the necessary precondition for Islamism's rise has been the declining efficacy and legitimacy of the state. Yet what has occurred in Egypt (and other parts of the Arab world) is not a successful revolution but a peculiar stalemate in which the existing regime retains political power while ceding substantial control over the societal and cultural spheres to the revolutionary challenger—an outcome that the literature does not envision. This stalemate, in turn, is largely a consequence of Islamists' ability to expand their presence in civil society. This expansion in Egypt and other Arab countries over recent decades is thus best understood as a sign not of benign liberalization, but rather of profound political failure, and as an incubator for illiberal radicalism.
38. Gause III, F. Gregory. "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?" Foreign Affairs. Sep/Oct 2005.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050901faessay84506/f-gregory-gause-iii/can-democracy-stop-terrorism.html?mode=print>
The Bush administration contends that the push for democracy in the Muslim world will improve U.S. security. But this premise is faulty: there is no evidence that democracy reduces terrorism. Indeed, a democratic Middle East would probably result in Islamist governments unwilling to cooperate with Washington.
39. Journal of International Development:
Jo Beall, Thomas Goodfellow and James Putzel. "Introductory Article: On the Discourse of Terrorism, Security and Development." January 2006.
<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/fulltext/112216900/PDFSTART>
This paper introduces the policy arena by examining the increasing interlinking of international development policy with security concerns, particularly at a discursive level in the global North and especially since the declaration of the United States led 'War on Terror'. The authors propose that it is not only the US that has altered its approach to development in light of the new security agenda, but so too have some multilateral development organizations, along with bilateral donors that in the past have been associated with a less politically determined program of development cooperation. The incorporation of security concerns in development thinking is not new and dates back at least to the Cold War era. Although the security-development nexus can be construed positively, the linkage has taken on new forms and dynamics in the contemporary context. Increasingly, development is viewed by some actors as a means of addressing 'looming threats' emanating from the global South towards the North. The authors suggest that if security for the North becomes a central guiding principle for development in the South, this will be damaging for both the project of global poverty reduction and global security.
40. Jo Beall. "Cities, Terrorism, and Development." January 2006.
This article interrogates the relationship between terrorism and development through the lens of cities, arguing that despite the post 9/11 hype in relation to cities of the global North, the impact of terrorism on cities of the global South should not be ignored. Defining terrorism in terms of acts of terror, it is suggested that cities are more susceptible to this form of political violence than rural areas because of the likelihood of greater impact and visibility and the incidence and impact of urban terror is greatest in cities of less developed countries. Eschewing a 'developing'/'developed'

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dichotomy it is nevertheless demonstrated that while terrorism has leveled risk across cities of the North and South, vulnerabilities in developing country cities are far greater. It is here that the link between terrorism and development can be most tightly drawn, providing a clear rationale for destabilizing the vicious cycle of terrorism and counter-terrorism that destroys past and undermines future development.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/jissue/112216896>

41. Jude Howell. "The Global War on Terror, Development and Civil Society." January 2006.
The subordination of foreign aid to military, foreign policy and economic interests has altered the context in which development aid is framed and implemented. This affects the way civil society actors are perceived, and unsettles the formerly positive understanding of civil society on the part of donors and the inclusion of civil society organizations in development processes and policy since the late 1980s. In this article the consequences of the global 'War on Terror' for civil society and development practice are examined, against a background discussion on the interconnections between development, foreign policy and security. The article concludes by reflecting on the difficulties faced by civil society organizations in addressing issues of social justice, redistribution and ethnic oppression, while preserving public identities that remain separate from the state and military.
<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/jissue/112216896>
42. Krawchuk, Fred T. "Combating Terrorism: A Joint Interagency Approach." *Land Power Essay* No. 05/01 (January 2005).
http://www.ausa.org/pdfdocs/LPE05_1Krawchuk.pdf
To effectively combat terrorism, decision makers must have a clearer understanding of terrorism and its causes. Coupled with this understanding, a coherent strategy to find, fix (isolate) and finish terrorists is critical to ensuring that valuable U.S. resources are focused decisively to protect American interests. Specifically, this proposal will follow these analytical steps to formulate a counterterrorist (CT) framework: explain the uniqueness of the terrorist threat; based on the threat analysis, develop an appropriate CT strategy to detect, deter and defeat the threat; and based on the strategy, recommend appropriate organizational structures that support implementation of the strategy.
43. LaFree, Gary. "Introducing the Global Terrorism Database." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. June 2007.
<http://www.informaworld.com.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/smpp/content~content=a776531828~db=all~order=page>
44. Piazza, James. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 2007. "Draining the Swamp: Democracy Promotion, State Failure, and Terrorism in 19 Middle Eastern Countries."
<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=g777798225~db=all>
This study demonstrates that the more politically liberal Middle Eastern states - measured both in terms of democratic processes and in terms of civil liberties protections - are actually more prone to terrorist activity than are Middle Eastern dictatorships.
45. Piombo, Jessica. *Terrorism and U.S. Counter-Terrorism Programs in Africa: An Overview*. Strategic Insights, Volume VI, Issue 1, January 2007.
<http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2007/Jan/piomboJan07.pdf>
46. Shinn, David. Focus on Counterterrorism, "Fighting Terrorism in East Africa and the Horn." *Foreign Service Journal*. Sept. 2004. <http://www.afsa.org/fsj/sept04/Shinn.pdf>
47. Simons, Anna and David Tucker. *Third World Quarterly*. "The Misleading Problem of

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- Failed States: a 'socio-geography' of terrorism in the post-9/11 era." 28:2, 387 – 401.
<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713448481>
48. Third World Quarterly.
Alice Hills. "Trojan Horses? USAID, Counter-terrorism and Africa's police." May 2006.
<http://www.informaworld.com.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/smpp/content~content=a747709376~db=all~order=page>
The purpose of US foreign assistance has shifted in the wake of 2001, and Washington has resurrected practices previously associated with police aid during the Cold War. In particular, the Bush administration has broadened the remit of the United States Agency for International Development (usaid) in such a way as to make it a quasi-security agency. The consequences of this could be significant for both usaid and democratic-style police assistance programs more generally, for today's threat-driven policies are part of a trend which in the past has had worrying consequences. Using the critical variable of public policing (which is illustrated by reference to developments in Kenya), I argue that using usaid to improve the counter-terrorist capacity of Africa's police in the pursuit of US national security objectives is a seriously flawed strategy.
49. Jeffrey Haynes. "Islamic Militancy in East Africa." November 2005.
<http://www.informaworld.com.ezproxy.library.tufts.edu/smpp/content~content=a727545568~db=all~order=page>
This paper examines the relative political significance of domestic and transnational Islamic militancy in three East African countries: Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. It seeks to identify, describe and account for the sources and significance of such militancy, with a focus upon the significance of al-Qaeda and regional affiliates. The paper argues that, encouraged by the post-9/11 international fall out, regional Islamic networks work towards improving the perceived low political and economic status of Muslims in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. At present, however, the political significance of Islamic militancy in the three countries is low.
50. Tujan, Antonio, Audrey Gaughran, and Howard Mollett. "Development and the 'Global War on Terror.'" *Race & Class* 46:1, Jul/Sep 2004.
<http://rac.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/46/1/53>
The war on terror is affecting developing countries and development policy and practice. The international focus on counter-terrorism and security has influenced aid allocations and the nature of donor cooperation with developing countries. Counter-terrorism is being used to justify practices that undermine the achievement of development goals and run contrary to international commitments on human rights. Increases in military aid and the export of arms are jeopardizing human security and livelihoods in many parts of the world.

USAID & USG Documents:

The following documents can be found on the shared 'P' drive: P → AFR.SD.PUB → AFR.SD.CPG → TSCTP

51. "USAID FY07 1207 Proposal Trans-Sahara Counter Terrorism Partnership" (TSCTP)
April 2, 2007
52. "USAID Yemen Stability Initiative: Addressing Root Causes of Terrorism by Targeting Vulnerable Youth." SBU – Draft 1207 Proposal.

Books:

53. Almond, Gabriel A., R. Scott Appleby, and Emmanuel Sivan, "Strong Religion: the Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World." University of Chicago Press, 2003