

Spring 2016 (AY 16-2)
SS466: Combating Terrorism
Day 1: E Hr
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SS466: Combating Terrorism

Course Syllabus

AY 16-02

“We still lack a coherent and comprehensive concept for dealing with the irregular and hybrid enemies we will continue to face in the foreseeable future. New and creative ways of thinking are required.”

LTG Charles Cleveland, US Army Special Operations Command

Overview

The Combating Terrorism course (SS466) will introduce cadets to the tools, tactics, and strategies of combating terrorism in the current operational environment. Additionally, cadets will learn about the metrics used to evaluate counterterrorism strategies and tactics. The goal of the course is for cadets to think critically about combating terrorism. In short, this course exposes cadets to how we currently combat terrorism and encourages critical thought on how we can improve the way we fight terrorism in "the long war."

Course discussions will draw from cutting-edge research in the counterterrorism literature, strategic policy documents (both past and present), and case studies of prominent attempts to combat various terrorism campaigns. The course will also include guest lectures by top CT experts in the academic, policy, and practitioner communities. The course will be conducted in a seminar format; active class participation is required.

By the end of the semester, students will have an informed appreciation of the capabilities and limitations involved with combating terrorism, and the counterterrorism efforts of the United States in particular. Students will be equipped to judge the merits of counterterrorism strategy and policy and will have a basic familiarity with the organizations and processes that set and execute CT policy in the United States.

Course Objectives:

- Cadets will understand the basic theoretical concepts, models, and individual tools used to combat terrorism
- Cadets will be able to critically analyze the tools used to combat terrorism, prominent case studies of counterterrorism campaigns, and evaluate their effectiveness
- Cadets will understand how the U.S. currently fights terrorism and be able to articulate counterterrorism's most pressing challenges
- Cadets will improve their verbal and written communication skills

Learning Philosophy:

A seminar is the interaction and sharing of ideas by all participants; participation does not mean dominating the discussion. The seminar atmosphere should allow all students to express their ideas even when there is a difference of opinion. Lively class discussions provide students with the greatest learning opportunity, which requires that you do the readings in advance so that you can use the literature to support your arguments about specific subjects. Through discussion, each class meeting will evaluate the different arguments presented in the material, as well as distinguish among them in order to understand key theories, definitions, and arguments. As you will see in the readings, respected scholars may have different views about the same topic, sometimes supported by the use of different evidence. We should strive to examine these differences in logic and evidence in our discussions.

Course Books:

Eric Schmitt and Thom Shanker, *Counterstrike: The Untold Story of America's Secret Campaign Against al Qaeda* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin), 2012.

Juan Zarate, *Treasury's War* (New York: Public Affairs), 2013.

Requirements:

The graded requirements, worth a total of 1,000 points, are:

1. Written Partial Review (WPR) (10%, 100 points) – 3 Feb

Cadets will be tested via an in-class WPR on the major concepts from Blocks I and II. Questions will be of the short-answer variety.

2. Paper #1 – Evaluating the AUMF (10%, 100 points) - Due NLT 2359 11 Feb

Cadets will critique the original AUMF, make an argument for why it should be updated, and articulate what those changes should be. More information will be handed out prior to the paper, but expect the paper to be 3 pages, double-spaced, Times New Roman, 12-point font, with 1-inch margins. This assignment is designed to sharpen your writing skills, particularly your ability to make a cogent and persuasive argument to a policymaker.

3. Small Group Presentations (15%, 150 points) Due date dependent on lesson

Cadets will be combined into small teams to critically evaluate a particular CT tool in a 20-minute presentation to the class. At a minimum, cadets will briefly describe the tool and its logic, provide a brief literature review of the work done on evaluating its effectiveness, critique our current use of this tool, and provide different ways in which we should employ and evaluate this tool in the future. This assignment is designed to spur your creative thought, sharpen your critical thinking skills, and hone your presentation skills.

4. Paper #2 – Evaluating a CT Tool (20%, 200 points) - Due NLT 2359 8 Apr

Cadets will select one of the counterterrorism tools from Block III, describe the logic of this tool as it pertains to CT, identify the advantages and disadvantages of using it to combat terrorism

using relevant examples, describe how others have evaluated its effectiveness, and if applicable, propose ways in which this evaluation can be improved. More information will be handed out prior to the paper, but expect the paper to be 3-4 pages, double-spaced, Times New Roman, 12-point font, with 1-inch margins.

5. TEE Paper #3 - Evaluating CT Campaign (30%, 300 points) – Due NLT 2359 6 May
Cadets will critically evaluate a prominent CT campaign. This paper will briefly describe the history, nature of the terrorist campaign, and the predominant CT model (and potentially its evolution) the state used to combat it. The paper will also describe the tools used by the state and analyze their effectiveness in combating the terrorism campaign. Finally, the paper will conclude with pertinent lessons that U.S. CT can learn in the contemporary fight against ISIS. The paper to be 5-6 pages, double-spaced, Times New Roman, 12-point font, with 1-inch margins.

Cadets can choose from the following list of prominent CT campaigns:

Israel First Intifada
Israel Second Intifada
British vs. IRA
Sri Lanka vs. LTTE
French vs. FLN
Russia vs. Chechnyan rebels
Spain vs. ETA
Colombia vs. FARC
Peru vs. Sendero Luminoso
British vs. Irgun
Egypt vs. EIJ
Turkey vs. PKK
Germany vs. RAF
Italy vs. Red Brigades
Indonesia vs. JI
Philippines vs. ASG
Algeria vs. GIA
Canada vs. FLQ

Cadets must get instructor approval if they choose to select a campaign not on this list.

6. Participation Points (10%, 100 points total): In a seminar, active cadet engagement is vital to creating the proper learning environment. Cadets will be awarded participation points for actual participation, not just mere attendance. Active participation requires doing the readings before class and thinking critically about them and the topics of discussion. It can take a variety of forms, including speaking in class, asking questions, engaging peers, and emailing questions or thoughts about a topic or class discussion. Active participation can significantly help your grade, while non-participation can significantly lower your grade.

7. Quizzes (5%, 50 points): Quizzes are an excellent tool to ensure that cadets are keeping up with the readings. Because all of my quizzes are open-notes (not open book), they also reinforce

two great habits – good note-taking and identifying the theses/key points of the readings. Quizzes will be unannounced so it is imperative cadets keep up with course readings.

Grading Standards: IAW the Department of Social Sciences and USMA Policy:

Course Grades

	Letter Grade	%	Quality Points	Subjective Interpretation
MASTERY	A+	97-100	4.33	Mastery of concepts. Can apply concepts to new situations.
	A	93-96.9	4.0	
	A-	90-92.9	3.67	
PROFICIENCY	B+	87-89.9	3.33	Solid understanding of concepts. Strong foundation for future work.
	B	83-86.9	3.0	
	B-	80-82.9	2.67	
PASSING	C+	77-79.9	2.33	Acceptable understanding. Questionable foundation for future work.
	C	73-76.9	2.0	
NON-PASSING	C-	70-72.9	1.77	Doubtful understanding. Weak foundation
	D	67-69.9	1.0	
FAILING GRADE	F	0-66.9	0	Definitely failed to demonstrate understanding.

SS466: Combating Terrorism (Quicklook)

Block I: Course Introduction: Definitions, History, Models, and Tradeoffs

Lesson 1: Course Overview and Defining CT (5 Jan)

Lesson 2: Overview of CT Models (7 Jan)

Lesson 3: How Terrorist Groups End (11 Jan)

Block II: Evolution of US CT Strategy and Policy

Lesson 4: Reading Drop - US CT Strategy, Policy, and Operations I – Pre-9/11 (13 Jan)

Lesson 5: 1983 Beirut Bombing Case Study (15 Jan)

Lesson 6: US Post-9/11 CT Options and the 2003 NSCT (20 Jan)

Lesson 7: US CT Policy in the 1980s (22 Jan) (Bruce Hoffman)

Lesson 8: 2006 NSCT and Post-9/11 CT in Iraq, Horn of Africa, and Philippines (26 Jan)

Lesson 9: Chief Joe Pfeifer Guest Lecture – FDNY and 9/11 (28 Jan)

Lesson 10: AUMF and other authorizations (1 Feb) (Jon Molino guest lecture)

Lesson 11: ***WPR testing key concepts (3 Feb)**in FL*

Block III: Evaluating CT – Tools for the Student and Researcher

Lesson 12: Reading Drop: Deciphering Effectiveness, Different Levels of Analysis, Conceptual Models and Research Tools (5 Feb – Reading Drop)

Lesson 13: Leadership Decapitation – how it is done (9 Feb)

Lesson 14: Research Drop *Paper 1: Debating the AUMF – critique the old AUMF and make an argument for why it should be updated and what it should include (11 Feb) **in FL*

Block IV: Counterterrorism Tools and Tactics

Lesson 15: Nicolas Henin guest lecture (16 Feb)

Lesson 16: CT Intel (18 Feb)

Lesson 17: Unconventional Warfare and Foreign Internal Defense (COL(R) Mitchell (22 Feb)

Lesson 18: Drones (24 Feb)

Lesson 19: **Classroom Exercise - Evaluating Drones (29 Feb)**

Lesson 20: Combating Dark Networks (2 Mar)

Lesson 21: Building Partner Capacity & Security Force Assistance (4 Mar)

Lesson 22: Strategic Communications (8 Mar)

Lesson 23: **Classroom Exercise - Evaluating the War of Ideas (10 Mar)**

Lesson 24: Combating Cyber Terrorism (21 Mar) (Aaron Brantly)

Lesson 25: Coercive Diplomacy and Other Diplomatic Measures (23 Mar)

Lesson 26: **Evaluating Terror Designations (25 Mar)**

Lesson 27: Counter Threat Finance (29 Mar)

Lesson 28: CTF II and Evaluating CTF (31 Mar) (Juan Zarate)

Lesson 29: The Law and the War on Terror (4 Apr)

Lesson 30: Student Conference (6 Apr)

Lesson 31: Direct Action Operations (8 Apr)

Lesson 32: Countering Violent Extremism and De-Radicalization (12 Apr)

Lesson 33: Research Drop (14 Apr)

Block IV: Comparative CT Campaigns

Lesson 34: Battle of Algiers (18 Apr)

Lesson 35: Battle of Algiers (20 Apr)

Lesson 36: Battle of Algiers Class Discussion (22 Apr)

Lesson 37: British against the IRA – Operation Banner (26 Apr)

Lesson 38: British against the IRA – Operation Banner (29 Apr)

Lesson 39: Future of US vs. ISIS (3 May)

Lesson 40: Course wrap-up (5 May)***Paper #3 Due NLT 6 May

SS466: Counterterrorism (Expanded)

Block I: Course Introduction: Definitions, History, Models and Tradeoffs

Lesson 1: Course Overview and Defining CT (5 Jan)

Readings:

- JP 3-26 *Counterterrorism*, Executive Summary, pp vii-xi.
- Boaz Ganor, "Dilemmas in Defining Counter-Terrorism," in *The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle*, Chpt 2, pp. 25-27; 29-46.

Suggested Readings:

- Robert Art and Louis Richardson, "Conclusion," in *Democracy and Counterterrorism*, eds Robert J. Art and Louise Richardson, pp. 563-580.
- William Banks, Renee de Nevers, Mitchel Wallerstein, "Law Enforcement and its Methods," *Combating Terrorism: Strategies and Approaches*, pp. 136-151; 162-164.
- Crelinsten and Schmid, "Western Responses to Terrorism: A 25-Year Balance Sheet," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 4:4 (1992), pp. 307-322, 330-337.
- Paul R. Pillar, "Counterterrorist Instruments," in *Terrorism and US Foreign Policy* (Washington: Brookings, 2001), pp. 73-129.
- Paul Pillar, "The Dimensions of Terrorism and Counterterrorism," in *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, eds. Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer, pp. 24-43.
- "Combating Terrorism: How Five Foreign Countries Are Organized to Combat Terrorism," U.S. General Accounting Office, Report to Congressional Requesters, GAO/NSIAD-00-85, April 2000."
- Lindsay Clutterbuck, "Law Enforcement," Chpt 6, in *Attacking Terrorism*, eds. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, pp. 140-158.
- Fred Kaplan, "CT or COIN," *Slate*, March 24, 2009. Found at http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/war_stories/2009/03/ct_or_coin.single.html
- Andrew Exum, "On CT vs. COIN," March 2009, *Small Wars Journal*. Found at <http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/200-exum.pdf?q=mag/docs-temp/200-exum.pdf>

Key Questions:

- What does combating terrorism mean? How is it different from counterterrorism? Antiterrorism?
- What obstacles do democracies face when combating terrorism?
- What does a successful counterterrorism policy look like? What should the US's CT strategic goals look like?

Lesson 2: Overview of CT Models (7 Jan)

Readings:

- Ami Pedahzur and Magnus Ranstorp, "A Tertiary Model for Countering Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Summer 2001), pp. 1-6.
- Paul R. Pillar, "The Instruments of Counterterrorism," pp. 1-4.

Key Questions:

- What are the major models states have used to combat terrorism (war model vs. criminal justice models, attacking terrorist motivation vs. operational capability, etc)? What assumption(s) does each model take?

- What are the primary “carrots and sticks” (soft- vs. hard-line tools) associated with counterterrorism? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each?

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Suggested Readings:

- Jacob Shapiro and David A. Siegel, “Is This Paper Dangerous? Balancing Secrecy and Openness in Counterterrorism,” *Security Studies* 19: 1 (2010): pp. 66-98.

Lesson 3: How Terrorist Groups End (11 Jan)

Readings:

- Cronin, Audrey Kurth. "How al-Qaida ends: The decline and demise of terrorist groups." *International Security* 31.1 (2006): 7-32 at http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/is3101_pp007-048_cronin.pdf
- Jones, Seth G., and Martin C. Libicki. *How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Countering al Qaeda*. Rand Corporation, 2008, pp. 1-4 and Chpt 2, pp. 18-34. Found at http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG741-1.pdf

Key questions:

- What are the most common ways in which terrorist groups/campaigns end?
- What lessons from previous campaigns against international terrorist organizations should we apply against US efforts against al Qaeda today?

Suggested Reading:

- *Counterstrike*, “Epilogue: Tell Me How This Ends,” pp. 272-278.

Block II: Evolution of US CT Strategy and Policy

Lesson 4: Reading Drop - US CT Strategy, Policy, and Operations I – Pre-9/11 (13 Jan)

- 9/11 Commission Report, “Chpt 3: Counterterrorism Evolves,” pp. 71-107
- Timothy Naftali, *Blindspot*, “Chpt 6: False Start,” pp. 116-149.

Key Questions:

- What model(s) did the US primarily use to fight terrorism prior to 9/11? What counterterrorism tools did the US emphasize over others?
- What were the seminal terrorism attacks against US interests prior to 9/11 and how did the US respond to each? How did these responses influence future US CT policy? How did these responses influence US adversaries (including both state and non-state enemies)?

Suggested Readings:

- 9/11 Commission Report, “Chpt 11: Foresight-and Hindsight,” pp. 339-360.
- Martha Crenshaw, “Terrorism, Strategies, and Grand Strategies,” Chpt 3 *Attacking Terrorism*, eds. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, pp. 74-82.
- Foreign Terrorist Organization List, US Department of State, found at: <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>

Lesson 5: 1983 Beirut Bombing Case Study (15 Jan)

- *National Security Strategy for Counterterrorism*, 2003

Lesson 6: US Post-9/11 CT Options (20 Jan)

- Daniel Byman, “US Counter-terrorism Options: A Taxonomy,” *Survival*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Autumn 2007), pp. 121-144.

- Skim, *National Strategy for Counterterrorism*, 2006, pp. 1-23.

Suggested Readings:

- John Brennan, 2012 Speech on 2012 National Counterterrorism Strategy, www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2012/04/30/watch-live-john-brennan-president-s-counterterrorism-strategy (see speech 0:06 to 0:50)
- Martha Crenshaw, "Terrorism, Strategies, and Grand Strategies," Chpt 3 *Attacking Terrorism*, eds. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, pp. 82-90.
- Stephen Biddle, "American Grand Strategy After 9/11: An Assessment," 2005, 1-32.

Key Questions:

- What does victory look like for the US in the war on terror?
- How did US CT policy and strategy (and worldview) change following the attacks of 9/11? What model(s) would you say best guides US CT strategy/policy formulation today?
- Who/what is the primary enemy in the 2003 NSCT?
- What are the major policy challenges facing the US today?

Lesson 7: Bruce Hoffman guest lecture on 1980s US CT Policy/Ops (22 Jan)

- Readings: TBD

Lesson 8: Post-9/11 CT in Iraq, Horn of Africa, and Philippines and 2006 NSCT (26 Jan)

Readings:

- Erich Schmitt and Thom Shanker, *Counterstrike*, "Chpt 7: The New Network Warfare," (New York: Times Publishing, 2011), pp. 180-208.

In Class:

- President Obama, speech at National Defense University, May 23, 2013. Accessed at <http://www.nytimes.com/video/us/politics/10000002242352/president-obama-on-counterterrorism.html>

Key Questions:

- What will future US counterterrorism strategy and policy look like? What should it look like?
- What shifts in US counterterrorism strategy and policy did President Obama articulate in his 2013 speech at the National Defense University?

Lesson 9: Chief Joe Pfeifer Guest Lecture (28 Jan)

Reading:

- *National Strategy for Counterterrorism*, 2011, pp. 1-19.

Suggested Readings:

- JM Berger, "The War on Error," *foreignpolicy.com*, February 5, 2014. Accessed at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/02/04/war_on_error_al_qaeda_terrorism
- Philip H. Gordon, "Can the War on Terror Be Won?" *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2007.

Key Questions:

- What does victory look like for the US in regards to its counterterrorism campaign?
- What should it look like?

Lesson 10: Authorizations and 2011 NSCT (1 Feb)*

Readings:

- Authorized Use of Military Force – found at: <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-107publ140/html/PLAW-107publ140.htm>
- President Dwight Eisenhower’s D-Day order – found at: https://eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/d_day/Order_of_the_Day.pdf
- Presidential Policy Decision 1: Organization of the National Security Council System: <https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/ppd/ppd-1.pdf>

Suggested Readings:

- Secretary John Kerry, “AUMF Against ISIL,” testimony before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, December 9, 2014. Transcript and video can be found at <http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2014/12/234876.htm>
- Jack Goldsmith, “The Obama Administration Wants a Super Broad AUMF for the Islamic State (and Other Reactions to Yesterdays AUMF Hearing,” Lawfare blog, December 10, 2014. Found at <http://www.lawfareblog.com/2014/12/the-obama-administration-wants-a-super-broad-aumf-for-the-islamic-state-and-other-reactions-to-yesterdays-aumf-hearing/>
- Nina Serafino, “Security Assistance Reform: ‘Section 1206’ Background and Issues for Congress,” Congressional Research Service, April 19, 2013, pp. 5-21. Found at: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RS22855.pdf>
- Nina Serafino, “Global Security Contingency Fund: Summary and Issues Overview,” Congressional Research Service, January 22, 2013, pp. 1-13. Found at: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42641.pdf>
- Jennifer Daskal and Stephen I. Vladeck, “After the AUMF,” *Harvard National Security Journal*, 2014.
- (Skim) Nina Serafino, “Department of Defense ‘Section 1207’ Security and Stabilization Assistance: Background and Congressional Concerns FY2006-FY2010,” Congressional Research Service, March 3, 2011, pp. 1-16. Found at: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RS22871.pdf>
- Erich Schmitt and Thom Shanker, *Counterstrike*, “Chpt 9: Is al Qaeda Just Kleenex?” (New York: Times Publishing, 2011), pp. 225-237.

Key questions:

- What are the major authorizations that the US uses to combat terrorism today?
- What are the key components of the Authorization for the Use of Military Force? How has it affected CT policy and execution?

Lesson 11: WPR (in class) (3 Feb)

- Review course readings and notes

Block III: Evaluating CT – Tools for the Student and Researcher

Lesson 12: Reading Drop: Deciphering Effectiveness, Different Levels of Analysis, Conceptual Models and Research Tools (5 Feb)

- Raphael Perl, *Combating Terrorism: The Challenge of Measuring Effectiveness*, CRS Report, March 12, 2007, pp. CRS-1 to CRS-12. Found at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL33160.pdf>

Lesson 13: Leadership Decapitation – an example of evaluating a CT tool’s effectiveness (9 Feb)

Readings:

- Bryan Price, “Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism,” *International Security*, Spring 2012, Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 9-46. Found at: <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Price.pdf>

Suggested Readings:

- Stephanie Carvin, "The Trouble with Targeted Killing," *Security Studies* 21:3 (2012): 529-555. Found at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09636412.2012.706513>
- Patrick Johnston, “Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns,” *International Security*, Spring 2012, Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 47-79.
- Jenna Jordan, “When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation,” *Security Studies* Vol. 18 (2009): 719-755.

Lesson 14: Research Drop for Paper #1 Debating the AUMF (11 Feb)

Block IV: Counterterrorism Tools and Tactics

Lesson 15: Nicolas Henin guest lecture (16 Feb)

- Readings TBD

Lesson 16: CT Intel (18 Feb)

Readings:

- Paul R. Pillar, “Intelligence,” Chpt 5, in *Attacking Terrorism*, eds. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, pp. 115-138.
- Amy Zegart, *Spying Blind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), Chpt 1, pp. 1-11.

Suggested Readings:

- Paul Maddrell. 2009. “Failing Intelligence: U.S. Intelligence in the Age of Transnational Threats,” *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 22:2, pp. 195-199, and 203-215.
- Ruth Beitler, “The Attack on the USS Cole,” Chpt 9, in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century: Volume 3*, ed. James Forrest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), pp. 145-158.
- Marc Bowden, “The Ploy,” *The Atlantic*, 2007, found at: www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2007/05/the-ploy/305773 (14 pages)
- National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004. **Read** Chapter 11: “Foresight—And Hindsight,” 339-360 (22), **Skim** Chapter 13: “How to Do It? A Different Way of Doing Business,” 399-428 (30)
- John Hollister Hedley. 2005. “Learning from Intelligence Failures,” *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, 18:3, pp. 435-450.
- Malvesti, Michele L. 2012. “Policy Considerations in Combating Terrorism: Decision-Making Under Conditions of Risk and Uncertainty,” Combating Terrorism Center Occasional Paper Series, West Point, New York. http://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/CTC_CTRisk_MM_040112.pdf. Accessed January 6, 2013.
- Richard Betts, “Fixing Intelligence,” 2002.

Lesson 17: Unconventional Warfare and Foreign Internal Defense (22 Feb) – (COL(R) Mitchell)

- William B. Ostlund, “Irregular Warfare: Counterterrorism Forces in Support of Counterinsurgency Operations,” Institute of Land Warfare Paper 92 (September 2012): pp. 1-21.
- Clint Watts, “How About Some Unconventional Warfare Against ISIS,” *warontherocks*, October 20, 2014. Accessed at <http://warontherocks.com/2014/10/how-about-some-unconventional-warfare-thoughts-on-counterterrorism-isis/>

Suggested Readings

- MSG Michael O’Brien, “Foreign Internal Defense in Iraq,” *Special Warfare* (January-March 2012). Article accessed at <http://www.soc.mil/swcs/SWmag/archive/SW2501/SW2501ARSOFCoreTasksEnableIraqiCombatingTerrorismCapability.html>
- CPT Stephen C. Flanagan, “Effective Use of FID Expands SF Influence,” in *Irregular Warfare: A SOF Perspective* (June 2011), pp. 71-75. Accessed at <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/call/docs/11-34/11-34.pdf>
- David L. Grange, S. Swanson, and Patrick Christian, “Winning Damaged Hearts and Minds,” in *Irregular Warfare: A SOF Perspective* (June 2011), pp. 29-33. Accessed at <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/call/docs/11-34/11-34.pdf>

Lesson 18: Drones (24 Feb)

- Kelley Saylor, “A World of Proliferated Drones,” Center for New American Security, June 2015, found at: http://www.cnas.org/world-of-proliferated-drones-technology-primer#.VnhYO7_0klg
- “Adversaries Exploiting Unmanned Aircraft Systems to Advance Operations,” Intelligence Assessment, Department of Homeland Security, 31 July 2015 (instructor to provide)

Lesson 19: Classroom Exercise - Evaluating Drones (29 Feb)

- Dan Byman, “Why Drones Work,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2013.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, “Why Drones Fail,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2013.

Lesson 20: Combating Dark Networks (2 Mar)

- H. Brinton Milward, et al. “A Preliminary Theory of Dark Network Reliance,” *Journal of Policy Management and Analysis*, Vol 31, No. 1 (2012): pp. 33-62.
- Stanley McChrystal, “It Takes a Network,” *Foreign Policy*, March/April 2011. Found at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/02/22/it_takes_a_network

Suggested Reading:

- Michael Kinney, “Competitive Adaptation Counterterrorist Style,” Chpt 6 in *From Pablo to Osama*, (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2007), pp. 167-202.

Lesson 21: Building Partner Capacity & Security Force Assistance (4 Mar)

“Arguably the most important military component in the War on Terror is not the fighting we do ourselves, but how well we enable and empower our partners to defend and govern their own countries.”—Robert Gates, Secretary of Defense, 2008

“As I look forward and think about the need to rebalance the use of military power, I think we will need less direct action because it is the most costly, disruptive and controversial use of American power. By contrast, we need to do more in terms of building partners. I’m a huge advocate of doubling or even tripling our effort to build credible partners around the globe.” - General Martin Dempsey, 2014

Readings:

- Peter Juul, “Building Foreign Security Forces as a Counterterrorism Strategy Is Not a One-Size-Fits-All Approach,” Center for American Progress, June 24, 2014.

<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/news/2014/06/24/92555/building-foreign-security-forces-as-a-counterterrorism-strategy-is-not-a-one-size-fits-all-approach/>

Suggested Readings:

- “Security Force Assistance: Are We Ready?” National Strategy Information Center, July, 2014. <http://www.strategycenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Security-Force-Assistance-Are-We-Ready-July-2011.pdf>
- “The Afghan National Security Forces Beyond 2014: Will They Be Ready?” Center for Security Governance, February 2014. <http://www.ssrresourcecentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/eSeminar-Primer-No.-2.pdf>
- Thomas K. Livingston, “Building the Partner Capacity of Partner States Through Security Force Assistance,” Congressional Research Service, May 5, 2011, pp. 1-30.
- Patrick M. Cronin, “Foreign Aid,” Chpt 10, in *Attacking Terrorism*, eds. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004): 238-260.

Lesson 22: Strategic Communications (8 Mar)

- Erich Schmitt and Thom Shanker, “Countering al Qaeda’s Message,” Chpt 6, in *Counterstrike* (New York: Times Publishing, 2011), pp. 152-179.
- Erich Schmitt, “US Intensifies Effort to Blunt ISIS Message,” *New York Times*, February 17, 2015 at <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/17/world/middleeast/us-intensifies-effort-to-blunt-isis-message.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=first-column-region®ion=top-news&WT.nav=top-news&r=0>
- The “Experts Weigh In Series: Can the United States Counter ISIS Propaganda,” Brookings Institute, found at: <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/series/experts-weigh-in>

Suggested Reading/Media:

- Philip Seib, “Counterterrorism Messaging Needs to Move From State to CIA,” *DefenseOne*, 27 October 2014. Accessed at <http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2014/10/counterterrorism-messaging-needs-move-state-cia/97550/>
- Daniel Byman and Christine Fair, “The Case for Calling Them Nitwits,” *Atlantic*, July/August 2010 at <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2010/07/the-case-for-calling-them-nitwits/308130/>
- Brian Jones, “4 Quotes That Show The Marine Behind The Taliban Urination Scandal Isn't Sorry,” October 29, 2013, at <http://www.businessinsider.com/quotes-from-the-taliban-urination-marine-2013-10#ixzz2jCuohNs> (watch interview in class)

Lesson 23: Classroom Exercise - Evaluating the War of Ideas (10 Mar)

- Pete Favat and Bryan Price, “The Truth Campaign and the War of Ideas,” *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 8, Issue 7 (July 2015), pp. 9-12.
- Alberto Fernandez, “Here to Stay and Growing: Combating ISIS Propaganda Networks,” The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, October 2015, pp. 1-25.

Lesson 24: Combating Cyber Terrorism (21 Mar) (Aaron Brantly)

- TBD

Lesson 25: Coercive Diplomacy and Other Diplomatic Measures (23 Mar)

- Martha Crenshaw, “Coercive Diplomacy and the Response to Terrorism,” in Robert J. Art and Patrick Cronin, eds., *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy*, (US Institute of Peace: Washington, DC).

Suggested Reading:

- Michael Sheehan, “Diplomacy,” Chpt 4, in *Attacking Terrorism*, eds. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, 97-113.

Lesson 26: Evaluating Terror Designations (25 Mar)

- Bryan Price, “Designated Haters: Evaluating US Terror Designation Lists,” Paper presented at ISA Annual Conference, March 2014, pp. 1-27.

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Lesson 27: Counter Threat Finance (29 Mar) (Juan Zarate or LTC Price)

- Juan Zarate, *Treasury’s War*, “Chpt 1: A New Kind of War,” pp. 15-44.
- Juan Zarate, *Treasury’s War*, “Chpt 3: Nose Under the Tent,” pp. 67-91.

Suggested Readings

- David J. Rothkopf, “Business Versus Terror,” Chpt 10 in *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, eds. Russel D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer, pp. 495-501.
- Paul J. Smith, “Terrorism Finance: Global Responses to the Terrorism Money Trail,” Chpt 9, in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 2^{1st} Century*, ed. James Forrest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), pp. 142-158.

Lesson 28: CTF II and Evaluating CTF (31 Mar) (Juan Zarate or LTC Price)

- Juan Zarate, *Treasury’s War*, “Chpt 15: Learning Curve,” (New York: Public Affairs, 2013), pp. 357-382.
- Julie Hirschfeld Lewis, “Enforcer at Treasury is First Line of Defense Against ISIS,” *New York Times*, October 21, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/22/business/international/enforcer-at-treasury-is-first-line-of-attack-against-isis.html?_r=0

Lesson 29: The Law and the War on Terror (4 Apr) (Guest Lecture TBD)

- Adam Roberts, “The Laws of War,” Chpt 8, in *Attacking Terrorism*, eds. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, pp. 186-214.
- Phillip Carter and Deborah Pearlstein, “The Appeal of the Courts,” *Foreign Policy*, March 25, 2013, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/03/25/the_appeal_of_the_courts?page=full
- Peter Finn, “Somali’s Case a Template for US as It Seeks to Prosecute Terrorism Suspects in Federal Court,” *Washington Post*, March 30, 2013. Found at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/somalis-case-a-template-for-us-as-it-seeks-to-prosecute-terrorism-suspects-in-federal-court/2013/03/30/53b38fd0-988a-11e2-814b-063623d80a60_story.html

Suggested Readings:

- Robert Chesney, “Postwar,” forthcoming in *Harvard National Security Journal*, pg. 3-27.
- Karen DeYoung, Greg Miller, and Greg Jaffe, “US Indicts Somali on Terrorism Charges,” *Washington Post*, July 5, 2011, at http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2011-07-05/national/35268006_1_warsame-aqap-terrorism-charges
- Robert Chesney, Jack Goldsmith, Matthew C. Waxman, and Benjamin Wittes, “A Statutory Framework for Next Generation Terrorist Threats.” Jean Perkins Task Force on National Security and Law. www.hoover.org/taskforces/national-security

Lesson 30: Student Conference (6 Apr)

- Catch up on reading/research

Lesson 31: Direct Action Operations (8 Apr)

- Dana Priest, "Top Secret America: A Look at the Military's JSOC," *Washington Post*.
- Michael Kenney, "US Special Ops Have Become Much, Much Scarier Since 9/11," Found at: <http://www.businessinsider.com/the-rise-of-jsoc-in-dirty-wars-2013-4#ixzz2jAzV4BZO>

Suggested Readings:

- Marc Bowden, "Jihadists in Paradise," *The Atlantic*, March 2007, found at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2007/03/jihadists-in-paradise/305613/>
- Thomas A. Marks, "State Response to Terrorism in Sri Lanka," Chpt 15, in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century: Volume 3*, ed. James Forrest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), pp. 261-271.
- National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004. **Read** Chapter 11: "Foresight—And Hindsight," 339-360 (22), **Skim** Chapter 13: "How to Do It? A Different Way of Doing Business," 399-428 (30)

Lesson 32: Countering Violent Extremism and De-Radicalization (12 Apr)

- DHS, "Countering Violent Extremism: A Guide for Practitioners and Analysts" (see instructor)

Suggested Readings

- Jessica Stern, "Mind Over Martyr: How to Deradicalize Islamist Extremists," *Foreign Affairs* 89 (2010), pp. 95-108.
- John Horgan and Braddock, "Rehabilitating the Terrorists?: Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of De-Radicalization Programs," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22 (2010): pp 267-286.
- John Horgan and Mary Beth Altier, "The Future of Terrorist De-Radicalization Programs," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Summer/Fall 2012, pp. 83-89.
- Italy and the Red Brigades: The Success of Repentance Policy in Counterterrorism," Chpt 20, in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century: Volume 3*, ed. James Forrest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), pp. 352-363.
- Adam Dolnik, "The Siege of Beslan's School No. 1," Chpt 11, in *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century: Volume 3*, ed. James Forrest (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), pp. 176-196.

Lesson 33: Research Drop (14 Apr)

Block V: Comparative CT – Evaluating the CT Campaigns of Other Nations

Lesson 34: Battle of Algiers – Part I (18 Apr)

- Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace*, pp. 183-207.

Lesson 35: Battle of Algiers – Part II (20 Apr)

- Bruce Hoffman, "A Nasty Business," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 2002, found at <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2002/01/a-nasty-business/302379/>

Lesson 36: Battle of Algiers – Class Discussion (22 Apr)

- Liebelt, Brian (2007) "French-Algerian Insurgency Lessons and Iraq's Insurgency," *Social Sciences Journal*: Vol. 7: Iss. 1, Article 15. Available at: <http://repository.wcsu.edu/ssj/vol7/iss1/15>

Lesson 37: British CT against the IRA: Operation Banner (26 Apr)

- British army, *Operation Banner: An Analysis of Military Operations in Northern Ireland*, Chief of the General Staff, at 26 (2006), pp. 1-1 – 4-13.

Lesson 38: British CT against the IRA: Operation Banner (29 Apr)

- British army, *Operation Banner: An Analysis of Military Operations in Northern Ireland*, Chief of the General Staff, at 26 (2006), pp. 5-1 – 8-16.

Lesson 39: Future of US vs. ISIS (3 May)

- Audrey Kurth Cronin, “The ‘War on Terrorism’: What Does It Mean to Win?” *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 37, No. 2 (2013): 174-197.

Lesson 40: Course Wrap-up (5 May) **Paper #3 due NLT 2359 6 May