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Spring 2019

## DIPL 6520 Politics of Terror in the Middle East

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*Seton Hall University*

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**DIPL 6520: Politics of Terror in the Middle East**  
**School of Diplomacy & International Relations, Seton Hall University**  
**Tuesdays 5:00 – 7:10, Alfieri Hall 122 (ST 122)**

**Professor:** R. Joseph Huddleston  
**Office Hours:** Wed. 1:50 – 4:50p (McQuaid 105)  
**Email:** [huddlero@shu.edu](mailto:huddlero@shu.edu)

This syllabus is current as of January 15, 2019. You will be notified in class and/or by e-mail when the syllabus is updated.

**Required Materials**

Lee Jarvis & Michael Lister (editors). 2015. *Critical Perspectives on Counter-Terrorism*  
 Louise Richardson (editors). 2006. *The Roots of Terrorism*  
 Jessica Stern. 2004. *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill*

You will also be assigned academic readings accessible through Seton Hall’s library.

**Course Description**

This course provides an overview of the study of terrorism, counter-terrorism, and political violence, viewed through the lenses of Middle East domestic and international politics. We will explore the most common causes and contexts of terrorism and attempt to answer questions about why groups use terrorist tactics, why terrorism is a unique kind of political violence, and the effects of international efforts to deal with terrorism on Middle Eastern political systems.

**Grading**

Participation .....	30%
Four position papers, 10% each .....	40%
Final Paper .....	30%

Participation (30%)

Participation goes well beyond attendance. It includes thoughtful engagement with all parts of the class. This course is taught around class discussion, debate, and activities. This means we will all be dependent on each other’s efforts to prepare for and engage in class activities and have a worthwhile learning experience. Each class session’s participation will be graded as following:

- 2 points: Active, thoughtful participation that demonstrates understanding of the assigned material and current events. Full participation in classroom activities and discussion of position papers.
- 1.5 points: Limited participation that demonstrates some understanding of the assigned material and current events. Limited participation in classroom activities and discussion of position papers.
- 1 point: Attendance with little or no participation in class.
- 0 points: Unexcused absence (beyond 1 allowable unexcused absence)

You are expected to **complete all assigned readings before the class** for which they are assigned, and to arrive in class prepared to discuss that material. You may also find it helpful to

prepare notes and talking points before each session, including your thoughts, opinions, analysis, and questions about the week's materials.

### **Position Papers and Final Paper Assignments**

Position Papers: 800-1200 words, excluding references

You will write four (4) position papers throughout the semester, each worth 10% of your grade. The **highlighted topics** are listed in the course schedule below in the week they are due. Position papers should be at least 800 words and at most 1200 words (usually 3-4 pages). They should begin with a short introduction that gives an overview or context for the topic. The paper should then state its primary argument (either for or against the position assigned) and provide supporting arguments and evidence. Alternative arguments should be explored and refuted using evidence. A short conclusion should briefly summarize the student's position on the issue. All students should come prepared to class to actively discuss and debate the position paper topic each week they are due.

Position papers are **due electronically and as hard copy at the beginning of class**. Late assignments are docked 10% for each 24 hours following their respective deadlines. Assignments more than one week late will be given a 0.

Final Paper: 3500-5000 words, excluding references

There are three options for final research projects.

1. Write a conventional research paper exploring a key issue or question related to terrorism or political violence, preferably in the Middle Eastern context. This conventional research paper should be similar to the academic articles we read in class, exploring a key research question, testing a hypothesis or set of hypotheses, and/or applying a theoretical lens to the topic.
2. Do a comprehensive historical paper on a terrorist, rebel, or insurgent organization or set of organizations. In addition to a historical timeline of organizational behavior and government response this project will review the literature on the group and theoretical findings that have been made about this group.
3. Choose and evaluate a current or historical policy (of a state, alliance, or international organization) designed to combat domestic or international terrorism. What are/were the major policy goals? What strategies are/were used to achieve those goals? How is/was success measured and evaluated (if at all)? Was it/has it been a successful policy? Did it/has it had spillover effects or negative externalities?

**The Final Paper is due electronically on Tuesday, Apr. 14 at 11:59pm. Upload PDF to Bb.**

### **Guidelines for Position Papers and Final Paper**

These assignments should be turned 12-pt Times New Roman font, double-spaced, with 1-in margins. Include a word count on the first page. Papers should utilize one of the *Chicago Manual of Style* citation formats: Author-Date or Notes and Bibliography.

Your assignments should be turned in to Blackboard as PDF documents. (If you need help generating a PDF, see [here for Word](#), and [here for Pages](#).) You will turn all assignments in through Blackboard, due electronically at the beginning of class on the listed date.

I will grade your work, give you feedback, and assign your grades digitally. Hard copies are for reference during class.

### **Primary Student Learning Outcomes:**

By the end of the semester, students should have acquired knowledge and understanding of: key concepts, theories, and debates involved in the study of terrorism and political violence in the Middle Eastern context; the complexity involved in defining and studying terrorism and evaluating the effectiveness and political repercussions of international efforts to deal with terrorism; a particular region of the world (the Middle East and North Africa); and prevailing global issues. Students should also have developed the skills to: analyze complex international systems; find and synthesize empirical information; and develop, articulate, and defend policy positions.

### **Additional Notes**

This course is about violence. We will be examining content that is that emotional, controversial, and graphically violent in nature. Still, we will maintain the goal to foster a safe learning environment for everyone here. We are in this course because we want to understand terrorism and the mindset of terrorists themselves, through the lens of the contemporary Middle East. **Note that understanding terrorist actions should not be construed as condoning or legitimizing terrorist actions.** Along these lines, assigned readings and position prompts may not represent the views of the instructor. Instead, they serve as a framework for discussion, different lenses to ensure we understand multiple perspectives.

### **Meetings and Materials**

#### **Week 1 (1/15) Introduction**

#### **Week 2 (1/22) Lenses of Terrorism and Political Violence (108 pages)**

Required Materials:

- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin (2003). "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.
- Robert Pape (2003). "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.
- Abrahms, Max (2008). "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counter Terrorist Strategies." *International Security*, 32(4): 78-105.
- Huntington, Samuel (1993). "The Clash of Civilizations." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 72, No. 3, pp 22-49. (available through SHU library and on Bb)
- Jeffrey Kaplan (2016) "[Waves of Political Terrorism](#)", *Oxford Research Encyclopedia*
- Or Honig and Ido Yahel (2017). "A Fifth Wave of Terrorism? The Emergence of Terrorist Semi-States". *Terrorism and Political Violence*

Recommended:

- David Rapoport (2004). "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism", in *Attacking Terrorism: A Grand Strategy* (available [here](#), and on Bb)
- Roser, Nagdy, and Ritchie, (2018) "[Terrorism](#)", [Our World in Data](#)

- Gurr, Ted Robert. (2011) "[Why Men Rebel Redux: How Valid are its Arguments 40 Years On?](#)" e-International Relations.

\*\*\*\* Add/Drop Deadline \*\*\*\*

**Week 3 (1/29) Defining Terrorism (61 pages)**

Required Materials:

- Louise Richardson, Ch.1 in *The Roots of Terrorism* (16 pages)
- Ganor, Boaz (2002). "Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?" *Police Practice and Research*. Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 287–304.
- Sageman, Marc. "The Stagnation in Terrorism Research." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 565-580.
- McCauley, Clark and Sophia Moskalenko. "Some Things We Think We've Learned Since 9/11:" A Commentary on Marc Sageman's 'The Stagnation in Terrorism Research.'" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 601-606.
- Stern, Jessica. "Response to Marc Sageman's 'The Stagnation in Terrorism Research.'" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 607-613.
- Antonia Ward (2018). "How Do You Define Terrorism?" *National Interest*, [available here](#)

**Week 4 (2/5) Contexts of Terrorism**

Required Materials:

- Piazza, James (2008). "Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?" *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 469-488.
- Martha Crenshaw (1981). "The Causes of Terrorism," *Comparative Politics* 13(4): 379–91.
- Chenoweth, Erica. (2013) "Terrorism and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 355-378.
- Additional Readings TBD

**Week 5 (2/12) The Tactic of Terror**

Position Paper #1: Terrorist tactics used by anticolonial and national liberation movements should be defined, evaluated, and judged differently from terrorism employed by international terrorist organizations.

- Additional Readings TBD

**Week 6 (2/19) The Psychology of Terrorism**

Required Materials:

- Jerrold Post, Ch.2 in *The Roots of Terrorism* (12 pages)
- Nasra Hassan, Ch.3 in *The Roots of Terrorism* (16 pages)

- Arie W. Kruglanski & Shira Fishman (2006) “The Psychology of Terrorism: ‘Syndrome’ Versus ‘Tool’ Perspectives,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 18:2, 193-215
- Fathali Moghaddam (2005) “The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Exploration,” *The American Psychologist* 60(2): 161-169
- Additional Readings TBD

**Week 7 (2/26) Revolution and Decolonization: Middle Eastern Cases**

Required Materials:

- Ignacio Sanchez-Cuenca, Ch.6 in *The Roots of Terrorism* (14 pages)
- Additional Readings TBD

**Week 8 (3/5) Insurgency and Civil War: Middle Eastern Cases**

Position Paper # 2: The United States and European Union are justified in limiting inflow of Syrian and Iraqi refugees due to the risk of terrorism.

- Clint Watts (2013), “Syria: Suffering the Effects of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Foreign Fighter Glut,” Geopoliticus, [available here](#)
- Additional Readings TBD

**(3/12) \*\*\*\*\* Spring Break: No Class \*\*\*\*\***

**Week 9 (3/19) Al-Qaeda and 9/11: Causes and Consequences**

Required Materials:

- Readings TBD

**Week 10 (3/26) The Global War on Terror**

Position Paper #3: Targeted killing of terrorists, most prominently through the use of drone strikes, is an effective and ethical tool in combating terrorism that should continue to be used by the United States, including against American citizens who have joined foreign terrorist organizations overseas.

Required Materials:

- Readings TBD

**Week 11 (4/2) Religion, Fundamentalism, and the Global Reach: The Islamic State**

- John Esposito, Ch.11 in *The Roots of Terrorism* (14 pages)
- Moghadam (2013) “How Al Qaeda Innovates”. *Security Studies* 22(3)
- [Waking Up Podcast #83](#) (starting at 00:47:50)
- Additional Readings TBD

**Week 12 (4/9) The War on Terror Evolving**

Position Paper #4: The withdrawal of American forces from Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan is a net negative for dealing with the threat of international terrorism.

Required Materials:

- Asfandyar Mir (2018). “U.S. troop drawdown in Afghanistan raises big questions,” *The Washington Post*

- Additional Readings TBD

**Week 13 (4/16) State Sponsors of Terror**

Required Materials:

- Daniel Byman, (2008), “The Changing Nature of State Sponsorship of Terrorism,” [Available here](#) and on Bb
- Daniel Byman and Sarah Kreps (2010). “Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State-Sponsored Terrorism,” *International Studies Perspectives* 11(1): 1-18
- Barsamian, David. (2001) “[The U.S. Is Leading a Terrorist State: An interview with Noam Chomsky.](#)” *Monthly Review* 53, no. 6
- Additional Readings TBD

**Week 14 (4/23) Towards a Stable Middle East**

Required Materials:

- Li, Quan. 2005. “Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2): 278-297
- Additional Readings TBD

**Week 15 (4/30) How Terrorism Ends**

Required Materials:

- Neil DeVotta, Ch.11 in *Critical Perspectives*
- Additional Readings TBD

(5/8 – 5/14)

**Finals Week**

**Final Paper due Tuesday, Apr. 14 at 11:59pm**

Upload to Blackboard

**Policies and Resources**

- **Plagiarism, Cheating and Academic Integrity.** Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here:
  - <http://www.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/communitystandards.cfm>
  - <http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.
- **Counseling.** The Office of Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) offers assistance to students in need of support. CAPS is located in Mooney Hall and can be reached at (973)-761-9500.
- **Absences.** Students are expected to attend all class sessions and participate in discussions. If a medical situation or other emergency arises students should inform the professor via email at the earliest possible opportunity as to the reason for their absence. Unexcused absences will bring down your participation grade.
- **Grade Appeals.** Grades in this course are not negotiable. If you think an error has been made, you may contest the grade on an assignment up to one week after it is returned.

Clerical errors and outright mistakes will be corrected; other grading decisions will not be revisited.

- **Late Assignments.** Failure to turn in a paper on its due date will result in a grade penalty. All late papers (anything submitted after the deadline) will be penalized by 10% per 24hrs (i.e., a 100% A paper turned in one day late is an A- at 90%, two days late a B- at 80%, etc.). Assignments more than one week late will be given a 0. There may be exceptions made in cases of medical or family emergency.
- **Technology.** Students will be allowed to use laptop computers during class for the purposes of note taking only. All other activities (email, internet, Facebook, etc.) are prohibited during class. Students who violate this policy will forfeit their laptop privileges.
- **Accommodations.** It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973)-313-6003 or by e-mail at [DSS@shu.edu](mailto:DSS@shu.edu).
- **Policy on Incompletes.** Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor before the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an “FI” (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.
- **Academic Resources.** If you need support during this course, Seton Hall has resources for you. The Academic Resource Center is the general support place for students. The Online Writing Lab provides students with comments on papers via email within 48 hours. The Writing Center and the Math Learning Lab offer appointments for one-to-one tutoring. More information is available here:
  - <http://www.shu.edu/student-services/toolkit.cfm>