

# POLS/AJ 370: Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Spring 2009

Department of Political Science  
&  
Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency and Corrections  
Southern Illinois University

## 1 Instructor Information

Dr. Joseph K. Young  
Phone: 618.453.3180  
Email: [jkyoung@siu.edu](mailto:jkyoung@siu.edu)  
TA: Jarin Dunnigan  
Email: [jarin3@siu.edu](mailto:jarin3@siu.edu)

Office: FANER 3178  
Office Hours: 9:30-11:00 AM MWF  
Class Location: WHAM 0306  
Course Time: 2:00-3:15

## 2 Course Description

This course introduces students to the study of terrorism as a political act. We discuss the difference between state and oppositional terror, but the bulk of the course focuses on terror by non-state actors. We will compare different theories that attempt to explain why, how and when the opposition uses terror tactics to pursue their goals. Different research strategies of studying terrorism will be considered throughout with emphasis placed on developing a project related to increasing scholarly understanding of terrorism. This course focuses less on substantive examples of terrorism than on theories that can help explain terrorism. We conclude by examining the ways that states counter terror, and the choices and the tradeoffs states face when confronting terrorism.

## 3 Course Objectives

I have three main objectives for this course. First, my goal is to introduce you to important theories and concepts related to the study of terrorism. Second, since many students have limited exposure to important cases of terrorism, we investigate several prominent historical and contemporary cases of oppositional and state terrorism. Third, students will develop the basic skills necessary to produce original research on terrorism.

## 4 Course Format

The course is structured to consider various theoretical approaches to the study of terrorism. As such, we consult a variety of sources from disciplines such as political science, sociology, psychology, criminology, anthropology, economics, as well as others.

I believe strongly that learning occurs in many ways and strive to engage you beyond simply lecturing. Instead, we will engage in a variety of activities including lectures, personal writing exercises, partner and group work, class discussions, video clips, demonstrations, problem-solving activities, simulations, debates, and other critical thinking exercises. I also firmly believe in democracy and will solicit your opinions regarding the course generally, and the success or failure of certain exercises specifically. This course will require a great deal of reading and participation on your part. If

you are not prepared each day and do not engage in the discussions, debates, and other activities, you will not be successful.

## 5 Requirements

### Required Books

1. Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. *The Political Economy of Terrorism* New York: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0-521-61650-6.
2. Hoffman, Bruce. 2007. *Inside Terrorism* New York: Columbia University Press. ISBN 0231126999.
3. *The 9/11 Commission Report*. 2004. New York: Norton. ISBN 0-393-32671-3.

### Recommended Books

1. **Roselle, Laura and Sharon Spray. 2008. *Research and Writing in International Relations* New York: Pearson Longman. ISBN 0-321-27766-X**
2. Horgan, John. 2005. *The Psychology of Terrorism* New York: Routledge.
3. Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2000. *Terror in the Mind of God* Berkeley: University of California Press.
4. Nacos, Brigitte. 2006. *Terrorism and Counterterrorism* New York: Pearson Longman.
5. Ross, Jeffrey Ian. 2006. *Political Terrorism: An Interdisciplinary Approach* New York: Peter Lang.
6. Sageman, Marc. 2004. *Understanding Terror Networks* Philadelphia: Penn University Press.

All of the books are available at the bookstore and online. *The 9/11 Commission report* is available for free as a PDF on the Internet. You can find all of the books on Amazon.com or Addall.com at a reduced price.

Many of the articles for the class will be on reserve at the library. You can also find most of the journal articles on JSTOR ([www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)). I will also place readings on blackboard that are not available on JSTOR, and these are noted in the syllabus (\*). I expect you to read a newspaper everyday. You can choose any paper you would like, but I would recommend the New York Times ([www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com)) or Christian Science Monitor ([www.csmonitor.com](http://www.csmonitor.com)) as they generally have the best coverage of international events.

### Assessment

1. **Attendance and Participation (25%)**—attendance and participation are required. I may call on you randomly so you need to be prepared each day. Each day you will receive a point for showing up and one for participating.

2. **Tests (50%)**—The tests are a mixture of multiple choice and essay. There is one midterm exam and a final. The final is cumulative.
3. **Research Paper (25%)**—The first goal of this paper is to produce an original argument explaining the use of terror by a particular group and how to combat it given the theoretical justification for the group's goals. The second goal is to improve your written communication skills and thus to produce a paper of the highest quality. In the past, students have used this paper as a writing sample for graduate or professional schools. We will participate in a series of writing workshops that will guide you through the writing process. Each workshop requires that you bring a portion of your paper as we build towards producing a final product.

A particular scenario that can help guide your writing is as follows: You are an analyst for a consulting firm that gives risk assessment for corporations considering operating in countries with active terror groups. Your task in this paper is to provide an evaluation of whether you think a particular firm should operate in a location of your choice (DUE on the last day of class). You can choose any country which has faced a terror group since 1945. The paper should include a discussion of:

- How did the group develop (a brief history of the organization)?
- Why they are considered a terrorist group
- What are their political goals?
- How their political goals may affect the corporation's activities
- Which theory or approach best explains the reasons members of the group participate?
- How the group could either succeed or fail
- Whether the government is currently able to limit the efficacy of the organization
- What the government could do to make the climate safer for business operations

The paper must be between 8 and 10 pages (not including a title or works cited page). The format must be Times New Roman font, 12 pt, 1 inch margins. A rough draft is due on Thursday, March 5th (before spring break). I will return the drafts with comments by Tuesday, March 17th. The rough drafts are worth 20% of the final grade, however; if you do not turn in a rough draft, I will not grade your final draft.

### Assessment Scale

A	100-90	B	89-80	C	79-70	D	69-60	F	59 or below
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## 6 Course Policies

### Make-up Exams and Assignments

Unexcused absences from exams will result in a 0 for the assignment. I also DO NOT accept any late papers. The paper is due in hard copy on the date assigned by the time the class begins or the student earns a 0 for the assignment.

To qualify for a make-up test a student must notify me of the absence in advance (e-mail or call me) and provide documentation.

Assignments are due at the beginning of the class on the date indicated in the schedule. I will not accept e-mail copies or papers placed under my door. Please make hard copies of your papers *as you work on them*. Do not be afraid to print out multiple rough drafts. I do not accept excuses about dogs, computers, or traffic. Be responsible.

### **Academic Honor Code**

Students are expected to uphold the Academic Honor Code published in Southern Illinois University-Carbondale Student Conduct Code (Section II, Article A). Plagiarism is the most serious academic offense. Violations of this code can lead to failure of the course and a hearing with the university's judicial board to suspend you from the university.

### **Classroom Courtesy**

Classroom courtesy is an essential component of creating an effective learning environment. All students have the right to learn without unnecessary distractions. These distractions include: cell phones, talking during lectures (unless recognized by the instructor), reading newspapers, falling asleep, etc. If you need a cell phone for emergency purposes, leave it on vibrate. Entering and leaving are also significant sources of distraction. It is your responsibility to be on time and to stay for the entire period. In circumstances where you need to leave early, tell the instructor beforehand. Repeated disruptions of class will lead to a reduction in your final grade.

Most importantly, class discussions of the issues in political science and criminology, especially as they relate to terrorism, can lead to strong feelings and heated debate. Because this is a college classroom, all discussion must be respectful and scholarly.

### **Scholarly Comments**

- are respectful of diverse opinions and open to follow up questions and/or disagreement
- are related to class and/or the course material
- focus on advancing the discussion about issues related to the course and/or course material rather than personal beliefs, and
- are delivered in normal tones and a non-aggressive manner.

### **Unacceptable Comments**

- are personal in nature. This includes attacks on a person's appearance, demeanor, or political beliefs.
- include interrupting the instructor or other students. Raise your hand and wait to be recognized.
- often use the discussion to argue for political positions and/or beliefs. If political discussions arise, they must be discussed in a scholarly way (see above).
- may include using raised tones, yelling, engaging in arguments with other students and being threatening in any manner.
- include ignoring the instructor's authority to maintain the integrity of the classroom environment.

## Syllabus Change Policy

This syllabus is a guide for the course and is subject to change with advanced notice.

## 7 Tentative Course Schedule

### What is Terrorism?

Tues. Jan. 13—Introductions, Syllabus, Procedures

Thurs. Jan. 15—Defining Terrorism

-\*Ross, Jeffrey. “Introducing Oppositional Terrorism.” Chapter 1 in *Political Terrorism: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. pp. 1-27.

-Hoffman, Bruce. Chapter 1.

Tues. Jan. 20—What Terrorism is Not

-\*Stohl, Michael. 1983. “Demystifying Terrorism: The Myths and Realities of Contemporary Political Terrorism,” in M. Stohl (ed.) *The Politics of Terrorism*, Second Edition: Revised and Expanded. Marcel Dekker, pp. 1-19.

-\*Lafree, Gary and Laura Dugan. “How Does Studying Terrorism Compare to Studying Crime?”

### Different Approaches to Understanding Terrorism

Thurs., Jan. 22—The Rationalist Approach to Understanding Terror

-David Lake. 2002. “Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty First Century.” *International Organization* 56 (1): 15-29.

-\*Crenshaw, Martha. 2002. “The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice,” in R.D. Howard & R.L. Sawyer (eds.) *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, New York: McGraw Hill, pp. 54-66.

-Enders and Sandler. (skim pp. 1-8) pp. 9-14.

Tues., Jan. 27—The Rationalist Approach Continued

-Kydd, Andrew & Barbara Walter. 2002. “Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence,” *International Organization*, 56(2): 263-296.

-Enders and Sandler. pp. 52-83.

Thurs. Jan. 29—Psychology and Understanding Terror

-Jeff Victorof. 2005. “The Mind of a Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 3-42.

-\*Horgan, John. 2005. *The Psychology of Terrorism*, pp. 47-79.

Tues. Feb. 3—Psychology and Understanding Terror Continued

-Martha Crenshaw. 2000. "The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the Twenty First Century." *Political Psychology* 20(2): 405-420.

-\*Ganor, Boaz. 2006. "Terror as a Strategy of Psychological Warfare." pp. 5-9

-\*Borum, Randy. 2006. "Understanding the Terrorist Mind-Set." pp. 22-25.

Thurs. Feb. 5–Sociological Approach to Understanding Terror

-\*Mark Juergensmeyer. 2001. *Terror in the Mind of God*. University of California Press. Chapters 1 and 11.

-Karen Armstrong. "Ghosts of Our Past." <http://www.wolaver.org/peace/ghosts.htm>

## The History of Terrorism and Suicide Terrorism

Tues. Feb. 10–A Brief History of Terrorism

-Bruce Hoffman. Chapter 2–"Origins of Contemporary Terrorism."

-\*James M. Poland. *Understanding Terrorism*. Chapter 2. pp. 25-51.

Thurs. Feb. 12–Writing Workshop #1 (Bring a Thesis Statement)

Tues. Feb. 17–Suicide Terrorism

-\*Scott Atran. 2003. "The Genesis of Suicide Terrorism." *Science* 299(5612): 1534-1539.

-Robert A. Pape. 2005. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.

Thurs. Feb. 19–Suicide Terrorism Continued

-\*Mia Bloom. 2005. *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. Columbia University Press. Chapters 1 and 4.

-Bruce Hoffman. Chapter 5–"Suicide Terrorism" (skim).

Tues. Feb. 24–FILM–"The Cult of the Suicide Bomber"

Thurs. Feb 26–Writing Workshop #2

-Bring 3 copies of 1-2 pages of type-written work to class.

-Review for exam

Tues. March 3–EXAM #1

## State Terror and State Sponsored Terror

Thurs. March 5–State Terrorism

-\*Paul Wilkinson, “Can A State Be Terrorist?” *International Affairs* (Summer 1981), 467-472.

-\*Bruce Falconer, “Murder by the State,” *Atlantic Monthly*.

-\*David Claridge, “State Terrorism? Applying a Definitional Model,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* (Autumn 1996), 47-63.

**-Rough Draft of Paper is Due**

SPRING BREAK—March 9-13, NO CLASS

Tues. March 17—State Sponsored Terrorism

-“State Sponsors of Terrorism Overview,” 88-90 in Department of State, Country Reports on Terrorism, 2004 <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/45322.pdf>

-\*Dekmejian, R. Hrair. 2007. *Spectrum of Terror* Chapter 7, pp. 203-225.

-Sick, Gary. “Iran: Confronting Terrorism,” [http://www.twq.com/03autumn/docs/03autumn\\_sick.pdf](http://www.twq.com/03autumn/docs/03autumn_sick.pdf)

-Zakaria, Fareed. “Terrorists Don’t Need States,” <http://www.fareedzakaria.com/ARTICLES/newsweek/040504.html>

**Terrorism, Insurgency, and International Terrorism**

Thurs. March 19—Insurgency and Terrorism

-Ariel Merari. 1993. “Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 5(4): 213-251.

-\*Sambanis, Nicholas. 2008. “Terrorism and Civil War,” in *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness* eds. Philip Keefer and Norman Loayza, pp. 174-206.

Tues. March 24—Insurgent/Terror Groups

-\*James Poland. *Understanding Terrorism*. Chapter 5. pp. 113-140.

Thurs. March 26—Insurgent/Terror Groups Continued

-Bruce Hoffman. Chapter 3—Internationalization of Terror

-\*Arlene B Tickner. 2003. “Colombia and the United States: From Counternarcotics to Counterterrorism.” *Current History* 102(661): 77-85.

-\*Jeffrey A. Nedoroscik. 2002. “Extremist Groups in Egypt.” *Terrorism & Political Violence*.

-\*Alon Ben-Meir. 2004. “Root Causes of Chechen Terror,” *The World & I*

Tues. March 31—Al-Qaeda and Transnational Terror

-9/11 Commission Report, pp. 1-70.

-Ross, Jeffrey Ian. “9/11, Al-Qaeda, and Osama Bin Laden” pp.165-178

-Council on Foreign Relations website, Who and What is Al Qaeda? <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9126/>

-Enders and Sandler, Chapter 8.

Thurs. April 2—No Class—Midwest Political Science Association Meeting

## Counterterrorism and US Foreign Policy

Tues. April 7–Counterterror

-Stephen M. Walt, “Beyond Bin Laden: Reshaping US Foreign Policy,” *International Security* 26: 3 (Winter 2001/02), pp. 56-78.

-Posen, Barry R. 2001/02. “The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Security, and Tactics,” *International Security*, Winter, pp. 39-55.

Thurs. April 9–Counterterrorism Continued

-\*Harmon, Christopher C. *Terrorism Today*, Chapter 5 “Counterterrorism,” 127-171.

-\*Yonah Alexander. 2002. *Combating Terrorism: Strategies of Ten Countries*. University of Michigan Press. Chapter 1.

-\*John Mueller. 2005. “Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17:487-505.

Tues. April 14–Networks and Counterterror

-\*Sageman, Marc. *Understanding Terror Networks*, Chapter 5.

-Ronald Deibert and Janice Gross Stein. 2002. “Hacking Networks of Terror.” *International Organization*: 1-14.

-Harmony Report CTC, pp. 40-55.

<http://www.docstoc.com/docs/872370/Harmony-and-Disharmony-Report-full-text>

Thurs. April 16–Human Rights and Counterterror

-\*Roth, Kenneth. 2004. “The Law of War in the War on Terror,” *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb, 83(1).

-\*Hoffman, Paul. 2004. “Human Rights and Terrorism,” *Human Rights Quarterly*, 26(4): 932-955.

Tues. April 21–FILM–“In Search of Bin Laden”

Thurs. April 23–Guest Lecture: Martin Williams, FBI.

Tues. April 28–Torture and Terror

-\*Moore, Will, Christian Davenport, and Dave Armstrong. “The Puzzle of Abu Ghaib.”

-John Yoo–Commentary on the so-called “torture memos.”

[http://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2005/01/05\\_johnyoo.shtml](http://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2005/01/05_johnyoo.shtml)

-\*Brigitte Nacos–Torture, Human Rights, and Terror

-\*Economist–Is Torture Ever Justified?

Thurs. April 30–Final Exam Review, Final Paper Due

Mon. May 8–FINAL EXAM–12:50-2:50 PM