

Tufts University
The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

DHP P244: Modern Terrorism and Counterterrorism
Mondays 5:30-7:30pm
Spring 2017

Course Instructor

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Office Hours: Mondays 3:30-5:30 (and by appointment)

Course Overview

History provides numerous examples of people attempting to change the conditions under which they live. Those who are unable to alter their environment through peaceful means sometimes resort to violence, including terrorism. While the American public has developed a greater interest in terrorism since 9/11, the field of terrorism studies has existed for decades. Guided by the scholarly literature, this course will help students develop a better understanding of the nature of terrorism; the spectrum of terrorist motivations, strategies, and operations; the socio-political, economic and other factors that can create enabling environments for terrorist group activities; the unique and growing threat of WMD terrorism; and the means by which governments (especially liberal democratic states) have responded to contemporary forms of terrorism. Students will examine current and classic research on terrorism, and explore many of the research puzzles that remain unanswered. Finally, the course will analyze these critical issues within the context of policies for responding to the threat of terrorism with increasing sophistication and success.

Course Learning Goals

Upon completion of the course, students will be equipped with an understanding of:

- The origins, definitions and evolution of terrorism
- The spectrum of prominent international and domestic terrorist organizations, domestic hate groups, insurgent and rebel groups, and other violent non-state actors pursuing some form of political agenda
- Principles of asymmetric warfare, urban and rural guerilla warfare, terrorist strategies and tactics, and patterns in terrorist group behavior
- Security and threat perception from the terrorists' perspective
- Socioeconomic and political environments that enable politically violent groups to radicalize target populations
- Radicalization and indoctrination processes, and several categories of politically violent ideologies (left-wing, right-wing, ethnonationalist/separatist, environmentalist, and religious extremism)
- Government policies and capabilities for dealing with terrorism, and elements of a successful counterterrorism effort
- The application of international human rights law, and especially the fundamental "security vs. civil liberties" challenge of counterterrorism strategies
- The ethical, moral and legal debates over targeted killings and the use of military commissions in prosecuting terrorists

TEXTBOOKS (REQUIRED)

The following books will be used in this course:

Book #1: *Inside Terrorism (Revised Edition)*

Author: Bruce Hoffman

Edition/Copyright: 2006, Columbia University Press

ISBN: 978-0231126991

Book #2: *The ISIS Apocalypse: The History, Strategy and Doomsday Vision of the Islamic State*

Author: William McCants

Edition/Copyright: 2015, St. Martin's Press

ISBN: 978-1250080905

Book #3: *Essentials of Counterterrorism*

Author: James Forest

Edition/Copyright: 2015, Praeger Security International

ISBN: 978-1440834707

Book #4: *Countering Terrorism: No Simple Solutions*

Authors: Martha Crenshaw and Gary LaFree

Edition/Copyright: 2017, Brookings Institution Press

ISBN: 978-0815727644

Additional material is provided via the Tufts University Trunk course website (listed in the directory as "Sp17 - DHP-P244-01 - MDN TERRORISM/COUNTERTER") as indicated in the detailed weekly schedule below.

Also, be sure to sign up for your free subscription to the peer-reviewed, scholarly journal ***Perspectives on Terrorism*** at <http://tinyurl.com/o582bz2>

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Here is a link to several open source (free access) journals on terrorism and counterterrorism: http://www.ictaconline.com/?page_id=124

Here are some compilations and guides for finding resources on terrorism and CT studies:

- Judith Tinnis, "The Art of Searching: How to Find Terrorism Literature in the Digital Age," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (2013). Online at: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/issue/view/41>
- Joshua Sinai, "Top 150 Books on Terrorism and Counterterrorism" *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2012). Online at: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/issue/view/34>
- 100 research journals on terrorism and counterterrorism studies <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/258/521>

Here are some databases for research on terrorism:

- Global Terrorism Database: <http://www.start.umd.edu/data/gtd/>
- Terrorist Organization Profiles Database: <http://www.start.umd.edu/data/tops/>

- Minorities at Risk Project: <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/>
- Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism Suicide Attack Database: http://cpostdata.uchicago.edu/search_new.php

Several books have been **placed on reserve** at the Fletcher Library for you to use in preparing your research papers.

- Jacob Shapio, *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*. Princeton University Press, 2013.
- James Forest, ed. *Intersections of Crime and Terror*. Routledge, 2013.
- James J.F. Forest, ed. *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century* (3 volumes). Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2007.
- Ed Moloney, *Secret History of the IRA*. W.W. Norton & Co., 20020.
- Bruce Reidel, The Search for Al Qaeda. Brookings Institution, 2010. James J.F. Forest, ed. *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training and Root Causes* (3 volumes). Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2005.
- Benjamin Friedman, Jim Harper and Chris Preble, eds. *Terrorizing Ourselves: Why U.S. Counterterrorism Policy is Failing and How to Fix it*. Washington, DC: CATO Institute, 2010.
- Jeffrey Norwitz, ed. *Armed Groups: Studies in National Security and, Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency*. Newport, RI: Naval War College, 2008.
- James J.F. Forest, ed. *Influence Warfare: How Terrorists and Governments Fight to Shape Perceptions in a War of Ideas*. Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2009.
- Mia Bloom, *Bombshell: Women and Terrorism*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. ISBN: 978-0812243901
- James J.F. Forest, ed. *Homeland Security: Protecting America's Targets* (3 volumes). Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006.
- James Forest, Russell Howard and Joanne Moore, eds. *Homeland Security and Terrorism* (2nd edition). McGraw-Hill, 2013.
- Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terrorism*. Columbia University Press, 2007. ISBN: 978-0231133210
- James. J.F. Forest and Russell Howard (eds.) *Weapons of Mass Destruction and Terrorism* (2nd Edition). New York: McGraw-Hill, 2012.
- Russell D. Howard and Bruce Hoffman, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding the New Security Environment* (4th Edition). McGraw-Hill, 2011.
- John Horgan, *Walking Away from Terrorism: Accounts of Disengagement from Radical and Extremist Movements*. Routledge, 2009.
- James. J.F. Forest, *The Terrorism Lectures*. Los Angeles, CA: Nortia Press, 2012.
- James. J.F. Forest, *Countering the Terrorism Threat of Boko Haram in Nigeria*. Tampa, FL: JSOU Press, 2012.
- Eric Schmitt and Thom Shanker, *Counterstrike: The Untold Story of America's Secret Campaign Against Al Qaeda*. Times Books, 2011.

Finally, for those interested in social media, the following Twitter feeds will be useful to follow:

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| @Perspectives_T | Perspectives on Terrorism (scholarly journal) |
| @CTCWP | Combating Terrorism Center at West Point |
| @DrJohnHorgan | John Horgan, Georgia State University |
| @JJFForest | James Forest, UMass Lowell & Fletcher School, Tufts University |
| @Intelwire | J.M. Berger, Intelwire |
| @Hegghammer | Thomas Hegghammer, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment |
| @dbyman | Daniel Byman, Georgetown University |
| @JessicaEStern | Jessica Stern, Pardee School, Boston University |
| @MaxAbrahms | Max Abrahms, Northeastern University |
| @CTSS_Research | Center for Terrorism & Security Studies, UMass Lowell |

GRADED ASSIGNMENTS

There are two writing assignments and a final exam assigned for this course.

1) RESEARCH PAPER: Comparative Analysis of Terrorist Groups

(30% of overall course grade)

12-15 pages, Due in class on **March 13, 2017**

Your research paper will be worth 30% of your overall course grade, and is intended to expand your learning through in-depth research in which you will **examine at least two terrorist groups or movements** in greater depth than we have time for in our class discussions and reading assignments. Your paper should be 12-15 pages double-spaced, not including the title page or references section.

There is a fair amount of flexibility in how you approach this assignment – for example, you could analyze two groups within a particular region (e.g., Hizballah and Hamas; FARC and Sendero Luminoso; Lashkar-e-Taiba and Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan; Boko Haram and al-Shabaab; etc.); or you could instead analyze groups within a particular ideological category (e.g., ethno-nationalist, left-wing, religious, etc.).

Whichever groups you choose for your research paper, please include the following dimensions in your comparative analysis:

- history
- leadership
- strategic objectives
- financial/recruiting support networks
- operating environment
- successes and/or failures, and
- vulnerabilities that should be exploited in a comprehensive counterterrorism strategy.

Finally, please conclude your comparative analysis with a summary of what counterterrorism professionals should learn from studying these groups in greater detail.

Reference citations for each paper must include at least 10 quality sources (scholarly journal articles, books, government reports, etc.), and complete citation details must be provided. Any recognized citation format (APA, MLA, Chicago etc.) may be used.

Case study resources are provided on the Trunk website, in the course textbooks, and in many books and scholarly journals in the Ginn Library. In addition, please see p. 3 of this syllabus for online resources that will help you in identifying quality reference sources for your research papers.

Please consult your professor with any questions you may have about this research paper assignment, and particularly any questions about books or journal articles you want to use for resources for your paper.

2) COUNTERTERRORISM BRIEFING MEMO

(30% of overall course grade)

5-7 pages, Due in class on **May 1, 2017**

After exploring various aspects of counterterrorism strategies, policies and tactics during the second half of this course, a 5-7 page briefing memo will be due on May 1st (our final class session), in which you will recommend to the leadership of your country a specific course of action regarding the threat of terrorism.

The format of this briefing should be a memo (addressed to a President, Prime Minister, etc.) in which you provide the following:

- 1) Summarize your government's current approach to combating terrorism (1-2 pages)
- 2) Explain what additional measures, based on scholarly research, should be taken and why (2-3 pages), and
- 3) Conclude with a bullet point summary of specific recommendations that include actions that will produce measurable outcomes. In other words, there must be something we can assess to determine whether your government's counterterrorism efforts are succeeding, or failing.

In preparing this briefing memo, you should consider some key question, such as:

- Are there lessons learned that should be learned from recent mistakes made by your government (or by another country fighting a terrorist threat)?
- Is there a key aspect of counterterrorism that you feel has been under-utilized in recent years? On the other hand, is there a key aspect of counterterrorism that you feel has been over-emphasized in recent years?
- What can be done to improve your government's response to the rise of jihadist-inspired "self-starter" or "Do it Yourself" terrorists?
- What should a government not do when confronting a terrorist threat?

Reference citations are strongly recommended. Any recognized citation format (APA, MLA, Chicago etc.) may be used, and should be listed on a separate page after the conclusion of your briefing memo. The counterterrorism case studies provided in the course textbook and on the Trunk website should prove useful for this assignment.

Please consult your professor with any questions you may have about this assignment.

3) FINAL EXAM

(40% of overall course grade)

Due on **May 10, 2017**.

The remaining 40% of your grade will be determined by performance on a take-home Final Exam, which will be comprehensive (i.e. all topics covered throughout the semester will likely be represented by essay questions on the exam). This final exam will be made available via the Trunk website on May 4, and will be due (via email or by uploading to the Trunk course website) by 7:30pm on **May 10, 2017**.

Graded Assignments Summary

Assignment	Due	% of Grade
Research Paper	March 13	30%
Counterterrorism Briefing	May 1	30%
Final Exam	May 10	40%

Grading

All grades are weighted on a 4.0 system using the following allocation:

Grade	%	Grade	%
A+	97.0-100%	C+	77.0-79.9%
A	93.0-96.9%	C	73.0-76.9%
A-	90.0-92.9%	C-	70.0-72.9%
B+	87.0-89.9%	D	67.0-69.9%
B	83.0-86.9%	F	<67.0%
B-	80.0-82.9%		

**** Note: Late assignments will automatically be reduced by a ½ grade for every day late. Also, no late submissions of the Final Exam will be accepted. Please plan accordingly.**

WEEKLY SCHEDULE

Please be sure to read the materials listed in the following weekly schedule before each class, so we can have the most well-informed, quality discussion possible.

Jan. 23	<u>Lesson 1</u> : Introduction and Definitions of Terrorism	Mar. 20	<i>Spring Break</i>
Jan. 30	<u>Lesson 2</u> : History and Ideologies of Terrorism	Mar. 27	<u>Lesson 9</u> : Counterterrorism Frameworks and Strategies
Feb. 6	<u>Lesson 3</u> : Enablers & Facilitators of Radicalization	Apr. 3	<u>Lesson 10</u> : Strategies of Deterrence and Containment
Feb. 13	<u>Lesson 4</u> : Far-Right Terrorism in Europe and the U.S.	Apr. 10	<u>Lesson 11</u> : Controversies and Critical Dilemmas in CT
Feb. 20	<i>President's Day University Closed</i>	Apr. 17	<i>Patriots Day University Closed</i>
Feb. 22 (Wed.)	<u>Lesson 5</u> : Intersections of Religion and Political Violence	Apr. 24	<u>Lesson 12</u> : Exploiting Terrorist Group Vulnerabilities
Feb. 27	<u>Lesson 6</u> : The Islamic State (a.k.a. ISIL or ISIS)	May 1	<u>Lesson 13</u> : Future Trends in Terrorism and Counterterrorism <i>Counterterrorism Briefing Due</i>
Mar. 6	<u>Lesson 7</u> : Terrorist Group Learning and Decision-Making	May 10	<i>Final Exam Due</i>
Mar. 13	<u>Lesson 8</u> : The Unique Challenges of "DIY" Terrorism <i>Research Paper Due</i>		

Snow Day Policy: In the event of a class cancelled due to inclement weather or some other unforeseen calamity, every effort will be made to reschedule later in the week. Much will depend on the Registrar's ability to locate a suitable room available for our class to meet. Information about the time and location of any rescheduled class session will be disseminated via email and announced on the Trunk website at least 48 hours in advance.

WEEKLY LESSON DETAILS

All required readings listed below must be completed prior to the class meeting and lecture discussion for that lesson. Articles that are available via the Trunk Course Website are indicated with **(*Trunk*)**. Please come prepared with your thoughts and ideas regarding the “Questions for Class Discussion” listed for each lesson.

JANUARY 23, 2017

LESSON 1 – INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITIONS

Learning objectives: Develop an ability to correctly distinguish terrorism from other forms of political violence, recognize the different reasons and implications for different agencies’ definitions of terrorism, and articulate your own definition of terrorism.

Required Readings:

Anthony Richards, “Conceptualizing Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37, no. 3 (2014), p. 213-236. **(*Trunk*)**

Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, “The Strategies of Terrorism,” *International Security* 31, no. 1 (Summer 2006), p. 49-80 **(*Trunk*)**

The Economist, “Relatively Lethal: The terrorism odds,” December 21, 2016. Online at: <https://espresso.economist.com/fcf55a303b71b84d326fb1d06e332a26>

Martha Crenshaw and Gary LaFree, “Pinning Down and Elusive Adversary: What Is a Terrorist Organization?” ***Countering Terrorism: No Simple Solutions*** (Brookings Institution Press, 2017), p. 99-130.

Bruce Hoffman, “Defining Terrorism,” in ***Inside Terrorism***, p. 1-41.

Required Activities

- Sign up for your free subscription to the peer-reviewed, scholarly journal *Perspectives on Terrorism* at <http://tinyurl.com/o582bz2>
- Sign up to the mailing list of the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point to receive the *CTC Sentinel* (<http://www.ctc.usma.edu/sentinel>)

Recommended Resources:

Assaf Moghadam, Ronit Berger and Polina Beliakova, “Say Terrorist, Think Insurgent: Labeling and Analyzing Contemporary Terrorist Actors,” *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 8, No. 5 (2014). Online at: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/issue/view/48>

Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler, “The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16, no. 4 (2004). **(*Trunk*)**

Alex P. Schmid, “Revised Academic Definitions of Terrorism” in *Handbook of Terrorism Research*. London, Routledge, 2011, p. 86-87 **(*Trunk*)**

Leonard Weinberg and William L. Eubank, “Twenty-First Century Insurgencies: The Use of Terrorism as a Strategy” in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century*, edited by James Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), p. 80-92. **(*Trunk*)**

Questions for Class Discussion:

- What are the most essential elements to any definition of terrorism?
 - Why are there so many different definitions of terrorism?
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JANUARY 30, 2017

LESSON 2 – HISTORY AND IDEOLOGIES OF TERRORISM

Learning objectives: After examining various ideologies and historical manifestations of terrorism, develop an ability to articulate key trends in the study of modern terrorism.

Required Readings:

Bruce Hoffman, “The End of Empire and the Origins of Contemporary Terrorism,” in *Inside Terrorism*, p. 43-62.

David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Terrorism,” in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, edited by Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004). (*Trunk*)

Gary LaFree, Sue Ming-Yang, and Martha Crenshaw, “Trajectories of Terrorism: Attack Patterns of Foreign Groups that Have Attacked the United States, 1970-2004,” *Criminology and Public Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (2009), pp. 446-473. (*Trunk*)

Chris Alcantara, “45 Years of Terrorist Attacks in Europe, Visualized.” *The Washington Post* (December 19, 2016). Online at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/world/a-history-of-terrorism-in-europe/>

Brian Michael Jenkins, Bruce Hoffman, and Martha Crenshaw. “How Much Really Changed About Terrorism on 9/11? The Atlantic (September 22, 2016). (*Trunk*)

Bruce Hoffman, “The Internationalization of Terrorism,” in *Inside Terrorism*, p. 63-80.

Walter Laqueur, “Reflections on Terrorism,” *Foreign Affairs* (September 1, 1986). (*Trunk*)

Recommended Resources:

Martha Crenshaw and Gary LaFree, “Who Did It? The Attribution Dilemma,” *Countering Terrorism: No Simple Solutions* (Brookings Institution Press, 2017), p. 131-164.

Leonard Weinberg, “Political and Revolutionary Ideologies,” in *The Making of a Terrorist* (Volume 1), edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005). (*Trunk*)

Heather Gregg, “Defining and Distinguishing Traditional and Religious Terrorism,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8(2), April 2014. (*Trunk*)

Stefan Leader and Peter Probst, “The Earth Liberation Front and Environmental Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* vol. 15, no. 4 (2003) (*Trunk *)

Terrorist Group Manuals (SKIM only):

- IRA, *Handbook for Volunteers of the Irish Republican Army: Notes on Guerilla Warfare* (1956). (*Trunk*)
- Ernesto “Che” Guevara, “Chapter 1: General Principles of Guerilla Warfare,” in *Guerilla Warfare* (1961). (*Trunk*)
- Carlos Marighella, *Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerrilla* (1969). (*Trunk*)
- Red Army Faction, *The Urban Guerilla Concept* (1971). (*Trunk*)
- Underground Café, UK (ELF), *Ozymandias’ Sabotage Handbook* (nd). (*Trunk*)

Questions for Class Discussion:

- What technological innovations have we seen among terrorists over the last 100 years?
- Are there truly significant differences between politically and religiously motivated terrorism, or are all terrorist actions ultimately politically motivated?
- Aside from 9/11, what are some of the most significant terrorist events of the past 50 years?

FEBRUARY 6, 2017

LESSON 3 – RESEARCH ON ENABLERS & FACILITATORS OF RADICALIZATION

Learning objectives: Develop a familiarity with various dimensions of the radicalization process and reasons why some people become motivated to commit terrorist attacks.

Required Readings:

- Michael Jensen, Gary LaFree et al. *Empirical Assessment of Domestic Radicalization*. START Final Report (December 2016): please read “Executive Summary” (p. 5-6) and “Implications for Criminal Justice Policy in the United States” (p. 74-76); *skim the rest if interested*
- Roy Eidelson and Judy Eidelson, “Dangerous Ideas: Five beliefs that propel groups toward conflict,” *American Psychologist*, 58, (2003), p. 182-192. **(*Trunk*)**
- Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko, “Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20, no. 3 (2008), p. 415-433. **(*Trunk*)**
- UK House of Commons, *Roots of Violent Radicalisation* (2012), **p. 3-19 only. (*Trunk*)**
- Bruce Hoffman, “The Old Media,” in *Inside Terrorism*, p. 173-195.
- Bruce Hoffman, “The New Media,” in *Inside Terrorism*, p. 197-228.
- Paul Gill, Emily Corner, Amy Thornton and Maura Conway. “What are the Roles of the Internet in Terrorism?” A Vox Pol Report (March 2015), **p. 19-31 only. (*Trunk*)**
- Ari Fisher, “Swarmcast: How Jihadist Networks Maintain a Persistent Online Presence,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9, No. 3 (2015). **(*Trunk*)**
- Jason Burke, “The Age of Selfie Jihad: How Evolving Media Technology is Changing Terrorism,” CTC Sentinel (November/December 2016). **(*Trunk*)**

Recommended Resources:

- BBC Podcast (23 minutes, 21.1MB, MP3): “What Kind of Person Becomes a Violent Jihadi?” (April, 2015) **(*Trunk*)**
- John Knefel, “Everything You’ve Been Told About Radicalization is Wrong,” *Rolling Stone* (May 6, 2013). Online at: <http://goo.gl/HAKrym>
- Daniel Byman, “The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* vol. 21, no. 2 (1998), p. 149-169. **(*Trunk*)**
- Brock Blomberg, et al., “Economic Conditions and Terrorism,” *European Journal of Political Economy* vol. 20 (2004), p. 463-478. **(*Trunk*)**
- Erica Chenoweth, “Instability and Opportunity: The Origins of Terrorism in Weak and Failed States,” in *The Making of a Terrorist* (Volume 3), edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005) **(*Trunk*)**
- Brynjar Lia and Katja H. W. Skjølberg, “Facts and Fiction in Theories of Terrorism - An Expanded and Updated Review of the Literature on Causes of Terrorism,” Trondheim, Norway, 3-5 January, 2007. **(*Trunk*)**
- U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Government Affairs, “Zachary Chesser: A Case Study in Online Islamist Radicalization and Its Meaning for the Threat of Homegrown Terrorism,” February 2012. **(*Trunk*)**

Questions for Class Discussion:

- How do relatively ordinary, rational individuals justify their involvement in terrorist organizations and the violence they commit?
- What are the main elements of the relationship between governance and terrorism?
- What role do economics, psychology, sociology or other grievances play in motivating terrorist groups?

FEBRUARY 13, 2017

LESSON 4 – FAR-RIGHT TERRORISM IN EUROPE AND THE US

Learning objectives: Develop a familiarity with violent right-wing extremism and its prevalence throughout Europe and the U.S.

Required Readings:

- Vertigans, Stephen. "Beyond the Fringe? Radicalization within the American Far-Right," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 8, (3–4, 2007), 641–659. **(*Trunk*)**
- Perliger, Arie. *Challengers from the Sidelines*, West Point: Combating Terrorism Center, 2013 [please read p. 85-119]. **(*Trunk*)**
- Eugenia K. Guilmartin, "Rejection of Political Institutions by Right-Wing Extremists in the U.S." in *The Making of a Terrorist* (Volume 3), edited by James J.F. Forest (Praeger, 2005).
- Daniel Koehler. 2016. "Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism in Europe Current Developments and Issues for the Future," *Prism* 6, no. 2 (July 18, 2016). **(*Trunk*)**
- JM Berger, "What Sovereign Citizens Believe" GWPOE Report (June 2016). **(*Trunk*)**

And for data on specific countries:

- Richard Rogers, "Right-Wing Formations in Europe and their Countermeasures: An Online Mapping." Digital Methods Initiative (May 6, 2013). Online at: <https://goo.gl/cqjbGK>
- Zachary Crockett, "Most of America's Hate Groups are Rooted in White Supremacy," Vox (December 16, 2016). Online at: <https://goo.gl/jFt6oq>
- Jacob Aasland Ravndal, "Right Wing Terrorism and Violence in Western Europe: Introducing the RTV Dataset." *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 10, no. 3 (June 2016). **(*Trunk*)**

Recommended:

- Southern Poverty Law Center, "Terror from the Right: Plots, Conspiracies and Racist Rampages Since Oklahoma City," Special Report 2012. **(*Trunk*)**
- Daniel Baracskey, "The April 1995 Bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City," in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century* (Volume 3), edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007)
- Eric Shibuya, "The Struggle with Violent Right-Wing Extremist Groups in the United States," in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century* (Volume 3), edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).
- Mark Hamm, "Timothy McVeigh and the Oklahoma City Bombing," in *Terrorist Innovations in Weapons of Mass Effect*; edited by Maria J. Rasmussen and Mohammed M. Hafez (August 2010 Workshop Report). (Washington, DC: Defense Threat Reduction Agency). **(*Trunk*)**
- Anders Breivik, Manifesto [Oslo Bomber's Manifesto] **(*Trunk*)**
- Martin Durham, "The American Far Right and 9/11," *Terrorism & Political Violence* 15(2) (2003).
- The Turner Diaries [selected chapters] **(*Trunk*)**
- J.M. Berger, "The Turner Legacy: The Storied Origins and Enduring Impact of White Nationalism's Deadly Bible," ICCT Research Paper (September 2016).
- Documentary: "Hate Rising." *Fusion*, with Jorge Ramos. Online at: <https://t.co/WswQF153IV>

Questions for Class Discussion:

- What are the unique challenges that far-right violent extremists pose to intelligence and law enforcement agencies in Europe and the U.S.?
- Do mainstream news media seem to downplay or ignore far-right terrorism, when compared to the extensive coverage focused on Islamist jihad terrorism?

FEBRUARY 20, 2017: **PRESIDENT'S DAY (UNIVERSITY CLOSED)**

FEBRUARY 22, 2017 **(WEDNESDAY, DUE TO THE MONDAY HOLIDAY)**

LESSON 5 – INTERSECTIONS OF RELIGION AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Learning objectives: Examine the unique aspects of religiously-motivated terrorist movements.

Required Readings:

- Bruce Hoffman, "Religion and Terrorism," in *Inside Terrorism* (p. 81-129).
- Allan C. Brownfeld, "Zionism and the Pursuit of West Bank Settlements," in *The Making of a Terrorist* (Volume 1), edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005). **(*Trunk*)**
- Daniel Byman and Natan Sachs, "The Rise of Settler Terrorism: The West Bank's Other Violent Extremists," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2012).
- James Aho. "Christian Fundamentalism and Militia Movements in the United States," in *The Making of a Terrorist* (Volume 1), edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005). **(*Trunk*)**
- Cindy C. Combs, Elizabeth A. Combs and Lydia Marsh, "Christian Militia Training: Arming the 'Troops' with Scripture, the Law and a Good Gun," *The Making of a Terrorist* (Volume 2), edited by James J.F. Forest, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005)
- Quintan Wiktorowicz, "A Genealogy of Radical Islam," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 28 (2005), p. 75-97. **(*Trunk*)**
- Thomas Hegghammer, "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters," *International Security* 35, no. 3 (Winter 2010/11). **(*Trunk*)**

Recommended Resources:

- Victoria Barber, "The Evolution of al Qaeda's Global Network and al Qaeda Core's Position Within It: A Network Analysis," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9, No. 6 (2015). **(*Trunk*)**
- Assaf Moghadam et al, "Jihad Competition vs. Cooperation" (Video, Sept. 2014) ICT Herzliya. Available online at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4xAKFzqGZ2I>
- Ghaffar Hussain and Erin Marie Saltman, *Jihad Trending: A Comprehensive Analysis of Online Extremism and How to Counter It* (London: Quilliam Foundation, May 2014). **(*Trunk*)**
- Brian M. Jenkins, "Stray Dogs and Virtual Armies." RAND Corporation, 2011. **(*Trunk*)**
- Chetan Bhatt (2014) "The Virtues of Violence: The Salafi-Jihadi Political Universe," *Theory Culture Society* 31 (1), p. 25-48. **(*Trunk*)**
- The 9/11 Commission Report*, Ch. 2: "The Foundations of the New Terrorism." **(*Trunk*)**
- Al Qaida internal documents (AFGP-2002-000080, Interior Organization; AFGP-2002-600048, By-laws; and AFGP-2002-600045, Employment Contract) – online at: <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/publications/harmony-documents>

Questions for Class Discussion:

- Compared with secular terrorist groups, what unique challenges do religiously-based violent movements pose to a liberal democracy like the United States?
 - How, and under what circumstances (e.g. a government's over-reaction), could a religiously-based terrorist group of today be more successful than its predecessors?
 - What have been the global jihadist movement's significant achievements as of 2016?
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FEBRUARY 27, 2017

LESSON 6 – THE ISLAMIC STATE (a.k.a. ISIL or ISIS)

Learning objectives: Develop an understanding of the evolution and current threat posed by the self-proclaimed Islamic State, based in Iraq and Syria.

Required Readings:

William McCants, *The ISIS Apocalypse: The History, Strategy and Doomsday Vision of the Islamic State*. (St. Martin's Press, 2015). p. 1-159.

Petter Nesser, Anne Stenersen and Emile Oftedal, "Jihadi Terrorism in Europe: The IS-Effect," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 10. No. 6 (2016).

Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic*, March 2015. Online at:
<http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2015/02/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>

Online Resources to Review and Bookmark

George Washington Program on Extremism, "ISIS in America" – report, infographics and hundreds of court documents: <https://cchs.gwu.edu/isis-in-america>

Brian Fishman, "Abd al-Hadi Library" – thousands of jihadist documents online at *The Master Plan* resource website: <http://www.isismasterplan.com/abdalhadiilibrary>

University of Oslo, FFI. "Jihadi Document Repository." Online at:
<http://www.hf.uio.no/ikos/english/research/jihadi-document-repository/index.html>

Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, online resources on ISIS:
<https://www.ctc.usma.edu/isil-resources>

Recommended Resources:

Clint Watts, "Deciphering Competition Between al-Qaida and the Islamic State," *CTC Sentinel* (July 2016). **(*Trunk*)**

Fatima Bhojhani, "How ISIS Makes IEDs" *Foreign Affairs* (March 2, 2016). **(*Trunk*)**

BBC Podcast (23 minutes): "Is Islamic State Finished?" (September 2016) **(*Trunk*)**

Craig Whiteside, "The Story of the Islamic State's Media Enterprise," *War on the Rocks* (December 12, 2016). Online at: <https://warontherocks.com/2016/12/lighting-the-path-the-story-of-the-islamic-states-media-enterprise/>

Nicole Matejic, "Content Wars: Daesh's Sophisticated Use of Communications," *NATO Review*, November 2016. Online at: <http://www.nato.int/docu/review//2016/Also-in-2016/wars-media-daesh-communications-solis/EN/index.htm>

Craig Whiteside, "New Masters of Revolutionary Warfare: The Islamic State Movement (2002-2016)," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (2016). **(*Trunk*)**

Charlie Winter, "Why is Islamic State Group so Violent?" BBC Video (December 8, 2015).
Online at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34966674>

Thomas Hegghammer and Petter Nesser, "Assessing the Islamic State's Commitment to Attacking the West," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2015). **(*Trunk*)**

Scott Shane, "The Enduring Influence of Anwar al-Awlaki in the Age of the Islamic State," *CTC Sentinel*, Vol 9, No. 7 (July 2016)

Questions for Class Discussion:

- What do the Islamic State's leaders, fighters and supporters want?
- Under what circumstances could The Islamic State be more successful in achieving the goals and objectives articulated in their ideology?

MARCH 6, 2017

LESSON 7 – TERRORIST GROUP LEARNING & DECISION-MAKING

Learning objectives: Examine the influences and challenges faced by terrorist groups in decisions over strategy, tactics and operations, and ways in which terrorists learn and innovate.

Required Readings:

- Michael Kenney, "How Terrorists Learn," in *Teaching Terrorism: Strategic and Tactical Knowledge Transfer in the Terrorist World*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), p. 33-51. **(*Trunk*)**
- Gordon McCormick, "Terrorist Decision Making," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 6 (2003), p. 473-507. **(*Trunk*)**
- Bruce Hoffman, "The Modern Terrorist Mind-set: Tactics, Targets, Tradecraft and Technologies," *Inside Terrorism*, p. 229-256.
- Michael Freeman, "The Sources of Terrorist Financing: Theory and Typology," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 34, no. 6 (2011) p. 461-475. **(*Trunk*)**
- Bruce Hoffman, "Suicide Terrorism," in *Inside Terrorism* (p. 131-171)
- Michael Horowitz, Evan Perkoski, and Philip B. K. Potter, "Tactical Diversity in Militant Violence," *International Organization (forthcoming - Draft on course website)* **(*Trunk*)**
- James J.F. Forest, "Framework for Analyzing the Future Threat of WMD Terrorism," *Journal of Strategic Security* 5, No. 4 (2012), p. 51-68 **(*Trunk*)**

Recommended Resources:

- Jacob N. Shapiro, "Terrorist Decision-Making: Insights From Economics and Political Science," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6, no. 4-5 (2012). **(*Trunk*)**
- Arie Perliger, "Terrorist Networks' Productivity and Durability: A Comparative Multi-level Analysis," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8, No. 4 (2014). **(*Trunk*)**
- Joseph K. Young and Laura Dugan, "Survival of the Fittest: Why Terrorist Groups Endure," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8, No. 2 (April 2014). **(*Trunk*)**
- Martha Crenshaw, "Innovation: Decision Points in the Trajectory of Terrorism," in *Terrorist Innovations in Weapons of Mass Effect.*, edited by Maria J. Rasmussen and Mohammed M. Hafez (August 2010 Workshop Report). (Washington, DC: DTRA), p. 35-50. **(*Trunk*)**
- Nancy K. Hayden, "Innovation and Learning in Terrorist Organizations: Toward Adaptive Capacity and Resiliency," Paper presented at the 31st conference of the Systems Dynamics Society, Cambridge, MA (July 21-25, 2013). **(*Trunk*)**
- Bruce Hoffman, "Low-Tech Terrorism," *The National Interest* (March-April 2014). **(*Trunk*)**
- Marc DeVore, "Exploring the Iran-Hezbollah Relationship: A Case Study of how State Sponsorship affects Terrorist Group Decision-Making," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6, no. 4-5 (2012). **(*Trunk*)**
- Matthew Levitt, "Hezbollah's Organized Criminal Enterprises in Europe," *Perspectives on Terrorism* vol. 7, no. 4 (2013). **(*Trunk*)**

Questions for Class Discussion:

- What do terrorist groups or networks require in order to achieve their goals?
 - What internal and external factors influence a terrorist group's choices to use particular violent tactics, and/or engage in criminal activity (like trafficking in drugs and weapons)?
 - How can terrorist groups become more (or less) effective in achieving their core objectives?
-

MARCH 13, 2017

LESSON 8 – THE UNIQUE CHALLENGES OF “DO IT YOURSELF” TERRORISM

Learning objectives: Examine the research on a range of motivations that have inspired individuals to carry out terrorist attacks without officially joining a terrorist group.

RESEARCH PAPER DUE AT START OF CLASS SESSION

Required Readings:

- Richard Jensen, “The Pre-1914 ‘Lone Wolf’ Terrorist and Governmental Responses,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 1 (2014). (*Trunk*)
- Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko (2014). Towards a profile of lone wolf terrorism. *Terrorism & Political Violence*, 26(1), 69-85. (*Trunk*)
- Sam Mullins, “The Road to Orlando: Jihadist-Inspired Violence in the West, 2012-2016,” *CTC Sentinel* (June 2016).
- Orlandrew E. Danzell and Lisandra M. Maisonet Montanez. “Understanding the Lone Wolf Terror Phenomena: Assessing current profiles. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2016), p. 135-159. (*Trunk*)
- Paul Gill, John Horgan, and Paige Deckert (2014). Bombing Alone: Tracing the motivations and antecedent behaviors of lone-actor terrorists. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 59, 425-435.
- BBC News, “How MI5’s Scientists Work to Identify Future Terrorists,” (December 12, 2016).
Online at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-38252470>
- Clare Ellis, “With A Little Help From My Friends: An Exploration of the Tactical Use of Single-Actor Terrorism by the Islamic State,” *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 10. No. 6 (2016).
- Michael Williams, John Horgan and William Evans, “The Critical Role of Friends in Networks for Countering Violent Extremism: Toward a Theory of Vicarious Help-Seeking,” *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 2015. (*Trunk*)

Recommended

- Becker, M. (2014). Explaining lone wolf target selection in the United States. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 37(11), 959–978. (*Trunk*)
- Sarah Teich (2013). *Trends and developments in lone wolf terrorism in the western world: An analysis of terrorist attacks and attempted attacks by Islamic extremists*. Herzliya: International Institute for Counter-Terrorism. (*Trunk*)
- Brian Michael Jenkins (2011). *Stray dogs and virtual armies: Radicalization and recruitment to Jihadist Terrorism in the United States Since, 9/11*. (*Trunk*)
- Emily Corner and Paul Gill (2015). A false dichotomy? Mental illness and lone-actor terrorism. *Law and Human Behavior*, 39(1), 23–34. (*Trunk*)
- Rodger A. Bates (2012). Dancing with Wolves: Today's lone wolf terrorists. *The Journal of Public and Professional Sociology*, 4(1). (*Trunk*)
- George Michael (2012). Leaderless resistance. *Defence Studies*, 12(2), 257-282. (*Trunk*)

Questions for Class Discussion:

- Is “Do it Yourself” terrorism a more accurate description than “lone wolf” terrorism? If not, what other term or descriptive phrase should we use?
- How and why has this kind of terrorism evolved over the last 150 years?
- What unique challenges does this kind of terrorism pose for intelligence agencies?

MARCH 20-26, 2017: SPRING BREAK !

MARCH 27, 2017

LESSON 9 – COUNTERTERRORISM FRAMEWORKS AND STRATEGIES

Learning objectives: Develop an understanding of and ability to describe the mechanisms of counterterrorism, and the effects on civil liberties when fighting terrorism.

Required Readings:

- James J.F. Forest, "An Introduction to the Study of Counterterrorism," in ***Essentials of Counterterrorism***, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2015), p. 1-32.
- Gregory Miller, "Confronting Terrorisms: Group Motivation and Successful State Policies," *Terrorism and Political Violence* vol. 19, no. 3 (2007), p. 331-350. **(*Trunk*)**
- Jennifer Holmes, "Developing and Implementing a Counterterrorism Policy in a Liberal Democracy," in ***Essentials of Counterterrorism***, p. 35-49
- Andrew Liepman, Philip Mudd, "Lessons from the Fifteen-Year Counterterrorism Campaign," *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 9, No. 10 (October 25, 2016).
- Jennifer E. Sims, "The Contemporary Challenges of Counterterrorism Intelligence," in ***Essentials of Counterterrorism***, p.167-194
- Daniel Byman, "The Intelligence War on Terrorism," *Intelligence and National Security* (2013). **(*Trunk*)**
- Joby Warrick, "Inside the Economic War Against the Islamic State," *Washington Post* (December 31, 2016). Online at: <https://goo.gl/lyZTCP>
- Martha Crenshaw and Gary LaFree, "Overresponding to Rare Events," in ***Countering Terrorism: No Simple Solutions*** (Brookings Institution Press, 2017), p. 33-68.
- Stephen Walt, "Monsters of Our Own Imagining," *Foreign Policy* (March 24, 2016)
- Eric Rosand, *Communities First: A Blueprint for Organizing and Sustaining a Global Movement Against Violent Extremism*. The Prevention Project (December 2016). Online at: <https://goo.gl/LvbDQj>

Recommended Reading

- Jenna Jordan, Margaret E. Kosal, and Lawrence Rubin, "The Strategic Illogic of Counterterrorism Policy," *The Washington Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (Winter 2017), pp. 181-192.
- 9/11 Commission Report*, "Foresight and Hindsight," 339-353. **(*Trunk*)**
- Paul J. Smith, "Terrorism Finance: Global Responses to the Terrorism Money Trail," in ***Essentials of Counterterrorism***, p. 105-127.
- UK Intelligence and Security Committee, "Could 7/7 Have Been Prevented?" Report from House of Commons Presented to Parliament, May 2009. Online at: <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm76/7617/7617.asp>
- Smitha Mundasad, "Terrorism first-aid training needed," *BBC News* (January 4, 2017). Online at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/health-38495234>
- Ronald Crelinsten, "Perspectives on Counterterrorism: From Stovepipes to a Comprehensive Approach," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 8, no. 1 (2014). **(*Trunk*)**

Questions for Class Discussion:

- What tools are necessary for effectively countering terrorism?
 - What are the limits of counterterrorism, especially in a liberal democracy?
 - What actions could a government take in response to terrorism that might actually make things worse instead of better?
-

APRIL 3, 2017

LESSON 10: STRATEGIES OF DETERRENCE AND CONTAINMENT

Learning objectives: Examine some of the more controversial dimensions of efforts to deter or contain the threat of terrorism, drawing especially from well-known case studies.

Required Readings:

Matthew Kroenig and Barry Pavel, "How to Deter Terrorism," *The Washington Quarterly* 35, No. 2 (2012), p. 21-36. **(*Trunk*)**

Charles P. Kirchofer, "Israel and Hamas: Stabilizing Deterrence," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, vol. 9, No. 3 (2016), p. 405-415. **(*Trunk*)**

Max Abrahms, "Deterring Terrorism: a New Strategy," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (2014). **(*Trunk*)**

Charles Kirchofer, "Targeted Killings and Compellence: Lessons from the Campaign against Hamas in the Second Intifada," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2016). **(*Trunk*)**

Stephen Biddle and Jacob Shapiro, "America Can't Do Much About ISIS," *The Atlantic* (April 20, 2016). Online at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/04/isis-containment-civil-war/478725/>

Clint Watts, "Let them Rot: The Challenges and Opportunities of Containing Rather than Countering the Islamic State," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9, No. 4 (2015). **(*Trunk*)**

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How Al Qaida Ends: The Demise and Decline of Terrorist Groups," *International Security* vol. 31, no. 1 (Summer 2006), p. 7-48. **(*Trunk*)**

Recommended Reading

Javier Argomaniz and Alberto Vidal-Diez (2015), "Examining Deterrence and Backlash Effects in Counter-Terrorism: The Case of ETA," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27(1), p. 160-181.

James Forest, "The Written Word: A Review of *Counterstrike*, by Eric Schmitt and Thom Shanker." CTX Vol. 2, No. 1 (2012). Online at: <https://globalecco.org/ctx-v2n1/the-written-word-counterstrike>

Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President on the Administration's Approach to Counterterrorism." The White House. (December 6, 2016). Online at: <https://goo.gl/btrQgC>

Uri Fisher, "Deterrence, Terrorism and American Values," *Homeland Security Affairs* 3, Article 4 (February 2007). <https://www.hsaj.org/articles/152>

Andrew R. Morral and Brian A. Jackson, *Understanding the Role of Deterrence in Counterterrorism Security*. RAND Occasional Paper (2009). Online at: http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2009/RAND_OP281.pdf

Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger, "Coping with Terrorism: Lessons Learned from the Israeli Intelligence Community," in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century* (Volume 1), edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).

Questions for Class Discussion:

- What internal and external factors influence a government's decisions to use certain tactics in its counterterrorism efforts?
 - What lessons can we draw from historical lessons of attempts to deter or contain terrorism?
 - What are the pros and cons of a counterterrorism strategy focused on "containing terrorism" and "promoting disengagement" rather than "defeating" terrorism?
 - Should we emphasize local context or broader trans-regional issues in our CT efforts?
-

APRIL 10, 2017

LESSON 11 – CONTROVERSIES AND CRITICAL DILEMMAS IN COUNTERTERRORISM

Brian Michael Jenkins, “How Do We Know if Security Measures Work Against Terrorists?”

Inside Science Minds (January 27, 2014) **(*Trunk*)**

Martha Crenshaw and Gary LaFree, “Counterterrorism Results: Can Effectiveness be Evaluated?” ***Countering Terrorism: No Simple Solutions***, p. 165-194.

Barack Obama, “Closure of Guantanamo Detention Facilities,” Executive Order (January 22, 2009). Online at: <https://goo.gl/z1DnD1>

“No Good Reason to Close GITMO,” Heritage Foundation (June 14, 2005). Online at: <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2005/06/no-good-reason-to-close-gitmo>

Mark J. Murray, “Extraordinary Rendition and U.S. Counterterrorism Policy,” *Journal of Strategic Security*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (2011), p. 15-28. Online at: <http://goo.gl/8WYf0a>

Mark Bowden, “The Dark Art of Interrogation,” *The Atlantic* (October 2003) **(*Trunk*)**

Jeremy Ashkenas, et al. “7 Key Points from the CIA Torture Report,” *New York Times* (Dec. 9, 2014). Online at: <http://goo.gl/4blELo>

Jonathan Masters, “Targeted Killings: CFR Backgrounder”, Council on Foreign Relations (May 23, 2013). Online at: <http://goo.gl/WfL8ap>

Bryan C. Price, “Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism,” *International Security*, Vol. 36, Issue 4 (2012), pp. 9-46.

Nicole Hong, “In U.S. ISIS Cases, Informants Play a Big Role,” *The Wall Street Journal* (April 21, 2015). Online at: <http://goo.gl/bCLqO8>

Recommended Reading

Jane Mayer, “Outsourcing Torture: The Secret History of America’s ‘Extraordinary Rendition’ Program,” *The New Yorker* (February 14, 2005). **(*Trunk*)**

PBS Frontline Documentary, “Secrets, Politics and Torture,” (May 19, 2015). Online at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/secrets-politics-and-torture/>

Case Studies from ***Essentials of Counterterrorism***:

- David Scott Palmer, “Countering Terrorism in Latin America: The Case of Shining Path in Peru,” p. 251-270.
- Erica Chenoweth, “Italy and the Red Brigades.: The Success of Repentance Policy in Counterterrorism,” p. 299-314.
- Roman D. Ortiz and Janneth Vargas, “Sixty Years of Counterinsurgency in Colombia: From ‘La Violencia’ to the ‘Sword of Honor’ Plan,” p. 271-298.
- Joanne Wright, “Countering West Germany’s Red Army Faction: What Can We Learn?” p. 315-332.
- Rogelio Alonso, “The Madrid Attacks on March 11: An Analysis of the Jihadist Threat in Spain and Main Counterterrorist Measures,” p. 397-418.
- Behram A. Sahukar, “India’s Response to Terrorism in Kashmir,” p 357-382.

BBC Podcast (23 minutes, 22.1MB, MP3): “Can Colombia Reintegrate the FARC?” (July, 2016) **(*Trunk*)**

Questions for Class Discussion:

- How does a country know if terrorism has been defeated? What are the appropriate metrics? What does success look like and is it possible?
- Should the United States act in a unilateral manner to respond to terrorism?
- What types of constraints and limitations should a country recognize when combating today’s transnational terrorism threat?

APRIL 17, 2017: PATRIOTS DAY – UNIVERSITY IS CLOSED

APRIL 24, 2017

LESSON 12 – EXPLOITING TERRORIST GROUP VULNERABILITIES

Learning objectives: Develop an appreciation for the vulnerabilities that terrorist groups face, and how these can be exploited to make them weaker and less effective.

Required Readings:

Christopher C. Harmon, “Vulnerabilities of Terror Groups”, Lexington Institute (March 2007).

Online at: <http://lexingtoninstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/vulnerabilities-of-terror-groups.pdf>

Jacob Shapiro, “Terrorist Organizations’ Vulnerabilities and Inefficiencies: A Rational Choice Perspective” Chapter 4 in *Terrorism Financing and State Responses*, edited by Harold Trinkunas and Jeanne K. Giraldo (Stanford University Press, 2007). **(*Trunk*)**

Jennifer R. Williams, “The Bureaucracy of Terror: New Secret Documents Reveal al-Qaeda’s Challenges,” *Foreign Affairs* (March 25, 2015). **(*Trunk*)**

Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work,” *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Fall 2006), pp. 42–78. **(*Trunk*)**

Jacob Shapiro, “A Predictable Failure: The Political Economy of the Decline of the Islamic State,” *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 9, No. 9 (September 2016). Online at:

<https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/september-2016>

Jessica Stern, “Deradicalization or Disengagement of Terrorists: Is it Possible?” in *Future Challenges in National Security and Law*, edited by Peter Berkowitz (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, March 2010). **(*Trunk*)**

Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, “Promoting Exit from Violent Extremism: Themes and Approaches,” in *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 36, Issue 2 (2013), pp. 99-115.

John Horgan, et al. “Walking Away: The disengagement and de-radicalization of a violent right-wing extremist,” *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* (March 16, 2016), p. 1-15. **(*Trunk*)**

Recommended Reading

Max Abrahms, “The Credibility Paradox: Violence as a Double-Edged Sword in International Politics,” *International Studies Quarterly*, (2013) p. 1-12. **(*Trunk*)**

James Forest, Jarret Brachman and Joseph Felter. *Harmony & Disharmony* (February 2006, Combating Terrorism Center at West Point,). Online at: <https://goo.gl/tP0zYR>

Fernando Reinares, “Exit from Terrorism: A Qualitative Empirical Study on Disengagement and Deradicalization Among Members of ETA,” in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 23, Issue 5 (2011), pp. 780-803.

Max Abrahms and Karolina Lula, “Why Terrorists Overestimate the Odds of Victory,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6, no. 4-5 (2012). **(*Trunk*)**

Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh, “Disputes over Violence Within ETA and Sendero Luminoso.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* vol. 14, no. 4 (2002), p. 66-92. **(*Trunk*)**

Questions for Class Discussion:

- What are some critical challenges faced by all terrorist groups?
- How do terrorists deal with the organizational tradeoffs between security and efficacy?
- How can the government best leverage its strengths and exploit terrorist weaknesses?

MAY 1, 2017

LESSON 13 – FUTURE TRENDS IN TERRORISM & COUNTERTERRORISM

Learning objectives: Draw from scholarly research and methodological approaches to identify trends we may anticipate in the future.

CT BRIEFING DUE AT START OF CLASS SESSION

Required Readings:

- Bruce Hoffman, "The Global Terror Threat and Counterterrorism Challenges Facing the Next Administration," *CTC Sentinel* (November 30, 2016).
- Martha Crenshaw and Gary LaFree, "Moving Forward" ***Countering Terrorism: No Simple Solutions*** (Brookings Institution Press, 2017), p. 195-220.
- Thomas Hegghammer, "The Future of Jihadism in Europe: A Pessimistic View," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 10. No. 6 (2016).
- Daniel Byman, "The Homecomings: What Happens When Arab Foreign Fighters in Iraq and Syria Return?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 38, no. 8 (2015): 581-602. (*Trunk*)
- Bruce Hoffman, "Terrorism Today and Tomorrow," in ***Inside Terrorism*** (p. 257-295)
- Brian Michael Jenkins, "Fifteen Years On, Where Are We in the "War on Terror?" *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 9, No. 9 (September 7, 2016)
- Hamm, M., & Spaaij, R. (2015). *Lone Wolf Terrorism in America: Using knowledge of radicalization pathways to forge prevention strategies*. U.S. Department of Justice. (*Trunk*)
- START Center. The Role of Community Policing in Countering Violent Extremism, START Research Brief, February 2014. Online at: <http://goo.gl/ziOrZA>
- R. Kim Cragin, "Resisting Violent Extremism: A Conceptual Model for Non-Radicalization," *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2013). (*Trunk*)

Recommended Reading

- BBC Podcast (23 minutes): "What Happened to Al-Qaeda?" (April 2016) (*Trunk*)
- Bruce Hoffman, "Al-Qaeda: Quietly and Patiently Rebuilding," *The Cipher Brief* (December 30, 2016). Online at: <https://goo.gl/T921Ma>
- The Soufan Group, "The True Costs of Terror" (December 22, 2015). Online at: <http://soufangroup.com/tsg-intelbrief-the-true-costs-of-terror/>
- Karen Rasler and William R. Thompson, "Looking for Waves of Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 28-41.
- John Mueller & Mark G. Stewart. "Misoverestimating ISIS: Comparisons with al-Qaeda," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (August 2016). (*Trunk*)
- John Horgan and Mary Beth Altier, "The Future of De-Radicalization Programs," *Conflict & Security* (Summer/Fall 2012).
- Matthew Levitt, ed., *Countering Violent Extremism: From the Boston Marathon to the Islamic State*, Policy Focus 139, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy (2015). (*Trunk*)
- Peter R. Neumann, "Options and Strategies for Countering Online Radicalization in the United States," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36, no. 6 (2013), 431-459. (*Trunk*)

Questions for Class Discussion:

- Several scholars have noted that groups who use the strategies and tactics of terrorism have rarely achieved any of their primary objectives. If this is true, won't the problem of terrorism just naturally go away in time? Why or why not?
- What will the next "wave" of terrorism look like, and why?

MAY 2-3, 2017: READING DAYS

MAY 4-10, 2017: FINAL EXAMINATIONS

40% of your grade will be determined by performance on a take-home Final Exam, which will be comprehensive (i.e. all topics covered throughout the semester will likely be represented by essay questions on the exam).

This final exam will be made available via the Trunk website on May 4, and will be due (via email or by uploading to the Trunk course website) by 7:30pm on **May 10, 2017**.

Case Studies

Case studies of terrorist groups and events will be essential resources for this course. The following case studies have been provided online via the Trunk course website (see the “Case Study Resources” folder), but there are many others available online and in the library (please consult the reference librarian if you need assistance). Always remember to properly cite any of these items in your papers, as listed below. **Please do not distribute any materials on the Trunk website beyond this course, as most are copyrighted.**

ASIA

- Adam Dolnik, “Aum Shinrikyo’s Path to Innovation,” in *Terrorist Innovations in Weapons of Mass Effect: Preconditions, Causes and Predictive Behaviors*, edited by Maria J. Rasmussen and Mohammed M. Hafez (August 2010 Workshop Report). (Washington, DC: Defense Threat Reduction Agency).
- Behram A. Sahukar, “India’s Response to Terrorism in Kashmir,” in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century (Volume 3)*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007)
- James M. Smith, “Japan and Aum Shinrikyo,” in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century (Volume 3)*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007)
- John V. Parachini, “The Making of Aum Shinrikyo’s Chemical Weapons Program,” in *The Making of a Terrorist (Volume 2)*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005).
- Jonathan C. Byrom and James Walker, “Afghanistan’s Transformation to a Narco-Terrorist State: An Economic Perspective,” in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century (Volume 2)*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).
- Joseph Felter, “Recruitment for Rebellion and Terrorism in the Philippines,” in *The Making of a Terrorist (Volume 1)*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005).
- Joshua Sinai, “Terrorism and Uzbekistan: The Threat and the Response,” in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century (Volume 3)*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007)
- Kumar Ramakrishna, “Indoctrination Processes within Jemaah Islamiyah,” in *The Making of a Terrorist (Volume 2)*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005).
- Martha Brill Olcott, “Teaching New Terrorist Recruits: A Review of Training Manuals from the Uzbekistan Mujahideen,” in *The Making of a Terrorist (Volume 2)*, edited by James J.F. Forest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005).
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- *Homeland Security and Terrorism* (McGraw-Hill, 2013)
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