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Diplomacy Syllabi

School of Diplomacy and International Relations

Fall 2023

DIPL 6520 Politics of Terror in the Middle East

R. Joseph Huddleston Ph.D.

DIPL 6520: Politics of Terror in the Middle East
School of Diplomacy & International Relations, Seton Hall University
Tuesdays 2:00 – 4:10, SH208

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This syllabus is current as of September 10, 2023. You will be notified in class and/or by e-mail if the syllabus is updated.

Required Materials
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
Regular Participation ……………………………………………………………………… 10%
Debates ……………………………………………………………………… 20%
Two position papers ……………………………………………………………………… 30%
Paper Outline ……………………………………………………………………… 10%
Final Paper ……………………………………………………………………… 30%

Course Grading Scale

Participation (10%)
Participation includes attendance and thoughtful engagement with all parts of the class. This course is taught around class discussion, debate, and activities. We are 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.

Debates (20%)
Debate is both the engine and fuel of knowledge. Each day that a position paper is due, we will run a mini-debate between the "for" and "against" sides of that day's position. If the balance is uneven, I may assign you a position (for both the paper and the debate). Generally, debates run for about 70 minutes, but occasionally, they take up the whole class. During a debate, you should use ideas from the course, articulate how they apply to the topic, carefully listen and respond to the other side's position. I will post a rubric to Canvas.

Position Papers and Final Paper Assignments
Position Papers (30%): 800-1200 words, excluding references
You will write two position papers throughout the semester, together worth 30% of your grade. They 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 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.

Paper Outline:
Provide a somewhat detailed outline of the final paper you plan to write. It should include some summary of your argument, case, or policy, breaking it down into a few key parts, as well as several sources you will use.

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 <u>Tuesday, Dec 19</u> at 11:59pm. Upload <u>.docx</u> to Canvas.

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 <u>be turned in to Canvas as .docx</u> documents. You will turn all assignments in through Canvas, due electronically at the beginning of class on the listed date.

I will grade your work, give you feedback, and assign your grades <u>digitally</u>. 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.

<u>**Policy on Generative AI (e.g. ChatGPT)**</u>
I will allow you to use AI in this class in certain cases. In fact, some expect it. Learning to use AI is an emerging skill, and I will provide instructions on how to use it constructively. Each assignment will have its own rules and recommendations on AI, but I also have a general policy.

There are **three cornerstone rules** for the use of AI in this course:
1. Idea generation only, no writing.
2. Clear labeling always (red letter).
3. Document and chat history required.

1. Idea generation and assistance only
Writing is thinking. To let someone else write in your voice is to give away a little piece of your brilliance. This should be done with extreme caution. This is why the use of AI in this course will be **limited to "supporting" roles**, such as some of the following:
- Generate ideas for a writing topic.
- Recommend sources for you to read.
- Summarize and annotate sources.
- Generate ideas for how to construct an argument or paper.
- Recommend edits to streamline your writing or correct your grammar.

However, there are uses of AI that **will not be allowed** unless otherwise specified, such as:
- Using AI to produce finalized written content (e.g. a paragraph in a paper).
- Running your work through AI to rewrite it to a higher/different standard.
- Having AI write a whole sentence or more, which you then rephrase and present as your own.
- Anything else where you task AI with making an argument that you will present as your own.

2. Clear labelling
It is critical that you always have a record of what parts of your documents come from AI. I may sometimes allow you to insert text generated by AI into an assignment. In all cases of such an insertion, all AI-generated text must be displayed in red letters. This will allow me to easily see the difference as I read your work. I may also ask you to include citations.

3. Document and AI-conversation history
You may be asked to provide a version history of your document and the complete record of your conversation with AI. I will provide you instructions on how to do this.

When you use an AI, **be aware of the limits**, such as the following:
- If you provide minimum-effort prompts, you will get low-quality results. You will need to refine your prompts in order to get good outcomes. This will take work.
- Do not trust anything ChatGPT or another AI says. If it gives you a number or fact, assume it is wrong unless you either know the answer or can check with another source. You will be responsible for any errors or omissions provided by the tool. It works best for topics you understand already.

- AI is a tool, but one that you need to acknowledge using. Include a paragraph at the end of any assignment that uses AI explaining what you used the AI for and what prompts you used to get the results. Failure to do so violates the academic integrity policy.
- Be thoughtful about when this tool is useful. Do not use it if it is not appropriate for the case or circumstance.

Meetings and Materials

Week 1 (8/29)   Introduction
- Louise Richardson, Ch.1 in *The Roots of Terrorism* (16 pages)
- Harmonie Toros, 2008, "'We don't negotiate with Terrorists!'", *Security Dialogue* 39(4)
- Jeffrey Kaplan (2016) "Waves of Political Terrorism", *Oxford Research Encyclopedia*

Week 2 (9/5)   Defining Terrorism
Required:
- Catherine Goodall, 2013, "Defining Terrorism" in *E-IR*
- 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.
- Connor Huff and Joshua Kertzer. 2018. "How the Public Defines Terrorism." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(1)
- Martha Crenshaw (1981). "The Causes of Terrorism," *Comparative Politics* 13(4): 379–391.
- Harmonie Toros, 2016, "Critical theory and terrorism studies" in *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies* (Canvas)
**** Add/Drop Deadline September 5 ****

Week 3 (9/12)   PROFESSOR HUDDLESTON AT CONFERENCE
*No class, but watch three films so that we can talk about them throughout the semester***:**
- ***Battle for Algiers*** **(Kanopy)**
- ***White Right: Meeting the Enemy*** **(Kanopy)**
- ***The ~~Torture~~ Report*** **(SHU Swank, but also on Amazon Prime)**

Week 4 (9/19)   Contexts of Terrorism
Required:
- James Fearon and David Laitin (2003). "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.
- Marie Kaldor. 2013. "In Defense of New Wars", *Stability* 2(1)
- Bridget Coggins. 2015. "Does State Failure Cause Terrorism? An Empirical Analysis (1999–2008)", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(3)
- Chenoweth, Erica. (2013) "Terrorism and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 355-378.

- Tiana Gauddette et al., 2020, "The Role of the Internet in Facilitating Violent Extremism", *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34(7)

Recommended:
- Ted Robert Gurr, Ch. 7 in *Roots* (14 pages)
- Piazza, James (2008). "Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?" *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 469-488.
- Debate on "Stagnation" (Don't worry, they're all short)
    - 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.
- Bart Schuurman (2020) "Research on Terrorism, 2007–2016: A Review of Data, Methods, and Authorship," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32:5
- Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham. 2013. "Actor Fragmentation and Civil War Bargaining: How Internal Divisions Generate Civil Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(3)
- Daron Acemoglu, James Robinson. 2012. "10 Reasons Countries Fall Apart." *Foreign Policy*
- Erica Chenoweth. 2010. "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity," *Journal of Politics* 72(1)
- Atanas Gotchev, Ch. 8 in *Roots*
- Robert Pape (2003). "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Rev*iew 97(3): 343-361.
- Huntington, Samuel (1993). "The Clash of Civilizations." Foreign Affairs, Vol 72, No. 3, pp 22-49. (available through SHU library and on Canvas)
- Or Honig and Ido Yahel (2017). "A Fifth Wave of Terrorism? The Emergence of Terrorist Semi-States". *Terrorism and Political Violence*
- David Rapoport (2004). "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism", in *Attacking Terrorism: A Grand Strategy* (available here, and on Canvas)
- 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.

Week 5 (9/26)   The Tactic of Terror
Required:
- Abrahms, Max (2008). "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counter Terrorist Strategies." *International Security*, 32(4): 78-105.
- Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31(1)
- Polo, Sara and Belen Gonzalez. 2020. "The Power to Resist: Mobilization and the Logic of Terrorist Attacks in Civil War." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(13)
- Gabriel Weimann. 2008. "The Psychology of Mass-Mediated Terrorism," *American Behavioral Scientist* 52(1)
- Rabasa et al. 2006. *Beyond al-Qaeda Part I*, pp. 34-55, (on Canvas)

Recommended:
- Asal, Nussbaum, Harrington. 2007. "Terrorism as Transnational Advocacy." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30

- Gilmour, 2016, "Terrorism and the PLO," in *E-IR*
- Ucko and Marks. May 2018. "Warfare as Violent Politics," in *War on the Rocks* blog
- Rabasa et al. 2006, whole thing (for understanding terrorist strategy)
- Arie Perliger. 2015. "Comparative Framework for Understanding Jewish and Christian Violent Fundamentalism." *Religions* 6(3)
- Stern, Ch. 7 in *Terror in the Name of God*
- Paul Gill et al. 2014. "Bombing Alone. Tracing the Motivations of Antecedent Behaviors of Lone-Actor Terrorists." *Psychiatry & Behavioral Sciences* 59(2)
  - Examples:
    - Vox: "Trump's 2nd Amendment wasn't a joke." 2016
    - CNN: "ISIS has mastered the art of creating lone wolves." 2017

Week 6 (10/3) **Revolution and Decolonization: Middle Eastern Cases**

<mark>Position Paper #1: The USA should recognize the Taliban-led government of Afghanistan and pursue a regional counterterrorism strategy that includes its cooperation.</mark>

Required:

- Martha Crenshaw Hutchinson. 1972. "The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 16(3)
- Ignacio Sanchez-Cuenca, Ch.6 in *Roots* (14 pages)
- Shlomo Shpiro (2013) "The Intellectual Foundations of Jewish National Terrorism: Avraham Stern and the Lehi", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 25:4
- Clauset, A., Heger, L., Young, M., & Gleditsch, K. S. 2010. "The strategic calculus of terrorism: Substitution and competition in the Israel—Palestine conflict." *Cooperation and Conflict*, 45(1)
  - **Also**: Robert Tignor. 2002. "Palestine and Israel: A Case of Incomplete Decolonization," *Origins*, here: http://origins.osu.edu/history-news/palestine-and-israel-case-incomplete-decolonization

Recommended:

- Hannah Arendt, 1970, "On Violence" selection (on Canvas)
- Anderson. 2011. "Demystifying the Arab Spring," *Foreign Affairs*
- Lars-Erik Cederman. 2019. "The Fatal Temptations of Ethnic Politics" *Foreign Affairs*
- Efraim Karsh and Inari Karsh. 1996. "Reflections on Arab Nationalism," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(4), **read pp. 382- 388**
- Hubbell, Amy L. (2018) "Scandalous memory: terrorism testimonial from the Algerian war." *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 22(1): 49-57

Week 7 (10/10) **NO CLASS – FALL BREAK**

Week 8 (10/17) **Insurgency and Civil War: Middle Eastern Cases**

- Benedict Anderson, 1992 "New World Disorder," *New Left Review* 193
  - **Also, pp.1-3** in Benedict Anderson. 1999. "Indonesian Nationalism Today and in the Future," *Indonesia* 67

- Katerina Dalacoura. 2006. "Islamist terrorism and the Middle East democratic deficit: Political exclusion, repression and the causes of extremism." *Democratization* 13(3)
- Mohammed Hafez, 2004, "From Marginalization to Massacres" in *Islamic Activism* (Canvas)
- Benedetta Berti and Jonathan Paris. 2014. "Beyond Sectarianism: Geopolitics, Fragmentation, and the Syrian Civil War," *Strategic Assessment* 16(4)
- Evan Ritli. 2011. "Colonialism, Lebanon and the Middle East," *E-IR* https://www.e-ir.info/2011/07/05/colonialism-lebanon-and-the-middle-east/
- Bogumila Hall. 2018. "Yemen's Failed Transition," Ch.5 in *Social Movements and Civil War* (Canvas)
  - Also helpful: McFarland 2018, "Yemen: Understanding the conflict" in *The Conversation*

Recommended:
  - Fred Lawson. 2014. "Syria's mutating civil war and its impact on Turkey, Iraq, and Iran," *International Affairs* 90(6)
    - Also: Clint Watts (2013), "Syria: Suffering the Effects of the 2nd Foreign Fighter Glut," Geopoliticus, available here
  - Huddleston, R Joseph and David Wood. 2020. "Functional Markets in Yemen's War Economy." *Journal of Illicit Economies and Development* working paper
  - Anneli Botha, 2006, "Politics and Terrorism: An assessment of the origin and threat of terrorism in Egypt," ISS Paper 131, *Institute for Security Studies*
  - Rinehart, Christine Sixta. 2009. "Volatile Breeding Grounds: The Radicalization of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32 (11)
  - Malesevic, Sinisa (2008). "The Sociology of New Wars? Assessing the Causes and Objectives of Contemporary Violent Conflicts." *International Political Sociology* 2:97-112.

Week 9 (10/24)   The Psychology of Terrorism
Required:
- Jerrold Post, Ch.2 in *Roots* (12 pages)
- Stern, Ch.2 in *Terror in the Name of God* (29 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
- Sophia Moskalenko and Clark McCauley. 2011. "The psychology of lone-wolf terrorism." *Counselling Psychology Quarterly* 24(2)

Recommended:
  - Nasra Hassan, Ch.3 in *Roots* (16 pages)
  - Ch.1-5 in *Terror in the Name of God*
  - Robert Sapolisky. 2019. "This Is Your Brain on Nationalism." *Foreign Affairs*
  - Jerrold Post. 2010. "Bio-Psychosocial Foundations of Contemporary Terrorism," *Psychiatry* 73(3)
  - Koehler, Daniel. 2020. "Switching Sides: Exploring Violent Extremist Intergroup Migration Across Hostile Ideologies." *Political Psychology 41(3)*

Week 10 (10/31)   Transnational Terrorism: Al-Qaeda and its ilk
<mark>*** Paper outline due ***</mark>
Required:
- Stern, Ch.9 in *Terror in the Name of God* (44 pages)
- Moghadam (2013) "How Al Qaeda Innovates". *Security Studies* 22(3)
- Mendelsohn, Barak. 2011. "Al-Qaeda's Franchising Strategy", *Survival* 53(3)
- Tricia Bacon. 2017. "Hurdles to International Terrorist Alliances: Lessons From al Qaeda's Experience," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 29(1)
- Mia Bloom and Ayse Lokmanoglu. 2023. "From Pawn to Knights", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 46(4)

Recommended:
- Tricia Bacon. 2014. "Alliance Hubs: Focal Points in the International Terrorist Landscape," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8(4)
- Ch. 8 in *Terror in the Name of God*
- Stern. 2003. "How America Created a Terrorism Haven," *New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/20/opinion/how-america-created-a-terrorist-haven.html
- Zack Beauchamp, 2017, "16 years after 9/11, al-Qaeda is back", *Vox* https://www.vox.com/world/2017/9/11/16288824/al-qaeda-isis-911
- Peter Bergen et al. 2011. "Assessing the Jihadist Threat to America and American Interests." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 34(2)

Week 11 (11/7)   Religion, Fundamentalism, and the Global Reach: The Islamic State
- Tabaar et al. 2023. "How Religious are 'Religious' Conflicts?". *International Studies Review* 25(3)
- Byman, Daniel. 2016. "Understanding the Islamic State—A Review Essay." *International Security* 40(4)
- Walter, Barbara 2017. "The Extremist's Advantage in Civil Wars." *International Security* 42(2)
- John Esposito, Ch.11 in *Roots* (14 pages)
- Karl Kaltenthaler, Daniel Silverman & Munqith Dagher (2018) "Identity, Ideology, and Information: The Sources of Iraqi Public Support for the Islamic State", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 41:10

Recommended:
- Davis, Lynn E., Jeffrey Martini, Kim Cragin (2017). "A Strategy to Counter ISIL as a Transregional Threat." RAND Corporation. pp 1-24.
- *NBC News,* "What Should the West do with Fighters Returning from Syria and Iraq?" link
- Hegghammer, T. 2013. "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting." *American Political Science Review* 107(1)
- Lorne Dawson. 2018. "Challenging the Curious Erasure of Religion from the Study of Religious Terrorism." *Numen* 65
- Ron Hassner and Michael Horowitz. 2010. "Debating the Role of Religion in War." *International Security* 35(1)
- Ron Hassner. 2011. "Blasphemy and Violence." *International Studies Quarterly* 55(1)
- Making Sense #144, Whole Podcast, (esp. starting at 00:34:30)

- Riada Asimovic Akyol, 2019, "Want to Cultivate a Liberal European Islam? Look to Bosnia", *The Atlantic*
- Karina Piser, 2018, "A New Plan to Create an 'Islam of France'", *The Atlantic*
- Aaron Zelin, 2014, "The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria Has a Consumer Protection Office," *The Atlantic*
- Tamar Mitts. 2019. "From Isolation to Radicalization: Anti-Muslim Hostility and Support for ISIS in the West." *American Political Science Review* 133(1)

Week 12 (11/14)   Fundamentalism, the Internet, the New Right

- Randy Borum. 2011. "Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories." *Journal of Security Studies* 4(4)
- Marius Linge et al., 2022, "Confluences of Street Culture and Jihadism", *Terrorism and Political Violence* 35(6)
- Miron Lakomy, 2023, "Why do online countering violent extremism strategies not work?", *Terrorism and Political Violence* 35(6)
- Julia Kupper et al. 2022, "The Contagion and Copycat Effect in Transnational Far-right Terrorism", *Perspectives on Terrorism* 16(4)
- Julia Ebner. 2017. *The Rage*, ch1 (Canvas)
- Tahir Abbas, 2019, "Plugged into the rage", ch9 in *Islamophobia and Radicalization* (Canvas)
- Suzanne Schneider. 2021. "Failed Governance has created extremists in the United States too", *Foreign Policy*

Recommended:
- *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 2019 Special Issue on Islamic State's Online Activity and Responses
- Parkin et al., 2017, "Threats of violent Islamist and far-right extremism: What does the research say?", *The Conversation*
- Tahir Abbas, 2019, *Islamophobia and Radicalization*, Oxford Univ Press
- Auger, V. (2020). Right-Wing Terror: A Fifth Global Wave?" *Perspectives on Terrorism,* 14(3), 87-97.

Week 13 (11/21)   Counterterrorism: Tactic or pathology, how do you fight it?
<mark>Position Paper #2: De-radicalization programs and community engagement initiatives are more effective and ethically sound approaches to countering extremism than government-led monitoring/censorship of online content.</mark>
Required Materials:
- Michael Stohl, Ch. 5 in *Roots* (11 pages)
- Gabriel Weimann. 2008. "The Psychology of Mass-Mediated Terrorism," *American Behavioral Scientist* 52(1)
  - Also, Byman. 2017. "How to Hunt a Lone Wolf." *Foreign Affairs*
- Julie Chernov-Hwang, 2018, *Why Terrorists Quit*, ch2 (Canvas)
- Tore Bjørgo. 2009. *Leaving Terrorism Behind*, ch3 (Canvas)
- Aziz Z. Huq (2017) "Community-Led Counterterrorism", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 40(12)
- Darnell, 2010, "Deterrence in Counter Terrorism" in *E-IR*

Recommended:
- Byman, 2017, "Can lone wolves be stopped?" Brookings

- Kathy Gilsinan. 2019. "How White-Supremacist Violence Echoes Other Forms of Terrorism." *The Atlantic*
- Optional but relevant: Gumbel. 2015. "The Domestic Terrorism Threat in the United States: A Primer," George Washington University Program on Extremism
- Ron Hassner. 2006. "Fighting Insurgency on Sacred Ground." *Washington Quarterly* 29(2)
- Maura Conway. 2017. "Determining the Role of the Internet in Violent Extremism: Six Suggestions for Progressing Research". *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 40(1)
- Maura Conway et al. (2019) "Disrupting Daesh: Measuring Takedown of Online Terrorist Material and Its Impacts*," Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42:1
- Koehler, Daniel. 2016. "Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism in Europe: Current Developments and Issues for the Future." *PRISM* 6(2)
- Koehler, Daniel. 2019. "Violence and Terrorism from the Far-Right: Policy Options to Counter an Elusive Threat." *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism Studies* (Canvas)
- Eitan Azani & Nadine Liv (2020) "A Comprehensive Doctrine for an Evolving Threat: Countering Terrorist Use of Social Networks," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 43:8
- Anais Chagankerian. 2013. "The Delegitimizing Power of the 'Terrorism' Label", *E-IR*
    - https://www.e-ir.info/2013/07/18/the-delegitimizing-power-of-the-terrorism-label/
- Arie Perliger. 2015. "Comparative Framework for Understanding Jewish and Christian Violent Fundamentalism." *Religions* 6(3)
- Valentina Bartolucci. 2010. "Analysing elite discourse on terrorism and its implications: the case of Morocco," *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 3(1)
- *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 2017 40(12) special issue, "Community-Based Counterterrorism"
- Charlie Winter and Devorah Margolin, 2017, "The Mujahidat Dilemma: Female Combatants and the Islamic State," report, Combating Terrorism Center
- Asfandyar Mir (2018). "U.S. troop drawdown in Afghanistan raises big questions," *The Washington Post*
- Karlin and Wittes. 2019. "America's Middle East Purgatory," *Foreign Affairs*
- Daniel Byman and William McCants, 2017, "The Danger of Picking Sides in the Qatar Crisis," *The Atlantic*
- Janet Reitman, 2018, "U.S. Law Enforcement Failed to See the Threat of White Nationalism. Now They Don't Know How to Stop It." *New York Times Magazine*

Week 14 (11/28)   How Terrorism Ends
Required Materials:
- Aleksandar Pašagić. 2020. "Failed States and Terrorism", *Perspectives on Terrorism* 14(3)
- Gaibulloev, Khusrav & Todd Sandler. 2013. "Determinants of the Demise of Terrorist Organizations." *Southern Economic Journal*, 79(4): 774-792.
- Kurth Cronin, Audrey. 2006. "How Al Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups." *International Security* 31(1): 7-48.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin. 2009. *Leaving Terrorism Behind*, ch4 (Canvas)
- Horgan, John. 2008. "Deradicalization or Disengagement? A Process in Need of Clarity and a Counterterrorism Initiative in Need of Evaluation." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 2(4).

Recommended:
  - Jones, Seth & Martin Libicki. 2008. "How Terrorist Groups End." RAND Corporation Research Brief.
  - Mironova, 2019, "The New Face of Terrorism in 2019", in *Foreign Policy*
  - Roy, 2017, "Political Islam After the Arab Spring," *Foreign Affairs*
  - Casey, Nicolas. "Columbia and FARC Real Deal to End the Americas' Longest War." New York Times. 24 August 2016.
  - Purtill, Corrine. "Anguish Haunts Northern Ireland's Retired Terrorists." NBC News. 15 July 2015.
  - Agata Serranò. Ch. 5 in *Critical Perspectives*

Week 15 (12/5)   Towards Stable States and Societies
Required Materials:
- Daniel Masters and Patricia Hoen. 2012. "State Legitimacy and Terrorism", *Democracy and Security* 8(4)
- Li, Quan. 2005. "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2): 278-297
- Kristen Stilt. 2010. "'Islam is the Solution': Constitutional Visions of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood." *Texas International Law Journal* 46
  - **Also**: Tarik Ramadan. 2011, "Democratic Turkey Is the Template for Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood." *New Perspectives Quarterly*, 28: 42-45
- TBD Reading
- TBD Reading
- Dan Byman. 2023. "Whatever Happened to Al Qaeda?" *Foreign Policy*
- Recommended:
  - Stern, Ch. 10 in *Terror in the Name of God* (15 pages)
  - Marc Lynch. 2018. "The New Arab Order," Foreign Affairs
  - Marwan Muasher. 2018. "The Next Arab Uprising," Foreign Affairs
  - Nick Danforth. 2013. "Stop Blaming Colonial Borders for the Middle East's Problems," The Atlantic

(12/13 – 12/19)   Finals
Final Paper due Tuesday, Dec. 19 at 11:59pm
Upload to Canvas

Further Readings:

State Sponsorship

- Daniel Byman. 2013. "Outside Support for Insurgent Movements," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36(12)
- Daniel Byman, (2008), "The Changing Nature of State Sponsorship of Terrorism," Available here and on Canvas
- Daniel Byman and Sarah Kreps (2010). "Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State-Sponsored Terrorism," *International Studies Perspectives* 11(1): 1-18
- Gabriel Sheffer. Ch. 9 in *Roots* (11 pages)
- Elizabeth Grimm Arsenault and Tricia Bacon. 2015. "Disaggregating and Defeating Terrorist Safe Havens," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 38
- Victor Asal & R. William Ayres (2018) "Attention Getters: Diaspora Support for Ethno–Political Organizations in the Middle East," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 41(1)
- Barsamian, David. (2001) "The U.S. Is Leading a Terrorist State: An interview with Noam Chomsky." *Monthly Review* 53, no. 6
- US State Department. 2017. "State Sponsors of Terrorism" in Country Reports on Terrorism. 2017 (see also the full report)

The Global War on Terror

- Bob de Graaff, Ch.1 in *Critical Perspectives* (17 pages)
- Laura Zahra McDonald et al., Ch.4 in *Critical Perspectives* (11 pages)
- William Adair Davies (2018) "Counterterrorism Effectiveness to Jihadists in Western Europe and the United States: We Are Losing the War on Terror," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 41:4
- Jenna Jordan. 2009. "When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation," *Security Studies* 18(4)
- Smith, Megan and James Igoe Walsh (2013). "Do Drone Strikes Degrade Al Qaeda? Evidence from Propaganda Output." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25(2)
- Zoubir, Yahia H. 2015. "Algeria's Roles in the OAU/African Union: From National Liberation Promoter to Leader in the Global War on Terrorism." *Mediterranean Politics*. 20(1), p55-75
- Zelin, 2014, "The War between ISIS and al-Qaeda for Supremacy of the Global Jihadist Movement," Report, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, No. 20
- Bryan Price. 2012 "Targeting Top Terrorists." *International Security* 36(4)
- Asal, Nussbaum, Harrington. 2007. "Terrorism as Transnational Advocacy." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30
- Byman, Daniel. 2013. "Why Drones Work: The Case for Washington's Weapon of Choice." Brookings Institution. July/August 2013.
- Zenko, Micah. 2013. "Reforming US Drone Strike Policies." Council on Foreign Relations, Special Report No. 65.
- Johnsen, Gregory. 2014 "60 Words And A War Without End: The Untold Story Of The Most Dangerous Sentence In U.S. History." *Buzzfeed News*. (30 pages)
- Johnsen. 2013 "How We Lost Yemen." *Foreign Policy*

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**: As part of our commitment to the health and well-being of all students, Seton Hall University's Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) offers initial assessments, counseling, crisis intervention, consultation, and referral services to the SHU community.

The CAPS office is located on the second floor of Mooney Hall, room 27. Appointments can be made in-person or by calling 973-761-9500 during regular business hours, Monday-Friday, 8:45 a.m. - 4:45 p.m. In case of a psychological emergency, call CAPS (973-761-9500) at any time to speak to a crisis counselor. For more information, please visit: https://www.shu.edu/counseling-psychological-services/index.cfm

- **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**. Students who anticipate not being able to turn in an assignment on time should let me know as soon as possible. Without prior communication, 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 or COVID-related issues.

- **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.

- **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