POLSC 283 Politics of Terrorism

Zachary Shirkey Class Room: 1729 HW

1724A HW Class Time: M/Th 9:45am–11:00am

zshirkey@hunter.cuny.edu Office Hours: M/Th 11:00am–12:10pm

212-772-55XX

Course Description

The aim of this course is to give students a better understanding of terrorism. The course will explore what terrorism is and how it is different from other uses of non-state force such as rebellions and guerilla warfare, the root causes of terrorism, different types of terrorism including ideological, ethnic, religious, and financial terrorism, and finally how best to conduct counterterrorism and the tensions counterterrorism inherently raises in an open society. Though the course will in large part be lecture based, many sessions will devote substantial time to discussions.

Learning Outcomes

Students are expected to do about 100 pages of reading a week. Some weeks will have more, some less. Through this reading and in written papers and exams students should learn the major causes and tactics or terrorism, strategies of counterterrorism, and engage on questions of morality concerning both terrorist and counterterrorist actions.

Course Requirements

Students enrolled in the course will be expected to complete all the readings and attend class (either online or in-person depending on the status of classes in regards to the coronavirus). Students are also encouraged to ask questions during lectures and engage in class discussions. Students should complete the readings for each class before that class. Graded assignments will include two five-page papers, a take-home midterm, and a final (take-home or in-class depending on status of classes in regards to the coronavirus). **Late assignments will be docked at least a full letter grade (e.g., from a B to a C) and assignments that are extremely late may be subject to additional penalties. No late assignments will be accepted after the final. No extra credit will be given.** The overall grade will be broken down as follows:

Papers: 22.5% each (45% total)

Midterm: 25%

Final: 30%

Incompletes and Credit/No Credit

To be eligible for a grade of incomplete, students must have reached an agreement to that effect with the professor prior to the final exam. No grade of incomplete will be awarded without **documentation** of a health issue, mental health issue, or some other **legitimate obstacle** to completing the course in a timely manner. Said health issues can affect either the student or a family member under the student’s care. All work must be completed within a year.

In accordance with Hunter College policy, to be eligible for Credit/No Credit students must have completed all assignments and must take the final exam. The Credit/No Credit form must be completed and signed prior to the start of the final exam (unless this policy is modified by the college due to the coronavirus).

Course Materials:

There are 3 required books, plus articles on Blackboard. They are as follows:

Stuart Gottlieb, *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism* **2nd ed**. (CQ Press, 2014)

Brigitte L. Nacos. *Terrorism and Counterterrorism* **5th ed.** (Routledge, 2016)

Walter Reich, *Origins of Terrorism* (Woodrow Wilson Press, 1998)

They are referred to below as **G,** **N**, and **R** and respectively. Readings on Blackboard are indicated by a **B**. The books are available for purchase at Shakespeare, on Akademos, and on Amazon. **Physical copies of all three are on reserve at the Hunter College Library. The library does not have e-book copies unfortunately. Given the possibility of a shift to online learning for at least part of the fall semester due to the coronavirus, I strongly recommend purchasing the books.**

Hunter College Policy on Academic Integrity

Hunter College regards acts of academic dishonesty (e.g., plagiarism, cheating on examinations, obtaining unfair advantage, and falsification of records and official documents) as serious offenses against the values of intellectual honesty. The College is committed to enforcing the CUNY Policy on Academic Integrity and will pursue cases of academic dishonesty according to the Hunter College Academic Integrity Procedures.

ADA Policy

In compliance with the American Disability Act of 1990 (ADA) and with Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Hunter College is committed to ensuring educational parity and accommodations for all students with documented disabilities and/or medical conditions. It is recommended that all students with documented disabilities (Emotional, Medical, Physical, and/or Learning) consult the Office of AccessABILITY, located in Room E1214B, to secure necessary academic accommodations. For further information and assistance, please call: (212) 772- 4857 or (212) 650-3230.

Hunter College Policy on Sexual Misconduct

“In compliance with the CUNY Policy on Sexual Misconduct, Hunter College reaffirms the prohibition of any sexual misconduct, which includes sexual violence, sexual harassment, and gender-based harassment retaliation against students, employees, or visitors, as well as certain intimate relationships. Students who have experienced any form of sexual violence on or off campus (including CUNY-sponsored trips and events) are entitled to the rights outlined in the Bill of Rights for Hunter College.

* 1. Sexual Violence: Students are strongly encouraged to immediately report the incident by calling 911, contacting NYPD Special Victims Division Hotline (646-610-7272) or their local police precinct, or contacting the College's Public Safety Office (212-772-4444).
  2. All Other Forms of Sexual Misconduct: Students are also encouraged to contact the College's Title IX Campus Coordinator, Dean John Rose (jtrose@hunter.cuny.edu or 212-650-3262) or Colleen Barry (colleen.barry@hunter.cuny.edu or 212-772-4534) and seek complimentary services through the Counseling and Wellness Services Office, Hunter East 1123.

CUNY Policy on Sexual Misconduct Link: <http://www.cuny.edu/about/administration/offices/la/Policy-on-Sexual-Misconduct-12-1-14-with-links.pdf>”

**Course Schedule:**

**I. Definitions, Goals, and Causes**

Th Aug 27:

*Introduction*

* **G**: Ch. 3: “Can Terrorism Ever Be Justified?,” 69–100.

M Aug 31:

*Defining Terrorism*

**- N**: Ch. 2: “The Perennial Debate: What is Terrorism,” 19–44.

- **B**: Robert Keeley. 2002. “Trying to Define Terrorism,” *Middle East Policy* 9(1): 33–39.

Th Sep 3:

*The Strategy of Terrorism*

- **B**: David Fromkim. 1975. “The Strategy of Terrorism,” *Foreign Affairs* 53(4): 683–98.

* **B**: Max Abrams. 2013. “The Credibility Paradox: Violence as a Double-Edged Sword in International Politics,” *International Studies Quarterly* 57(4): 660–71.

Th Sep 10:

*Why Do Individuals Turn to Terrorism?*

* **R**: Martha Crenshaw. “The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice,” 7–24.
* **R**: Jerrold Post. “Terrorist psycho-logic: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Psychological Forces,” 25–40.
* **B**: Marc Sageman. 2017. *Turning to Political Violence*, Ch. 1., 1–48.

**II. Evolution and Types of Terrorism**

M Sep 14: **Paper 1 Handed Out**

*Early Terrorism and Types of Terrorism: Ethnic Terrorism*

* **N**: Ch. 6: “The Making of Terrorists: Causes, Conditions, and Influences,” 135–54.
* **B**: Mary Barton. 2015. “The Global War on Anarchism: The United States and International Anarchist Terrorism, 1898–1904,” *Diplomatic History* 39(2): 303–30.

Th Sep 17:

*Terrorism Goes Global and Organizing Terrorism*

* **N**: Ch. 3: “Terrorism in the Global Context,” 45–71.
* **B**: Audrey Kurth Cronin. 2002. “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism,” *International Security* 27(3): 30–58.

M Sep 21: **Paper 1 Due**

*Types of Terrorism: Ideological and Financial Terrorism*

* **R**: Konrad Kellen. “Ideology and Rebellion: Terrorism in West Germany,” 43–58.
* **R**: Ehud Sprinzak. “The Psychological Formation of Extreme Left Terrorism in a Democracy: The Case of the Weathermen,” 65–85.
* **B**: Thomas M. Sanderson. 2004. “Transnational Terror and Organized Crime: Blurring the Lines,” *SAIS Review* 24(1): 49–61.
* **B**: Niki Kitsantonis. 2019. “Greek Militants Say They Bombed Media Offices to Protest ‘Capitalist’ Agenda,” *New York Times*, January 9.

Th Sep 24:

*Case Studies of Ethnic and Ideological Terrorism*

* **B**: Martha Crenshaw. 1972. “The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 16(3): 383–96.
* **B**: Victor Asal, Brian Nussbaum, and D. William Harrington. 2007. “Terrorism as Transnational Advocacy: An Organizational and Tactical Examination,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 30: 15–39.

Tu Sep 29:

*Types of Terrorism: Religious Terrorism*

- **N**: Ch. 5: “Religious Terrorism: Political Violence in the Name of God,” 105–34.

- **G**: Ch. 4: “Does Islam Play a Unique Role in Modern Religious Terrorism?,” 101–35.

- **B**: “Breivik manifesto details chilling attack preparation,” 2011. *BBC News,* July 24.

**III. Al Qaeda**

Th Oct 1:

*Al Qaeda (I)*

- **B**: Rohan Gunaratna and Aviv Oreg. 2010. “Al Qaeda’s Organizational Structure and its Evolution,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 33(12): 1043–78.

M Oct 5:

*Al Qaeda (II)*

- **B**: Daniel Byman. 2014. “Buddies or Burdens? Understanding the Al Qaeda Relationship with Its Affiliate Organizations,” *Security Studies* 23(3): 431–70.

**- G**: Ch. 1: “Is the ‘New Terrorism’ Really New?,” 1–34.

Th Oct 8:

*Al Qaeda and ISIS—Historical Origins of the Ideology (I)*

- **B**: Celine Marie I. Novenario. 2016. “Differentiating Al Qaeda and the Islamic State Through Strategies Publicized in Jihadist Magazines,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 39(11): 953–67.

**- B**: Simon Cottee. 2015. “Why It’s So Hard to Stop ISIS Propaganda,” *The Atlantic*, March 2.

* **B**: Eric Schmitt. 2018. “Two Decades After 9/11 Militants Have Only Multiplied,” *New York Times*, November 26.

W Oct 14: **Take Home Midterm Handed Out**

*Al Qaeda and ISIS—Historical Origins of the Ideology (II)*

* **B**: Malise Ruthven. 2017. “The Caliphate: From Grand to Sordid,” *New York Review of Books*, January 19.
* **B**: Jeffrey Gettleman, Dharisha Bastians, and Hannah Beech. 2019. “‘We Knew What Was Coming’: Sri Lanka Sees ISIS’ Hand in Attacks,” *New York Times*, May 3.
* **B**: Ben Hubbard. 2019 “Leader’s Death Will Damage ISIS, Not Destroy It,” *New York Times*, Oct. 28.

**IV. Modern Terrorism**

Th Oct 15:

*Suicide Terrorism*

- **B**: Michael Horowitz. 2015. “The Rise and Spread of Suicide Bombing,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 69–84.

- **G**: Ch. 5: “Is Suicide Terrorism an Effective Tactic?,” 136–71.

M Oct 19:

*State Sponsors, Weak States, Funding Terrorism, and Non-Violent Activities*

- **N**: Part of Ch. 9: “Terrorist Groups’ Big Helpers: State Sponsors” and following sections, 218–31.

- **B**: James A. Piazza. 2008. “Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?,” *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 469–88.

- **B**: Juan C. Zarate and Thomas M. Sanderson. 2014. “How the Terrorists Got Rich,” *New York Times*, June 28.

Th Oct 22: **Take Home Midterm Due**

*Nuclear, Radiological, and Chemical Terrorism*

- **N**: Part of Ch. 8: “Most Likely CBRN Weapons in the Hands of Terrorists,” 199–205.

- **G**: Ch. 6: “Is Nuclear Terrorism a Real Threat?,” 172–208.

- **B**: David E. Sanger and William J. Broad. 2016. “As Nuclear Security Summit Begins, Materials Remain Vulnerable to Theft,” *New York Times*, March 30.

M Oct 26:

*Biological and Cyber Terrorism*

- **B**: Daniel Koehler and Peter Popella 2018. “Mapping Far-right Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear (CBRN) Terrorism Efforts in the West,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*: 1–25.

**- B**: Natasha Bertrand and Daniel Lippman. 2020. “It is not Science Fiction Anymore: Coronavirus Exposes US Vulnerability to Biowarfare,” *Politico*, March 19.

**- B**: Aaron Brantly. 2017. “Innovation and Adaptation in Jihadist Digital Security,” *Survival* 59(1): 79–102.

- **B**: Daniel Victor. 2019. “In Christchurch, Signs Point to a Gunman Steeped in Internet Trolling,” *New York Times*, March 15.

**V. Counterterrorism**

Th Oct 29: **Presentation Assignment Handed Out**

*The Tools of Counterterrorism & Terrorism as Crime vs. Terrorism as Warfare*

- **B**: Michael C. Desch. 2010. “The More Things Change the More they Stay the Same: The Liberal Tradition and Obama’s Counterterrorism Policy,” *PS* 43(3): 425–29.

- **B**: Cass R. Sunstein. 2016. “Beyond Cheneyism and Snowdenism,” *University of Chicago Law Review* 83: 271–93.

**- B**: Stuart Gottlieb. 2018. “Lawless World of Global Terror Combatants,” *Washington Monthly*, October. 11.

**- B**: Jennifer Calfas. 2017. “Why Preventing Terror Attacks Like Manchester Is So Difficult,” *Time,* May 24.

M Nov 2:

*Intelligence and Counterterrorism*

* **B**: David Lowe. 2016. “Surveillance and International Terrorism Intelligence Exchange,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 28(4): 653–73 (skim).
* **B**: Daniel Byman. 2017. “US Counterterrorism Intelligence Cooperation with the Developing World and Its Limits,” *Intelligence and National Security* 32(2): 145–60.

Th Nov 5:

*FISA and the Patriot Act*

- **G**: Ch. 11: “Counterterrorism and the Constitution: Does Providing Security Require a Trade-Off with Civil Liberties?,” 345–79.

**- B**: Rukmini Callimachi. 2016. “How Do You Stop a Future Terrorist When the Only Evidence Is a Thought?,” *New York Times*, June 21.

- **B**: Charlie Savage and Laura Poitras. 2014. “How a Court Secretly Evolved, Extending US Spies’ Reach,” *New York Times*, March 11.

**- B**: Priyanka Boghani. 2015. “Gag order Gone, Secrets of a National Security Letter are Revealed,” *PBS*, December 2.

**- B**: Buck McKeon and Gene Schaerr. 2019. “The Patriot Act Goes Too Far,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 27.

M Nov 9:

*Rendition, Warrantless Wiretapping, and Congressional Oversight*

* **B**: John Owens. 2009. “Congressional Acquiescence to Presidentialism in the US ‘War on Terror,’” *Journal of Legislative Studies* 15(2/3): 147–90.
* **B**:James Bamford. 2016. “Every Move You Make,” *Foreign Policy* (Sept/Oct): 57-63.
* **B**: Charlie Savage. 2019. “White House Asks to Reauthorize Surveillance of Americans’ Phone Data,” *New York Times*, August 16.

Th Nov 12: **Paper 2 Handed Out**

*Torture*

- **B**: James A. Piazza and James I. Walsh. 2010. “Physical Integrity Rights and Torture,” *PS* 43(3): 411–14.

- **B**: Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2010. “Tortured Relations: Human Rights Abuses and Counterterrorism Cooperation,” *PS* 43(3): 415–19.

- **B**: Will H. Moore. 2010. “Incarceration, Interrogation, and Counterterror,” *PS* 43(3): 421–24.

- **B**: Julian E. Barnes and Scott Shane. 2018. “Cables Detail CIA Waterboarding at Secret Prison Run by Gina Haspel,” *New York Times*, August 10.

- **B**: Benjamin Weiser. 2014. “Some Captured Terrorists Talk Willingly and Proudly, Investigators Say,” *New York Times*, October 13.

- **G**: Ch. 10: “Is an Outright Ban the Best Way to Eliminate or Constrain Torture?,” 312–44.

M Nov 16:

*Counterterrorism Strategies: Possibilities for and Challenges of International Cooperation*

* **G**: Ch. 7: “Counterterrorism Strategies: Do We Need Bombs over Bridges?,” 209–42.
* **G**: Ch. 9: “Can International Organizations Make a Difference in Fighting Terrorism?,” 276–311.

Th Nov 19: **Paper 2 Due**

*Counterterrorism Strategies: US Domestic Initiatives*

* **N**: Ch. 13: “Homeland Security: Prevention and Preparedness,” 322–50.

**B**: Peter Neumann. 2017. “Don’t Follow the Money: The Problem With the War on Terrorist Financing,” *Foreign Affairs* 96(4): 93–102.

M Nov 23:

*Would Democratization Reduce the Incidence of Terrorism?*

* **G**: Ch. 8: “Can Spreading Democracy Help?,” 243–75.

**VI. Current Targets of Terrorism**

M Nov 30:

*Current Threats to Muslim States*

* **B**: Stephen Kinzer. 2017. “Saudi Arabia is destabilizing the world,” *Boston Globe*, June 11.

- **B**: Carlotta Gall. 2016. “Pakistan’s Hand in the Rise of International Jihad,” *New York Times*, February 6.

* **B**: Eric Schmitt. 2019. “Where Terrorism Is Rising in Africa and the US Is Leaving,” *New York Times*, March 1.
* **B**: Eric Schmitt and Charlie Savage. 2019. “Trump Administration Steps Up Air War in Somalia,” *New York Times*, March 10.
* **B**: Lilia Blaise, Eric Schmitt, and Carlotta Gall. 2019. “Why the US and Tunisia Keep Their Cooperation Secret,” *New York Times*, March 3.

- **B**: Hannah Beech and Jason Gutierrez. 2019. “How ISIS is Rising in the Philippines as It Dwindles in the Middle East,” *New York Times*, March 10.

Th Dec 3:

*Current Threats to Western States*

*-* **B**: “Graph of US Terrorist Attacks Since 1970.”

**- B**: Sabrina Tavernise et al. 2019. “Shootings Renew Debate Over How to Combat Domestic Terrorism,” *New York Times*, Aug 5.

**- B**: Ali Watkins. 2019. “With Rise of Far Right Extremists, NYPD Creates Special Unit,” *New York Times*, December 12.

- **B**: Jeremy L. Neufeld. 2017. “Do Muslim Immigrants Assimilate?,” *Niskanen Center*, April 3.

- **B**: Rukmini Callimachi. 2017. “Not ‘Lone Wolves’ After All: How ISIS Guides World’s Terror Plots from Afar,” *New York Times*, February 4.

M Dec 7:

*How Terrorism Ends*

- **B**: Audrey Kurth Cronin. 2006. “How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups,” *International Security* 31(1): 7–48.

- **G**: Ch. 12: “Conclusion: Is the Threat of Terrorism Being Overstated?,” 380–407.

**Final Exam during Exam Week**