

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL  
VIOLENCE**

**SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 2**

**Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> February, 2007, 5.00pm  
Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Faculty Building**

**How Can We Stop Terrorism?**

**Seminar by  
Lieutenant General Sir Alistair Irwin KCB CBE MA FCMI  
FInstCPD**

General Irwin joined The Black Watch in 1970 after graduating from St Andrew's University (Political Economy). He is the third generation of his family to have served in the Regiment in modern times. His military career took him to many parts of the world and often to Northern Ireland. He commanded 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion the Black Watch in Northern Ireland, Edinburgh and West Berlin. His last two appointments in the Army were General Officer Commanding Northern Ireland and then Adjutant General, the Army Board member responsible for all personnel matters in the Army.

General Irwin has a number of honorary and voluntary appointments, amongst which are: President of the Royal British Legion Scotland, Earl Haig Fund for Scotland, Officers' Association Scotland and Veterans Scotland; President (Army) Officers' Association; Chairman The Christina Mary Hendrie Trust for Scottish and Canadian charities; a Commissioner of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (and member of its Audit Committee); Colonel of The Black Watch and Honorary Colonel of Tayforth Universities Officer Training Corps. He is a member of the Royal Company of Archers (Queen's Bodyguard for Scotland). He lectures regularly on leadership, international relations and military affairs. He is also a published author on military theory and history, most recently contributing book reviews for *The Spectator* magazine and the British Army Review.

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL  
VIOLENCE  
SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 2**

**Thursday 19th April, 2007, 5.00pm  
Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Building**

**Links between Drugs, Crime and Terrorism along the Silk Route from Afghanistan  
to Europe**

**Seminar by  
Dr Vladimir Fenopetov**

Dr. Vladimir Fenopetov, born in St. Petersburg in 1945, is an international expert on drug control and crime prevention. Before his retirement in 2006, he was Chief of the Europe and West/Central Asia Section, Division for Operations of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in Vienna, Austria. Prior to joining the United Nations in 1982, Vladimir Fenopetov was a Russian diplomat, serving for most of the 1970s in the Soviet Embassy in Tehran. Dr. Fenopetov holds degrees in International Relations, Political Science and Social Sciences and speaks seven languages, including Farsi, Dari and Tajiki. Currently he acts as a consultant to US and European research centres, UNODC, NATO as well as NGOs on issues of drugs and crime.

Abstract

Heroin is the world's most problematic illicit drug, accounting for more deaths than any other narcotic. Today, 90% of the world's heroin can be traced to just one country - Afghanistan, from where the drug is illicitly trafficked, mainly to Europe.

Drug trafficking has been linked to arms trafficking, with impact on violent crime and social stability. Non-state armed groups are key in the traffic of Afghan heroin to the north and west, including the Taliban terrorists and Hizb-e-Islami in Afghanistan; The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan; The Partya Kerkeren Kurdistan (PKK) in Turkey; The Kosovo Liberation Army; ethnic separatist groups in the North Caucasus and in the unrecognised states of the South Caucasus, such as Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Karabakh, Ajaria.

Criminal groups have achieved significant penetration into official state structures in a number of states, including Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Georgia, Serbia, Ukraine, and Russia. In some instances, it has become very difficult to disentangle the relationships between state structures, non-state armed groups, and criminal organisations. The most profound impact of the drug traffic has been its effect on the state itself.

Drug traffic requires corruption, and the relationship between criminal groups and the state is sometimes so intimate that the two are difficult to distinguish. In extreme cases,

there is a risk of 'state capture', wherein the institutions of the state are turned to serve narrow interests rather than the population at large. In the end, a vicious cycle can emerge wherein drug crime breeds instability that fuels further crime and spread of terrorism, while political and criminal elites conspire to bleed whole nations dry. Security concerns have already prompted popular support for several states to roll back the hard-won civil rights gains.

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL  
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SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 2**

**Thursday 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2007, 5.00pm  
Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Building**

**Terrorist Strategies: 'The Method to their Madness'**

**Seminar by  
Dr Kenneth A. Duncan**

Dr. Kenneth A. Duncan is a former senior United States diplomat with over a quarter century of experience in foreign relations, border security, intelligence, and international terrorism. Before he retired from the Foreign Service, he was the Chairman of the Interagency Intelligence Committee on Terrorism; as such he served as the National Intelligence Officer for Terrorism and was responsible for production, coordination and dissemination of all Intelligence Community warning products. Dr. Duncan holds a PhD from St Andrews in Modern History and has taught at courses on terrorism at the United States Coast Guard Academy and Yale University. He is now Senior Adjunct Professor of Security Studies and Terrorism at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Germany.

**Abstract**

As Martha Crenshaw so astutely observed more than twenty years ago, terrorism is best understood in terms of its strategic function. Far from being irrational or the product of a particular worldview, the decision of organizations to employ terrorist tactics is the product of strategic choice. Groups chose to use it because from their calculations it is the option most likely to succeed.

Terrorism as Alex Schmid reminds us addresses two audiences: an external audience of coercion and an internal audience of propaganda. Terrorists calculate their actions with an aim to influence both audiences. For example an organization such as Hamas would not wish to use weapons of mass destruction against Israel because they inevitably would kill Israelis and Palestinians indiscriminately and this could jeopardise Hamas' position within the Palestinian community.

The parameters of terrorist action, therefore, are derived from the nature of the group's objectives and their own structure. In the Middle East today, terrorist groups fall into four categories: organizations, which cannot exist on their own and often require support from a state sponsor but at the price of state control; organisms, which are capable of self funding, recruiting, and self direction; movements or networks, which are capable of self replication, and ideologies, which exist without a physical centre or sole source of inspiration.

Today we seem to share with the terrorists themselves the perception that they are both more united and more powerful than they are. If states are to confront the threat of terrorism successfully, it is vitally important that they understand the nature of the threats they face.

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL  
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**SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 1**

**Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> October, 2007, 5.00pm  
Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Faculty Building**

**'Hizbollah: Between Religious Ethics and Political Pragmatism'**

**Seminar by Dr Milad Doueichi**

**Bio**

**Abstract**

# **CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE**

## **SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 1**

**Thursday 25<sup>th</sup> October, 2007, 5.00pm**  
**Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Faculty Building**

### **Radicalization and Recruitment w/i the U.S. Prison System**

#### **Seminar by Dr. Gus Xhudo**

Dr. Xhudo received his Ph.D. from the University of St. Andrews in 1995. Prior to his employment with the US State Department, he served as a private consultant for several think tanks in Washington, including SAIC, The Scowcroft Group and Brookings as well as law enforcement agencies in this area including the New Jersey Division of Criminal Justice. He was a regular contributor to journals such as *Jane's Intelligence Review* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. Dr Xhudo began his career with State in 1997 as an intelligence analyst dealing with Russian Organized Crime before becoming an agent in 1999. He has served as the Anti-Fraud Coordinator at the US Consulate in Lagos Nigeria before his assignment in 2002 to the New York Joint Terrorist Task Force serving on its primary threat response squad. He has trained a variety of local, state, federal and foreign law enforcement personnel on terrorist methods to circumvent border controls and on Identity Theft and related Document Fraud scams. Some of these entities include: New York State Police; CT State Police; NJ-NY Marshals Fugitive Task Force; NYPD Intel; NYPD Recruitment; MAGLOCLLEN; CA Bureau of Investigation; US Secret Service; FBI; Dutch Border Police; British Immigration and Customs; Bergen County Police Academy. He is currently serving as a Unit Supervisor for Diplomatic Security's New York Field Office for the Tri-State JTTF agents.

#### **Abstract**

From the period immediately following 9-11, US law enforcement and members of the intelligence community have believed that the next attack and/or credible threat to US soil would once again emanate from outside the United States, specifically, the attackers would come from 'outside' the US. Even those recent threats and investigative efforts against individuals such as Muhammad Aref (material support of Al Qaeda based in Albany, NY) or the JFK bomb plot, while involving US citizens, were seen as agents of direct external influence rather than home-grown extremists and local plotting. Indeed, those involved in similar examples were mainly naturalized US citizens and as such, not considered home grown.

Recent events in the UK, France and to a lesser extent, the United States have brought to light and new threat, namely home grown extremists bent on creating upheaval and aiding and assisting overseas extremists in inflicting harm to the US.

Within the US, the correctional system has long been a fertile recruiting ground for gang members, violent criminals and other like minded individuals. Recently, however the prison system has also been an area where anti-establishment, anti law enforcement sentiments have been merged with radical Islamic tenets to produce US born or home grown extremists seeking to conduct terrorist activities within the US and/or aid and materially support overseas elements that

are conducting such covert activities. Born in the US, disaffected, isolated often with violent backgrounds, these individuals offer terrorist organizations prime candidates for recruitment and radicalization.

This seminar will attempt to highlight the types of individuals sought, the methods employed, internal and external causes for their recruitment and counter-measures. It will focus on real time case studies and offer methods to deal with this phenomenon.



# **CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE**

## **SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 1**

**Thursday 1<sup>st</sup> November, 2007, 5.30pm**  
**Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Faculty Building**

### **Russia and the War on Terrorism**

**Seminar by Dr. John Russell**

#### **Bio**

Dr Russell received his PhD from the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham in 1987, having previously gained a BSc in Russian with International Relations at the University of Surrey. For many years, he taught both Soviet Studies and Political Terrorism for the University of Maryland University College, being made an Adjunct Professor in 2002. Moving to the University of Bradford in 1989, he was Head of the Department of Languages and European Studies from 1996 to 2004, moving subsequently to Peace Studies. Following the apartment block bombings in Moscow and other Russian cities in September 1999 and the outbreak shortly thereafter of the Second Russo-Chechen war, he became one of the first academics in the UK to combine in his work knowledge of Russia and terrorism. Since then he has delivered and had published in Europe, Russia and the USA many papers on Russia, Chechnya and terrorism, both at universities, professional associations and government think tanks. This culminated in the publication of his monograph CHECHNYA: RUSSIA'S 'WAR ON TERROR' (Routledge 2007). In 2003, he appeared as an expert witness in the extradition trial in London of Chechen separatist leader Akhmed Zakaev during which he chaired an international panel on the conflict at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London. A regular visitor to St Andrews since 2001, including seminars on Chechnya for Ministry of Defence courses, he has recently contributed to conferences on terrorism and counter-terrorism in Liverpool and Washington, delivered seminars on Russia and the war on terrorism in Manchester and St Andrews and on Putin's Chechen policy at Chatham House, the IISS, St Antony's Oxford and Leeds. He designed and delivers the undergraduate courses in International Terrorism at the University of Bradford.

#### **Abstract**

Russia's 'war on terrorism' is not exactly synonymous with that of the US-led post-9/11 coalition, the former commencing with the apartment block bombings of September 1999 that triggered the 'counter-terrorist operation' (as the Second Russo-Chechen war was euphemistically termed), falling briefly into line with US policy immediately following the attacks on New York and Washington but broadly parting company with the 'coalition of the willing' after the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and, increasingly, after George W. Bush's re-election late in 2004. Paradoxically, the charge levelled at the Bush administration by Russia that, the once the US president focussed on regime change, the 'war on terrorism' was being fought in the narrow interests of the USA rather than against worldwide terrorism per se, could equally be directed at the Putin administration. Once the Russian federal forces advanced beyond the 'security cordon' had been established north of the Terek River in Chechnya, the overthrow of the 'rebel' regime in

Chechnya replaced the containment of terrorism as the Russian leadership's overriding strategic aim.

However, insofar as both Bush and Putin reacted to terrorist attacks as 'acts of war' rather than serious criminal atrocities, there was still a mutual utility in maintaining the pretence of a global war on terrorism. Moreover, the active presence of radicalised Islamic mercenaries in the North Caucasus and the suppression by Russian forces of major hostage-taking and suicide acts in Moscow (2002) and Beslan (2004) reinforced the perception that the USA and Russia were, indeed, engaged in combating a common enemy. Nonetheless, the subsequent falling out over energy, Iran, Iraq, Kosovo and, especially, NATO expansion revealed real divergences in the perceived national interests of each side. This seminar will explore the ramifications of Russia's disenchantment with and growing suspicion of Bush's interpretation of the US 'war on terrorism'.

# CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE

## SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 1

Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> December, 2007, 5.00pm  
Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Faculty Building

### MEETING POLICY CHALLENGES OF BIOVIOLENCE

Seminar by Professor Barry Kellman

#### Bio

Barry Kellman is a Professor of international law and is Director of the International Weapons Control Center at the DePaul University College of Law. Professor Kellman's work for the past decade has focused primarily on biological terrorism. Professor Kellman has published widely on: weapons proliferation and smuggling, the laws of armed conflict, Middle East arms control, and nuclear non-proliferation, including his most recent book, *BIOVIOLENCE: Preventing Biological Terror and Crime* (Cambridge University Press, August, 2007).

Professor Kellman's professional work has long been concerned with weapons of mass destruction proliferation and terrorism. He worked for ratification and implementation of the Chemical Weapons Convention as lead author of the *Manual for National Implementation of the CWC* (1993; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1998) and by testifying to Congress as to the constitutionality of its inspection scheme (1997). He was commissioned by the Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT) to draft, *Managing Terrorism's Consequences* (2003) which reviews legal authorities for responding to terror activity in the United States.

He initiated and is Special Advisor to the Interpol Program on Prevention of Bio-Crimes. He served as legal adviser to the National Commission on Terrorism (2000), and was a member of the National Academies of Sciences Committee on Research Standards and Practices To Prevent the Destructive Application of Biotechnology (2003). Professor Kellman also Chairs the ABA Committee on International Security of the Section on International Law. He works closely with the United Nations, many international and regional bodies, as well as with the United States and foreign governments. He has organized major international workshops on bioterrorism and speaks often at other conferences and symposia around the world.

#### Abstract

*Bioviolence* is species treason – giving aid to the enemy in the perpetual war between humanity and microbes. It is the ultimate act of terror – one of the very few ways to cause widespread harm and panic. It should be a crime whether the inflictor is a State, a terrorist, or a lunatic. Yet, across a broad panoply of policy arenas, initiatives to complicate bioviolence are stalled. No other threat presents such a stark contrast between, on one hand, severity of harm along with global denunciation but, on the other hand, a failure of leadership to reduce risks.

A malevolent perpetrator would face significant hurdles in planning and executing bioviolence, but the essence of scientific inquiry -- opening ever more fascinating windows into the structure

of life and matter -- necessarily opens ever more dire potential to make violence easier, more lethal, more untreatable, or more contagious. At the same time, scientific and technological progress is absolutely critical to addressing critical human needs especially throughout developing regions. This is a primary challenge for our era: how should policies promote the advance of science, encourage sustainable development worldwide, and prevent malevolent security threats? Policy answers should be based on the principle that preventing catastrophic violence in harmony with promoting science is mandatory for humanity's security.

It must be asked why bioviolence is not being systematically and globally addressed. Although many disciplines – science, history, politics etc. – have relevant responsibilities, the thesis here is that humanity is vulnerable to bioviolence because, at this time, international law is unable to devise, implement, and enforce preventive policies. Changes to prevailing legal concepts are mandatory. Bioviolence is a threat without borders to the human species; the challenge is how to confront this threat in a flattening world where the circulation of science and technology is accelerating. Every State and many international institutions must make a serious commitment in concert, with centralized governance. Indeed, implementing international legal standards to prevent bioviolence is the prerequisite of global science guardianship.

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL  
VIOLENCE  
SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 2**

**Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> January 2008, 5.00pm  
Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Building**

**'Deficiencies in the US Counter Terrorism Strategy'**

**Seminar by  
Dr James Forest**

James JF Forest, Ph.D. is Director of Terrorism Studies and Associate Professor in the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. He has published over 10 books on terrorism and counterterrorism, including *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century* (Praeger, 2007), *Weapons of Mass Destruction and Terrorism* (McGraw-Hill, 2007), and *Teaching Terror* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006). His research has also appeared in the *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, the *Journal of Political Science Education*, and the international journal *Democracy and Security*. Dr. Forest was selected in 2006 and 2007 by the Center for American Progress and *Foreign Policy* magazine as one of “100 of America's most esteemed terrorism and national security experts,” and is regularly invited to give lectures and participate in research projects in the U.S. and abroad. He holds degrees from Stanford University, Boston College, Georgetown University, and De Anza College.

Abstract

Despite what is commonly portrayed in the media, the security strategies of the United States over the last decade have reflected an understanding that the terrorist threat to our nation is far greater than a single extremist group led by Osama bin Laden, and that our response to terrorist threats must be global and multi-dimensional. Scholars and many policymakers recognize that the patient and nuanced integration of hard power and soft power is paramount to the success of any strategy for combating terrorism and insurgency.

However, there are some unfortunate deficiencies in America's current approach to combating terrorism, the most critical of which is our lack of attention to the dimensions of information warfare and strategic influence. Terrorists consider information operations to be a principal part of their effort, yet the U.S. has yet to muster a coordinated and effectively resourced response to extremist propaganda. Effective counterterrorism strategies must also incorporate knowledge of a terror group's vulnerabilities, particularly the concerns and fears that a group's leaders discuss among themselves. (For example, al Qaida fears fatwas more than missiles). Uncovering these vulnerabilities has been a core mission of the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, and our research has revealed a number of important avenues for diminishing the effectiveness of al Qaida and affiliated local terrorist groups.

Finally, scholars have also drawn increasing attention to the underlying conditions that facilitate terrorism. Effective counterterrorism requires a comprehensive understanding of the terrorists' operating environment and how a government's actions can impact them positively or negatively. Overall, the U.S. counterterrorism strategy is primarily focused on utilizing all levels of national power to counter terrorist groups' operational capabilities. This strategy must be expanded with a commitment to shaping the socio-political environment in ways that constrain ideological resonance, and to reducing the appeal and legitimacy of the ideologies that fuel terrorist violence.

# **CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE**

## **SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 2**

**Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> February, 2008, 5.00pm  
Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Faculty Building**

### **'Managing Relations with the Media'**

**Seminar by Dr. Michael Shea CVO, DL**

#### **Bio**

Michael Shea is the author of twenty-six books of fiction and non-fiction. Currently he is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Edinburgh Military Tattoo and of "The Hill Adamson", formerly The Scottish National Photographic Centre. Dr Shea is also a Board Member of various other financial companies. He is much in demand as a lecturer, both at home and overseas, on media issues, on contemporary political and diplomatic subjects, and currently on the subject of his latest book "The Freedom Years". This encourages older people to use their retirement years creatively and to best advantage.

A former member of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Michael Shea served in Ghana, Germany, Romania, and New York. He was seconded first to the Cabinet Office in the early seventies, then later to Buckingham Palace for ten years, as Press Secretary to Her Majesty the Queen.

He was, subsequently, Head of Political and Government Affairs at Hanson Plc. Later he was appointed Visiting Professor of Personal and Corporate Communications at the Graduate Business School, University of Strathclyde, and was the longest-ever serving Independent Television Commissioner for Scotland. Michael Shea has also held the posts of Chairman of the Royal Lyceum Theatre Company, a Trustee of the National Galleries of Scotland, and Chairman of Connoisseurs Scotland, the Association of Premier Scottish Hotels. Among many commercial and financial services appointments, he was Vice Chairman of Melody Radio, and a non-executive Director of Caledonian Newspapers Ltd.

He was made a Commander of the Victorian Order in 1986. Foreign decorations include Commander of the French Légion d'Honneur, Commander of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Commander of the Order of St. Olav of Norway. He is also a Deputy Lord Lieutenant of the City of Edinburgh.

#### **Abstract**

Michael Shea has been dealing with all aspects of the media for some forty years. His Seminar will highlight a wide range of media handling tactics, particularly in contemporary conditions, where newspapers are seldom bought, and television is increasingly ignored, by younger members of British society. He will describe how he continues to deal with the media in present day circumstances.

Michael Shea will draw on his experience as Director General of British Information Services in New York for several years in the mid nineteen-seventies, running a team on 120 people who were, one can now record, the propaganda arm of the British Government in the United States. He dealt with a huge number of issues, including the IRA and the Bobby Sands hunger strike, and getting Concorde landing rights in New York.

He will then expand on his time seconded for ten years as Press Secretary to Her Majesty the Queen, where he dealt with the media relations of the whole Royal Family. His tasks were to do with incoming and

outgoing State Visits, and the personal lives of the Royal Family, from the assassination of Lord Mountbatten, to many births, marriages and divorces. He ran the whole Royal Wedding of the Prince and Princess of Wales, looking after 2000 domestic and overseas media groups. One of his last tasks was to go to China with the Queen, taking 1,000 media people with him on three different planes.

Thereafter, he will explain how he handled the Hanson Group, where he was Head of Government and Media relations. He also ran a number of public and private companies, largely dealing with the media, and was Visiting Professor of Media Studies, and Personal and Corporate Communications at the University of Strathclyde's Graduate Business School. He has also taught a large number of Members of the Royal Family, Government Ministers and Heads of Companies about how to deal with media issues.



# **CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE**

## **SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 2**

**Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> February 2008, 5.00pm**

**Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Faculty Building**

### **The Hostage Situations**

#### **Seminar by Professor David Alexander**

##### **Bio**

Professor Alexander has been a specialist in the trauma field for a number of years beginning with the Piper Alpha disaster in 1988. Since then he has served as a Specialist Adviser to governments and other organisations following major incidents including the Coalition Invasion of Iraq, the Sri Lankan tsunami, an air crash in Nigeria, and the Pakistan/Kashmiri earthquake of 2005. He has just been appointed to the UK Scientific Advisory Group for Pandemic Influenza.

Currently, he is Director of the Aberdeen Centre for Trauma Research at the Robert Gordon University, and is a Consultant to the Grampian Police. He teaches at the Scottish Police College on trauma management and hostage negotiation. Recently, he was invited by Mr Terry Waite to help to establish Hostage UK - an organisation established to help the families of those taken hostage abroad. He is consultant-in-charge of the regional Traumatic Stress Clinic based at the Royal Cornhill Hospital, Aberdeen.

He is a Fellow of the British Psychological Society and the Royal Society of Medicine and an Honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Psychiatrists.

##### **Abstract**

Kidnapping has a long history as a method of securing concessions from individuals and organisations. It dates back to biblical times, and medieval knights almost used to invite kidnapping by advertising their wealth and nobility by means of heraldic devices on their shields in the hope they would be taken hostage rather than killed. In the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, the term was introduced to refer to the stealing of children for deportation to the colonies in North America where they were used as servants or labourers.

As a criminal act, kidnapping is reasonably cheap as a crime to perpetrate, and it can achieve a rapid, dramatic high profile, particularly on an international scale due to the efforts of the ubiquitous media (which hostage takers deliberately court). In some areas of the world, it has become alarmingly common particularly in Columbia, parts of Africa (especially Nigeria), Afghanistan, Mexico, Haiti, and Iraq. Motives for kidnapping vary; some kidnappings are purely for monetary and other material gain; some are for political purposes, and some are a means of expressing some grievance or disaffection. Terrorism-inspired incidents of hostage taking may differ from other incidents of this kind particularly because terrorists tend to involve well trained and well organised groups, and their targets are carefully chosen, particularly in anticipation of the likely effect that their kidnapping will have on others. Again, terrorists are keen to involve the media in such events. As a consequence, there have been recently some particularly distasteful examples of hostages being beheaded and the event being captured on videotape and relayed internationally by Al Jazeera and Al Arabia TV Channel. Until fairly recently, the use of force was usually chosen as a means of ending a kidnapping incident, particularly in American state prisons. However, there has been a sustained move, at least by western countries, towards conflict resolution and hostage negotiation. This move was encouraged by some well publicised catastrophic failures of the "suppression model" of intervention using massive force. These included the deaths of the Israeli wrestling team at the 1972 Munich Olympics. More recently, armed intervention proved to be tragically ineffective as was the case in the Dubrovka Theatre siege in Moscow and in the Beslan school siege in Russia.

Being taken hostage can be a very disturbing event indeed. The outcome does of course depend on various factors including, whether the hostages are alone or in a group, whether they have been physically, sexually and/or

psychologically abused, whether there has been a threat to life, and whether the event is of short or long duration. The adverse effects on children can be particularly marked and enduring. In addition to psychological reactions, there can be major health problems, not only due to the exacerbation of pre-existent physical pathology but due to the conditions of the confinement (often associated with a lack of nutritious diet, daylight, exercise, fresh air, and sleep).

How individuals cope with being taken hostage varies a lot, but autobiographical accounts of extended periods of capture provide important insights into how individuals do cope with extreme adversity. This also provides valuable information as to how to prepare people to survive the pressures and rigours of being taken hostage. A particularly intriguing phenomenon is called the "Stockholm Syndrome" which describes a paradoxical reaction of hostages to hostage takers and vice versa. It has considerable survival value, but it can also cause problems of post-release adjustment among the hostages.

This presentation will explore the history of kidnapping; its aims and objectives; how individuals appear to cope during such an experience, and the psychological and physical effects of being taken hostage.

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL  
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SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 2**

**Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> March 2008, 5.00pm  
Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Building**

**The Coalition, Al Jazeera and Muslim Public Opinion**

**Seminar by Steve Tatham**

**Bio**

Steve Tatham is a serving Officer in the Royal Navy and an Arab Media Operations specialist. He was public spokesman for Naval operations in Iraq in 2003, in Afghanistan in 2001 and part of the UK media team for the military intervention in Sierra Leone in 2000. In more benign times he was Naval spokesman for the HMS Nottingham grounding incident in Australia and the Trafalgar 200 celebratory events in 2005.. He holds a Master's degree in International Relations from the University of Cambridge and is currently writing a PhD on the use of soft power to ameliorate jihadist ideology. Tatham's first book (*Losing Arab Hearts and Minds: The Coalition, Al-Jazeera and Muslim Public Opinion*) was published to critical acclaim in the US and UK last year by Hurst & Co and charts the relationship between the military coalition and organic pan-Arab TV news providers during the Iraq War. Tatham is currently on three years secondment as Senior Research Fellow and Director of Media and Communication research at the UK Defence Academy's Advanced Research and Assessment Group (ARAG).

**Abstract**

From November 2002 to May 2003, Steve Tatham worked alongside American military planners in the Gulf, coordinating the huge media campaign that foreshadowed and accompanied the eventual invasion of Iraq. From first hand experience he witnessed how, in advance of the outbreak of hostilities, the US planned to win over sceptical Arab hearts and minds. Yet as the campaign unfolded, Tatham, the Royal Navy's public spokesman in Iraq, saw how differently the British and Americans regarded the media and how badly journalists from the Arab world, in particular from Al-Jazeera satellite television, were treated in comparison to those from coalition nations. His book is highly critical of how the United States handled its information war. Notwithstanding the best efforts of well meaning senior US officials, the mounting death toll, both military and civilian, saw the Americans all but ignore the Arab media, focusing instead on a largely acquiescent domestic press, one still obsessed with Al Qaeda's 9/11 attacks on the homeland and only too happy to fly the Stars and Stripes. Images of dead and captured coalition servicemen led to Arab channels being accused of bias against western forces, and such was the demonisation of some channels that many observers began to wonder if President Bush's declaration that 'you are either with us or against us' applied not just to nation states but also to the world's media.

.... Well that's what the preface to his book said in 2006! In his lecture at St Andrews Tatham will consider the role of the media – both established and emerging - in contemporary conflict and will reflect on military operations in Afghanistan, the Taliban's development of an information strategy, and the coalition's continued engagement with the Arab and Muslim world.

# CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE

## SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 2

Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> March, 2008, 5.00pm  
Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Faculty Building

### The Uses and Abuses of Playing Politics with Terrorism

Seminar by Dr. George Kassimeris

#### Bio

George Kassimeris is a Senior Research Fellow in Conflict and Terrorism at the University of Wolverhampton, England. He is the author of *Europe's Last Red Terrorists*, the first book on Greece's notorious terrorist group and the editor of *The Barbarisation of Warfare* (2006) and *Playing Politics with Terrorism: A User's Guide* which was selected in the Best Books of 2007 by the *Independent* newspaper. Kassimeris is also the co-editor of the new journal *Critical Studies on Terrorism* and serves on the editorial boards of *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* and *Prospect* magazine, Britain's leading intellectual monthly. A journalist before joining the academia, he regularly broadcasts on security and terrorism for the BBC and other international media organisations. He has a BA in Politics, an MA in European Studies from Reading and a doctorate in International Relations from St Andrews, Scotland.

#### Abstract

While governments are obliged to protect society and bring terrorists to justice, their effectiveness in tackling terrorism without undermining the support of the population for law and order or jeopardising basic liberties is paramount. In dealing with extremism, governments have found it difficult to balance the imperatives of security and the rights of liberty. That said, neither lethargy nor hysteria is conducive to ensuring national security. Rather, steely determination grounded in facts and sound judgments about the challenges confronting us are required. The exaggeration by governments of a terrorist threat in order to sustain a credible anti-terrorism narrative, to manipulate public opinion, to push through draconian legislation or even to win elections are not novelties of the post-9/11 world. As this talk will argue, governments in many countries, from Putin's Russia and Fujimori's Peru to Italy in the 1970s, have stumbled towards repressing the very liberty and democratic culture which the terrorists seek to destroy.

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL  
VIOLENCE  
SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 2**

**Wednesday 19th March 2008 5.00pm  
Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Building**

**Title**

**Seminar by  
Professor Shai Feldman**

**Bio**

**Abstract**

# **CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE**

## **SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 2**

**Thursday 1<sup>st</sup> May, 2008, 5.00pm**  
**Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Faculty Building**

### **"Limitations on the Utility of Force in a Counter Terrorism and Insurgency Context"**

**Seminar by Mr Afzal Ashraf**

#### **Bio**

Group Captain Afzal (Affi) Ashraf served initially as an Engineer officer in the Royal Air Force and filled a number of engineering and operational appointments. In 2003 he undertook a year of full-time study at St Andrews University's Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, initially for an MPhil in International Relations. This was subsequently upgraded to a PhD to be completed part-time. The thesis topic is "Al-Qaeda's Ideology".

Between October 2004 and February 2005, Ashraf was deployed to the Multi-National Force Headquarters in Baghdad where he was embedded within the US joint staff dealing with political, military and economic strategy. His particular responsibilities included liaison with the Iraqi Government and the US State Department, Campaign Plan reviews, intelligence assessments and strategy development.

Ashraf took up an appointment within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, responsible for Security Sector Reform and Political Military issues within the Iraq Directorate, between February 2005 and June 2006. This included managing the FCO's police, prisons and rule of law activities with a particular emphasis on strategy development and cross Whitehall co-ordination. He also advised on insurgency, militias and sectarian issues.

Group Captain Ashraf is currently responsible for Training Management in 22 (T) Group at RAF High Wycombe and is continuing his research part time.

#### **Abstract**

The industrialization of warfare at the beginning of the last Century not only made civilians a strategically tempting targeting but, through advances such as aviation, made mass targeting of civilians a possibility. The UK's policy of Air Control in the Middle East during the inter-war years and its strategy (along with the Allies) during WWII set an ethical precedence which is being exploited by protagonists in current Middle East

Conflicts. The Paper explores how strategic choices are limited by military capability and how these limitations drive ethical and theological arguments in favour of targeting civilians.



**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL  
VIOLENCE  
SEMINAR SERIES - SEMESTER 2**

**Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> May 2008, 5.00pm  
Seminar Room 4, Room No. 218, Second Floor, New Arts Building**

**'Radicalization in the Diaspora'**

**Seminar by  
Professor Peter Waldmann**

**Bio**

Professor Waldmann was Professor of Sociology (Faculty of Philosophy) at the University of Augsburg (Germany) until his retirement in 2002. He was a Visiting Professor in; Buenos Aires and Córdoba (Argentina), Madrid, Sevilla, San Sebastian (Spain), Santiago (Chile), Bogotá (Colombia), Bern (Switzerland) and Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard USA).

His main areas of research are:

- Sociology of Law, Sociology of Crime and Sociology of Deviant Behaviour and Social Control.
- Sociology of Development processes of late and dependent modernisation with special reference to Latin America (Argentina, Colombia, etc.)
- Political Sociology, especially dictatorship in a comparative perspective, minority problems, violent protests movements, guerrilla, civil war and terrorism.

Recently, Professor Waldmann was a Member of the Scientific Board of the Research Centre on Terrorism at the University "Rey Juan Carlos", Madrid and a Member of the Parliamentary Commission on the terrorist attacks of the 11 of March 2004 in Spain.

Professor Waldmann has written six books, three of which have been translated into Spanish; he is editor of twelve more volumes and author of approximately one hundred chapters and articles in German, Spanish and English.

**Abstract**

The presentation consists of three sections. In the first section the concepts of exile and diaspora are introduced as a promising way to order and better understand the data which we have about the candidates for global jihadism and especially for "homegrown terrorism". While much has been written about diaspora-communities as being favourable to artistic creation and cultural innovation, its role as a source of political and religious extremism has been neglected. The second part provides an overview over the different kind of diasporas paying special attention to diaspora-nationalism as a classical example

of how migration can foster radicalization. Finally in the third part, the focus will be religious radicalization showing its special traits and expressions.