

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND COUNTERTERRORISM

Spring 2017

Political Science 339 - 01

MWF 0900-0950, Maybank 307

Dr. Mary Desjeans

Office Hours: MW 1000-1050 and by arrangement.

Office Address: 26 Coming Street, Room 302

E-Mail: desjeansmf@cofc.edu

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 both 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 the primarily 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. 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 on OAKs and 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. 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?

- o 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

Audrey Kurth Cronin, How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns, (Princeton and London: Princeton University Press, 2009.)

Bruce Hoffman, Inside Terrorism, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.)

READINGS IN OAKS

Jonathan R. White, Terrorism and Homeland Security, (Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2012.) Various Chapters

Bruce Hoffman, *Nasty Business,* in Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Fourth Edition, Russell D. Howard, Bruce Hoffman, Editors, (New York, McGraw-Hill 2011.) pp 443-448

Quintan Wiktorowicz, *A Genealogy of Radical Islam: Global Jihad,* in Terrorism and Counterterrorism, pp 264-275

John Yoo and David Cole, *Counterterrorism and the Constitution: Does Providing Security Require a Trade-Off with Civil Liberties?* in Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, 2nd Edition, Stuart Gottlieb, Editor, SAGE 2014 pp 336-369

Audrey Kurth Cronin, *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism,* in Contending with Terrorism: Roots, Strategies, and Responses, Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Steven E. Miller, Editors, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010.) pp 28-56

Assaf Moghadam, *Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks,* in Contending with Terrorism. pp 57-92

Who Are The Pakistani Taliban? CNN.Com 12 October 2012

Igor Primoratz, *Terrorism: What is it and Can it Ever Be Morally Justified?* in Terrorism and Homeland Security, Michael Fischer Editor (Wadsworth Cengage Learning: 2010)

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

Cindy Combs, *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century*, (Pearson Education, 2011.) *Criminals or Crusaders?* pp 52-79, *Legal Perspectives on Terrorism* pp 214-223

Jonathan B. Tucker, *Strategies for Countering Terrorism: Lessons from the Israeli Experience*, COIN Central: the Counter Insurgency Journal, 2008

Battlefields of the Mind, The Economist, 9 January 2016

Islamic, Yet Integrated, The Economist, 6 September 2014

Turning Them Around, The Economist, 15 November 2014

Better than cure-but difficult, The Economist, 11 June 2011

Self-service, The Economist, 11 October 2014

Jeremy Shapiro and Benedicte Suzan, *The French Experience of Counterterrorism*, Survival, vol 45, no 1 spring 2003

Lisa Monaco, *Remarks on America's Counterterrorism Strategy*, New York University School of Law, 19 November 2013

Council on Foreign Relations, *Lashkar-e-Taiba (Army of the Pure)*, 14 January 2010.

Council on Foreign Relations, *Boko Haram*, 7 October 2014

Council on Foreign Relations, *US Domestic Surveillance*, December 2013

Council on Foreign Relations, *Backgrounder: Al-Shabab*, 5 September 2014

Council on Foreign Relations, *Backgrounder: Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)*, 27 March 2015

Council on Foreign Relations, *Backgrounder: Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)*, 19 June 2015

Council on Foreign Relations, *Backgrounder: The Islamic State*, 16 November 2015

Council on Foreign Relations, *ISIL as a Mass Movement*, 12 April 2016

Christopher Chivvis and Andrew Liepman, *North Africa's Menace*, Rand Corp, pp 1-14

Perspectives on Terrorism, *Jihadi Terrorism in Europe: The IS-Effect*, Petter Nesser, Anne Stenersen, Emilie Oftedal, Vol 10, Issue 6, December 2016

Daniel Byman, *A High Price: The Triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism*, *What Israel Can Teach the World*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2010

Colin Clarke, *Al Nusra Is Stronger Than Ever*, Rand Corporation, 2 November 2016

Andrew Liepman and Colin Clarke, *Demystifying the Islamic State*, Rand Corporation, 23 August 2016

Full Text: President Obama's 2014 West Point Commencement Address, 28 May 2014

What is Driving French Nationals to Join Islamic State? BBC News, 19 November 2014

Graeme Wood, *What ISIS Really Wants*, *The Atlantic*, March 2015

Lawfare, *Book Review: Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 30 October 2014

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

Lawfare, *France's Extended State of Emergency: What New Powers Did the Government Get?*, 22 November 2015

Lawfare, *A Summary of the White House Report on Legal Frameworks Governing use of Military Force*, 5 December 2016, *Part Two: Key Legal and Policy Frameworks Related to the Conduct of Hostilities*

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

National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, February 2003

National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, September 2006

National Strategy for Counterterrorism, June 2011

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 Salafi-Jihad as a Religious Ideology*, February 2008

CTC Sentinel, *Assessing Al-Qa'ida Central Resilience*, 11 September 2015

CTC Sentinel, *Al Qa'ida Plays a Long Game in Syria*, 11 September 2015

CTC Sentinel, *The Age of Selfie Jihad: How Evolving Media Technology is Changing Terrorism*, Nov/Dec 2016

CTC Sentinel, *The Global Terror Threat and Counterterrorism Challenges Facing the Next Administration*, Nov/Dec 2016

Daniel Byman and Jennifer Williams, *ISIS vs. Al Qaeda: Jihadism's global civil war*, Brookings, 24 February 2015

Daniel Byman and Jeremy Shapiro *Homeward Bound? Don't Hype the Threat of Returning Jihadists*, Brookings, 30 September 2014

Daniel Byman and Jennifer Williams, *Al-Qa'ida is losing the battle for jihadi hearts and minds*, Brookings, 19 August 2015

The USA Freedom Act of 2015, from Senator Patrick Leahy website

J.M. Berger, *How We Underestimated ISIL*, Politico, 15 November 2015

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 1000 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 11 January Introduction Day

F 13 January Defining Terrorism -- Revolution and Reaction

- Hoffman, 1-16

W 18 January Post World War II Terrorism

- Cronin, "Behind the Curve" in Contending

F 20 January The Definition of Terrorism

- White, 3-29

M 23 January The Definition of Terrorism Continued

- Primoratz, "Terrorism: What is it?"

W 25 January International Terrorism

- Hoffman, 63-80

F 27 January Examining the Three Phases in Detail -- Anti-colonial Terrorism

- **Video: The Battle of Algiers**
- Hoffman, 44-62

M 30 January Examining the Three Phases in Detail -- Ideological Terrorism

- Hoffman, 74-78

W 1 February Examining the Three Phases in Detail -- Religious Terrorism

- Hoffman, 81-101

F 3 February Christian and Jewish Religious Terrorism

- Hoffman, 101-118

M 6 February SHIA Islamic Religious Extremism—Ideology and Justification

- White, 258-267, 279-284, 306-317

W 8 February Battle of Algiers Paper Due

W 8 February SUNNI Islamic Religious Extremism—Salafi Jihadist Ideology and Justification

- Wiktorowicz, *Genealogy of Radical Islam*

F 10 February Who Are the Shia and Sunni Terrorist Groups?

- White, 376-387
- *Who Are the Pakistani Taliban?*
- Council on Foreign Relations, *Lashkar-e-Taiba (Army of the Pure)*

M 13 February Who Are the Shia and Sunni Terrorist Groups?

- White, 387-399

W 15 February Video in Class – Terror in Mumbai

F 17 February Palestinian Terrorist Groups

- White, 290-306, 318-331

M 20 February Examination

W 22 February Suicide Terrorism

- Hoffman, 131-171

F 24 February The Impact of Suicide Terrorism Today

- Moghadam, *Motives in Contending*

M 27 February The Media and Terrorism

- Hoffman, 173-195

W 1 March Terrorist Use of the New Media

- CTC Sentinel: *The Age of Selfie Jihad: How Evolving Media Technology Is Changing Terrorism*

F 3 March Criminals, Crazyies, or Crusaders

- Combs, *Criminals or Crusaders*, 52-79
- Hoffman, 229-256

M 13 March Law Enforcement or War? (Rosa Brooks sections?)

- Combs, *Legal Perspectives*, 214-223

W 15 March How Terrorism Ends

- Cronin 14-34, 1-6

F 17 March Negotiation

- Cronin, 35-72

M 20 March Success

- Cronin, 73-93

W 22 March Repression and Reorientation

- Cronin, 115-166

F 24 March Salafi Jihadism as Ideology

- CTC Sentinel: *Salafi-Jihad as a Religious Ideology*

M 27 March Threat Today: The AQ CORE

- CTC Sentinel: *Al Qaeda Central's Resilience*
- CTC Sentinel: *Al Qaeda is Losing the Battle*

W 29 March Threat Today: The AQ Affiliates

- Council on Foreign Relations: *Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula*

F 31 March Threat Today: The AQ Affiliates

- Chivvis and Liepman, *North Africa's Menace pp 1-14*
- Council on Foreign Relations: *Backgrounder Al-Shabab*
- Council on Foreign Relations: *Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb*
- Council on Foreign Relations, *Boko Haram*

M 3 April Threat Today: Salafi Jihadism's New Generation

- Council on Foreign Relations, *ISIL as a Mass Movement*
- CTC Sentinel: *The Global Terror Threat and Counterterrorism Challenges Facing the Next Administration*

W 5 April Threat Today: ISIS and Al Nusrah

- CTC Sentinel: *Growing the Caliphate*
- CTC Sentinel: *Al Qa'ida Plays a Long Game in Syria*

- Graeme Wood, *What ISIS Really Wants*
- Clarke and Liepman, *Demystifying the Islamic State*

F 7 April Threat Today: ISIS and Al Nusrah

- Brookings: *ISIS vs. Al Qaida*
- Politico: *How We Underestimated ISIS*
- CTC Sentinel: *Profiles of Foreign Fighters*
- Clarke, *Al Nusrah Is Stronger Than Ever*

M 10 April Impact of Bin Laden Death Paper Due

M 10 April Stray Dogs and Leaderless Jihad in the US

- *Homeward Bound: Don't Hype the Threat*
- *Minnesota Pipeline to al Shabaab*
- *Lawfare: Lone Wolf Terrorism*
- *Islamic, Yet Integrated*

W 12 April Counterterrorism Strategies Russia

- Cronin, 28-29, 131-137

F 14 April Counterterrorism Strategies Israel

- Tucker "Strategies"
- Byman, *A High Price, What Israel Can Teach the World*

M 17 April Counterterrorism Strategies UK/France

- The Economist, *Battlefields of the Mind*
- Silke, *Case Study: UK*, pp 12-16
- *Better than cure – but different*
- Shapiro and Suzan, *French Experience*
- *Lawfare: France's Extended State of Emergency*
- *What Is Driving French Nationals?*
- *Turning Them Around*
- *Self-service*
- Nesser, Stenersen, Oftedal, *Jihadi Terrorism in Europe*

W 19 April US Counterterrorism Past

- 2003 *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism*
- 2006 *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism*
- 2011 *National Strategy for Counterterrorism*

F 21 April US Counterterrorism Past and Present Domestic Controversies

- Yoo and Cole, *Counterterrorism and Constitution*
- Council on Foreign Relations, *US Domestic Surveillance*

- *The USA Freedom Act*

M 24 April US Counterterrorism Past and Present International Controversies

- White, 537-562
- Hoffman, *Nasty Business*, Terrorism and Counterterrorism
- Lawfare: *A Summary of the White House Report on Legal Frameworks Governing Use of Military Force, Part Two, Key Legal and Policy Frameworks*

W 26 April US Counterterrorism Present

- Monaco, *Remarks on America's Counterterrorism Strategy*
- *President Obama's 2014 West Point Commencement Address*
- Lawfare: *The Foreign Policy Essay – Is This How to Win the "War on Terrorism?"*

Cumulative Final Examination Friday 28 April 0800-1100