INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND COUNTERTERRORISM

Spring 2020

Political Science 339 - 01

MWF 0900-0950, Maybank 307

Dr. Mary Desjeans

Office Hours: MW 1000-1050 and by arrangement.

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COURSE DESCRIPTION, GOALS, AND OBJECTIVES

This course examines terrorism and counterterrorism in the context of democratic society, focusing on the United States, the United Kingdom, Israel, France, and Russia. It will trace the history of terrorism, but focus substantially on developments since World War II when terrorist campaigns became a common tactic of asymmetric conflict for non-governmental individuals and groups. Students will analyze the three post-WWII phases of terrorism, that is anti-colonial, ethno-nationalist and ideological, and religiously-motivated and will examine whether terrorism is a rational or criminal tactic.

Students will also study the counterterrorism tactics of these key western democratic states, becoming able to explain the similarities and differences, their legality in terms of domestic and international laws, as well as the ethics of various counterterrorist strategies. Students will also evaluate the various tactics the United States has utilized to fight Al Qaeda and other Salafi Jihadist terrorists, such as ISIS, since the late 1990s.

Students will differentiate among the motives and philosophies of terrorist campaigns, becoming able to explain the dynamics at work. At the same time, they will discern and explain the reasons why each democracy attempts to thwart terrorism in different ways—some of which challenge many Western citizens’, especially US citizens’, standards of ethics, morality, religion, or civic consciousness. Students will cultivate an intellectual understanding of terrorism and counterterrorism, as well as an ability to articulate what is fair, defensible, and sustainable in terms of counterterrorism tactics.

An additional focus of the course will be to stimulate students’ critical thinking and analytic skills. Although lecture will be a prime method of instruction, I will also look for student participation via the expression of varied points of view backed by fact, cogent reasoning, or historical precedent—not unsubstantiated opinion. Moreover, I will look for this same critical approach in the writing assignments. The learning goals of this course are not simply to equip students with an informed understanding of terrorism and the counterterrorism strategies of Western democracies, but also to increase students’ analytic capabilities and quality of writing.

REQUIREMENTS

- Students will be expected to attend class regularly and to participate in class discussions, especially the designated In-Class Discussions sessions. Attendance and participation will represent 10 percent of your grade.

- There will be a 50-minute examination in mid-February which will represent 20 percent of your grade. The purpose of this first exam is twofold: 1) to test how well you are absorbing the key points of the course and 2) to acclimate you to the kinds of questions you will be asked in other course written requirements and to my expectations in terms of the critical thinking skills you should display in your answers.
• You will be required to watch the movie *Battle of Algiers* (available online in French with subtitles) and in a paper of no more than four-double-spaced pages to identify and discuss what issues highlighted in FLN terrorism or the French Government response are germane to 21st century terrorism and counterterrorism issues. This paper will be worth 20 percent of your final grade.

• There will be a cumulative final examination which will represent 20 percent of your grade.

• In a paper that will represent 30 percent of your final grade, you will be required to produce a 5-6-page (double spaced) evaluation of the impact of the elimination of Usama bin Laden on the terrorist threat to the US Homeland and to US interests abroad.
  
  ▪ Some possible, but not required, avenues of analysis include questions such as: In what ways is the threat that we face today different from the threat we faced while he was alive? Was his death a turning point in terms of the Salafi Jihadist threat to the US? What specific impact did his death have on the Salafi Jihadist terrorist movement? Additionally, why was the US determined to eliminate him? Revenge? To destroy Al Qaeda? To defuse support for the Salafi Jihadist perspective? To end the war on terror?
  
  ▪ As you contemplate the issues associated with your assessment, keep in mind Audrey Cronin’s insights as to the historical record in terms of why countries use decapitation and what the impact has been. How do these insights apply in the situation in which the US eliminated UBL?

  ○ In regard to the two writing assignments, I will provide detailed review comments of both the substantive information and critical thinking of your analysis. In addition, as a means to hone your writing skills, I will provide extensive editorial comments on your writing, but will not deduct points from your grade unless the writing is so ambiguous as to obfuscate your message.

Grades for individual assignments will be numerical on a 100 point scale and the final grade will be calculated based on the following scale: 93-100 A; 90-92 A-; 88-89 B+; 83-87 B; 80-82 B-; 78-79 C+; 73-77 C; 70-72 C-; 68-69 D+; 63-67 D; 60-62 D-; below 60 F.

**REQUIRED TEXTS**


**READINGS IN OAKS**


Andrew Silke, Editor, *Case Study: Counter-terrorism in the UK*, The Psychology of Counter-Terrorism, (London and New York: Routledge, 2011.) pp 12-16


*Battlefields of the Mind*, The Economist, 9 January 2016

Islamic State’s Rainy-day Fund, The Economist, 24 February 2018

*Sahel or High Water*, The Economist, 22 September 2018

*Islamic, Yet Integrated*, The Economist, 6 September 2014

*Self-service*, The Economist, 11 October 2014

*The Fight against Islamic State is Moving to Africa*, The Economist, 14 July 2018

*Fighting the Cyber-Jihadists*, The Economist, 10 June 2017

*Loosening the Rules*, The Economist, 18 March 2017


Council on Foreign Relations, *Nigeria’s Battle with Boko Haram*, 8 August 2018

Council on Foreign Relations, *Al Qaeda’s Resurrection*, 6 March 2018

*Perspectives on Terrorism*, The Islamic State after the Caliphate, February 2019

*Perspectives on Terrorism*, Blurred Lines: The New ‘Domestic’ Terrorism, 2019

*Perspectives on Terrorism*, Defining and Distinguishing Secular and Religious Terrorism, April 2014

Prism, The Business of Terrorism, 2019


Lawfare, *The Foreign Policy Essay: Is This How to Win the “War on Terrorism”*, 14 September 2014

Lawfare, *Foreign Fighter “Hot Potato”*, 26 November 2017

Lawfare, *The French War on Terrorism: Targeting French Islamic State Fighters through Iraqi Forces*, 30 May 2017

Lawfare, *French Special Forces Targeting French Citizens Fighting for ISIS in Iraq*, 9 June 2017

Lawfare, *Can Lone Wolves Be Stopped?* 15 March 2017

Lawfare, *The US Drone War in Pakistan Revisited*, 11 November 2018
Lawfare, Judging Al Qaeda’s Record, Part I and II, 27/28 June 2017

Lawfare, Further Reflections on the Need for a Criminal Law Enforcement and Military Approach to Terrorism, 12 January 2015

Lawfare, The French Response to Terror: Counterterrorism Detention and Prosecutions Across the Atlantic, 21 January 2015

Lawfare, Addressing the National Security Threat of White Supremacist Terrorism, 18 October 2019

Lawfare, Losing Control over Returnees? 13 October 2019

Timeline: Minnesota Pipeline to al-Shabab, NPR News, 24 November 2014

The RAND Blog, Do Terrorist Groups Really Die? A Warning, 9 April 2018

Justice News, Assistant Attorney General David Kris Speaks at the Brookings Institution, 11 June 2010

CTC Sentinel, Governing the Caliphate: The Islamic State Picture, 21 August 2015

CTC Sentinel, Profiles of Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq, 29 September 2014


CTC Sentinel, The Threat to the United States from The Islamic State’s Virtual Entrepreneurs, March 2017

CTC Sentinel, The El Paso Terrorist Attack: The Chain Reaction of Global Right-Wing Terror, December 2019


Foreign Policy Research Institute, FISA Renewal Controversy: The Suddenly Very Conspicuous Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, 7 November 2019

ISIS is Regaining Strength in Iraq and Syria, The New York Times, 19 August 2019

Al Qaeda is Very Much Alive, Weekly Standard, 11 September 2018

Ten Years After Mumbai: The Group Responsible Is Deadlier Than Ever, War on Rocks, 26 November 2018

Just Security, Travel Bans and Due Regard: The UK’s New Counterterrorism and Security Act, 11 March 2015

Just Security, The More Things Stay the Same: Why the Trump Administration’s Counterterrorism Strategy is Surprisingly Conventional, 13 November 2018

France: New Anti-Terrorism Law Takes Effect, Gatestone Institute.org, 31 October 2017

Connections, The Terrorist Threats against Russia and its Counterterrorism Response, Fall 2015


–AQAP Post-Arab Spring and the Islamic State
--AQIM’s Formalized Flexibility

--Al-Shabab in Somalia

_In the Fight against Jihadist Ideology, Win the People to Win the War, The Hill, 19 July 2017_

_White Supremacy Extremism: The Transnational Rise of the Violent White Supremacist Movement_, The Soufan Center, September 2019


**GROUND-RULES**

- **Attendance:** I expect you to attend class (period.)

- **Late Work:** Late work will be penalized. Work that is turned in after the date and time it is due will lose five points off the total automatically (i.e. a paper with a numerical grade of 75 becomes a 70) and an additional five points will be deleted for every subsequent day. I consider work to be late if it is not handed in at the time requested. **If there are extenuating circumstances that prevent you from passing in your assignments on time, I expect you to discuss these with me before the time the assignment is due.** Any student who misses an exam and does not inform me of the legitimate, substantiated reason for their absence within 24 hours will fail the missed exam automatically and will have no opportunity for a make-up exam.

- **Assignment Submissions:** You must provide a legible, printed hardcopy of your work to me in class at the time the assignment is due. Additionally, you should electronically submit a copy of the assignment via the Drop Box in OAKS by 0900 on the day the assignment is due.

- **Academic Dishonesty:** Don’t even think about it! When you enrolled in the College of Charleston, you were bound by an Honor Code. I expect you to abide by that code. If you are found to have cheated on an exam or plagiarized any of your written assignments, you will fail this course and be turned over to the Honor Board for further disciplinary action.

- **Courtesy and Professionalism:** Given the nature of the subject matter of this course, you will doubtlessly find that some of your ideas do not always match the views of your fellow students, the authors of your texts, or your instructor. As I noted in the first paragraphs of this syllabus, I expect that your point of view will be backed by fact, cogent reasoning, or historical precedent. We are not here in this class to provide speculative opinions, to provide only emotional arguments, or to use volume in place of logic. We are here to share with one another our thinking and the reasons for it. In this same spirit, I expect that you will listen to the thoughts of others and to remain open to questions.

- **Special Circumstances:** If you have any kind of special circumstances that I should be aware of, please inform me right away. If you have SNAP accommodations of any kind, please make the appropriate notifications and arrangements with the Center for Students with Disabilities within the first week of class. Alternatively, if you have any sort of undiagnosed learning disability, a physical impairment of any kind that will require special arrangements for exams or papers, if you are an athlete or member of any club or organization that will travel, let me know. I will keep any information you share with me confidential, but in order to create the best learning environment for you, I need to know if there are circumstances that may interfere with your performance in the course.

**CLASS SCHEDULE**
W 8 January  Introduction Day

F 10 January  Defining Terrorism -- Revolution and Reaction
  • Hoffman, 1-21

M 13 January  Post World War II Terrorism

W 15 January  The Definition of Terrorism
  • Hoffman, 21-44

F 17 January  The Definition of Terrorism Continued
  • Primoratz, “Terrorism: What is it?”

W 22 January  International Terrorism and Transnational Terrorism
  • Hoffman, 65-76
  • Perspectives on Terrorism, Blurred Lines: The New ‘Domestic’ Terrorism

F 24 January  Examining the Three Phases in Detail -- Anti-colonial Terrorism
  • Video: The Battle of Algiers
  • Hoffman, 45-64

M 27 January  Examining the Three Phases in Detail -- Ideological Terrorism
  • Hoffman, 76-82

W 29 January  Examining the Three Phases in Detail -- Religious Terrorism
  • Hoffman, 83-100

F 31 January  Christian and Jewish Religious Terrorism
  • Hoffman, 101-105, 107-127

M 3 February  Christian Religious Terrorism continued (Anti-Semitism and White Power Terrorism)
  • White Supremacy Extremism: The Transnational Rise of Violent White Supremacist Movement, The Soufan Center, 6-7
  • CTC Sentinel, The El Paso Terrorist Attack: The Chain Reaction of Global Right-Wing Terror

W 5 February  SHIA Islamic Religious Extremism—Ideology and Justification
  • White, 258-267, 279-284, 306-317

W 5 February  Battle of Algiers Paper Due

F 7 February  SUNNI Islamic Religious Extremism—Salafi Jihadist Ideology and Justification
  • Wiktorowicz, Genealogy of Radical Islam

M 10 February  Who Are the Shia and Sunni Terrorist Groups?
  • White, 376-387
W 12 February  Who Are the Shia and Sunni Terrorist Groups?
  - White, 387-395

F 14 February  Video in Class – Terror in Mumbai
  - Ten Years After Mumbai

M 17 February  Suicide Terrorism Today
  - White, 290-306, 318-331, Hoffman, 139-181, Moghadam, Motives for Martyrdom

F 19 February  Salafi Jihadism as Ideology
  - CTC Sentinel: Salafi-Jihad as a Religious Ideology

F 21 February  In-Class Discussion
  - Perspectives on Terrorism, Defining and Distinguishing Secular and Religious Terrorism

M 24 February  Examination

W 26 February  Terrorist Use of the New Media
  - CTC Sentinel: The Age of Selfie Jihad: How Evolving Media Technology Is Changing Terrorism
  - Fighting the Cyber-Jihadists, The Economist
  - Hoffman, 205-241

F 28 February  Criminals, Crazies, or Crusaders
  - Combs, Criminals or Crusaders, 52-79
  - Hoffman, 242-268

M 2 March  Law Enforcement or War?
  - Combs, Legal Perspectives, 214-223

W 4 March  In-Class Discussion
  - Lawfare, Further Reflections on the Need for a Criminal Law Enforcement and Military Approach to Terrorism
  - Department of Justice, Justice News, Assistant Attorney General David Kris Speaks at the Brookings Institution

F 6 March  How Terrorism Ends
  - Cronin 14-34, 1-6

M 9 March  Negotiation
  - Cronin, 35-72

W 11 March  Success
  - Cronin, 73-93
F 13 March  Repression and Reorientation

- Cronin, 115-166

M 23 March  Threat Today: The AQ CORE and AQAP

- Council on Foreign Relations, *Al Qaeda’s Resurrection*
- Lawfare, *Judging Al Qaeda’s Record, Part I and II*
- *Al Qaeda is Very Much Alive, Weekly Standard*
- *AQAP Post-Arab Spring and the Islamic State, How Al Qaeda Survived*

W 25 March  Threat Today: The Additional AQ Affiliates

- *AQIM’s Formalized Flexibility, How Al Qaeda Survived*
- *Al-Shabab in Somalia, How Al Qaeda Survived*

F 27 March  Threat Today: Salafi Jihadism’s New Generation

- Council on Foreign Relations, *ISIL as a Mass Movement*
- *The Fight against Islamic State is Moving to Africa, The Economist*
- Council on Foreign Relations, *Nigeria’s Battle with Boko Haram*
- *In the Fight against Jihadist Ideology, Win the People to Win the War, The Hill*

M 30 March  Threat Today: al Qaeda and ISIS—Marriage and Divorce

- CTC Sentinel: *Governing the Caliphate*
- Graeme Wood, *What ISIS Really Wants*

W 1 April  The Salafi Jihadist Threat Today

- CTC Sentinel: *Profiles of Foreign Fighters*
- *Islamic State’s Rainy-day Fund, The Economist*
- *The New York Times, ISIS is Regaining Strength*
- Lawfare, *Losing Control over Returnees?*
- The RAND Blog, *Do Terrorist Groups Really Die?*

F 3 April  Impact of bin Laden Death Paper Due

F 3 April  Stray Dogs and Leaderless Jihad in the US

- Lawfare, *Foreign Fighter “Hot Potato”*
- *Minnesota Pipeline to al Shabab*
- Lawfare: *Lone Wolf Terrorism*
- Lawfare: *Can Lone Wolves Be Stopped?*
- *Islamic, Yet Integrated, The Economist*
- CTC Sentinel: *The Threat to the United States from the Islamic State’s Virtual Entrepreneurs*

M 6 April  In-Class Discussion

- CTC Sentinel, *Terrorist Attacks Against Jewish Targets in the West (2012-2019)*
- Lawfare, *Addressing the National Security Threat of White Supremacist Terrorism*

W 8 April  Counterterrorism Strategies Russia

- Cronin, 28-29, 131-137
• Connections, The Terrorist Threats Against Russia and its Counterterrorism Response Measures

F 10 April Counterterrorism Strategies Israel

• Tucker, “Strategies”
• Byman, A High Price, What Israel Can Teach the World

M 13 April Counterterrorism Strategies UK/France

• Battlefields of the Mind, The Economist
• Lawfare, The French Response to Terror: Counterterrorism Detention and Prosecutions Across the Atlantic
• Silke, Case Study: UK, pp 12-16
• Travel Bans and Due Regards, Just Security
• France: New Anti-Terrorism Law Takes Effect, Just Security
• Lawfare, French Special Forces Targeting French Citizens Fighting for ISIS in Iraq
• Lawfare, The French War on Terrorism: Targeting French Islamic State Fighters through Iraqi Forces
• Self-service, The Economist
• Sahel or High Water, The Economist

W 15 April US Counterterrorism Past and Present Domestic Controversies

• Foreign Policy Research Institute, FISA Renewal Controversy

F 17 April US Counterterrorism Past and Present International Controversies

• White, 537-562
• Hoffman, Nasty Business

M 20 April US Counterterrorism Present

• Lawfare, The Foreign Policy Essay – Is This How to Win the “War on Terrorism?”
• Lawfare, The US Drone War in Pakistan Revisited
• Loosening the Rules, The Economist
• The More Things Stay the Same, Just Security
• Goldsmith, The New Normal, pp 3-22

W 22 April In-Class Discussion

• CTC Sentinel, Options for Dealing with Islamic State Foreign Fighters Currently Detained in Syria
• Perspectives on Terrorism, The Islamic State after the Caliphate

Cumulative Take-Home Final Examination Due Friday 24 April 0800