

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
Department of Political Science

W3921, Section 002, Fall 2015: Terrorism and Counterterrorism
Tuesdays, 12:10 a.m. – 2:00 p.m. (711 IAB)

Dr. Brigitte L. Nacos

Phone: 212- 854-5254
bn1@columbia.edu

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2:00-3.00 p.m.; Fridays 10:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m.
(my office is at 736 International Affairs Building)

Course Description: The seminar is designed to illuminate students' understanding of the most important aspects of domestic and transnational terrorism and counterterrorism with emphasis on the United States as target of and responder to this sort of political violence.

Course Requirements: Attendance of all sessions is required except for serious health problems and absences on religious holidays for observant students. If a student misses more than two classes without proof of sickness or other exceptional reasons, the final grade will be lowered by ½ point for each missed class; if a student misses five or more sessions without proof of serious sickness, he/she will fail the class.

Students must read the assigned material in preparation for each session and participate in class discussions. To make sure that everyone is well prepared, each student will compile a short list (one page or less) of interesting points, issues, and questions concerning the assigned readings for each class. Each student will select one particular terrorist organization, find and read relevant material and report on the chosen group in several class sessions in which we discuss domestic and foreign terrorist organizations. If an assigned reading is not available via the library's reserve, please let me know as soon as you discover the problem.

Every member of the class will write a research paper (20-25 type-written, double-spaced pages) that examines one particular aspect of terrorism or counter-terrorism. We will discuss suitable topics in class. The deadline for handing in short descriptions of your paper topic is October 13th; a detailed outline with November 10th. Handing in both the short proposal and the detailed outline before the deadlines is a good idea. The completed term papers are due in our last class session. Grades will be based on class participation, including the mentioned report on a selected terrorist group, (one third of the final grade) and the research paper (two thirds).

Topics and Mandatory Readings:

Session 1
Sept. 8 **Introduction: Asking the Right Questions in the Study of Terrorism and Counterterrorism. How serious is the Terrorist Threat? Discussion of Class Format and Requirements**

Session 2
Sept. 15 **A Perennial Dispute: What is Terrorism? What is Violence? What is the Difference between Terrorism and Crime?**

Readings:

Brigitte L. Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism. Fourth Edition*, chapters 1 and 2.

Shawn Teresa Flanigan, "Terrorists Next Door? A Comparison between Mexican Drug Cartels and Middle Eastern Terrorist Organizations." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(2) (April-June 2012), 279-294.

Phil Williams, "The Terrorism Debate over Mexican Drug Trafficking Violence." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24 (2) (April-June 2012), 259-278.

Richard Bach Jensen, "The Pre-1914 Anarchist 'Lone Wolf' Terrorist and Governmental Responses." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26 (1) (2014): 86-94.

(The Appendix in Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism* summarizes major international and domestic terrorist incidents from the early 1970s to more recent times so that students get a basic understanding of past terrorist acts and respective perpetrators, victims, methods, and outcomes. I urge you to read the appendix as soon as possible because the material provides background information that will be helpful in understanding many aspects of terrorism including comparisons between various terrorism waves, groups, targets, methods, etc.).

Session 3
Sept. 22 **Is Terrorism Ever Justified?**

Readings:

Michael Walzer, *Arguing about War*, chapters 3, 4 and 10.

Ted Honderich, "After the Terror: A Book and further Thoughts." *The Journal of Ethics* 7: 161-181, 2003.

Paul Hollander, "Righteous Political Violence and Contemporary

Western Intellectuals.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25 (4), 2013, pp. 518-530.

Roger Mac Ginty, “Look who’s talking: terrorism, dialogue and conflict Transformation. *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 6(1) (2013): 216-223.

Session 4
Sept. 29

Global Context

Readings:

Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, chapter 3.

Christoph Reuter, “The Terror Strategist: Secret Files Reveal the Structure of Islamic State.” *Der Spiegel*, April 18, 2015,

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/islamic-state-files-show-structure-of-islamist-terror-group-a-1029274.html>.

Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Why ISIS is not a Terrorist Group.” *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2015.

Gerry Nagzaam and Pete Lentini, “Vigilantes on the High Seas? The Sea Shepherds and Political Violence. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20 (1) (Jan.-March 2008), 110-131.

George Michael, “The Ideological Evolution of Horst Mahler: The Far Left-Extreme Right Synthesis.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32 (4) (April 2009), 346-366.

Emmanuel Karagiannis and Clark M. McCauley, “The Emerging Red-Green Alliance: Where Political Islam Meets the Radical Left.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25 (2), 2013, pp. 167-182.

Session 5
Oct. 6

Domestic Context

Readings:

Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, chapter 4;

Read material on the “The Army of God web site:

<http://www.armyofgod.com/>

White Supremacy and Violence. See report by Southern Poverty Law Center at: <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2014/summer/White-Homicide-Worldwide>

Incidents tied to Violent Right-Wing Radicalization, see:
<http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2014/summer/For-the-Record>

Ryan Lenz, “Republic for The united States of America Plagued by Criminality.” *Intelligence Report 146* (Summer 2012), available at the Southern Poverty Law Center <http://splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2012/summer/sins-of-the-sovereigns>

Session 6
Oct. 13 **The Making of Terrorists (Causes, Conditions, Influences, Traits)**

Readings:

Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, chapters 5 and 6

Walter Reich, *Origins of Terrorism*

R. Kim Cragin, “Resisting Violent Extremism: A Conceptual Model of Non-Radicalization. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26 (2) (2014): 337-353.

Christina Archetti, Terrorism, Communication and Recruitment in the Digital Age. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9 (1) (2015),
<http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/401/794>

Due Today, October 13th: Two or three paragraphs that explain the topic of your term paper

Sessions 7/8
Oct. 20/27 **Terrorist Groups: Discussion of Past and Present Organizations/ Networks**

(Students report on groups they selected and studied with respect to ideologies, goals, tactics, organizational make-up, durability, etc.)

Start to read material assigned for the October 28th session.

November 3rd is Election Day and no class. Time to work on your detailed paper outline which is due on November 10th

Session 9
Nov. 10

Terrorist Goals, Tactics, Organizations, Sponsors

Readings:

Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, chapters 7, 8 and 9

Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill*, chapter 4.

Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want*, chapters 4 and 5

Colin J. Beck, "The Contribution of Social Movement Theory to Understanding Terrorism." *Sociology Compass* 2/5, 2008.

Due Today, November 10: A Detailed Outline for your Research Paper with Sources

Session 10
Nov. 17

Women and Children in Terrorism

Readings:

P.W. Singer, "The New Children of Terror"

http://www.brookings.edu/views/papers/singer/chapter8_20051215.pdf

P.W. Singer, "Western Militaries confront Child Soldiers Threat"

<http://www.brookings.edu/views/Articles/fellows/singer20050115.pdf>

Cindy D. Ness, "In the Name of the Cause: Women's Work in Secular And Religious Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28(5), 2005, pp. 349-373.

Kathleen M. Blee, "Women and Organized Racial Terrorism in the United States." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28(5) (2005): 421-433.

Brigitte L. Nacos, "Young Western Women, Fandom, and ISIS." e-International Relations, May 5, 2015, <http://www.e-ir.info/2015/05/05/young-western-women-fandom-and-isis/>

Maura Conway and Lisa McNerney, "What's love have to do with it? Framing 'JihadJane' in the US Press." *Media, War and Conflict* 5(1), 2012, 6-21.

Session 11
Nov. 24

Media and Communication in the Terrorist Calculus

Readings:

Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, chapters 14 and 15

Terrorism and Entertainment (I will email you a chapter from my forthcoming new edition of *Mass-Mediated Terrorism*)

In May 2013, a British soldier was brutally killed by two self-proclaimed Jihadists. The terrorist act was videotaped by witnesses. Read the following article and view videos:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/10073910/Woolwich-attack-terrorist-proclaimed-an-eye-for-an-eye-after-attack.html>

Session 12
Dec. 1

Responding to Terrorism: Hard Power, Soft Power, and Smart Power

Readings:

Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, chapters 10 and 11

Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want*, chapter 8

Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, chapters 3 and 7.

Audrey Kurth Cronin. *How Terrorism Ends*, Introduction and Conclusion.

Lisa Blaydes and Lawrence Rubin, "Ideological Reorientation and Counterterrorism: Confronting Militant Islam in Egypt." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20 (4) (Oct.-Dec. 2008), 461-479.

Session 13
Dec. 8

Balancing Security and Civil Liberties/Human Rights in the Face of Terrorist Threats

Readings:

Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, chapter 12

Mark Danner, *Torture and Truth*, pp. 215-275.

David Cole, "Obama and Terror: The Hovering Questions." *The New York Review of Books*, July 12, 2012.

Stephen Flynn, *The Edge of Disaster*, Introduction, chapter 6

John Mueller, *Overblown*, Introduction, chapters 1 and 2

I did not order books in the University Book Store but you may consider getting the following two volumes for which I assigned all chapters as required readings.

Brigitte L. Nacos, Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding Threats and Responses in the Post-9/11 World, Fourth Edition. New York: Routledge , 2011

Walter Reich, ed., The Origins of Terrorism. Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; 1998.

All required books and articles are on reserve in Butler Library, in some cases I will email articles or links to articles.

I will occasionally email additional articles pertinent to the discussion topics at the time

Books:

Bloom, Mia. *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Crenshaw, Martha, ed. *Terrorism in Context*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.

Danner, Mark. *Torture and Truth: America, Abu Ghraib, and the War on Terror*. New York: The New York Review of Books, 2004.

Flynn, Stephen. *The Edge of Disaster*. New York: Random House, 2007.

Keefer, Philip and Norman Loayza, eds. *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*. New York: Cambridge, 2008.

Kurth Cronin, Audrey. *How Terrorism Ends*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Kurth Cronin, Audrey and James M. Ludes. *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2004.

Mueller, John. *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them*. New York: Free Press, 2006.

Nacos, Brigitte L. *Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Understanding Threats and Responses in the Post-9/11 World, Fourth Edition*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Reich, Walter, ed. *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/ Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Richardson, Louise. *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy and Containing the Threat*. New York: Random House, 2006.

Sageman, Marc. *Leaderless Jihad*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Walzer, Michael. *Arguing About War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Articles:

Except for articles with URL references, articles are accessible electronically at the Columbia Library web site under “course reserves” and can also be accessed via the Courseworks site. I will provide a few articles not available in “course reserves”

Beck, Colin J. “The Contribution of Social Movement Theory to Understanding Terrorism.” *Sociology Compass* 2/5, 2008.

Blaydes, Lisa and Lawrence Rubin, “Ideological Reorientation and Counterterrorism: Confronting Militant Islam in Egypt.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20 (4) (Oct.-Dec. 2008), 461-479.

Blee, Kathleen M., “Women and Organized Racial Terrorism in the United States.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28(5), 2005, 421-433.

Cole, David, “Obama and Terror: The Hovering Questions.” *The New York Review of Books*, July 12, 2012, 32-34.

Conway, Maura and Lisa McNerney, "What's love got to do with it? Framing 'JihadJane' in the US Press." *Media, War and Conflict* 5(1), 2012, 6-21.

Cragin, R. Kim, "Resisting Violent Extremism: A Conceptual Model of Non-Radicalization." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26 (2) (2014): 337-353.

Flanigan, Shawn Teresa, "Terrorists Next Door? A Comparison between Mexican Drug Cartels and Middle Eastern Terrorist Organizations." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(2) (April-June 2012), 279-294.

Ginty, Roger Mac, "Look who's talking: terrorism, dialogue and conflict Transformation." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 6(1) (2013): 216-223.

Hershinger, Eva, "A Battlefield of Meanings: The Struggle for Identity in the UN Debates on a Definition of International Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25(2), 2013, pp. 183-201.

Hollander, Paul. "Righteous Political Violence and Contemporary Western Intellectuals." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25 (4), 2013, 518-530.

Honderich, Ted. "After the Terror: A Book and Further Thoughts." *The Journal of Ethics* 7, 2003, 161-181.

Jensen, Richard Bach, "The Pre-1914 Anarchist 'Lone Wolf' Terrorist and Governmental Responses." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26 (1) (2014): 86-94.

Kirby, Aidan. "The London Bombers as "Self-Starters": A Case Study in Indigenous Radicalization and the Emergence of Autonomous Cliques." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol. 30, no. 5 (May 2007).

Karagiannis, Emmanuel and Clark M. McCauley, "The Emerging Red-Green Alliance: Where Political Islam Meets the Radical Left." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25(2), 2013, 167-182.

***Kurth Cronin, Audrey. "Why ISIS is Not a Terrorist Group." *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2015.

Michael, George. "The Ideological Evolution of Horst Mahler: The Far Left-Extreme Right Synthesis." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32 (4) (April 2009), 346-366.

Nagar, Na'amar, "Who is Afraid of the T-Word?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33 (6), 2010, 533-547.

Nagzaam, Gerry and Pete Lentini, "Vigilantes on the High Seas? The Sea Shepherds and Political violence. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20 (1) (Jan.-March 2008), 110-131.

Ness, Cindy D., "In the Name of the Cause: women's Work in Secular and Religious Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28(5), 2005, 349-373.

Williams, Phil, "The Terrorism Debate over Mexican Drug Trafficking Violence." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24 (2) (April-June 2012), 259-278.